The Annals of Dunstable Priory

Pre-publication copy

Pre-publication copy

THE ANNALS OF DUNSTABLE PRIORY

Translated by David Preest

Edited by Harriett R. Webster

THE BOYDELL PRESS

Pre-publication copy

Translation © David Preest 2018

Editorial matter © Harriett R. Webster 2018

All Rights Reserved. Except as permitted under current legislation
no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system,
published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast,
transmitted, recorded or reproduced in any form or by any means,
without the prior permission of the copyright owner

First published 2018
The Boydell Press, Woodbridge

ISBN 978 1 84383 813 5

The Boydell Press is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620–2731, USA
website: www.boydellandbrewer.com

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library

The publisher has no responsibility for the continued existence or accuracy of URLs
for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this book, and does not
guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate

This publication is printed on acid-free paper

Pre-publication copy

Contents

Acknowledgements vi

Map of the Bedfordshire Estates of Dunstable Priory vii

Introduction ix

Notes on the Edition xliii

Timeline: Key Events of the Thirteenth Century xliv

List of the Priors of Dunstable xlvii

The Annals of Dunstable Priory 1

Glossary 277

Bibliography 279

Index 285

Pre-publication copy

Acknowledgements

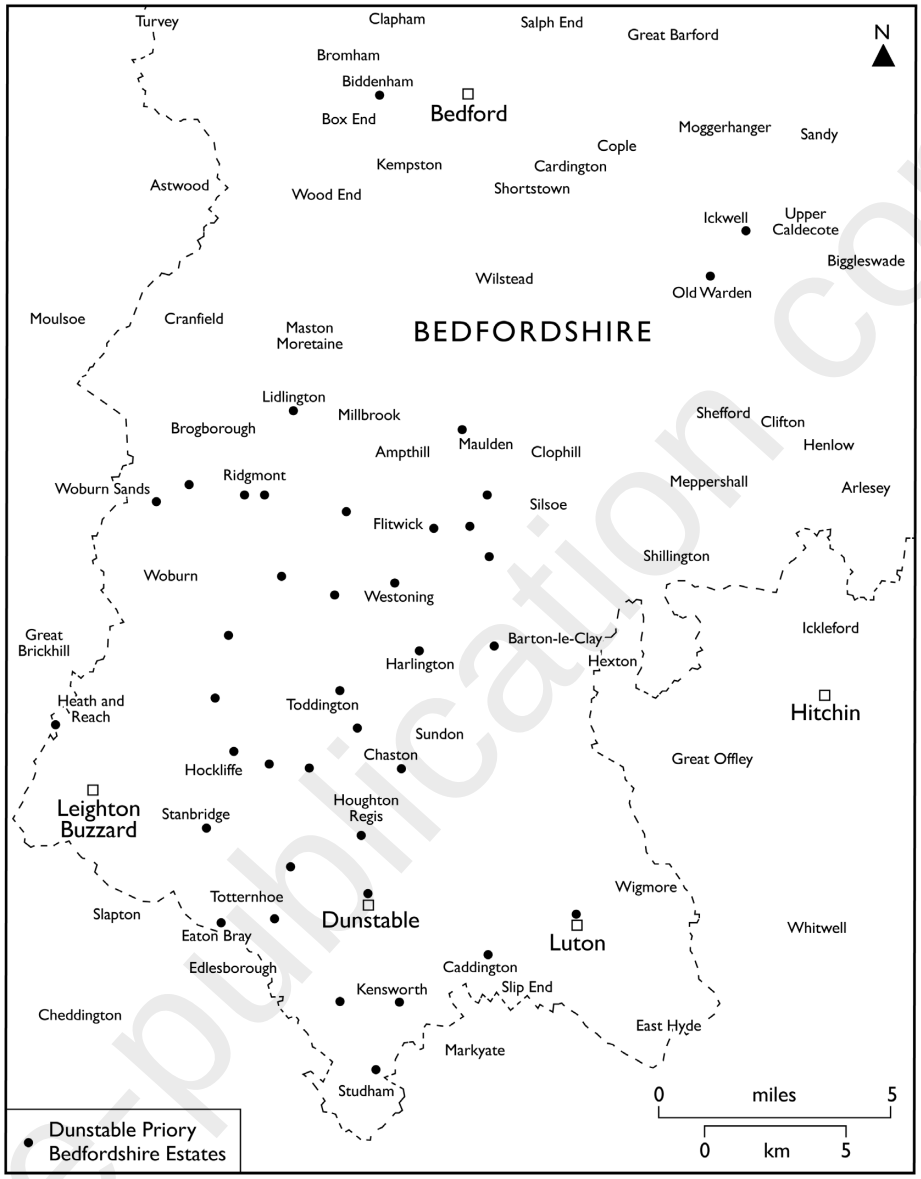
The Medieval Dunstable project was founded in 2010 by a group of historians, led by Jean Yates, to investigate the history of Dunstable and to promote this important medieval town. Meeting in Priory House Heritage Centre, members are independent local historians, representatives of Dunstable and District Local History Society, Manshead Archaeological Society and the Priory Church. The group, over a period of three years, carried out a great deal of research on the events recorded in the annals of Dunstable priory, the town, the site of the priory itself and the property owned by the priory across seven counties. *Medieval Dunstable,* edited by Jean Yates, was published in 2013.

Revd Stephen Williams had started to plan a translation of the 'Annals of Dunstable Priory' (to mark 800 years since its inception) some years earlier. He had obtained both editions of the Latin text (1733 and 1866), and had approached David Preest about this before the group was founded. The two groups therefore readily agreed to merge.

The publishers would like to acknowledge the help of Jean Yates and Hugh Garrod in reviewing the result. Thanks are also due to Sally Burch for her translation of the Norman-French document found on pages 250–1.

The map on the following page is based on the interactive map prepared by the project and can be found at www.medievaldunstable.org.uk

Pre-publication copy



Dunstable Priory Bedfordshire Estates

Pre-publication copy

Pre-publication copy

INTRODUCTION

The annals of Dunstable priory cover the period of history from the Incarnation of Christ to the year 1297, and the work is unique among medieval historical narratives of the same period. As is so often the case with medieval chronicles, the early part of the text has been copied from other works. However, the section from 1200 to the end of the thirteenth century – with which this current edition is concerned – represents a completely original composition written in the Augustinian priory at Dunstable in Bedfordshire. Its interest to modern readers lies in the many layers of information which the compilers were careful to record, extending from matters played out on a national and even international stage to the affairs of Dunstable priory itself, its day-to-day business and the canons' interactions with the townspeople. In particular, the annals are very valuable for their detailed account of the complicated politics of England under King John, during the civil war of Henry III's reign, and Edward's military activity in Wales, Scotland and Gascony.

THE ORIGINS OF DUNSTABLE AND ITS PRIORY

Thirty miles to the north of London, two of Britain's most ancient roads meet: the Roman Watling Street running northwest-southeast, and the even older Icknield Way, crossing from northeast to west. Domesday Book does not record a settlement here, and the land on which the crossroads stood was part of the royal manor of Houghton, a modest estate of ten hides. By the beginning of the reign of Henry I, there were two other royal manors in the neighbourhood, at Kensworth and Totternhoe. It was on land belonging to the manor of Houghton that Henry founded a new town at some time in the first two decades of the twelfth century, which was called Dunstable, a name for which no certain origin can be given. New towns were founded in England at an average of roughly one every two years between 1066 and 1370. Up to 1100, the majority of them were created by the king, often in conjunction with a new or existing royal castle.[1] A town provided revenue from leases and taxes, and was also useful in practical terms as a source of supplies, as well as housing craftsmen with specialist skills. Dunstable is unusual, however, in that there is no castle, and no obvious commercial reason for its creation: furthermore, Henry I created no more than half a dozen new towns during his thirty-five years on the throne.[2]

Maurice Beresford, in his survey of new towns in the Middle Ages, describes Dunstable 'as one of the ring of new towns in the hills north and south of the London basin where the radial roads from the capital passed through gaps in the chalk' and points out that

[1] Maurice Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*, new edn (Gloucester, 1988), pp. 334–5.

[2] Ibid., pp. 637–8.

Pre-publication copy

the Icknield Way is 'the centre of Matthew Paris' schematic map of England'.[3] Henry was also minded to found monastic establishments in strategic places, such as Reading abbey, which he intended as his mausoleum. William of Malmesbury stresses that Reading was chosen because of its position 'between the rivers Kennet and Thames in a place calculated for the reception of almost all who might have occasion to travel to the more populous cities of England'.[4]

This new town of Dunstable centred on a royal residence, later known as Kingsbury, which occupied nine acres in the heart of the settlement and very probably pre-dated the town. Henry I was there in 1108, when he issued a writ concerning the canons of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, at Dunstable.[5] He also spent Christmas at Kingsbury twice: in 1122,[6] accompanied by Ranulf the chancellor, when knights from Anjou came to him here,[7] and again in 1131.[8] In 1130, a warden was appointed at Kingsbury, paid 1d a day.[9]

The first historical reference to the town itself is in Matthew Paris's chronicle, written at nearby St Albans in the mid thirteenth century. He records a miracle play that was performed in Dunstable under the direction of Geoffrey of Gorham who was teaching there at some time before 1119.[10] In the earliest charter of the priory, which dates from between 1131 and 1133, Henry gave the town and manor 'in perpetual and free alms', with its market and schools, to the canons.[11] The implication is that the town was already very much in existence, complete with an established market and schools. Dunstable was, therefore, a monastic town, like St Albans or Bury St Edmunds, rather than under the jurisdiction of a secular lord. Only the royal houses and garden were retained by the king. Towns of this kind inevitably saw strife between clergy and citizens, probably because secular lords were often absent and perhaps more tolerant. Dunstable was no exception to the rule, as the annals will show.

Dunstable priory is one of a large number of Augustinian foundations created in the reign of Henry I, houses in which canons followed the rule of St Augustine and led a quasi-monastic life. In many ways, houses of regular canons were very similar to the monastic houses which followed the rule of St Benedict, but there were also important

3 Beresford, *New Towns*, p. 394.

4 William of Malmesbury, *The Historia Novella*, trans. K. R. Potter (London, 1955), p. 285.

5 *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154: II. Regesta Henrici Primi 1100–1135*, ed. G. Johnson and H. A. Cronne (Oxford, 1956), no. 897, p. 83.

6 *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum. The History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Diana Greenway, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1996), p. 470–, (Rolls Series edition, p. 244); *Regesta Henrici Primi*, no. 1339, p. 175.

7 William Farrer, *An Outline Itinerary of Henry* I (Oxford, 1920), p. 103 citing 'Chron.'

8 Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, p. 488–9 (RS, p. 253).

9 *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty First Year of the Reign of King Henry I, Michaelmas 1130*, ed. Judith A. Green (London, 2012), p. 79.

10 In Thomas Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatam*, Rolls Series (London, 1867), I, p. 73. Geoffrey entered St Albans as a monk soon afterwards and was abbot from 1119 to 1146: 'Gorham (Gorron), Geoffrey de, c.1100–1146', *ODNB*.

11 G. Herbert Fowler, *A Digest of the Charters Preserved in the Cartulary of Dunstable Priory*, Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, X (Apsley Guise, 1926), pp. 240–2. See also *Regesta Henrici Primi*, no. 827, p. 275.

Pre-Publication Copy

differences. Canons were always ordained clergy, and thus entitled to celebrate mass. Their communities were more open, and in the eleventh century canons following the rule of St Augustine sometimes lived alongside secular canons not subject to the rule.[12] Monks were united by their vows of obedience to the abbot, but were not necessarily ordained. Canons could therefore play a larger part in the life of the community, and could undertake pastoral duties. From the point of view of the Church as a whole, the rule of St Augustine provided a form of disciplined life for clergy attached to a cathedral or working in a town, and placed them at one remove from the temptations of the world outside.

Henry I personally founded five houses of regular canons,[13] and had a hand in the establishment of a further eight houses, where he either encouraged the founder or took over when the process ran into difficulties. Five others were founded by his courtiers. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, had a hand in the creation of many of the communities in conjunction with secular lords, as did his successor, William of Corbeil, at the end of Henry's reign.[14] Henry did not favour the Augustinian canons to the exclusion of other monastic orders, and indeed was buried at the Benedictine abbey at Reading. It was an age of great activity in terms of the building of new monasteries and priories. The newly-created Cistercian order vied with the regular canons for court patronage; it is fair to say, however, that there was a very strong connection between the court and both orders, with the regular canons perhaps having the advantage.[15]

The foundation by Queen Matilda of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and especially the confirmation issued by Henry I at Dunstable in 1108, has implications for the history of Dunstable priory. The history of the foundation of Aldgate describes how the prior of Aldgate sent out members of his community to various places to found daughter houses. William of Corbeil, later archbishop of Canterbury, went to St Osyth, where he became prior in 1121, while a canon named Bernard was sent to Dunstable, presumably at about the same time; he is described as prior of Dunstable when attesting a document at Aldgate in 1125. Other daughter houses of Aldgate were begun at Plympton in Devon and St Frideswide in Oxford in 1121/2 (in which Henry I played a part), so the foundation of the priory must be dated to soon after 1120.[16]

From the start, therefore, Dunstable was a favoured place. It was one of the new towns founded by the Norman kings, with a royal charter, and it had a well-endowed royal priory. It ranked high among the Augustinian houses: at the Reformation, when Henry VIII's clerks recorded the values of the monastic lands, Dunstable ranked about twentieth out of 180; most of those with greater resources were abbeys, Carlisle cathedral being the wealthiest. [17]

[12] J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), p. 38.

[13] Carlisle, Cirencester, Dunstable, St Denys at Southampton, and Wellow-by-Grimsby.

[14] Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, pp. 125–8.

[15] Certainly, the Cistercians' special exemption from many taxes and tithes irritated the monarchs.

[16] Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, pp. 111 n.4 and 113.

[17] Ibid., pp. 290–9.

Pre-publication copy

DUNSTABLE AS A STAGING POINT ON ROYAL ITINERARIES

The importance of Dunstable in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was due entirely to these royal connections. King John seems to have specifically favoured the Augustinian foundations created by Henry I, and besides routine confirmations of earlier royal gifts, he added the right to hold a three-day annual fair, for which Dunstable, on a major crossroads, was an obvious site. More important still, in 1204 John bestowed on the priory the royal palace together with its gardens.[18] As a quid pro quo, the priory became one of the religious houses across England which were expected to play host to the king on his travels. The annals of Dunstable priory record some of the occasions on which the king and his retinue stayed at the priory or nearby. John himself was at Dunstable in October 1204, and this may have been the occasion for the grant of the palace.[19] He stayed there from June to November 1207,[20] and visited it again on 25 March 1211.[21] In March 1215 he was at Eaton Bray, a couple of miles from the town, which was a manor belonging to Walter de Cantilupe, his household steward, for two weeks. In December he may have been in the priory for a day.[22] Henry III visited in 1229, 1247, 1265 and 1267; Edward I stayed in 1275, 1276 and 1277, and had rooms built for him later in that year.[23] Thereafter Dunstable's value as a halt on royal itineraries evidently diminished. Edward II and Edward III came chiefly for tournaments, in 1309, 1329, 1334 and 1342; only two other royal visits are recorded in the fourteenth century.

In 1232, Dunstable was declared one of the four permitted tourneying sites in England, the others being Brackley, Stamford and Blyth.[24] Henry III's declaration replaced an earlier edict of Richard I issued in 1194, which had named five areas; those between Salisbury and Wilton and Warwick and Kenilworth were apparently dropped in 1232, and Dunstable was added.[25] It was only under Edward I that Dunstable established itself as a tournament centre, with six such events between 1279 and 1292.[26] The tradition that the town was a recognised tournament site continued into the fourteenth century. Such occasions would have been a major disruption to the life of the priory, since many of the knights and their retinues would have lodged at the former royal residence. On the other hand, this would have provided the canons with excellent opportunities for hearing gossip

[18] R. Allen Brown, H. M. Colvin and A. J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works: II. The Middle Ages* (London, 1963), p. 925.

[19] J. J. Crump, *The Itinerary of King John Project* <http://purl.org/neography/JohnItinerary> [consulted 23 March 2016]. Hardy 47: 21 August to 11 November from Waltham abbey to Aylesbury.

[20] Ibid., Hardy 76: 28 August to 12 November from Waltham Abbey to Silverstone.

[21] Ibid., No Hardy page: 25 March, from Ledbury to Hatfield.

[22] Ibid., 1215: Hardy 131, coming from St Albans, going north to Nottingham; 161, coming south from Northampton and going to St Albans.

[23] See *Annals of Dunstable Priory*, below, pp. 78, 119, 166, 170, 189, 190; for 1275 see Henry Gough, *Itinerary of Edward the First throughout his Reign* (Paisley, 1900), I, p. 69.

[24] *Annals*, p. 87.

[25] For the earlier edict, see *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae et Cujuscunque Genera Acta Publica*, ed. T. Rymer (London 1816–30), I, p. 65.

[26] For references to tournaments see the annals for 1279, 1280, 1281, 1289, 1290, 1292. Tournaments elsewhere are also recorded on several occasions.

Pre-publication copy

and rumours about the wider world. During times of political stress, tournaments were sometimes banned as being opportunities for dissident lords to assemble what was in effect a small army under the guise of holding such an event.[27]

Despite the royal favours bestowed upon both town and priory, the latter had only an average income for a monastic house in this period of around £100 per year.[28] The priory obtained incomes from its lordship of neighbouring Houghton Regis, and tithes from: the rectories and manors of Studham and Pulloxhill; the manors of Wadlow, Stokehammond, Gladley, Grimscote, Catesby and Shortgrave; and the rectories of Totternhoe, Harlington, Husborne Crawley, Flitwick, Segenhoe, Bradbourne, Newbottle, Pattishall and Weedon, located across Derbyshire, Buckinghamshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire.[29] Indeed, it would seem that by the 1290s Dunstable priory was in financial difficulty.[30]

Dunstable was not only a place of royal visitations and grand tournaments; it was also a place where ordinary people lived and worked. The annals contained in this volume allow us rare insights into daily life in the priory, interspersed among episodes of national politics and war. Most amusingly, on a number of occasions we are treated to the panic arising when the priory's beer failed, and the contingency plans which kicked into action as a result. One such year was 1262:

> In the same year, around the time of the feast of St John the Baptist [24 June], we had a beer failure. We bought on credit from Henry Chadde twenty pounds worth of malt, and also five casks of wine worth ten marks.[31]

Further local information must have been included as a result of it being generally known and discussed in the priory, such as the building of a barn at Shortgrave in 1254,[32] followed by its subsequent collapse in 1258.[33] This kind of event is often given at the start of a yearly entry, and clearly shows us what was at the forefront of the canons' minds, particularly those involved in the administration of the priory; that they were the authors of this text is clear from the abundance of documentary and financial records included in the text. Other incidents probably reached the canons at Dunstable by oral reports,

[27] See annals for 1265 (twice).

[28] The annals state that their income in 1273 from these came to £107. From his survey of the incomes of monastic houses, Adam Lucas estimates that this was a slightly above-average income. See A. Lucas, 'The Social and Economic Foundations of English Monasticism, c.600–1450', in *Ecclesiastical Lordship, Seigneurial Power and the Commercialization of Milling in Medieval England* (Farnham, 2014), p. 21. See also Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, p. 124 for a comparison of the value of monastic houses at the Dissolution (based upon the survey of monastic wealth conducted by Thomas Cromwell in 1535, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*) in comparison with the Domesday Survey. In the sixteenth century, valued at £344, Dunstable priory again seems to have only a very slightly above-average income. For further discussion of the gathering and rates of tithes, see Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes: From their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 2008).

[29] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 6, part 1, p. 243.

[30] Lucas, 'The Social and Economic Foundations of English Monasticism, c.600–1450', p. 32.

[31] *Annals*, p. 151.

[32] *Annals*, p. 132.

[33] *Annals*, p. 142.

Pre-publication copy

again reflecting their communal concerns. In 1259, and again in 1264, instances of sheep being rustled from nearby monastic houses are recorded with incredulity, and there is a great deal of satisfaction when the culprits are brought to justice:

> [1264] on the day of St Fremund [11 May] at evening time, some thieves in the fields around Sewell drove off towards Luton the almoner's sheep, despite the resistance of the shepherds. When the news reached Dunstable, some priory servants with men from the town arrested the two men with the sheep at Sewell. The next day the men were lawfully hanged at Passecumbe.[34]

As a result of this focus on the priory and the surrounding area, the reader is presented with a real sense of the community at Dunstable. The daily concerns of the running of the priory and dealings with the townspeople are punctuated with national affairs of state and government; but the latter usually link back to how this affected the residents of Dunstable priory, such as how much they were required to pay each time a new tithe was introduced. The authors' primary concerns throughout remain largely based on the administration of the house, its finances and agricultural concerns, together with the meting out of justice, control and regulation.

ENGLISH POLITICS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

It has been convincingly argued that the abundance of monastic historical writing during the thirteenth century was inspired by fear for the rights of such houses in troubled times.[35] Certainly, between the anarchy of Stephen's reign, as he contested the throne with the Empress Matilda, and the extensive judicial reforms of Henry II, many religious houses, including Ely, Peterborough, Ramsey and Battle, began compiling histories of their own,.[36] The unsettled times during the baronial wars under John and Henry III led to a new generation of historical texts composed for similar reasons. The annals record details of political unrest which caused particular trouble for Dunstable and its near neighbours. For example, during the First Barons' War, details are given of how Louis of France ravaged Dunstable: 'Louis not only did much damage to the town of Dunstable, but also received two hundred marks from it.'[37] Worse still, in 1217,'the squires of Falkes de Bréauté so cruelly treated the monks at Wardon [abbey] that one of them was killed, some other wounded and about thirty of them were unceremoniously dragged through the mud all the way to Falkes' castle at Bedford.'[38] There are similar stories recorded from the Second Barons' War, including how 'twenty or more armed men on horseback with several others on foot turned up at Segenhoe. They stole whatever they could find in the houses of the prior …' The local people in this case pursued the bandits, capturing them and retrieving all the stolen goods at Beaulieu. However, the author of this section did not feel that justice had actually been served as the text records: 'later they were rashly allowed to depart by the prior'.[39]

[34] *Annals*, p. 160.
[35] A. Gransden, 'Realistic Observation in Twelfth-Century England', *Speculum*, 47 (1972), 29–51, at 37.
[36] Ibid.
[37] *Annals*, p. 23.
[38] *Annals*, p. 27.
[39] *Annals*, p. 160.

Pre-Publication Copy

As a creation of the turbulent thirteenth century, the text relates in detail many of the engagements of the First and Second Barons' Wars.[40] The former was fought following the failure of King John to adhere to the terms of Magna Carta which he sealed at Runnymede in 1215, while the second was sparked by his son Henry III's similar refusal to conform to the limitations imposed on him by his barons. In recording these events, the compiler often adds detail which is not known from any other source of the period. For example, in relation to the uprising during the reign of King John, we learn more about Louis' movements in 1215:

> Meanwhile King Louis with many armed counts, barons, castellans and knights and mercenaries 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.[41]

In the same year, John's retreat and something of his state of mind are described, following his meeting with Guala the papal legate:

> 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 Marshall, because he did not have full confidence in his army. He went towards Winchelsea, where he met Guala, the legate of the apostolic see.[42] 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.[43]

However, Louis' welcome was short lived. The annals provide a unique insight at this point in suggesting the reasons for Louis' loss of the support of the barons:

> The county of Winchester and South Sussex surrendered to the 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.[44]

[40] 1215–17 and 1264–67, respectively.
[41] *Annals*, p. 21.
[42] Guala Bicchieri, legate 1216–18.
[43] *Annals*, p. 22.
[44] Ibid.

Pre-publication copy

The authors are naturally well informed about episodes of the war in Dunstable and the surrounding area. For instance, during the siege of Lincoln we learn the name of the brave woman, Nicola, who defended the castle against the king's men in 1215: '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.'[45] Similarly, during the siege of Fotheringhay, the strategy used to capture the castle is given:

> 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. 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.[46]

As a result of his actions that day, William was excommunicated at a meeting of the archbishop of York, the legate Pandulf and various other members of the clergy. The annals take care to outline the factors which led to the sentence:

> There were various reasons why William was excommunicated: he had refused to perform his vow to go on crusade and set out for Jerusalem. He had contemptuously disobeyed the court of the land when it assigned castle Bytham to William de Coleville. He had treacherously captured a castle of his lord king before renouncing the king himself. And when on another occasion he had been excommunicated for many acts of plunder, he swore to obey the commands of the lord's legate, and then, when the legate ordered him to hand back what he had stolen, he postponed his obedience.[47]

Perhaps the most valuable passage however, tells the story of the siege of Bedford castle in 1224. The account takes the reader through every stage of the assault on the castle: 'On the east side there were one catapult and two siege engines which battered the tower every day. On the west side there were two siege engines which pulverised the old tower. Then there was one siege engine on the south and one on the north, and these two made two gaps in the walls nearest to them.'[48]

We also learn something of how these machines were constructed and used, that they were 'skilfully made machines of wood which were built up to overlook the tower and the castle,' and that these 'were used by slingers and spies' who were lying hidden in ambush.[49] The function of the 'Cat' is also given, namely that it was used as cover by 'subterranean diggers called 'miners" allowing them to dig 'under the walls of the tower and castle.'[50] The writer probably uses information from the townsmen of Dunstable who took part in the action, which would account for the degree of detail:

[45] *Annals*, p. 24.
[46] *Annals*, p. 36.
[47] *Annals*, p. 37.
[48] *Annals*, pp. 54–5.
[49] *Annals*, p. 55.
[50] Ibid.

Pre-publication copy

> In the first attack the barbican was taken and four or five foreigners were killed. In the second the outer bailey was taken, and in this attack more people were killed, while our own people of Dunstable took as loot horses with their sets of harness, breastplates, slings, live oxen, hogs and pigs, and many other things beyond counting. They also burnt the sheds inside the castle where the corn and the hay were stored.[51]

In the third stage of the attack, the miners succeeded in making the 'wall next to the old tower' collapse, which allowed the men of Dunstable to complete the daring capture of the inner bailey 'in grave peril'. And then, 'at about vespers on the eve of the Assumption', the miners laid a fire at the foot of the tower 'in such a way that the smoke swirled up into the living quarters in the tower where the enemy were. The tower was split open and cracks could be seen in its sides.' This was the final straw, and the 'enemy gave up any hope of saving their lives and they allowed … all the women … to depart safe and sound'.[52] Once again the local focus of the text helps to supplement our knowledge of events of national importance.

For the most part the canons appear to have been on the side of the barons in these engagements. Still, when it suited them, they did switch to support the king, particularly if his role as temporal lord could help them in their dealings with the difficult townspeople of Dunstable. For example, in 1229 while Henry III 'had taken lodgings at the priory',[53] Prior Richard took advantage of the situation, and 'humbly begged'[54] the king to resolve the disputes between the priory and the townspeople. This he did, and the annalist records the names of the magnates acting as mediators. What then follows is a sequence of writs granted by the king instructing the sheriff in how to proceed, supporting the priory's claims when the townspeople denies having made any such agreement.[55] This is a good example of a typically monastic approach to history writing, in which the house's historical record also serves as an archival record of the house's rights and privileges, carefully recorded for posterity in case the rights of the priory were called into question. This certainly proved useful during the reign of Edward I, when a nationwide investigation into exactly these matters was launched under the royal writ *Quo warranto*.

THE CHURCH IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

The prior of Dunstable from 1202 to 1242 was Richard of Morins, who is thought to have instigated and perhaps composed the first half of the annals contained in this volume. During his lifetime, Prior Richard's involvement in ecclesiastical affairs on a wider scale made him an eyewitness to many of the most important events of his day, events which are recorded in great detail in the annals themselves. His connections placed him in an ideal position to learn a great deal about King John's plea to Pope

[51] *Annals*, p. 55.
[52] Ibid.
[53] *Annals*, p. 78.
[54] Ibid.
[55] *Annals*, pp. 78–82.

Pre-publication copy

Innocent III to assist in brokering a peace deal with France. Indeed the role of the pope's representative Cardinal John in this incident went unnoticed by the majority of monastic historians writing at the time. Richard's lead role as a visitor in the dioceses of Lincoln, Bedford, Hertford and Lichfield doubtless in large part explains the annals' frequent and detailed references to the successions of bishops, abbots and priors in these jurisdictions.

Further details relating to the Church in England, particularly the papal provisions enacted for it, are also recorded in the text. These include the punishment of those officials who continued to minister to King John during his excommunication. In particular, Richard Marsh, Henry Vere and Gilbert of Aquila 'were suspended from their offices and benefices and sent to Rome' to answer for their wrongs in 'illicitly officiat[ing] for the king'.[56] More auspicious events relating to the English Church are also recorded, including the 'most solemn translation of the body of the blessed martyr Thomas in the fiftieth year after his martyrdom' which the author notes 'was a cause of rejoicing for us all'.[57] A great feast was held, a new altar was consecrated, and even better, 'the 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'.[58] A great palace was also built for the archbishop of Canterbury to mark the occasion, the likes of which had not been seen since the time of Solomon, according to the annalist. A similar time of great celebration marked the second coronation of Henry III in 1220. Indeed, according to the annalist, 'a more imposing ceremony had never been seen in our times before this day'.[59] A note of practicality is also heard though, as the Jews were 'prudently' kept under guard in the Tower of London during the ceremony,[60] presumably to avoid unpleasant scenes such as those which occurred during the coronation of his uncle Richard I.

A particularly valuable passage in the annals records the reality of religious practice during the interdict in 1208. While the purpose of an interdict was to punish those who had sinned by denying them sacramental rites, the text reveals how marriages and baptisms were performed on the doorstep of the church to avoid contravening the pope's order:

> 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.[61]

[56] *Annals*, p. 17.
[57] *Annals*, p. 32.
[58] Ibid.
[59] *Annals*, p. 31.
[60] Ibid.
[61] *Annals*, p. 7.

Pre-publication copy

This is a rare opportunity to glimpse a snapshot of how the interdict actually affected ordinary people's lives. It is clear that the community still needed the assurance of their weekly sermons, and that far from barring them entirely from the Church, they were allowed to enter for baptism and prayer. Interestingly, however, this leniency did not extend to the dead, who were buried without ceremony in unconsecrated ground.

The text also offers a taste of the tensions current in the thirteenth-century Church. The papal policy of providing Italian clergy with English benefices was a contentious issue, particularly as it denied Englishmen incomes. In 1248, the canons' original choice for the new rector of Steppingley died before he could take up office. As a result 'a Roman called Peter Vitella' was appointed and, with characteristic attention to financial detail, the passage ends in a very matter of fact fashion with: 'we paid him two marks a year.'[62] Just two years later the same 'Roman' crops up again, and this time the tone of the entry is rather more disapproving: 'this Peter, having farmed out his church for a five year period to Gilbert Tingrith at an annual rent of a hundred shillings, left us and travelled to Lyons.'[63] However, Peter's saga does not end there. Five years later Peter Vitella returned to England. The author reminds the reader that Peter 'had farmed out his church at Steppingley to Gilbert Tingrith, then a deacon, and had left behind as his agent Simon Eton, a canon of Dunstable. But for three years this deacon had not bothered to pay any of the hundred shillings per annum to either Peter himself or to his agent.'[64] After a drawn-out legal battle, Peter managed to reclaim much of the money, and additional funds for repairs to ornaments and the making of new windows. The Italian then left the country again, farming out his church 'to Benedict the clerk at a hundred shillings per annum for the subsequent five years, which Benedict is to pay. This is recorded in the document drawn up between them',[65] a copy of which the priory no doubt held onto as an assurance that the revenue would not go unpaid in the future.

All in all, the representation of the Church provided by the annals portrays realistic observations of the practical day-to-day movement and succession of its personnel, as well as the part the English clergy played in the wider Church and international politics. The annalists' views of the countries surrounding and interacting with England are less balanced, however.

ENGLAND'S FOREIGN RELATIONS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Unusually for annalists who devote so much attention to recording local events, those at Dunstable extended their scope to include a great deal of often comprehensive content concerning relations between England and its neighbours. We have already established the degree of detail included on matters of the Church and papal policy in the thirteenth century. However, to this we can add information looking far beyond the region in the events it reports, to include Wales, Scotland and Ireland, as well as France, Germany and crusades to the Holy Land.

[62] *Annals*, p. 122.
[63] *Annals*, p. 125.
[64] *Annals*, p. 122.
[65] *Annals*, p. 136.

Pre-publication copy

Wales

Welsh rebellions, and the resulting campaigns to subjugate the country, featured heavily in the concerns of the English monarchy's foreign policy throughout the thirteenth century. This began in 1220 when '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.'[66] Thus began the treacherous dealings between the English and Welsh which characterised the century in the eyes of the Dunstable annalists. Having invaded William Marshal's lands, Llywelyn destroyed three of his castles, brutally 'kill[ing] every living soul and [running] riot through the whole territory, shutting animals and flocks in their pens and setting fire to the whole lot.'[67] Llywelyn's barbarity is corroborated by other contemporary historians, such as Roger of Wendover, who adds that the Welsh prince decapitated all the Marshal's men.[68] The details of this uprising must have arrived by rumour at Dunstable, as the annalist goes on to note: 'it is said that the losses involved in this misfortune exceeded the price of the ransom for King Richard.'[69]

Failing to learn from his mistakes in trusting the Welsh, King Henry III again sent troops to assist Llywelyn 'so that he could restore to their proper status various castles which had been unjustly taken from the kingdom of England by the Welsh.'[70] However, having used the English soldiers to help him retake the castles, Llywelyn promptly 'destroyed them and kept their lands for himself' before moving on to further territories in North Wales.[71] This blatant act of rebellion angered Henry who at once 'assembled an army and went to the Marches so that he might take revenge for the infraction of the peace'. However, no blows were exchanged as the earl of Chester[72] appeased the king, assuring him that Llywelyn would 'make amends', and the king's forces returned home.[73] Unsurprisingly, the agreed date for recompense came and went, and Henry launched a full scale attack on Wales. Llywelyn was captured and excommunicated by the archbishop of Canterbury 'because he had rashly thrown into confusion the land of England although it was under the protection of the lord pope. In the end Llywelyn, as he could not sustain the war, discussed the making of peace.' Peace was made, with Llywelyn agreeing to restore the castles and lands he had taken.[74] The annals' account of these events is one of the most complete of any of the contemporary accounts.

The peace of 1228 did not last long, and five years later Henry led another army into Wales, although this time he was not so successful. Though he tried to build a castle at Kerry in Montgomeryshire, the king 'lost many of his men and William of Braose was

66 *Annals*, p. 34.

67 Ibid.

68 See Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History: The History of England*, ed. J. A. Giles, 2 vols. (London, 1849). II, pp. 443–4.

69 *Annals*, pp. 34–5.

70 *Annals*, p. 50.

71 Ibid.

72 'Ranulf de Blundeville, sixth earl of Chester and first earl of Lincoln (1170–1232)', *ODNB*.

73 *Annals*, p. 51.

74 Ibid.

Pre-publication copy

taken prisoner'. The king was forced to come to terms, and 'finally he made an agreement with Llywelyn that his lawful heir should hold the land of Kerry from the king and his heirs'. In return 'Llywelyn gave the king one hundred cows'. The annalist does not hesitate to pass comment on the imbalance of this deal, stating that 'the king returned home with only a modicum of honour'.[75]

The granting of this territory did not appease the Welsh prince for long, and in 1231 again 'Llywelyn began a war in Wales against the king of England'.[76] His trail of destruction, sparing 'neither churches nor clerics', led the annalist to describe Llywelyn as a 'pestilence' let loose on the Welsh Marches. Although a truce was agreed upon, 1245 saw Llywelyn's son David taking up his father's mantle and laying waste to the Marches. He also inherited his father's ability to fool his enemies, as apparently, 'by tricking the court of the lord pope, [he] managed to get the king of England summoned to Snowdon, so that he could thus be extracted from his subjection to him'.[77] Again, the tone is unimpressed stating that the king 'lost very many of his men, and killed but few Welshmen', and returned to England. Henry had his revenge by 'entrust[ing] Chester and its borders to the care of John Gray, who, by stopping trade between the two lands, caused the Welsh to suffer great want and hunger'.[78]

By 1256 there are indications that the annalists at Dunstable had a certain amount of respect for the tenacious Welsh, now under the command of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, 'a handsome man and a doughty fighter, and one who had all the Welsh, as it were, glued to his side'.[79] By contrast, they had little respect for Geoffrey Langley (c.1200–1274),[80] who, having been made guardian of Prince Edward's lands in Wales, 'was trying hard to put the Welsh under English law', which he apparently accomplished only 'in part'.[81] However, growing arrogant with his limited success:

> he boasted before the king and queen that he had all the Welsh in the grasp of his hand. But when later he was organising the Welsh into counties and hundreds, they took counsel and confidently replied that they would do nothing for him which was contrary to the laws of their fathers. So the English and Welsh went their several ways, but were still at loggerheads.[82]

This refusal to accept English overlordship continued and escalated, until in 1277 'Llywelyn, prince of Wales, held back the customary payment to the king, and refused to do him homage'.[83] Taking advantage of a disagreement between David and Llywelyn II, Edward I 'marched into Wales with a large army', with much more success than his father had managed. The annals record how he 'laid [Wales] to waste on all sides. First he took the island of Anglesey through an attack made by sailors of the Cinque Ports and killed

75 *Annals*, p. 71.
76 *Annals*, p. 85.
77 *Annals*, p. 116.
78 Ibid.
79 *Annals*, p. 138.
80 'Langley, Sir Geoffrey (d. 1297)', *ODNB*.
81 *Annals*, p. 138.
82 Ibid.
83 *Annals*, p. 189.

Pre-publication copy

the Welshmen in the island', causing Prince Llywelyn to 'fle[e] to Snowdon with his army'.[84] The terms of the truce that was then reached was much more favourable to the English:

> In the same year [1277], through the intervention of David and some English nobles, Llywelyn was reconciled to his lord king. The lord king built two castles in Wales, one at Flint and one at Rhuddlan, and retained for his own use as many of the other castles of Wales as he wished. The king granted the whole of Snowdon to Llywelyn. He also granted him the island of Anglesey, which he was to hold from the kings of England for a fixed sum of money annually. To David, the brother of the prince, the king gave Hope castle and several other lands and forests. And so the lord king returned to England … Later the lord king released from prison Eleanor de Montfort, the wife of the prince, and sent her to the prince himself with an honourable escort of nobles.[85]

However, the 'final' stage in the subjugation of the Welsh did not come until after Llywelyn's death in 1282 – perhaps fittingly, by deception:

> Llywelyn, prince of Wales, came down safely from Snowdon into the lands belonging to Roger Mortimer to receive the homage of those people, just as he had been invited to do by the sons of Roger Mortimer. But that had been a trick, and when Llywelyn came near an abbey called Cwmhir [Powys], suddenly after sunset he was attacked by those whom the king had appointed to the defences of Montgomery and Oswestry, and who were aided by all the powerful men of those marches. There they killed Prince Llywelyn. They sent his head to the king at Rhuddlan. It was later taken to London and placed on the Tower for all the people to see.[86]

David, his brother, 'still held out against the lord king'. However, after being 'pursued over Snowdon by the lord king's army' he was 'driven to wander in flight over hills and marshes' with an army growing smaller by the day. The ease with which victory was won proves the English to be in the right, especially as they were fulfilling an ancient prophecy:

> The lord king with the greatest of ease reduced all the castles, and all the fortifications on Snowdon and in the rest of Wales. He also took innumerable hostages from the more noble Welshmen and sent them to various parts of England. The king captured Rhys-ap-Maelgwn, who had been on the king's side but had fled from him to David, and imprisoned him in the Tower of London. Then many Welsh nobles came to the king to make peace. Those who refused to do so met a miserable end by famine and starvation. And just as Merlin had prophesied, there was a great desolation throughout the kingdom, just as if the rivers were flowing with blood.

David was betrayed by his own men, and a sentence of death put upon him agreed by 'the whole company of the barons of England'.[87]

[84] *Annals*, p. 189.
[85] *Annals*, p.190.
[86] *Annals*, p. 201.
[87] *Annals*, p. 202.

Pre-publication copy

1. Because he had betrayed the lord king, who had made him a knight, he was dragged by horses in slow time to the place of hanging.
2. Because he had killed Fulco Trigald and other English nobles he was hung alive.
3. Because he had done this at the time of our Lord's passion, his innards were burnt in fire because of his blasphemy.
4. Because in many places he had plotted the death of the lord king of England, he was divided up limb from limb and sent to the different parts of England to terrify grumblers.

His head was fixed on a lofty pole at the Tower of London, facing the sea. All this also took place during the eleventh year of lord king Edward's reign.[88]

And thus, the annals proclaim how, by 1284, 'the lord king of England, having brought the whole of Wales under his control, celebrated Christmas at Bristol'.[89] There were still attempts at rebellion, such as that by the Welshman Rhys ap Meredith in 1287, but he was 'put to flight' by the combined forces of the bishop of Ely,[90] the prior of the hospital of Jerusalem[91] and the earl of Gloucester.[92] '[Rhys'] followers were scattered', 'his castles were levelled to the ground',[93] though not without casualties, as 'in the collapse of one wall of those castles Sir William Montecheney and some others of our men were flattened'.[94] Rhys' rebellions were short lived: the annals simply record, with no context or explanation, how in 1292, 'Rhys ap Meredith, a very high born Welshman, was hanged for treachery against the king of England and the kingdom.'[95]

Scotland

In comparison, England's relations with Scotland for much the thirteenth century seem cordial, largely centred on royal marriages, and, despite a small hitch over Henry III's daughter being treated badly by her new Scottish husband, affairs remain settled until 1285. Although the annals cover the beginnings of the wars of Scottish independence, the text contained in this volume ends this line of narrative with the English victory at Dunbar and the capture of the Scottish king John Balliol.

Peace between the countries was made early in 1210 by King John and King William.[96] A decade later, the alliance was confirmed when 'in the same year in the month of June the sister of Henry king of England was betrothed to the king of Scotland at York'.[97] Further assurances were made on this occasion, namely that 'for this betrothal Henry paid the

88 *Annals*, p. 202.
89 *Annals*, p. 216.
90 John of Kirkeby.
91 William of Henley.
92 Gilbert of Clare.
93 Dryslwyn castle, Carmarthenshire.
94 *Annals*, p. 231.
95 *Annals*, p. 254.
96 *Annals*, p. 11.
97 *Annals*, p. 32.

Preproduction copy

king five thousand marks and promised that he would either marry off to equals within a year the Scottish king's two sisters,[98] who were his wards, or hand them back to the king freely'.[99] The following year, the bride was handed over to the Scots at York, and 'very solemn nuptials were celebrated'.[100]

The only hitch in this peaceful co-existence came in 1255, when the annals reveal how 'the king of England was angry with the Scottish king's councillors because they had treated his daughter badly'. The details of this episode are not well documented by other historians of the period, aside from Matthew Paris, and so this account is of particular interest in illustrating the nature of the relationship between the two countries during this period.[101] Alexander II of Scotland was only fourteen in 1255, and his queen Margaret fifteen, and so Henry III had appointed two guardians to the Scottish council to oversee their relationship. Margaret, frustrated with their interference, complained, and her father sent Richard, earl of Gloucester, and John Mansel to investigate and allow them to consummate their marriage:

> When they arrived in Scotland and came to Edensbury castle, where the king and the queen were staying, they entered the castle as they found it very slackly guarded. They greeted the king and queen and learned for certain that the king was not allowed to come near the queen, as he was stopped from doing so by Robert de Ros, who had been appointed a guardian by the council of the kingdom. This was just the story which the queen had previously told her father. And then indeed the earl of Gloucester and John Mansel removed the guardians and put the king and queen together in bed. Then the two of them that very night withdrew to a remote spot and there reported all that had happened to King Henry who was following hard on their heels. The king was so full of anger and indignation with Robert de Ros and John Balliol the guardians, that he brought suits against them in London and accused them of many wrongdoings.[102]

With the interfering guardians out of the way, their marriage became fruitful, and the annals note that the queen was expecting a baby when the young couple visited London in 1260.[103]

The real breakdown in the relationship came with the extinction of the Scottish royal house, leaving Scotland without a king. The annalist responsible for the 1291 entry was clearly well informed as to what had happened and the dire consequences:

> In the same year there was no king in Scotland, because the royal seed had died out when Margaret, daughter of the king of Norway, who had been the legitimate heir of Scotland, and was the great niece of the king of England by his sister,[104] had died without leaving an heir of her body. And then the

[98] Margery and Isabella.

[99] *Annals*, p. 32.

[100] *Annals*, p. 40. For further examples of marriages between the royal houses, see 1232.

[101] The king's seizure of Robert of Ros' property following the king's refusal to pardon him, and the king's attempts at capturing John Balliol.

[102] *Annals*, pp. 136–7.

[103] *Annals*, p. 149.

[104] Margaret, wife of Alexander III, see *Annals*, p. 250.

Pre-publication copy

> kingdom was thrown into a great disturbance by nine nobles of the land, who each claimed that kingdom by hereditary right. So Edward, king of England, went to those parts in person to stop this quarrelling, and by his hard work and goodness of character he settled the dispute.[105]

It is evident that this was a matter of particular interest to those recording events at Dunstable, as they provide the full text of the letter sent out by King Edward I, explaining his decision to appoint himself as sovereign of Scotland.[106] He may not have been the best candidate, however, as when he called on them to help him 'crush the arrogance and injustice of the French' he found that John Balliol, who was made king of Scotland in 1292, and 'almost his whole kingdom ignored the homage which they had formerly paid to the king of England, refused to give him help, and instead gave their homage (so it is said) to the king of France. Our king decided to wreak vengeance on the Scots, and this he did.'[107]

This was the justification for the events of the following year when 'lord Edward, king of England, invaded Scotland with his army and an English fleet, in order to fight a war against its king and kingdom because of their rebellion against him.'[108] However, everything did not go to plan, and the annals record 'at the beginning of the month of March he arrived at Berwick. But his fleet dropped anchor too near the town, and as the tide ebbed his ships remained fast on dry land and mud. Then out came the townspeople and attacked those ships. They set fire to some of them and killed very many sailors.'[109]

Edward was clearly considered an exemplary king, stepping in to save the day, as:

> when the king saw this, he at once hurried to the scene in person and with his manly strength freed his men from danger of death and thrust the foe back into the town. The king indeed broke through the bolts and locks barring his path, pursued the enemy on foot and caused the death of many thousands of the townspeople.[110]

One particular series of events during Edward's campaign in Scotland is treated with greater detail by the annals. This involves the siege of Dunbar, which otherwise receives little attention by contemporary writers. It details how the English proceeded in taking the castle, and chased the Scots away. In describing how a 'countless army of Welsh and Irish arrived to help', the writer emphasises the increased strength of the English kings and the achievements of Edward I. Indeed, without this assistance the Scots may not have been put to flight if these allies had not arrived. It was the Welsh and Irish who 'dispersed themselves through the mountains and secret places of Scotland and did great slaughter of the people, taking no notice of rank or sex'.[111] Faced with this lack of support,

[105] *Annals*, p. 250.
[106] *Annals*, pp. 250–1.
[107] *Annals*, p. 269.
[108] *Annals*, p. 272.
[109] Ibid.
[110] *Annals*, pp. 272–3.
[111] *Annals*, p. 273.

Pre-publication copy

those under siege in Dunbar 'came out peacefully and submitted themselves to the will of the lord king of England'.[112] Still not satisfied with his successes, Edward remained in Scotland to finish putting down the rebellion. He subjugated both the Scottish king and his son, taking them both prisoner and locking them up in the Tower of London as an example. The annals record that, as a result, 'the other nobles of Scotland, one by one as the days went by, made peace with the lord king, and the English sent into miserable exile men who did not like to leave their homeland. Finally, the lord king, having made his arrangements for the kingdom of Scotland, left the earl of Warenne[113] there as guardian in chief and himself returned victoriously to England.'[114]

Mainland Europe: France, Germany and Spain

Although the annals open with a peace treaty being agreed between France and England,[115] relations between the two countries quickly deteriorated during the early decades of the thirteenth century under King John. This period of unrest was punctuated by further frequent and short-lived agreements often involving Church or papal intervention, many of which are well documented by the annalists at Dunstable because of the taxes they were forced to pay to fund the conflict.

The situation was sparked by King John's loss of Normandy in 1204. Since William, duke of Normandy, secured the crown of England for himself in 1066, the two domains had been central to the very identity of the ruling family and the many barons who owned lands on both sides of the Channel. Although a king in England, John, like his predecessors, was nominally the vassal of the king of France, Philip Augustus, as duke of Normandy and ruler of other continental territories. In fact, these extensive lands of the English monarch, often referred to as the Angevin empire, were far greater than those of the French crown – much to Philip's distaste. In 1200, Philip finally had an opportunity to impose his will legitimately upon his more powerful vassal: John stole the betrothed daughter of one of his key continental allies, the de Lusignan family, and failed to compensate them. The matter was duly brought to the overlord's attention, and the king of France acted by nominally confiscating John's lands. When John supposedly murdered his nephew and rival claimant to the throne, the boy Arthur of Brittany, Philip again had cause to act, and invaded Normandy. He took it city by city, castle by castle; the strategically vital fortress Chateau Gaillard finally fell in March 1204, and Normandy was in his hands. For the next ten years, John attempted to raise the funds and forces enough to reclaim his lost lands. Although he alienated his people in the process, laying the foundations for the road to Magna Carta, John did succeed in raising the necessary

[112] *Annals*, p. 262.

[113] John of Warenne, earl of Surrey.

[114] *Annals*, p. 274. This conclusion to the episode was not to last, however. This is all the Annals have to say on the matter; however, the Scottish problem would arise again and again in the following decades. Under William Wallace the king was famously defeated at Stirling Bridge in 1297, and led by Robert the Bruce, the Scots were again successful at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314. Ultimately Scotland was never subjugated, and firstly Edward II's Treaty of Corbeil and later Edward III's Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton renounced the English claim to the Scottish throne.

[115] *Annals*, p. 3.

Prepublication copy

resources, staking everything on a pitched battle. However, at the Battle of Bouvines against the French king in 1214 his gamble failed, and he lost everything. Normandy would never again be ruled by the English monarchy.

The annals reveal snapshots of how ordinary life was affected by events during this period. For example, in 1212 the priory contributed 'one shield, nine small shields and twelve doublets' to King John's defensive strategy of positioning troops along the English coastline, as many feared a French invasion. However, the following year the annals record King John's return from France after the battle 'having made a truce with the French king at Poitou', which was intended to last five years.[116] The peace did not last long, however, for John's disgruntled vassals swore fealty to King Philip Augustus' son Louis in 1215, launching an attack on England under the French banner.[117] As mentioned above, Louis' progress through England is comparatively well documented, as many of the lands he conquered as he passed through were in the southeast of England and within the monastic network to which Dunstable was connected. Louis' successes ended with the siege of Lincoln, however, after which the French prince was forced to withdraw his forces to London. The annalist notes how his mother Blanche pleaded with the French king and nobility to send her son a fresh army as 'he was now more or less a prisoner in London'.[118] Louis succeeded his father to the throne in 1223: the annalist records how the bishop of Norwich appealed to the pope to refuse the coronation until Normandy had been returned to the English crown.[119] His refusal to do so set the tone for the relations between the two kingdoms for the remainder of the century and beyond, as he gradually took the last Angevin territories in France, including Poitou[120] and parts of Gascony in 1225.[121] A papal legate was thereupon sent to the young French king, in the annalist's words, 'to warn King Louis to restore Normandy, Anjou and Aquitaine to Henry, king of England'.[122] This was not ultimately done, and in 1259 Henry was forced to formally renounce his claims to these territories under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1259.

The English kings clung to their remaining duchy of Gascony, even attempting to broker a marriage deal to maintain control of the land. In 1294 Edward I unsuccessfully 'proposed to marry Blanche, the sister of the king of France, against the wills of almost his whole baronage of England', to take back the lands through marriage.[123] This diplomatic initiative failed, and the annals record how Edward I gathered troops from Germany, Aragon and Spain to assist him, only to be forced to abandon his endeavour and leave it to his barons to lead, in order to face down a Welsh rebellion at home.[124] In 1295 the conflict remained unsettled, and again the papacy sent cardinals to try and broker a peace,

[116] *Annals*, p. 18. For further examples of such truces, see below, pp. 30, 53, 66, 84.
[117] *Annals*, p. 21.
[118] *Annals*, p. 25.
[119] *Annals*, p. 50.
[120] *Annals*, p. 58.
[121] *Annals*, pp. 59–60.
[122] *Annals*, p. 64.
[123] *Annals*, p. 260.
[124] *Annals*, p. 261.

Pre-publication copy

but returned home unsuccessful.[125] The following year the king's own brother, Edmund, died leading his brother's troop in Gascony against the French,[126] and the annals record nothing further on the matter.

Relations with the Germans were much better, however, no doubt in large part because the royal families were intimately connected: in 1235 'Frederick the emperor of Germany married Isabella, the daughter of John, the previous king of England',[127] and later Henry's younger brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, was elected king of Germany in 1256. The two countries are often shown to be allies, with the Germans even fighting alongside the English on a number of occasions. Richard's son Henry fought alongside Prince Edward during the second baronial revolt in 1263.[128] Similarly, the following year (1264) the German royal house completed the line-up outside Lewes: 'the lord king of England, Richard king of Germany and Prince Edward with all their army were at Lewes', facing the earl of Leicester, although all three were summarily captured and imprisoned:

> They [the barons] dispatched Prince Edward and Henry the son of the king of Germany to Dover, to be guarded in the castle there as hostages. Then the barons, fearing their presence might lead to a revolt, sent them on to Wallingford. The king of Germany, who had been under guard in the Tower of London, was later transferred to Wallingford.[129]

The annalists' pride in the royal family meant that they could not resist mentioning the royal progress through Dunstable in 1267: 'So the lord king and the king of Germany left Canterbury and passed through Dunstable and went off to Windsor.'[130]

The English monarchs had various dealings with rulers from the southern nations of Europe during the thirteenth century, but primarily on two fronts: for control of Gascony and Sicily. In the case of the former, in addition to competing with the king of France, the duchy of Gascony was claimed by the king of Aragon. In 1253 these rival claims came to a head and attempts were made to settle the situation through marriage. The annals records the whole situation in considerable detail:

> a Gascon noble called Gaston de Béarn in his fear of King Henry transferred his allegiance to the king of Spain and sought his help. And after very much money had been given to him, he received from him the belt of knighthood and did him homage. He also gave him to understand that the king of Spain had a richer claim to the land of Gascony than the king of England, so that the king of Spain, being greatly angered by this, sent a threatening letter to King Henry. But the king of England desired peace and alliance and so sent his own important envoys, [John] bishop of Chichester and Sir John Mansel, to the king of Spain, asking that, if he

[125] *Annals*, pp. 268–9.
[126] *Annals*, p. 96.
[127] In other words, Henry III's sister.
[128] Walter Cantelupe.
[129] *Annals*, p. 161.
[130] *Annals*, p. 170.

Pre-publication copy

> had a daughter or a sister, they might receive her as a wife for Edward, the son of the king of England. But as the envoys could not agree on a mode and form of marriage contract, they returned to the king of England. But, having received additional counsel, the king now sent back as envoys [Walter] bishop of Worcester and Sir John Mansel, and they received the king of Spain's half-sister as a wife for Edward and completed the matter, apart from the church service.[131]

Thus, the matter is peacefully concluded. The reader is again left with the sense that the English kings are the prevailing heroes.

The situation in Sicily was more complicated. Following the Treaty of Paris and the underlining of the loss of these French territories to the English crown, Henry III began looking for further ways in which to expand his family's authority. The throne of the kingdom of Sicily was vacant after the deaths of Emperor Frederick II and his son Conrad within four years of each other. An illegitimate son of Frederick's had seized the crown, but the papacy (seeing an opportunity to weaken the pincer-like influence the Hohenstaufen family had around the papal states to the north and south) refused to acknowledge his claim. Instead, the papacy looked for alternative successors, and Pope Alexander IV found a likely candidate in Henry III's ambitions for his second son Edmund. The only problem for Henry was the extortionate amount of money which the pope demanded in return for the crown, an amount which Henry's subjects refused to supply.[132] When it became clear that the English were not going to pay, it was offered instead to the ambitious Charles of Anjou, on the condition that he oust Frederick's illegitimate son Manfred. Charles succeeded, executing Frederick's grandson Conradine as well to ensure there were no further contenders. The Sicilians were not happy with this French overlord however, and sought the assistance of Peter of Aragon, who had married Manfred's daughter Constance – the only living heir of Frederick II's bloodline. The decades of unrest which followed have become known as the 'Sicilian Vespers' (1282–1302), and the annalists regularly provide updates on events linked to this strife.[133]

The Holy Land

Events in the Holy Land feature frequently in the annals. They were not so much an element in England's foreign policy, but part of the very fabric of history in the thirteenth century, and of course the regular taxes being demanded to fund these campaigns kept them at the forefront of people's awareness. The entries begin in 1219 with the capture of Damietta, portrayed as an international group success, with a few key English participants, such as the earl of Chester:

[131] *Annals*, p. 130.

[132] Indeed, the king's demands for money for this cause was one of the direct causes of the Provisions of Oxford.

[133] See, for example, *Annals*, pp. 206, 216, 217, 249, 261.

Pre-publication copy

> In the same year a Christian army laid siege to Damietta. It consisted of two Roman cardinals,[134] the king of Jerusalem,[135] the king of Hungary,[136] the duke of Austria,[137] citizens of Rome and various others who flocked in from everywhere around … 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.[138]

The manner in which events are described adheres to the particularly English, simple, pro-Christian stance of chronicles of the period. With God's help, the crusaders easily overcome the heathens:

> So many men were killed in Damietta by the avenging hand of God that the Christians paid three thousand 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 heathens who were besieging Damietta from the outside could not approach or hurt the Christians.[139]

Another venture which features heavily in the pages of the annals is the Albigensian crusade. As we have already noted, the annalists are not reticent in colouring the narrative with anti-French sentiment. They are particularly sceptical of the French king's motives in attacking the south to combat the Cathar heresy there. The French royal house used money set aside for the more noble cause of a crusade to the east, and squandered it, returning home in disgrace:

> 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. Louis began his crusade with a strong force, but he was put to shame and returned home without achieving any success.[140]

The authors' sympathies seem to lie instead with the plight of the southern French who follow the true faith, using the rhetoric of persecution to emphasise their predicament, describing how 'the church of God in the land of the Albigenses was beset by sore affliction'. The northerners' motives are directly called into question in 1226, which seems to be in direct contrast with the earlier portrayal of events in Damietta:

> [The French king] declared a holy war against the Albigensians as though against heretics, though God knows whether he was moved by a spirit of greed or a spirit of piety. So great was this holy war that about a hundred thousand men were moved by their fear of the king and the pronouncement of the legate to set out for those parts, taking with them treasure and countless siege engines, in order to fight for the crown of France.[141]

[134] Robert de Courçon and Pelagius, bishop of Albano.
[135] John of Brienne.
[136] Andrew II.
[137] Leopold VI.
[138] *Annals*, p. 29.
[139] *Annals*, p. 30.
[140] *Annals*, p. 29.
[141] *Annals*, pp. 64–5.

Pre-publication copy

This last phrase, stating that they are fighting for the French king, flies in the face of traditional crusading rhetoric which repeatedly emphasises that these wars were fought for God. The text also becomes increasingly graphic in its descriptions of the suffering endured by the innocent people of Languedoc, the French king deaf to their misery:

> The people of Avignon were now under siege and beset by so many causes of distress that they sent to the king at one time women naked to the waist with their children, and at another time grey haired old men to beg the king to show them the mercy of allowing them to depart from their city empty-handed, leaving all their possessions behind. The king did not listen to them.

In the end it was the pope who had to step in to take the city under his direct protection:

> finally the lord pope instructed the legate to recover the city which belonged to him without doing harm to persons or property … and the city [was] admitted into the protection of the church, except that orders were given for the city walls and the forty best palaces to be destroyed, and for unbelievers to be punished as heretics if they would not accept catholic doctrine. And in this way the siege ended.[142]

The corruption of the French royal house did not end with the death of Philip IV on his return from the crusade, however. His son took the crown without the support of many of his most powerful nobles, while those who did support him were rewarded handsomely: 'Louis, the son of Louis, was crowned king.[143] But the counts of Champagne,[144] Brittany,[145] de la Marche[146] and Barre did not give their consent to his coronation, nor were they supporters of him. But count Richard and the count of Toulouse swore their allegiance and grew in prosperity from day to day.'[147]

Frederick II's successful 'capture' of Jerusalem,[148] the crusades of Louis IX,[149] the Barons' crusade,[150] and the Aragonese crusade[151] also feature, as does the lamentation at the final fall of Acre, and the attempts made to raise funds to launch a mission to retake it.

[142] *Annals*, p. 65.

[143] He was nominally king while his father was away on crusade, and, although he was brought up to be king, he died in 1260 before his father.

[144] Theobald IV, count of Champagne.

[145] Peter I Mauclerc, count of Dreux.

[146] Hugh X, count of Lusignan.

[147] *Annals*, p. 66.

[148] *Annals*, p. 72.

[149] *Annals*, pp. 122, 124, 174.

[150] *Annals*, p. 96.

[151] *Annals*, p. 216.

Pre-publication copy

AUTHORSHIP OF THE ANNALS OF DUNSTABLE PRIORY

Richard of Morins

With such a comprehensive coverage of events from Dunstable town to Jerusalem, who then was responsible for collating and compiling the annals of Dunstable priory? Internal evidence from the manuscript of the annals suggests the authorship for the text up until 1242, or at least its inception, is owed to one individual: Richard of Morins. As the only named individual given in relation to the production of the text, and because much of the original information it contains can be attributed to him, it is worth exploring further what is known of Prior Richard. Unfortunately, this does not expand greatly beyond what is recorded in the text itself. He was a graduate of the university of Bologna, a secular clerk, teacher and writer until 1200.[152] At this time he entered the monastic life as a canon of the Augustinian priory at Merton (Surrey); it was from here that he was promoted to prior of Dunstable, in 1202.[153] As a deacon he was sent to Rome by King John on a mission to obtain the pope's assistance in arranging peace with the king of France.[154] In this he may be deemed successful in that he returned with Cardinal John, from St Maria in Via Lata, to act as ambassador.[155] Three years later Richard was appointed as visitor to the religious houses of the diocese of Lincoln.[156] In 1212 he was sent to investigate the losses brought upon the Church by King John, and in the year he was preaching the crusades on behalf of Innocent III, in Huntingdon, Bedford and Hertford. He also spent some time in Paris, on his return journey from the Fourth Lateran Council.[157]

We only have one external witness to Richard's extensive diplomatic and administrative duties; Matthew Paris tells us that he was appointed as one of the commissioners who settled the question of the freedom of Westminster abbey from the bishop of London.[158] He was again a visitor in the province of York in 1223, and in Lincoln and Lichfield in 1228, and was busy in ecclesiastical affairs right up until his death in 1242: in 1239 he dealt with issues arising from Archbishop Edmund of Abingdon's visitations on monasteries, and in 1241 with excommunication issues.[159]

[152] 'Morins, Richard de [called Ricardus Anglicus] (early 1160s–1242)', *ODNB*. See also R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland Before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997), p. 468, and J. C. Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England* (London, 1936), pp. 111–13.

[153] 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, p. 90.

[154] *Annals*, p. 4.

[155] Ibid.

[156] *Annals*, p. 6.

[157] *Annals*, p. 21.

[158] *Annales Monastici*, III, Preface, p. xi.

[159] *Annals*, p. 107.

Pre-publication copy

Prior Richard was, then, clearly a 'man of affairs',[160] and as such, the amount of detail pertaining to his activities recorded in the annals has led scholars to assume his authorship of the text. In addition to this, the space dedicated to Church and state would indicate an author or compiler with an active interest in such matters. In fact Cheney, one of the leading scholars of the annals, has suggested that the recording of an episode such as the imprisonment of Master Honorius, archdeacon of Richmond, at Gloucester, not noted by other authorities, reflected the author's (Richard's) personal affiliations. Certainly, as a fellow distinguished canonist, the two would probably have known each other, or at least been acquaintances.[161]

However, it is Richard's very involvement in affairs of state, in conjunction with palaeographical clues, which led Cheney to question the simplicity of assuming Richard's sole authorship of the annals to 1242. The first clue he discovered was the mistake of recording King John's second marriage to Isabel as having taken place in 1201 instead of 1200. The second is the confusion between Otto and Henry, sons of the duke of Saxony, and which of them visited England in 1209. If Richard had been involved in these events as has been suggested, then Cheney argues that he would not have made such mistakes.[162] However, it could also simply be the case that they were genuinely small errors of memory, or that they were introduced by the scribe tasked with completing the entry for that year.[163]

Other Authors

The textual reference to Richard's involvement in the inception of the annals cannot be denied. It is therefore highly likely that it was he who obtained the marked up copy of Ralph of Diss' history[164] upon which the early sections of the annals are based up until 1200.[165] The section of the annals contained in the present volume, however, reveals further clues as to the probable authorship. After giving Ralph of Diss' date for the Incarnation at the beginning of the text, the scribe writes that from then 'until now are 1210 years, our eighth year'.[166] When this statement is taken in conjunction with the information provided later in the text that a former canon of Merton, Richard, was made prior of Dunstable in 1202, with 1210 then being his eighth year of office, this would suggest that Richard of Morins was the author of at least this section of the text.[167]

H. R. Luard suggests that the statement is a claim to authorship,[168] presumably because of the use of the word 'nostrum' or 'our'. However, the number of hands involved

[160] A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), p. 335.

[161] Cheney, 'Notes', p. 90.

[162] Ibid., p. 96.

[163] For further discussion of the manner in which authors made use of scribes to write up their notes or take dictation, see Garand, 'Auteurs Latins'.

[164] For further discussion of the relationship between the Annals and the work of Ralph of Diss, see p. xxxvi below.

[165] Cheney, 'Notes', p. 89.

[166] The text reads: 'Et exinde usque ad octavum annum nostrum 1210'.

[167] For further discussion of this point, see *Annales Monastici*, III, Preface, p. x, and Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 335–6.

[168] *Annales Monastici*, III, Preface, p. x.

Pre-publication copy

in the text from this point forward would suggest that perhaps Richard was responsible for the text down to 1201 which is all in the same hand, but that after this point he was one of many individuals whose hands are visible in the manuscript, although he may have maintained the role of 'creative director'. If the very beginning of the text states that it was begun in 1210, we could assume that the text was written by Richard from 1210 until his death in 1242.[169]

It is Cheney who gives the most comprehensive proposal as to the creation of the text. He suggests that Richard de Morins wrote from the start to 1210, and that the section from 1210 to 1219 was written up in 1220 from notes made during those years at the prior's request upon his return from Paris. Cheney believes that Richard then supervised the keeping of the priory's annalistic records which were written up at intervals every three or four years.[170] Gransden agrees with this hypothesis, adding that: it provides reasons as to why there is a certain amount of chronological confusion in spite of excellent information for the period 1210 to 1219, with its subsequent accuracy; and the early section leading up to 1201 reflects the interest of Richard as a canon.[171] The text does not make any further reference to the history of the house itself until the 1200s after the addition to Diss' list. This supports the idea that the text was written at this point by Richard of Morins, for coming from another house, Merton, he knew very little of Dunstable until he joined the priory.

Evidence provided by the physical manuscript corroborates much of this. The text occupies folios 5–89b of the manuscript, in double columns up to folio 66, then in a single column from folio 66 to the end.[172] This would suggest a change both in authorship and perhaps in creative direction at this point. The same hand is responsible for the text until the middle of the entry for 1210, at which point various hands are involved, [173] though none later than the thirteenth century.[174] Due to the nature of the entries it would appear that from 1221 onwards the entries were written up during the course of each year,[175] making it one of the most immediate chronicles to have survived from the Middle Ages. The text continued to be written up in stages under the direction of Prior Richard until his death in 1242, after which point it can be suggested that a certain habit of production had been established and was continued through to the end of the text.

After 1242 the authorship is unclear. Luard thought that the chronicle continued to be written up on an almost yearly basis, while Cheney suggested at times it was a few years at a time. Unfortunately, the manuscript evidence does not allow us to say this with any confidence. There is only one surviving copy of the text extant today: British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A10. This, however, appears to be a fair copy of the text, written up in just one or two hands, and therefore does not tell us much about the method or timing of composition. To make matters worse, the manuscript was badly damaged in the fire at the Cotton Library in 1731,[176] and although it has been well restored, it makes investigating

[169] Ibid.; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 335–6; Cheney, 'Notes', p. 97.
[170] Cheney, 'Notes', p. 92.
[171] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 336.
[172] *Annales Monastici*, III, Preface, p. ix.
[173] Ibid., p. x.
[174] Ibid., p. ix.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.

Pre-publication copy

the codex for further clues a little difficult. The number of hands involved would suggest that it is the work of a small group of canons, sharing the responsibility. The style in which the text is written certainly supports the hypothesis that it was added to multiple times per year. The vast majority of the yearly records have multiple annalistic entries all beginning with the phrase: 'In this year …' A case in point to illustrate this is the entry for 1274. The yearly report opens with the usual 'In the year of grace 1274 …' and a death, which is not uncommon.[177] Nineteen of the twenty-seven events given subsequently for that year are introduced with the phrase 'In the same year'.[178] It must be admitted that this is an annal rather than a chronicle or history, and so the paratactic arrangement of material is to be expected over a more synthesised approach to the material. However, the sheer volume of small one-line entries, all beginning this way, is evidence of a more piecemeal approach to writing. If we compare it with the early sections of other contemporaneous annals, they have similarly short entries but do not necessarily start every sentence 'In this year'.

Cheney, however, may also have been correct in his assessment that at times several years' worth of events were added to the text at once. When events become more complex and the narrative is more involved, for instance, during some of the local court cases, we have reference to events of which the scribe says he will provide further details on the next folio or during the next year. For example, when recording Prior William of Dunstable's administrative activities, he writes:

> For the dispossession of his common lands at Shortgrave Prior William brought a writ of dispossession against Eudo and Millicent. Concerning the frank-pledge inspection and the fines of bread and beer on his men at Houghton, he brought another writ against them. I will deal with this in my next folio, when I describe the itinerary of Roger Seyton.[179]

Similarly, at the end of a yearly entry, the reader is left with a cliff-hanger ending to a court case:

> Nevertheless the two judges proceeded with the case, and deprived us of our possession of the tithes while awarding them to [Henry] abbot of Darley. But see the next folio for developments in this matter.[180]

When the brother of the prince of Wales and his wife are taken prisoner, the tragic end to the incarceration is not given at the same time: 'there is more about this in another part of the folio.'[181] At times then, it is clear that sections were written up in longer sittings, and not just added to many times a year. Despite being able to hear an authorial voice in these moments, the precise authorship of the annals cannot be entirely known. As with other monastic chronicles of this kind, there were a number of contributors, all members of the priory, and probably appointed to the task by a superior. This may have been Richard of Morins up to 1242, but we do not know if he necessarily had a single successor.

[177] *Annals*, p. 180. Other years which begin with deaths include 1199, 1216, 1217, 1227, 1233 and 1251.

[178] *Annals*, pp. 180–3.

[179] *Annals*, p. 181.

[180] *Annals*, p. 196.

[181] For a further example of this scribal practice concerning the troubled papal succession in 1292, see *Annals*, p. 253.

Pre-publication copy

WRITTEN SOURCES FOR THE ANNALS

Antonia Gransden places the literary milieu in which the Dunstable compilers worked within the revival of annalistic writing taking place in the thirteenth century which caught up the Augustinian canons along with the Benedictines and Cistercians, particularly active in the south east of England.[182] Characteristically, this group of works combined local interests with national affairs, in varying degrees of detail and accuracy.

For the purposes of gaining a rounded view of the text and it creation, it is important to spare a few words for the section spanning from the Incarnation to 1201, which is not included in this translation. Although the entries for this year are extremely brief, amounting in total to only twenty-five pages out of over four hundred of the Rolls Series edition, they provide a clue as to the intended purpose and use of this text by the canons who produced it. Beginning the text with the Incarnation and bringing it up to date with contemporary events was a way of providing the priory with a continuous link to the whole of Christian history, and establishing their own place within it. As such, it constitutes a Universal History, a popular genre of historical writing in the Middle Ages often produced in monastic houses, which generally begin with an broad, inclusive treatment of events, narrowing in geographical focus as it approaches the authors' own times. In the case of the annals, this is particularly significant for a number of reasons. The first is that the instigation of the writing of this text clearly corresponded with the installation of Prior Richard at Dunstable. As such it suggests something of his intentions for the priory and his change in direction. As a man of the world, he clearly wanted his monastic house to be more concretely placed within that wider context.

We know that this early section of the text was based on the historical works of Ralph of Diss (d. 1199/1200),[183] dean of St Paul's and author of two historical narratives, the *Abbreviationes Chronicorum* and the *Ymagines Historiarum*. It was upon the latter that the annals were based, though in a much abbreviated form.[184] In a highly unusual turn of events, we also know not just the text, but also the very manuscript itself from which these entries were drawn. There is an extant copy of Ralph of Diss' *Ymagines* from St Albans abbey which was specially marked up for the purpose of being copied. This manuscript still bears the notes, possibly made by Richard of Morins himself, which highlight the sections of the text that were to be copied out into the new Dunstable manuscript, forming the opening section of the annals. This is also a remarkable example of the way in which texts were shared among houses and across orders in the Middle Ages: the abbey at St Albans was Benedictine, while the priory at Dunstable was of Augustinian canons. Recent work has shown that regional networks of affiliation may in fact have been more powerful for the religious houses of this period than corporate ties within an order.

After 1200, it is no surprise that the style of the annals changes dramatically, as events are described in far more detail, and a large number of documents are copied into the text. These documents dominate the text far more than in other similar monastic chronicles, and is perhaps a result of the apparently litigious relationship between the canons and the people of Dunstable. To that end, the tone is often very defensive and the scribes

[182] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 332.

[183] 'Diceto, Ralph de (d. 1199/1200), chronicler and ecclesiastic', *ODNB*

[184] Cheney, 'Notes', p. 77.

Pre-publication copy

are highly concerned with the minutiae of the priory's rights and, in particular, money owed to them. This material forms a large proportion of the written sources used in the composition of the text, and first among them are the house's charters. These are recorded for all manner of things, from the priory's rights to feed its pigs free from pannage in the woodland of William son of Helia at Ockley [185] to more important ones granted by the king, such as the following:

> *We have granted to the same prior and his canons that they themselves should have and hold in perpetuity the town of Dunstable and the townsmen of Dunstable and their belongings, as fully and completely in respect of aid, punishments, obligations, services and customary practices just as if we or our heirs should have and hold them, if the said town of Dunstable and the said townsmen were ours and in our hands. Nor let the fact that for whatever reason the prior and the canons have so far not made full use of the aforesaid aid, punishments, obligations, services and customary practices be any obstacle to the prior and the canons themselves having these rights in the same way as we would have them if the aforesaid town and townspeople were ours and in our hands.* We paid the king one hundred pounds for all this.[186]

Writs such as this are included throughout the text to support the case of the priory whenever a dispute arose between the canons and the people of Dunstable. They serve the dual purpose of acting as an official record and indeed a justification, explaining why the canons were in the right. It certainly adds an acrimonious tone to the text which seems at odds with what might be expected of a monastic house which, as a local landowner, had significant involvement with the local population.

Arguably the most important inclusion is the royal charter of 1229 which confirmed once and for all the rights of the prior and priory. This declares in its opening statement that 'the whole body of people should know' the content of this writ. It states that the canons are 'quit of taxes in perpetuity', confirming 'all the free customs which they have used up to this time, as was their custom and right'. Interestingly though it also includes the procedure to be followed in case of future disagreements; namely that representatives from both sides will be sent to the King's bench to seek the judgment of the justices, and that their ruling is to be upheld.[187] The provenance of these charters coming from the king's court is always emphasised as proof of their official status. They certainly proved useful during the investigations into landownership and privileges undertaken during the reign of Edward I.

These writs are linked to the judgments of the itinerant justices which are recorded with just as much precision by Dunstable's annalists. These often refer to matters of everyday subsistence, such as the one in 1232 concerning the right of common pasture lands. In this case, following the king granting rights of access to the abbess of Elstow and Philip of Flitwick, the abbot of Woburn and canons of Dunstable made sure that the continued rights of their respective houses were recorded 'on the king's roll'.[188] In turn,

[185] *Annals*, p. 34.
[186] *Annals*, pp. 68–9.
[187] *Annals*, pp. 78–9.
[188] *Annals*, p. 88.

Pre-publication copy

these are supplemented by records of the judgments of itinerant justices, though these vary more in the level of detail they are afforded. At times there is only a passing reference to the visits, while at the opposite end of the spectrum we have itemised accounts of the writs brought against the priory. This is the case with the court session of 1276, when a number of suits were brought against the priory, from both named individuals and representatives of whole neighbouring towns. All the agreements made were recorded in great detail, with special emphasis on the fines which the priory was made to pay.[189]

The most involved account of all, however, is that of Christiana, the wife of Simon Mustard, who accused a local man of the murder of her husband. The case does not relate directly to the priory, but it takes up a considerable space in the annals. It has clearly been included because of its sensationalist and exciting nature, yet the manner in which it is recorded is very legalistic and formulaic. It includes a list of the accused, and a day-by-day account of the legal proceedings themselves.[190] There is a similar case more directly related to the priory, which involves Millicent Montault who led a band of accomplices in stealing the prior's pigs.[191] The case dominates the annals for 1289, and again includes a high level of detail such as lists of the jurymen.[192]

The documentation of the outcome of court cases is linked to the other financial records which are contained within the annals. For example, in 1277, the reader is told in great detail to whom the priory's wool was sold, and the terms of that sale: 'In the year of grace 1277 we sold all the wool from the Dunstable area to John Duraunt. Each fleece was sold for six pence, and it would be kept at that price until he had paid us in full the agreed price of one hundred and forty-eight marks, three shillings and eleven pence.' We then get an insight into the priory's outgoings when the scribe records what that money was spent on: 'From this money we paid out one hundred marks, forty-four shillings and eleven pence as the tenth for the Holy Land; twenty-three marks to Martin the clerk for Lidlington; and thirty-two marks which we owed to John Duraunt.'[193] It is interesting to note that they owed money to the very same person who was paying for the fleeces. This is by no means an isolated example of accounting being included in the apparently historical work:

> Thomas Porter, chief bailiff at Dunstable, presented accounts for seventeen pounds and five shillings received from his office for the whole of the year then past. Allocated and named in this sum were the fines and revenues from the courts for fifty-two weeks, the tolls paid by different merchants, the goods of criminals and various other perquisites. Thomas also presented the account of the money mentioned above which was released for the kitcheners. He received his receipts and then withdrew with a clean sheet.[194]

One of the most intriguing passages concerning their accounts is an incomplete list of the priory's churches which promises to give an updated taxation value for each. However,

[189] *Annals*, pp. 186–8.
[190] *Annals*, pp. 210–14.
[191] *Annals*, p. 233.
[192] A further case which lists the jurymen on is given at below, *Annals*, pp. 234–40.
[193] *Annals*, p. 189.
[194] *Annals*, p. 220.

Pre-publication copy

with the exception of the first entry ('the church at Dunstable is valued at nineteen marks')[195] the values of the rest of the list have been left blank. This does show, however, the extent to which these annals were a scrapbook of sorts, with all manner of entries. It may indicate that they were produced in the administrative hub of the house, where information of all kinds was at hand to the scribe, possibly on loose sheets of parchment, and that the annals were seen a means of keeping such information safe. On occasion it would seem that the precise details of an amount or a name were not at hand, however, as a blank has been left in the manuscript.

Cross-references are also given to the records of the royal exchequer when entries are made relating to the house. For example, details are given in 1283 of Dunstable priory's entry 'on the roll of payments for the eleventh year of the reign of King Edward [I]', confirming that the prior paid, 100 shillings 'which he owed the king for the flight of John Peyure, for the forty-six shillings and eight pence which he owed the king for the arrears of the fifteenth, for the one mark which he owed the king for obtaining a writ and for the twelve shillings which he owed the king for trespass'. The scribe appears to have wanted to emphasise the point so strongly that the information is given both in a paraphrased form and as the verbatim entry in the roll.[196] Similarly, in 1230 the writing off of a debt and its recording on roll:

> In the year of grace 1230, on the feast of the translation of St Benedict [11 July], in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Henry, the church of Dunstable was recorded in the rolls of the lord king at the exchequer as being quit of the one hundred pounds which it had promised and paid for the confirmation of its liberties. And on the same day a document about this agreement between the parties was handed over to the prior and the townspeople.[197]

The corroboration of the version kept by the priory and that contained in the rolls would provide assurance if any questions were to be raised in the future.

Visitation records, or references to them, are also frequently noted, particularly in the early part of the text while Richard was still prior. Such an occasion arises in 1239, when Richard and 'his fellow judges' were appointed by the pope to help resolve a disagreement between the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London over who ultimately had visitation rights.[198] More mundane records of Dunstable being visited are included in later years, as was the case in 1220,[199] 1239,[200] 1240,[201] 1249,[202] 1250,[203] 1253,[204] 1274,[205] 1275,[206]

[195] *Annals*, p. 250.
[196] *Annals*, p. 206.
[197] *Annals*, p. 82.
[198] *Annals*, p. 103.
[199] *Annals*, p. 31.
[200] *Annals*, p. 103.
[201] *Annals*, p. 104.
[202] *Annals*, p. 123.
[203] *Annals*, p. 125.
[204] *Annals*, p. 131.
[205] *Annals*, p. 183.
[206] *Annals*, p. 184.

Prepublication copy

1277,[207] 1284,[208] 1287[209] and 1288.[210] If a visit resulted in a serious outcome, the results are outlined in more detail, even when Dunstable itself is not involved. So, for example, the yearly entry for 1236 opens with accounts of visitations of the bishop of Lichfield and the bishop of Lincoln, and the depositions which occurred as a result.[211]

The outcome of visitations is not, however, the only church-related documentary source used by the compilers of the annals. The decrees on heresy decided in 1286 at a meeting of the archbishop of Canterbury and various bishops concerning the heresy of Richard Clapwell is one such example. Clapwell's heresy lay in his beliefs concerning the state of Jesus' body after he was resurrected and the nature of the transubstantiation of the host. Eleven counts of his heretical beliefs are recorded, together with the official decree on heresy produced as a result of his trial.[212] The level of detail could be an indication that the author, or at least one of his brothers, had been at the council to hear the case, or that a circular newsletter had been issued to all interested parties.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLES

There exists a dearth of contemporary narrative histories for the end of the thirteenth century in comparison to the first half. In keeping with Gransden's observation, it would seem that there was a decline towards the end of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in historical writing of this kind.[213] It could in part be due to the cessation of such tumultuous times and the relative stability of the final decades of the century under Edward I, and therefore less need was felt to consolidate the historical record, preserve the rights of a religious house, or to make sense of troubling events. This would certainly explain why soon after the Second Barons' revolt there is a sharp drop off in narrative accounts with which the Dunstable annals can be compared.

That said, there are still a number of contemporary annals in particular which ought to be mentioned to place the annals in their historiographical context. The principal texts with which the Dunstable annals could be compared fall into two distinct groups: anonymous annals of other monasteries and historical narratives attributed to a named author. The first set is comprised of the annals of Osney, Worcester, Winchester and Waverley. Osney was a fellow Augustinian house at Oxford, founded in 1129, and its annals contain much information specific to that house and Oxford, similar to what we find in the Dunstable text. The annals were begun around the year 1233, and the section of text covering the period 601–1233 is thought to have been written up as a single composition. From 1233 onwards events were written up shortly after they occurred until 1277.[214] The fact that this second section is written in a number of hands supports this further, and suggests

[207] *Annals*, p. 190.
[208] *Annals*, p. 214.
[209] *Annals*, p. 232.
[210] *Annals*, p. 234.
[211] *Annals*, p. 97.
[212] *Annals*, pp. 221–3.
[213] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 407.
[214] *Annales Monastici*, IV, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1869), Preface, pp. xiv–xv.

Pre-publication copy

that multiple persons were involved in its creation, again like the annals of Dunstable priory.[215] A further similarity it has with the Dunstable text is that the early years are an abbreviation of Ralph of Diss' work, with a few additions from Worcester's *Chronicon ex chronicis* and local information. After 1233, it is mostly original.[216]

The annals of Worcester cathedral priory span from the Incarnation to 1308. Though a large part of these annals are based upon the Winchester annals, the section which overlaps most with the Dunstable text (1202–60) is actually original.[217] Luard likens them to those composed at Dunstable, in terms of the abundance of local information they contain, though the Worcester text is arguably less detailed on national and international events. The annals of Winchester (519–1277) were quite possibly written, or at least heavily influenced, by Richard of Devizes, although they also contain information taken from William of Malmesbury, Matthew Paris and the *Continuation of Florence of Worcester*.[218] Again, much of its historical value lies in the local events and specific to the house itself, like Dunstable. Similarly, the annals of Waverley, a Cistercian house outside Farnham in Surrey, record events from AD 1 to 1291. From 1157 onwards it is reliant yet again on Ralph of Diss,[219] but increasingly original from 1177. The section covering 1219–1266 was written up year by year and is 'one of the chief authorities for this period'.[220] From 1266 to 1275 the text is the same as the Winchester annals, then from 1277 to its abrupt end the writing becomes original again.[221]

The second set of historical narratives from the period which should also be brought in as a point of comparison are the more detailed chronicles and histories which have been attributed to known authors. The first is the *Chronicon Anglicanum* of Coggeshall abbey, Essex, whose account of the first quarter of the thirteenth century is original, and covers many of the same events as the Dunstable annals. It has long been seen as a text of local importance, but contains much of general interest, and as such is worthy of comparison with the Dunstable text. Another chronicle of presumed monastic origin, Walter of Coventry's *Memoriale*, dates from the mid thirteenth century and was based in part upon the Coggeshall text.[222] The *Memoriale* covers John's reign in far greater detail than the Dunstable annals, but in many places provides additional information to events and persons referred to in the latter text. In addition to the *Chronicon*, it is based largely upon the *Barnwell Chronicle*, but as this is not yet in print, it has been necessary to refer to Walter's text in the notes. The work of Gervase, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury (b. c.1145, d. in or after 1210),[223] has been included for similar reasons. His *Gesta Regum* provides a comparable balance of local and more general interest events.

[215] Ibid., p. xvi.

[216] Ibid., p. xvii.

[217] Ibid., p. xxviii.

[218] *Annales Monastici*, II, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1864), Preface, pp. x–xi, xvi.

[219] Ibid., p. xxxvi.

[220] Ibid.

[221] Ibid., p. xxxviii.

[222] *The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry*, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series (London, 18XX), II, pp. ix–x.

[223] 'Canterbury, Gervase of (b. c. 1145, d. in or after 1210), Benedictine Monk, Chronicler, and Topographer', *ODNB*.

Pre-publication copy

However, because of Canterbury's international status, much of the local information is by necessity more relevant to national events.

Finally, the works of Roger Wendover (d. 1236)[224] and Matthew Paris (c.1200–59)[225] the well-known chroniclers of St Albans abbey, should be considered. Now that the relationship between these two authors' work has been identified, it is possible to explain how they compare with the Dunstable annals. Both Benedictine authors were based at St Albans, less than 15 miles distant from Dunstable. Again, there is no evidence to suggest that the canons of Dunstable drew on these texts for information, but they do offer useful additional details on events recorded in the annals either too concisely or too enigmatically to be of much use. For the period 1199 to 1237 Wendover's text is the primary text for comparison, unless there is a significant addition made to the *Flores Historiarum* by Matthew Paris, in which case that too will be considered.

This combination of local and ecclesiastical threads, together with the abundance of documentary sources relating largely to Dunstable and its neighbouring area, give the text a distinctive sense of the preoccupations and concerns of those who produced it. More importantly, it also provides us with uniquely detailed insights into the community both within and outside the walls of Dunstable priory and town.

AUDIENCE AND RECEPTION OF THE ANNALS

Only one copy of the Dunstable annals survives from the Middle Ages, preserved in London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A X. The absence of other copies probably indicates that this historical narrative was only ever intended as a record to be seen by those residing within the walls of Dunstable priory itself, with no wider audience anticipated. Certainly, it would seem that it did not travel beyond the walls. This lack of wider audience does not, however, devalue the text or make it any less worthy of study. It is still representative of the views and concerns of the community that created it. The snapshots it provides of life in a thirteenth-century priory and town, and the interaction between the two, in addition to the compilers' opinions of the wider world, makes it one of the most valuable documents on these topics to have survived from the thirteenth century. In addition to this, the intricate detail of the records of the rents, property ownership, and costs of repairs and food to the house, in conjunction with Dunstable's surviving cartulary, provide us with one of the most comprehensive accounts of the day-to-day running of a monastic house in medieval England.

It was clearly of interest to seventeenth-century antiquarians, such as Humphrey Wanley (1672–1726) who produced a transcription of the Cottonian text, now British Library, Harley MS 4886. It was upon this transcription that the first printed edition of the text was made by Thomas Hearne in 1733 in Oxford, though only 130 copies were ever produced.[226] Until the Rolls Series edition in 1866 (compiled by Henry Luard from the damaged Cottonian manuscript and from Hearne's edition) the annals were not widely read or known about. The aim of the present volume then is to make available for the first time to a much wider readership this valuable and insightful text.

[224] 'Wendover, Roger of (d. 1236), Historian and Prior of Belvoir', *ODNB*.

[225] 'Paris, Matthew (c. 1200–1259), Historian, Benedictine Monk, and Polymath', *ODNB*.

[226] *Annales Monastici*, III, Preface, p. ix.

Pre-publication copy

Notes on the Edition

Editions of the Latin text were produced in 1733 by Thomas Hearne[1] and again in 1866 by H. R. Luard for the Rolls Series.[2] Unfortunately, neither version reached a conclusive assessment of the authorship, nor provided full textual apparatus. In this edition the text is presented in English for the first time.

Wherever possible, the names and dates of office have been provided for bishops, abbots and priors, using the *Heads of Religious Houses* and *Handbook of British Chronology*. Similarly, when notable individuals are referred to, every effort has been made using the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and the Victoria County History to uncover further biographical details. Local place names have been identified and related to their modern equivalent wherever possible by local historians Hugh Garrod and Jean Yates, to whom David Preest and I are extremely grateful. Whenever necessary, if references to events in the text are not quite clear, I have offered an explanation in the notes. However, as the text unfolds the content becomes more dominated by local information, in particular the drawn-out legal disputes with the inhabitants of the town of Dunstable. In these cases it has been much harder to identify further details about the events themselves or people featuring in them. Wherever possible names have been rendered in a modern form and standardised.

For the translation the Luard edition was used exclusively, and no other texts were consulted. Where there is something of note in the manuscript version, this has been highlighted in the footnotes.

1 *The Annals of Dunstable*, ed. Thomas Hearne (London, 1788).

2 'Annales de Dunstaplia', in *Annales Monastici*, III, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1866), pp. 3–420.

Pre-publication copy

Timeline:
Key Events of the Thirteenth Century

1199	King John accedes to the throne of England.
1200	King John marries Isabella of Angoulême.
1202	The Fourth Crusade departs from Venice; to repay their debt to the Venetians, the crusaders attack and take the city of Zara, and are excommunicated by Pope Innocent III.
1204	The French king, Philip II, takes Chateau Gaillard after a lengthy siege; Normandy and other lands within France are lost to the English monarchy, including Anjou a year later. The Fourth Crusade besieges, takes and destroys the Christian city of Constantinople. A Latin empire is set up in Constantinople.
1208	England is placed under interdict by Pope Innocent III. The murder of the pope's legate to Toulouse sparks the Albigensian crusade, which aims to wipe out the Cathar heresy.
1209	University of Cambridge founded.
1212	The Children's Crusade suffers disaster when the Mediterranean Sea fails to part for them.
1215	King John agrees Magna Carta at Runnymede. Fourth Lateran Council held by Innocent III.
1216	Henry III becomes king of England.
1217	Fifth Crusade started.
1219	End of the Fifth Crusade
1220	Frederick II is crowned Holy Roman emperor (again) by Pope Honorius III. Llywelyn ap Iorwerth acquires the title 'Prince of Wales' from the Welsh chieftains.
1222	Death of Philip Augustus, king of France. Andrew II accepts the Golden Bull, a charter of liberties demanded by the nobles of Hungary.
1223	The Franciscans are formally established by Honorius III as the 'Order of the Friars Minor'.
1225	Magna Carta is reissued by Henry III (the version which becomes enshrined in English law).
1228	Frederick II, leader of the Sixth Crusade, briefly recovers Jerusalem for the Christians.

Pre-Publication Copy

1231 Start of the Inquisition in Europe.

1233 Gregory IX sends Dominican friars to root out the remains of Cathar heresy in France, thereby launching the Inquisition.

1237 Border between Scotland and England established by the Treaty of York.

1240 Death of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, prince of Wales; Dafydd ap Llywelyn accedes to the throne of Gwynedd.

1244 The siege of the Cathar stronghold Montségur ends; 200 heretics are executed.

1246 Death of Dafydd ap Llywelyn; Llywelyn ap Gruffudd accedes to the throne of Gwynedd (he does not claim the title of prince of Wales until 1258).

1249 Death of Alexander II, king of Scots; Alexander III accedes to the throne of Scotland.

1254 The death of the last Hohenstaufen ruler, Conrad IV, leaves a vacancy on the German throne which is not filled for nineteen years.

1255 The pope, eager to fill the vacant throne of Sicily, offers it to a son of Henry III of England.

1258 Barons' War begins again in England led by Simon de Montfort.
Henry III accepts severe curtailment of his powers in the Provisions of Oxford, but then asks the pope to absolve him from his oath.

1263 Pope Urban IV offers Sicily to a French prince, Charles of Anjou, who marches south in 1266 to fight for the kingdom.

1264 Simon de Montfort, leading the barons in rebellion, captures Henry III and his son Edward at Lewes.

1265 Prince Edward, escaping from captivity, defeats and kills Simon de Montfort at Evesham.

1267 In a treaty agreed at Shrewsbury, the English king Henry III acknowledges Llywelyn ap Gruffydd as the prince of Wales.

1272 Edward I is in Sicily when he becomes king of England, on the death of his father, Henry III.

1279 Edward I issues the Statute of Mortmain to preserve the kingdom's revenues from falling into the hands of the Church.

1282 An uprising by Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, the prince of Wales, ends with his own death and the subjugation of Wales by Edward I.

1283 Edward I founds a series of powerful castles – Harlech, Caernarfon and Conwy in this year alone – to subdue the Welsh.

1287 Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd in Wales.

1289 Edward I of England arranges for his five-year-old heir to marry Margaret of Norway, the seven-year-old heiress to the kingdom of Scotland.

1290 Margaret, heiress to the Scottish throne, dies, resulting in John de Balliol becoming king.
The Jews in England are expelled from the country by King Edward I.

Pre-publication copy

1291 The Muslims take the last four crusader castles: Tyre, Sidon, Acre and finally Beirut.

1294 Revolt of Madog ap Llywelyn in Wales.

1296 Edward I invades Scotland, massacres the people of Berwick, captures John de Balliol and brings the Stone of Scone to Westminster.

1297 Scottish victory over the English at Stirling Bridge. William Wallace, leader of the uprising, rules Scotland on behalf of John de Balliol.

1298 Edward I defeats Wallace at Falkirk.

1305 Capture and execution of William Wallace by the English on a charge of treason.

1307 Death of Edward I, Edward II accedes to the English throne.

Pre-publication copy

Priors of Dunstable

- Bernard[1]
- Cuthbert
- Thomas, occurs 1185, resigned 1202; died 1203
- Richard de Morins, elected 1202, died 1242[2]
- Geoffrey of Barton, elected 1242, resigned 1262
- Simon of Eaton, elected 1263, died 1274
- William le Breton, elected 1274, deposed 1280
- William de Wederhore, elected 1280, resigned 1302
- John of Cheddington, elected 1302, died 1341
- John of London, elected 1342, resigned 1348
- Roger of Gravenhurst, elected 1348, died 1351
- Thomas Marshall, elected 1351, died 1413[3]
- John Roxton, elected 1413, resigned 1473
- Thomas Gylys, elected 1473, resigned 1482
- Richard Charnock, elected 1482, resigned 1500
- John Wastell, elected 1500, died 1525
- Gervase Markham, elected 1525, surr. 1540

[1] D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and Vera C. M. London (eds), *The Heads of Religious Houses. England and Wales, I, 940–1216*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 162–3.

[2] David M. Smith and Vera C. M. London (eds), *The Heads of Religious Houses. England and Wales, II, 1216–1377* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 376–7.

[3] David M. Smith (ed.), *The Heads of Religious Houses. England and Wales, III. 1377–1540* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 424–5.

Pre-publication copy

Pre-publication copy

The Annals of Dunstable Priory

Pre-publication copy

Pre-publication copy

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 abbey 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 argricultural 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).

Pre-publication copy

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 thoughout the Middle Ages convened by the pope at the Lateran Palace in Rome. 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, pp. xxxii–iii.

[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. 6 n. 1 below.

[6] Interdict was a serious form of ecclesiastical censure imposed by the pope, which forbade those affected from 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. 7–14 below for details.

Pre-Publication copy

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 le Cauceis 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 gounds. '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, London.

Pre-publication copy

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. 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.[3]

In the same year the king was given a thirteenth throughout England.[4] 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].[5]

In the same year on the festival of the Holy Trinity, master Stephen [Langton] was consecrated in Rome as archbishop of Canterbury.[6]

In the same year [30] the monks of Christ 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 de [Gray] bishop of Norwich and [Reginald] the subprior of Canterbury had their elections quashed.[7]

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

4 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.

5 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.

6 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.

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

Pre-publication copy

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 singing[5] 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 [priory], 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 no further detail. Once again Wendover has the greatest detail; II, pp. 254–5.

Pre-Publication copy

Ely, Mauger of Worcester and Giles of Hereford.[1] The king of England graciously allowed the bishops of Salisbury and Rochester[2] 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, Malmesbury-[5]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 (eds), *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.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year the following men were elected to bishoprics: Hugh of Wells to Lincoln, Henry [Marshal] archdeacon of Stafford to Exeter, Walter de 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, p. 246.

[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 comentators to complain. See for example the complaints of the Cistercian abbey of Coggeshall: *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 163–4.

Pre-publication copy

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 immoveable.[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, 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia' in *Annales Monastici*, II, ed: H. R. Luard (London, 1865), 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.

Pre-Publication Copy

In[1] 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 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 monks[7] 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 the records show that Henry Brown of Pulloxhill 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 stand, 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.

Pre-publication copy

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 Vesci[8] and Robert fitz Walter[9]

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

2 Peter's prophecy must have been popular knowledge, as it is 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, p. 18).

6 For a more detailed account of what happened at the Cinque Ports, see the Waverley annals, pp. 266–7.

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 rout those who were stealing from him, or not collecting 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 Barons entrusted with enforcing Magna Carta.

Pre-publication Copy

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 serf[3] 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.

Proof Publication Copy

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 signed documents, 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. [Ferdinand] the count of Flanders[2] 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, II, pp. 265–8.

2 Ferdinand 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, *Gesta Regum*, 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 p. 12 above.

Pre-publication copy

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 de 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, II, pp. 291–3.

Pre-publication copy

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 wife[7] 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, though the date is wrong. For the fullest account of the king's death in contemporary English accounts, see Roger of Wendover, II, 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 Marie, 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.

Pre-publication copy

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 Bardeney; [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 de 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, II, 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.

Pre-published typeset copy

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 de 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. 0, n. 0, above.

2 Robert de Dreux II.

3 John was trying to claim Brittany 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 p. 12 n. 5 above.

5 William Longespee, see p. 11 n. 12 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 church of Southwark priory (now Southwark Cathedral) 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.

Pre-publication copy

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 Lincoln[1] 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 lifted 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 were designed to increase the appeal of Dunstable as a pilgrimage destination, an excellent source of revenue for the house from donations made by penitent pilgrims.

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 de 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.

Pre-publication copy

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 Dereham. 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 [1–30 November]. 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 hundred bishops and eight hundred abbots and priors,

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 agreement, 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, II, 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.

Pre-publication copy

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 sequestrated 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 later[5] and is buried at Canterbury.

Meanwhile King Louis with many armed counts, barons, castellans and knights and mercenaries 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 isle 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 botched landing in 1066 when he landed face-first in the sand at Pevensey.

Prepublication copy

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, II, 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 purported to be 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.

Pre-publication copy

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 Marshal[1] 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 Exeter[6] 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 Falkes 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.

Pre-Publication Copy

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 Perche[4] 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 of the castle of Mountsorrel by the earl of Chester.[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

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 Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1863), 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, II, 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.

Pre-publication copy

soldiers pursued them right up to the gate and walls towards the north. Falkes indeed, 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 Braybrook[1] 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 [Ranulf] earl of Chester razed Mountsorrel castle[3] to the ground. His men had found it empty and its constable fled. [William] the earl of Ferrers[4] 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, II, p. 389.

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

[3] In Leicestershire.

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

Pre-publication copy

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 de 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. Foliot[2] 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.

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.

Pre-publication copy

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 to the succour of 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 justices[6] came to Dunstable. In their presence our knights and other freemen 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 Although Henry began to use a seal to witness official documents, it was not until the end of his minority in January 1227 that he assumed full regal powers.

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. 20 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.

Pre-publication copy

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 de 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 Monfort 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. William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England after the Norman Conquest* (London, 1977), pp. 679–80.

Pre-publication copy

This year saw the death of the duke of Burgundy[1] 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; II, p. 426.

Pre-publication copy

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'Aubigny. 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 a

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.

Pre-publication copy

parish altar in honour of St John the 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 Writs such as this were a form of legal document with the power to summon parties to court.

Pre-publication copy

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 proved his 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.[4] 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.[5] 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 whose father 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] This refers to Thomas Becket, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury under Henry II until his murder in 1170.

[5] 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.

Pre-publication copy

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 of dower 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 [William] 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. 28.

[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.xii.

Pre-publication copy

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 aid 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, [Seyer] 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 Pol.[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 Amaury 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 IV.

5 Amaury 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. 16. 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.

Pre-publication copy

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 Ely[3] 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 futher 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 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.

Pre-publication copy

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 [Al Mu'azzam] 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 Narbonne 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 Narbonne 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; II, 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. xvi above.

Pre-publication copy

to be meeting in London on various matters concerning the kingdom, William was first solemnly [64] excommunicated on the feast of the conversion of St Paul [25 January] at St Paul's church by the legate, the archbishop of York and ten other bishops from the province of Canterbury. Then the earls of Chester and Salisbury threw down lighted candles, just as the bishops had done after the sentence of excommunication.[1]

There were various reasons why William was excommunicated: he had refused to perform his vow to go on crusade and set out for Jerusalem. He had contemptuously disobeyed the court of the land when it assigned Castle Bytham [Lincolnshire] to William de Coleville. He had treacherously captured a castle of his lord king before renouncing the king himself. And when on another occasion he had been excommunicated for many acts of plunder, he swore to obey the commands of the lord's legate, and then, when the legate ordered him to hand back what he had stolen, he postponed his obedience. Soon the king's party by common consent brought an indictment against him. They immediately pursued him with an army but found the castle at Fotheringhay empty. Falkes [de Bréauté] took charge of this castle. The king's men then set out for Bytham and laid siege to it. They set up siege engines all around the castle, and, when this was done, the castle was captured within six days and the knights and all the armed men led captive. The castle with its buildings and its stores, which had been very great, was burnt down. As at Jericho,[2] nothing was left for the use of men.

At the same time the archbishop of York and the northern barons found [William] earl of Aumale at Fountains abbey. They took him to the king on condition that, if he was not able to find mercy with the lord king, they would set him back in the same place.[3]

In the same year and in the same month of January Hugh de Vivonia, constable of Bristol, was sent to Poitou, so that, as seneschal there, he might serve and save Poitou for the uses of the lord king. Philip de Ulecote [64] had been previously appointed to this post, but he had died at Etampes on his journey to Poitou. On his departure from England Hugh handed over Bristol castle to the papal legate [Pandulf], who entrusted it to Rolland.[4]

In the same year and month William, bishop of London, handed in his resignation to the papal legate. He kept one hundred pounds in revenues for himself and chose St Osyth as his permanent dwelling place.[5]

In the same year and month master Hugh, rector of Toddington church, and Roger Piper came to a joint agreement, so that the church might be safe in any enquiry

[1] The act of throwing down candles is part of the excommunication process by anathema. The act was popularised by Thomas Becket who threw down a lit candle when pronouncing Gilbert Foliot's excommunication.

[2] In the Bible book of Joshua, Jericho's walls crumbled at the sound of the Israelites' trumpets, allowing them to take the city and slaughter every man, woman and child within.

[3] This episode is also recorded in *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 188–9, and Roger of Wendover, pp. 428–9.

[4] The Latin gives the name 'Walrannus', but it seems Pandulf's accounts were completed by one Master Rolland; see *Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. M. Sharp (Bristol, 1982), p. 1.

[5] Walter of Coventry says that his resignation was due to his inability to cope with the heavy work load; p. 248.

Pre-publication copy

concerning its land after the death of one of them. Up to that time any lawsuit which was brought concerning losses, damages and expenses would be put to sleep by the two of them on every occasion.

In the same year and month sentence was given in favour of Robert, bishop of Lismore, against Robert, bishop of Waterford, concerning the possession and ownership of this diocese. Waterford was sentenced to pay the bishop of Lismore three hundred marks for produce and the expenses of a lawsuit.[1]

In the same year Prior Richard brought a lawsuit, first against some of the townspeople of Dunstable but finally against all of them. It was concerning the tithes on the trades practised throughout the town, the tithes on hay and mills, and also concerning certain offerings. An agreement on all these matters was reached in the presence of John, archdeacon of Bedford, read out in the church in the presence of the people of Dunstable and approved by all of them, and confirmed by judges appointed by the pope. The agreement was that all would pay a tithe on all trades anywhere in the town, and that three times a year sentence would be sought without delay against withholders of the tithe on hay and mills; but that on the question of the offerings, the good custom of the days of old would be observed. Also, the people were to give money in perpetuity for the fabric of the church of God. Also [66] the townspeople, as often as the prior wished, took the punishment of wrongdoers into their own hands.

In the same year, the count of Arundel died in Italy. His bones were brought home and buried at Wymondham.[2] Shortly afterwards came the deaths of Julian [Ullantis] de Cheinde and of master John, archdeacon of Oxford.[3]

In the same year, the prior and monks of Canterbury asked that the priors of the place should be allowed for evermore to wear mitres in particularly important solemn services of the mass, and the archbishops gave their assent to this.[4]

In the same year, castles were built at Luton and Eaton Bray to the grave danger of Dunstable and its neighbourhood. And at London the building of the tower of St Paul's was finished.

In the same year Mossy, the son of Brun, a Jew, caused trouble to Richard, prior of Dunstable, and his church by means of a document recording a loan of seven hundred pounds. But Martin of Pattishall and other justices of the lord king proved that the document was a forgery, as it spoke of a loan accepted by Prior *Thomas*, whereas the seal affixed to the document showed the name of *Richard*. Also the deed had been washed and besides contained bad grammar. So Mossy the Jew was imprisoned in the Tower of London for a year and longer, because other Jews gave the king one mark of gold to delay his sentence. In the end, as they could not delay the sentence any longer, they gave the king one hundred marks to prevent Mossy from being hung on

1 The conflict over property and rights between these two Irish dioceses went on for almost a century until the see was finally united in 1362: Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland* (London, 1840).

2 William d'Aubigny died on his return from the Fifth Crusade.

3 John of Tynemouth, one of the first teachers on canon law at Oxford.

4 Some monastic houses had a tradition whereby the abbot or prior was allowed to wear a mitre; Canterbury cathedral priory was one of these institutions. Their mitres were to be of poorer fabric and adorned with no gold to avoid confusion with the archbishop's mitre.

Pre-publication copy

a gallows, which would have been an insult to their law. So Mossy for his document abjured the king's kingdom and was outlawed.[1] Another Jew was hung at this time because he had killed his own wife.[2]

In the same year Pope Honorius III wrote this letter to all churches: 'King David, commonly called Prester John, fought a battle with the sultan of Persia. He put him to flight and within twenty-four days so extensively conquered the castles and fortified towns in Persia that he was within ten days' distance of the very famous city of Baldas, where the pope of the pagans [67] has his special seat. Also, the Georgian people, who are bold in battle and catholic in their faith, began a war against the Saracens their neighbours.'[3]

At this time, at the urging of Pandulf, legate of the apostolic see, a promise was made to the king of Jerusalem of help to the Holy Land: its terms were that each earl should give three marks, each baron one mark, each knight six pence and each home one penny.

In the same year Oliver d'Eyncourt made an agreement with [Hugh] bishop of Lincoln. Oliver gave the bishop ten pounds' worth of land at West Woburn and thus discharged for ever his manor at Lidlington and his other possessions from claims on them made by the bishop and his church.

In the same year it was widely reported that at Melford in Essex a cow gave birth to a calf in human shape.

In the same year in the month of May Stephen Lexington, a man of noble birth and of still nobler learning and character, took with him seven good friends and transferred himself from the schools of Oxford to the Cistercian Order at Quarr in the Isle of Wight.[4]

In the same year the monks of Durham brought before the high pontiff such serious charges against Richard their bishop on various counts that letters were sent to the bishops of Salisbury[5] and Ely[6] asking them to investigate. They set out for Durham, and, having made a careful inquiry, they uncovered surprisingly shocking behaviour by the bishop of the sort that you would only expect to find in a story. But before they could actually get to Durham, the bishop himself had hurried off on a journey to Rome, and, although at first he had found the apostolic see angry with him because of his disgraceful behaviour, he was so successful in winning them round to his side by his various acts of devotion

1 Entries in Dunstable's cartulary suggest Prior Richard had extensive dealings with the Jewish community at Dunstable; see details in 'A Catalogue of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts II', *The Critical Review: or Annals of Literature*, vol. 7 (London, 1759), pp. 315–16.

2 This was typical treatment for the time. For more on medieval Jews in England, see Robin R. Mundill, *The King's Jews: Money, Massacre and Exodus in Medieval* England (London, 2010).

3 The legend of Prester John was very popular in the high Middle Ages, especially around the time of the Fifth Crusade; its leaders even delayed their attack on Cairo, believing he would arrive to help them. See *Prester John: The Legend and its Sources*, ed. and trans. Keagan Brewer (Farnham, 2015).

4 Stephen had an illustrious career; after becoming a monk at Quarr, he was elected abbot of Stanley abbey and then Savigny abbey, before being made abbot of Clairvaux in 1243. He was of 'noble learning' because he founded a school in the University of Paris, and of noble birth due to his family – his brothers were a bishop of Lincoln, judges and royal officials.

5 Richard Poore.

6 John of Fountains.

Pre-publication copy

and by his bribes that he was acquitted [68] of the accusations brought against him and left the papal court a free man. He also before his departure obtained from the pope the verdict that the inquiry of the bishops, as it had taken place after he had started on his journey to Rome, should have no validity. The bishops meanwhile, knowing nothing of this, had sent to the pope the recordings of their inquiry stamped with their own seals. When the dispatch was handed to the pope and he read and understood it, he realised that he had been disgracefully tricked. But he could not so suddenly invalidate by any mark of instability his solemn power of granting indulgence. God however cannot be mocked by any play-acting and he struck Bishop Richard with such severe ophthalmia that he could scarcely see men even as trees.

And so the bishop said farewell to the court of the papal procurators and returned to England. He had burdened himself and his church with so many massive loads of debt to so many creditors at the papal court that it was commonly remarked that fifteen years after his death he would still be bishop of Durham. (Some of the money was for redeeming his vow to go on crusade, some for the expenses of this journey, and some for the twentieth part of his revenues which he owed to the land of Jerusalem.)[1]

In the same year Peter [des Roches], bishop of Winchester, and Hugh, bishop of Hereford, departed from England, but for a destination known to only a few. Some said that they had gone to St James at Compostella, some to the apostolic see.

In the same year after Easter [11 April] William Marshal the younger was pressed by the king's council to give up Marlborough castle. He gave it into the hands of the legate on condition that, if others similarly gave up the castles entrusted to them, his own would be retained; but, otherwise, his would be given up. Finally, after Pentecost [30 May], Peter de Mauley and Ingelard de Attie were taken prisoner on suspicion of treachery. Nor could they gain their freedom until Peter gave up Corfe castle and Ingelard had found sufficient hostages for surrendering Windsor castle as the king wished.[2]

Meanwhile the lord king, on a journey to York, called [69] at the castles of Oxford, Northampton and Nottingham. He did not remove the constables from these castles, but left so many of his own knights with them in the castles that he enjoyed complete security over them. When he arrived at York, he gave his sister to be the queen of the king of Scotland who was there present. She had previously been betrothed to Hugh Brun,[3] and was said to be then eleven years old. Very solemn nuptials were celebrated.

In the same year, the following letter came to King Henry from Pelagius, the papal legate at Damietta:[4]

[1] This is a continuation of the saga of Richard March, bishop of Durham, begun on p. 35 above. Together, these entries provide one of the fullest accounts we have of the bishop of Durham's misdemeanours; see p. 35, n. 4 above for Wendover's record.

[2] Peter de Mauley was rumoured to be the man who murdered King John's nephew (and rival to the English throne) Arthur of Brittany in 1203. In his role as governor of Corfe castle, Dorset, Peter was also the jailor of Arthur's sister, Eleanor. Both Peter and Ingelard (or Engelard) were classed among John's 'evil counsellors' by Matthew Paris.

[3] See p. 17 n. 3 and p. 32 n. 1 & 2 above on Joan's betrothals.

[4] The inclusion of this letter further indicates the revival in interest in the legend at the time of the crusade. Reception of this letter was mixed, however. For the full text and edited translation, see *Prester John: The Legend and its Sources*, pp. 107–13.

Pre-publication copy

This in full is the whole story of King David, the son of King Israel, the son of king Sarcisius, the son of King John, the son of Bulgaboga of the Nestorini, a believer in Jesus Christ.

King David (may God protect him) was younger than his brothers. His father Israel (may God spare his soul) had six sons and David was the youngest. On the death of his father, his eldest brother became king. He was a king such as his father Israel had been. His grandfathers and great-grandfathers had been subjects of the great king of Persia, who was called Chanchana (in our tongue, king of kings) and whose land extended from Chassar [Kasgar] as far as Bellagacum [Belasagun], a country beyond the river Geon. This king of Persia summoned his astrologers and asked them to foretell the future and events after his death. According to their custom the astrologers took one virgin boy and did a blood-letting in both his arms. They collected his blood in one vessel and called upon him to speak, and the boy, before he died prophesied that a king called David, a man of true nobility, was destined to tread under his feet the kingdom of the Persians. The king asked the astrologers if they knew in that province any king called David. They said that they knew no such king, but that king Israel did have one little son called David, who, however, was of no importance. So the king said to his astrologers, 'Let us send a message to David's brother, asking him to send David to us. Then we can kill him and be free of him.' So the Persian king sent his messengers to the king who was David's brother, asking him to send his brother to him, as he wanted to be his benefactor and raise him to a position of honour. When David's brother received this message, he sent his brother to the king of Persia, accompanied by some loyal counsellors in whom he had special trust, as he had no idea of the Persian king's wicked intention.

But when the boy reached the Persian court, the king was delighted at his arrival. The boy kissed the ground in front of the king and greeted him with the utmost reverence. [70] He was very beautiful. As soon as the king saw him, he took pity on him. Two of the king's wives were present on this occasion. One was the daughter of King John, the aunt of King Israel the father of David. The other was the daughter of King Ganicus and she had a son called Philip. And they said to the king, 'Do you not fear God? The boy has come to you under your safe conduct, he is under the shade of your protection, and has touched your carpet with his feet. Do you wish to put him to death for nothing?' Thus they strongly chided him, for the one of them, the aunt of the father of David was a Christian, and the other an infidel. So the king was abashed and with divine permission allowed the lad to go back to his country. Without wasting a moment, David rode off at top speed with his escort, and by some divine instinct he rode forty miles each day and night, hastening his return by changing horses.

After David's departure, the Persian king's scribes and astrologers came to him and reproached him for his unwise action in allowing David to go back home. The king was at once full of regret and sent fast horsemen to go after David and seize him. But they could not find him. He had escaped under God's guidance. For wherever he had lodged, the peoples of that region had flocked to him and marvelled at his return. Finally, he came to the land of his brother.

Three years later his brother died. All the men of the kingdom came together and chose David king, for by the gift of God he was handsome to look upon, wise and great in spirit. First, as a good omen, they raised him to the second rank according to the custom of their

Proof Uncorrected Copy

ancestors, and then they anointed him king. Then they joined him in marriage to the daughter of King Damachag.[1] *Such were his labours that he gathered together the forces of a mighty nation, which he could scarcely number. He rode across the land of Chanchana, the king of Persia. The king met him with a great army and they fought in battle. By the will of God and with the help of the living cross King David prevailed and conquered the Persian king. Most of his people were killed apart from some who washed themselves clean in the font of baptism. Even Chanchana, the Persian king, was taken prisoner. He was bound with gold fetters and taken captive on chariots to the land of King David.*

King David took under his control the whole land of the territory which is called the kingdom of the king of the Saracen kings. This kingdom has sixty-four great cities, of which one is called Damagatha, another Chasahar, etc. From Chasahar to Phargana is ten days journey. From Pharagna to Chaegunt another ten. [71] From Chaegunt to Racharam twenty days. From Ragani to Gamarith eight days. From Gamarith to Abocharith ten days. From Abocharith to Rabasithim ten days.

Soon King David came to the land called Alaanar,[2] *which borders on India. But in the province where Alaanar is the leading city, there are so many cities that no man could know them all. The city where the Persian king usually stayed is called Casne [Ghanzni], a massive city with a huge population. It has five hundred mosques, the same number of schools and six hundred markets, where the Saracen wise men, those whom we call monks, were accustomed to lodge. King David soon fought with the king of Alaanar and defeated him. Almost all its people were killed apart from some who became Christians. Having conquered that whole land, King David returned to the land called Chata [Cathay]. At that time there was a truce between the king of Chata and Charnamisan, and lands, that is Rothar and two others, were owned jointly between them. Charnamisan sent his messengers to King David and made an agreement with him and gave him all the land which he had beyond the river Geon.*

After Charnamisan felt secure about King David, he gathered a huge number of people and went over a province called Chorasan; and over the great Arac and the small Arac, which are large provinces, and Diarbechen; and in six days he came near Baghdad. He sent his envoys to the caliph of Baghdad, who had ruled there for forty-one years. The caliph was called Almanger Ledinalla, which means 'of the divine law'. Charnamisan's own name was Romangur son of Mostadus. And so he defied the Caliph. The Caliph was greatly afraid, because he did not have the strength to resist him, and so consulted with his faithful followers. They told him to ask Jaffeleth patriarch of the Nestorini to send to King David, asking him to break the truce with Charnamisan, and so to cease from any part in Charnamisan's attacks.

The caliph rode by night with some of his men, because it was not his custom to ride by day, except on stated days, and he came to the house of the patriarch who was staying at Baghdad. As soon as he saw him, the patriarch gave him an honourable welcome and rejoiced greatly at his arrival. Then the caliph spoke to him, saying, 'I ask for your help on a matter of great importance, and it is in necessity that a friend shows his loyalty.

[1] Likely to be a corruption of Tamaghaj, a Turkic name for China. *Prester John: The Legend and its Sources*, p. 109.

[2] Arabic name for Central Asia, literally meaning 'that which is beyond the river Amu Darya'. Ibid.

Preliminary draft copy

That wicked Charnamisan is making a powerful attack on us, and if he conquers our land, he will put all the Christians to death because of his great hatred for them.'
The patriarch [72] replied that that would be the case. At last the caliph said to him, 'This is how you can help me. King David and all the others who keep your law obey you. I ask that through your envoys and letters you should send instructions to King David to start a war on Charnamisan. In this way he will cease from attacking us. For I know for certain that if King David begins attacking him, he will immediately return to his own country. For if you do this for me, we shall concede whatever you wish to you and to all who keep your law.'
The patriarch replied to him, 'You know that we are bound by oath to all your predecessors and to you not to send letters to any Christian king or to give him any news of your land.' To which the caliph replied, 'As prophet of the Saracens, I give you permission to do this, and I will give you letters of safety on this issue.'
And so the patriarch listened to the prayers of the caliph and sent to King David, asking him to break the truce with Charnamisan. Upon hearing this, King David gathered a countless host and rode over the land of Charnamisan, who went back to his own home. The caliph was overjoyed, and offered the patriarch a great quantity of gold, which the patriarch completely refused. But the patriarch did ask that the caliph should have destroyed a mosque which overlooked the church of the patriarch and which was causing him a lot of trouble. The caliph destroyed it so completely by night, that in the daytime no sign of it was visible. And that was the first disaster for the whole land of the Saracens. Furthermore, after Charnamisan had returned to his own land, the caliph was very keen to make an agreement with King David, but David refused completely. And so the caliph gathered a great force and crossed the river Geon, preparing to make a powerful attack on King David. But King David easily defeated him on the field of battle, and the greatest part of his people were killed. Some claimed that the caliph was dead, but others just doubted where he was. So again, King David gathered a great force and sixteen other leaders, one of whom had one hundred thousand men, and another two hundred thousand. And he divided his army into forty parts, with a hundred thousand men in each part. He came to the river Geon. He captured twenty-three big cities and two hundred other small castles and towns, and the kingdom of the sultan Salmar, in which were four cities. And another province called Dalgor, in which are eight large cities. And the [73] kingdom of Mazendran, in which are eight large cities and two hundred castles. And that land is twenty days travel long, and twelve days wide. And this is the end of the lands of Cuarmischa. The kingdom of the Sultan Toghrul is at the entry to the kingdom of the Persians. It is called Great Arach, that is the 'big kingdom', because it takes three months to ride across it. Its capital is the city of Ray. There are fourteen other cities, and more than three hundred castles. In the land of Biarachan are sixteen cities, and that land is forty-seven days' journey long. Also in the province called Cancha are twenty cities and twenty-six castles. That kingdom belongs to the sultan Ebibec, and is called the Small Arach, that is the 'little kingdom'.
All those lands I have mentioned were conquered by King David. He was five days' journey from Baghdad, and the same number from Musehec.[1] *The head of his army*

[1] This might be referring to the city of Mosel.

Pre-publication copy

reached the land of the Georgians, which it conquered. It also took from them forty castles, because they were infidels.
King David (may he triumph and live for ever!) sent his envoys to the caliph at Baghdad, and when they entered Baghdad, they carried over their heads a banner on which was a cross. And the Saracens said to them, 'Why are you carrying a banner above your heads when you are in Baghdad (Baghdad in the Saracen tongue is known as Darheselem, which means 'house of safety') and facing the Saracens?' The envoys said to them, 'Our lord king David told us to enter your land in this way, and in no other. But if you do not like it, we will return.' This was told to the Caliph, who said, 'Let them enter as they like.' When the caliph saw them, he welcomed them honourably, rising to meet them, and had them sitting next to him. Speaking for their lord the envoys said to him through an interpreter, 'Our king greets you and tells you that our Jaffeleth (that is patriarch) commends himself to you, because you have always behaved well towards the Christians, and honoured our churches. In return the patriarch grants you a sixth part of the land which you hold. And he wishes to have Baghdad, so that it may be the seat of the patriarch.' The caliph said to them, 'The king by the divine power has conquered so much land. He cannot personally be everywhere. He must set up his deputies in the conquered lands. I ask him to make me his deputy in this land, and I will give him as much money as he wants.' The envoys said, 'We have not come to ask for money, but because we have heard that you had the holy Jerusalem destroyed. And we are carrying so much money, because we shall rebuild its walls with gold and silver.' He offered the envoys gifts worth a hundred thousand bezants, which they refused to accept. For it happened that Melichalehem, [74] the sultan of Babylon,[1] had sent as a present to the caliph some Christian soldiers, whom he now freed at the prayers of the envoys. Some of these came to Antioch, and told us of this and other news, namely that when King David came to the land called Chasum, which he conquered, he left behind there his deputy with a few of his men. And when he had left that land behind his back, the men of that city killed the deputy and the other men of his company. When this came to his notice, he sent a part of his force to besiege that land. It was besieged for six days, and on the seventh day in the middle of the night three towers fell and three stretches of the walls of the city. The Christians entered it and killed in it eighty thousand warriors. For which all believers in Jesus Christ should pray that triumph and safety may be the preserve of him who is obedient to God and his holy church, who frees believers from the hand of the infidels, who is the king of kings, who has destroyed the law of the Saracens, who protects holy church, who is the king of the Orient.

[1] Al-Kamil, sultan of Egypt, 1218–1238, known to those in the crusader states as Meledin.

Pre-publication copy

1222

In the same year count Amaury de Montfort was besieged by the count of St Giles at Carcassonne,[1] and the church of God in the land of the Albigenses was beset by sore affliction.[2]

In the same year Stephen, the archbishop of Canterbury, journeyed to Rome and returned home with glory and honour, for he was granted these privileges: that the archbishop of York should not carry the cross anywhere in England outside his own province; that the Roman pontiff should never grant a second time the church in England when it had once been given; and that in Stephen's lifetime the papal legate should never be sent to England.[3]

In the same year we made an agreement with the abbot and monks of Woburn abbey that we would completely give up our rights to the vicarage of the church at Chesham, and that the abbot and monks would in perpetuity pay a rent of three marks per annum. This agreement was arranged by the archdeacons of Bedford and Huntingdon.[4]

In the [75] same year Peter de Maulay was publicly accused by Richard Muscegros of treachery against his king and kingdom, but was acquitted by the council of the king.[5]

In the same month Pandulf, who had been elected bishop of Norwich,[6] resigned his office of papal legate. He was at once sent by the lord king to Poitou, where he secured an extension of the peace between us and the people of Poitou.

In the same year Peter [des Roches], bishop of Winchester, and Falkes de Bréauté had made preparations to go out to Damietta, but they were halted by the bad news from Egypt that the Christian army, which had been cut off by the Nile near the city of Babylonia Sacra, had been forced to surrender Damietta and to concede a truce to the Saracens. The truce was in return for the safe withdrawal of the Christians with their equipment and the return of the city and the liberation of all prisoners who had been in the hands of the sultan of Babylon [Al Kamil]. Because of all this the bishop of Winchester and Falkes de Bréauté gave up the idea of going out to Damietta until they received orders from the pope.

In the same year the dwellings, which for many years had been occupied by [.....] were handed back to the burgesses of Bedford.

In the same year we proved quittance from a toll at Ickleford which the burgesses [… claimed …] from the burgesses of Dunstable.[7]

1 The count of Saint Giles, otherwise known as Raymond VI, count of Toulouse (1156–1222).

2 The annalist has returned to the events of the Albigensian Crusade here; the northern French campaign was not faring well at this point as the counts of Toulouse were pushing back; Amaury was eventually forced to abandon Carcassonne.

3 This grant finally settled the matter of the archbishop of York processing with his cross. See pp. 31 and 35, above for the mounting tensions. For the full details of Pope Honorius III's concessions to Stephen Langton, see *Councils and Synods*, pp. 96–8.

4 John of Houghton and Robert of Hayles, respectively.

5 Another of John's 'evil counsellors', he was acquitted after handing Corfe castle back to the king.

6 See p. 20 above.

7 These missing word is lost due to the corner of the manuscript folio being damaged.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year Hugh de Lacy was exiled by the Albigensians and returned to England. He petitioned for his lands in Ireland to be returned to him but, because the king was ill, his petition was refused, although he was granted the annual rent of 300 marks in the meantime.[1]

In the same year the mother of King Henry[2] stirred up a war in Poitou against her son because he had refused to give her a widow's dower from his lands across the seas.

In the same year William, earl of Derby, confirmed for us the grant of the church at Bradbourne.

In the same [76] year Robert de Vere and Roesia of Wahull died, and Hubert de Burgh, the justiciar of the king, married the daughter of the king of Scotland.[3]

In the same year after Easter in the month of April Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, held a council at Oxford. The proceedings of the Lateran Council were read out and the order that they should be observed was given. Then a deacon was condemned to death by burning, after he had been removed from office, because he had been circumcised out of his love for a Jewess. He was burnt in the fire outside Oxford by the bailiffs of the king who were present at the council. Another deacon was removed from office at the council for theft. Also, a woman who claimed to be St Mary and a youth who claimed to be Christ and who had pierced his hands and side and feet were put into prison at Banbury. Also, many new decrees were passed at the council.[4]

In the same year died Guarin dean of Berkhamsted, Matilda de Say, William [de Humez] abbot of Westminster, Robert [of Lindsey] abbot of Peterborough, Thomas prior […][5] and Walter prior of Merton. Also, William bishop of Coventry became paralysed. [Richard de Insula] prior of St Edmunds was made abbot of Burton, Giles [of Burne] was made prior of Merton and Richard of Barking was made prior of Westminster.

In the same year in the month of June the roof of the presbytery at Dunstable collapsed. It had been repaired by the following autumn, but in the month of December the two towers above the front of Dunstable church collapsed. One of them fell on the prior's house and destroyed a large part of it. The other fell on the church and wrecked the place where it fell. Many buildings throughout England including the tower of Merton were destroyed by shocks felt on this same day, and many people were killed in its storms.[6] [77]

1 Hugh had been exiled from his lordship in Ulster after being chased out by King John's army. He had had some success on the Albigensian Crusade and become lord of the town of Castelnaudary, but that fell to Raymond VII of Toulouse in 1220.

2 Isabella of Angoulême.

3 Margaret, daughter of William the Lion.

4 Held on 17 April 1222, duration unknown: *Councils and Synods*, p. 100. According to the annals of Waverley, it was Stephen Langton's first provincial council. It has been noted for its reinforcement of the decrees issued by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, and condemnation of an archdeacon who had converted to Judaism: 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', p. 296. Many of the new canons became the basis of local English Church law. For full details, see *Councils and Synods*, pp. 106–25.

5 The name is missing in the manuscript.

6 The Waverley annalist also records severe storms, but on 30 November; p. 297, which is corroborated by Wendover who says there was a huge thunder storm on St Andrew's Day (30 November), II, pp. 441–2.

Prepublication Copy

[……][1] and in the same winter a star was seen frequently, both in France and in England, and said by many to be a comet.

In the same year died Ralph, bishop of Chichester. His place was taken by Ralph Nevill, the deputy chancellor of the king. [Walter Loring] abbot of Malmesbury, [Richar]d[2] Pirot, William of Studham, and Philip of Harlington also died, the church at Caldwell was consecrated, and Hugh of Toddington died. In October Simon the anchorite transferred himself from Lichfield all the way down to Dunstable.

The archbishops of Canterbury and York met on the boundary of their provinces near Lincoln to discuss the archbishop of York's carrying his cross through the province of Canterbury. They went their separate ways after a fruitless discussion.[3]

In the same year a Scottish bishop [Adam], in charge of the diocese of Caithness, asked his people for the tithes of hay which both he himself and the earl of Caithness had promised to the king of Scotland. When as bishop he had made this decision, he had it validated both by the seal of the king and by the seal of the earl. But the earl subsequently felt anger at this business, went with a retinue to see the bishop and in a fit of temper demanded that the bishop give back to him the paper which he had signed. As the bishop refused to do so, the earl in the bishop's presence killed his chaplain, who was of course a monk, and even mortally wounded the bishop's nephew before his eyes. When he saw this, the bishop said, [78] 'Even if you kill me, I will never hand over to you the instruments of my church.' Then the earl, inflamed with anger, ordered the bishop to be tied to a post in the kitchen, the door shut and the house set on fire. When all had been set on fire, the ropes around the bishop were loosed, and he came to the door to go out, apparently unharmed. The earl was waiting outside the door to see the end of the matter and when he saw the bishop coming out, he had the bishop thrown back into the fire and gave orders for the two bodies of those already killed to be thrown on top of him. And so these three, martyred as they defended the rights of the church, migrated to the Lord.[4]

But that sincere Christian, the king of Scotland, was unwilling to let such a sacrilege go unpunished, and he set out with an army to take the earl prisoner. But when the earl heard of this, he fled from Scotland and, like Cain a wandering exile, he sailed upon the sea from island to island. In the end he came to the following agreement with the king: he himself and his heirs and his people would in perpetuity pay the tithes of hay and he would cut off the heads of all those who had participated in this crime and bring their heads to the feet of the king within six months. He also gave into the king's hands half of his earldom, and bequeathed various estates to that church, whose bishop he had murdered. Besides all this he promised to go on foot to Rome[5] and to obey the commands of the high pontiff on this matter.

1 The manuscript is again cut away on the corner and text is missing.

2 The initial letters of this name are missing; as a local man named Richard Pirot features later, it is likely that this was his Christian name.

3 Apparently, the papal edict had not completely settled the matter after all!

4 Adam had doubled the amount of butter due as a tithe from every 20 cows: 'Adam [Adam of Caithness] (d. 1222), Abbot of Melrose and Bishop of Caithness', *ODNB*.

5 In other words, undertake a pilgrimage; the spiritual reward was even greater if the journey was undertaken on foot as this increased the penitent's suffering.

Preprint Not for Copy

1223

In AD 1223 in London there was a scuffle between the servants of [Richard] abbot of Westminster and some young Londoners. But this merry scuffle soon turned to sorrow.[1] Although by nightfall the abbot's household held the upper hand (with many wounded on both sides), the following morning the people of London chose a new mayor for themselves, hired armed mercenaries to fight under public command and, after appointing their leader for the battle, attacked the church at Westminster. But on the advice of some sensible individual, they turned aside from there and wrecked the houses of the abbot's steward, both those inside and outside the city. They also seized anything belonging to him that they could carry, both animals and other things.

Then a few days later, [79] when [Richard] abbot of Westminster approached Philip d'Aubigny (a friend of the lord king who was staying in London)[2] to complain about the violence he had suffered, the Londoners seeing this swarmed like bees around Philip's lodging and forcibly led off twelve of the abbot's horses. The Londoners also rained blows on the abbot's servants, manhandled the troops who had come with the abbot and strove to capture the abbot himself.

But while Philip was trying and not succeeding to quell the tumult, the abbot secretly left the house by a back door and climbed aboard a boat on the Thames. As the boatman was rowing it away from the land, the citizens threw stones after them and the abbot only just got away to safety. When news of this threatening riot of the citizens reached the ears of the justiciar, he summoned the mayor and the chief men of the city and held an inquiry to find the ringleaders of this outbreak. As a result of the inquiry, the justiciar arrested the noblemen Constantine fitz Athulf and his two nephews. As they made arrogant replies when they were accused of the crime, they were hanged by the noose.[3]

As the citizens afterwards were grumbling about these hangings, the king took sixty hostages from among them and sent them into custody at various castles. He deposed the mayor of London[4] and established his own custodian there. He also ordered a massive gallows to be made ready. After strong threats from the king and many discussions with the barons the citizens were reconciled with the king, paying him many thousands of marks.[5]

1 Wendover tells us that it was originally a wrestling match, but that the seneschal (here referred to as the steward) of the abbot of Westminster wanted revenge for not winning and escalated events: Wendover's sympathies seem to lie with the citizens of London, whereas the Dunstable annalist leans more to the side of the Westminster monks; for the full account, see Wendover, p. 439–41.

2 Philip d'Aubigny was a Breton who had been granted the manor of South Petherton after it was taken from the Mayenne family by King John after they had rebelled against the monarch.

3 Constantine was one of the ringleaders, and a supporter of Louis of France. Hubert de Burgh was spared the decision of how to treat the rebel without inciting further riots when Falkes de Bréauté stepped in and organised the hanging. For further details of this incident see: 'Bréauté, Sir Falkes de (d. 1226), Soldier and Royal Favourite', *ODNB*.

4 Richard Renger, 1222–1226.

5 The best account of the significance of these events is given in D. A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London, 1990), pp. 301–42.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year died the bishops of Exeter, Coventry and Carlisle, the abbot of Bardney,[1] William Studham and brother Richard Brown.

In the same year in Bulgaria, which is next to Hungary, an antipope was set up who sent his legate Bartholomew to the Albigenses. Received there by the heretics, he deposed bishops, ordained priests and clergy, judged ecclesiastical [80] cases, and, although he professed the articles of faith, he brought disgrace on the Roman church. To deal with him, a council for many provinces was held at Sens, presided over by the bishop of Portugal on behalf of the Roman church. As a result of this the apostate vanished. On the order of the high pontiff the king of Hungary[2] was willing to capture the antipope, but the antipope fled.[3]

In the same year there was a great earthquake in different parts of Italy and Apulia. It was so severe that the town of Brescia was demolished, with many thousands of men being killed under the falling walls and palaces. Some people did escape, and they founded a new Brescia near the site of the old. At Venice the quake was so strong that the church bells were rung from the ground by the earthquake as if they were being pulled by men. Also on one day during Lent in Rome from dawn to midday the sky rained a red dust so that all the people in the streets saw their caps a reddish colour and the sky as it were bloodshot.[4]

In the same year the prior of Dunstable was made visitor of our order in the province of York, together with the abbot of Derby. They performed this office peacefully as far as the church of Kirkham, but then they met with opposition from the prior of Newburgh who appealed against their office. He was excommunicated by them on their return.

In the same year we received our first crop from Ballidon [Derbyshire] and Tissington, and at the king's court we were granted the presentation of the church[5] at Harlington against Richard Pirot. The prior of Newenham was granted the presentation of the church at Aspley Guise against us.

In the same year the king of Jerusalem came to Apulia, and on his advice it was agreed to hold a general council at Verona, to which the stewards of all Christian kings [81] were summoned. But because neither the pope nor the emperor was present, the council was postponed and transferred to Apulia. At this council the pope, emperor and king of Jerusalem were all present, and the king gave his daughter[6] in marriage

1 Simon of Apulia, William of Cornhill, Hugh and Matthew respectively.

2 Andrew II.

3 Bartholomew was stationed at Carcassonne and became 'bishop of the heretics'. As the Albigensian heresy was thought to have originated in Bulgaria and its hierarchy mirrored that of the Catholic Church, it is unsurprising the heretics elected a pope-like leader. This detailed account of the election is worth comparing to Wendover's version, pp. 445–6.

4 This earthquake is thought to have originated in what is now the Gargano National Park. Historically there have been a large number here: at least three significant ones are recorded between 1200 and 1500. See G. Alessio, M. De Lucia, G. Gaudiosi, R. Nappi, S. Porfido, paper delivered at the GNGTS 2016, 'Towards New Insights into Seismic Hazard of the Salento Peninsula (Puglia, Southern Italy) from the Analysis of Far and Near Field Seismicity' http://www3.ogs.trieste.it/gngts/files/2016/S11/Riassunti/Alessio.pdf (accessed 2 August 2017).

5 This is the right to present their own nominee for the vacant position.

6 Yolande or Isabelle of Brienne; see p. 29, n. 6 above.

Pre-publication Copy

to the emperor Frederick. There was also discussion about an expedition to the Holy Land of crusaders (actual and potential) when the truce which had been made at Damietta should come to an end. Then the emperor turned aside to subdue the rebels against himself and Sicily. The king of Jerusalem travelled to Rome, where the pope gave him many gifts and promised more for the expedition to the Holy Land. Then the king went to France, where King Philip bequeathed to him fifty thousand pounds of Parisian money for the work in the Holy Land. King Philip left the same sum both to the Templars and to the Hospitallers.

In the same year Philip, king of France, died and was buried at St Denis. He had been the father of his people, the mother of scholars, fierce in the fight, and far-seeing in council.[1] After his death his first-born son Louis was crowned king at Rheims. But Pandulf, bishop of Norwich, appealed against him to the apostolic see, asking that no one should place the crown of France on Louis' head, unless he should first restore Normandy to the king of England, as he had sworn on oath to do, when he had been reconciled to the English king after the war in England. But despite this Louis was crowned. On this same matter Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of London and Salisbury[2] were sent to Louis, but, hindered by a contrary wind, they were unable to be present at his coronation. But after his coronation the new king met them at Compiègne.[3] The bishops asked him about the restoration of Normandy and restitution for the losses inflicted upon the English. Louis replied [82] that not only would he not restore Normandy, which had been denied to the king of England and justly joined to the crown of France, but that he would also, when he saw an opportunity, make a claim for the whole of England, as it had been given to him by the barons of England and denied to King John.[4]

At the same time Llywelyn, the leader of the Welsh chieftains and husband of the sister of the king of England,[5] asked for help from King Henry so that he could restore to their proper status various castles which had been unjustly taken from the kingdom of England by the Welsh. When he received the help of troops, he captured the castles and then destroyed them and kept their lands for himself. With these same soldiers he even suddenly invaded the lands of William earl Marshal, whom he hated. He shut in their stalls all the animals which he could find and burnt down the stalls themselves, thus inflicting indescribable losses upon the earl Marshal. As the earl was unable to get his revenge for the numerous evils which he had suffered, he set out for Ireland and spent the whole winter gathering an army.[6]

1 This is an explicit acknowledgement of the huge developments Philip had encouraged in France during his four decades as king. The abbey of St Denis was the traditional burial site for the Capetian kings of France.

2 Eustace Fauconberg and Richard Poore respectively.

3 Situated to the north-east of Paris.

4 This is referring to the warm welcome he received during the First Barons' War from a number of King John's lords who had turned against their king, as detailed above.

5 Joan, not to be confused with her half sister of the same name who married the king of Scotland.

6 This is an escalation of the tensions which were outlined on pp. 34–5 above.

Pre-publication copy

Llywelyn meanwhile completely destroyed two castles situated in the Marches of North Wales, which had belonged to Fulk fitz Warin.[1] The king of England was extremely angry that this attack had broken the peace which he had established. He assembled an army and went to the Marches so that he might take revenge for the infraction of the peace. But the earl of Chester, a relation and friend of Llywelyn, met the king and on Llywelyn's behalf assured the king that Llywelyn would make amends by a certain day. And so the king's army went back home.

But when Llywelyn had not made amends by the day agreed, it happened that the earl Marshal, on his return from Ireland in Passion week, was landing in South Wales with many thousands of troops. But at the prayers of the king of England a fifteen-day truce was granted for settling the matter and war was postponed. But then when a peace was not forthcoming in the interval, war was declared. The earls of Gloucester, Salisbury, Essex[2] and Suffolk,[3] together with many [83] barons of the Marches and England, came to the help of the earl Marshal. On one occasion when they encountered the Welsh in a narrow place, the leaders only just escaped with their lives, and they lost several soldiers and many horses. Many Welshmen were also killed. But the earl Marshal fortified the lands which he seized with castles to act as a reminder and repaired those that had been damaged.

Finally, the king of England went to those parts with an army and drove away Llywelyn from his siege of a certain castle.[4] Llywelyn was solemnly excommunicated by [Stephen] archbishop of Canterbury, because he had rashly thrown into confusion the land of England although it was under the protection of the lord pope.[5] In the end Llywelyn, as he could not sustain the war, discussed the making of peace. To begin with he swore that he would obey the commands of the church, and so was absolved from his excommunication by the archbishop. And then a peace was arranged on the following conditions: the king of England should keep Montgomery with its castle and surrounding area; the earl Marshal should keep the lands which he had seized, except only for those lands which Llywelyn had taken possession of at the beginning of the war as his own fief and inheritance; also Llywelyn was to repair Fulk's castle, which he had destroyed contrary to the king's peace, and hand it back to Fulk; he was also to make good the losses suffered by the poor as best he could.[6]

Soon after this, as the king's army was returning home, the barons met in London and the following declaration was agreed upon and published abroad: that on the orders of the pope and with the approval of the barons the king himself had now reached

1 One of these was Whittington castle (Shropshire).

2 Gilbert de Clare, William Longespee and William de Mandeville.

3 Hugh Bigod, also earl of Norfolk.

4 This may have been Cilgerran Castle, as William Marshal the younger is known to have ousted Llywelyn in 1223. John Kenyon, *The Medieval Castles of Wales* (Cardiff, 2010), pp. 67–8.

5 John had signed it over to Innocent III as a papal fiefdom in 1213, and it remained so until parliament formally ended the recognition of papal supremacy in 1365.

6 This is one of the most comprehensive and detailed accounts of this uprising in Wales, far more so than Wendover's (pp. 443–4). For a full account of Llywelyn and Fulk's affairs, see Janet Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier: The Corbet, Pantulf, and Fitz Warin Families 1066–1272* (Lincoln, NE, 1980), pp. 34–45.

Pre-publication Copy

the proper age for the free management of his castles, lands and wardships – but not to the extent that it could be corroborated in a legal decree by someone.[1]

Meanwhile the earl of Chester, [William] earl of Aumale, Falkes [de Bréauté] and Brian de Insula and their accomplices unexpectedly formed a plan to make a surprise attempt to seize the Tower of London with an armed force. But on the approach of the king their plan was torn into pieces and, failing in their attempt, they retreated as far as the town of Waltham [84]. As this attempt clearly showed the barons were rebellious, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, and his many suffragans who were then present in London sent messengers of peace to the barons, asking them to come before the king and to make apology for their great excesses and to be reconciled to their lord king. When the barons came into the presence of the king, they unanimously said that they had done nothing against the king nor did they wish to do so, but that it was absolutely necessary that Hubert de Burgh, the so-called justiciar, should be removed from his office, as he was a squanderer of the king's wealth and an oppressor of the people. The justiciar, who was present at the meeting, was angry when he heard this, and launched into a violent denunciation of Peter [des Roches], bishop of Winchester, wishing to put all the blame back on him, and calling him a traitor to his king and kingdom. He declared that all the troubles which had arisen in the reigns of King John and King Henry had been caused by his evil doing. But the bishop, giving back insult for insult, said threateningly that, if he had to spend all that he had, he would get the justiciar himself removed from his office. And rising from the meeting with his baron accomplices mentioned above, he departed muttering angrily.[2]

Christmas was now at hand, and the barons prepared to celebrate Christmas itself at Northampton. When the king heard of this, he gave orders for the necessary preparations for his Christmas to be made at Northampton. But the rebellious barons had been expecting this and moved off as far as Leicester. As they withdrew the king came to Northampton. He was accompanied by [Stephen] archbishop of Canterbury and so great a crowd of bishops, earls, barons and armed knights that such a celebration of Christmas had never been known in England, either in the days of the king's father or afterwards. On the fifth day of Christmas the schismatic barons came before the king, and after the archbishop of Canterbury had administered communion and uttered his threats, both the schismatic barons and those who had stayed loyal to the king resigned all their custodies into the hands of the king. And so the feast ended, with the friends of the king departing in great jubilation and his enemies in great disarray.[3]

[1] Although of 'proper age' enough to use his seal, the king had not yet 'come of age', and his authority was therefore still restricted and overseen.

[2] Again, this is a livelier account than that given by Wendover; compare with Wendover, II, pp. 449–50. This was arguably the beginning of the end for Hubert: see D. A. Carpenter, 'The Fall of Hubert de Burgh', *Journal of British Studies*, 19 (1980), 1–17 (repr. in *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996), pp. 45–60).

[3] The remarkable detail in which these events are related led Carpenter to suggest the prior of Dunstable may have been present at court while they unfolded: Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, pp. 320–1.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year, [85] as the Welsh war had finished, Hugh de Lacy secretly crossed the sea to Ireland. Since his brother, Walter de Lacy, was lord of Meath,[1] Hugh collected troops from his brother's lands and invaded the part of Ireland belonging to the king of England, almost getting as far as Dublin. And so [Henry] archbishop of Dublin, who at that time was the king's justiciar in those parts, was forced to buy a truce from Hugh lasting to the following summer, as he had not been warned beforehand about Hugh's sudden, secret arrival.[2]

In the same year the king of Jerusalem came to England. He was welcomed with solemn honours both by the king of England in London and by [Stephen] archbishop of Canterbury in Canterbury.[3] But he was given fewer gifts than usual, because he had advised the French king against restoring the rights of the king of England.

In the same year died Simon bishop of Exeter, William bishop of Coventry, Ralph Hareng justiciar, Ralph abbot of Westminster[4] and Roger Ashburne.

1224

In AD 1224, the eighth year of the king's reign, a deed was drawn up at the king's court of an agreement made between the prior of Dunstable and William fitz Baldwin concerning the lands of John de Narbonne. A deed was also drawn up of an agreement made between the prior of Dunstable and Richard Pirot concerning Harlington church.

In the same year, while master Richard Stanford was in charge of the Dunstable schools, such a serious fight took place between the townspeople and the students that many were wounded on both sides, and one townsman was found to have received a fatal stab wound. When he died a few days later, Robert a clerk of Sirinctone was accused by the dead man's wife, but he fled before he could be arrested. In the following autumn master Richard was made a canon of Dunstable [86], as was John Mouldridge.

In the same year in the octave of Pentecost [9 June] the truce between the kings of France and England came to an end. The French king wished the truce to be extended for ten years, but the council of the English king would only agree to a four-year truce.[5] And so the king of France set out for Poitou. He received the homage of [Hugh de Lusignan] the count of La Marche and gave a one-year truce to [Aimery VII] the viscount of Thouars. Then he first besieged and captured the castle of Niort and soon, without any siege on his part, the occupants of the castle of St Jean d'Angely surrendered to him. After this capture, he set out for La Rochelle, where, besides the people of the place, there were also the nobleman Savary de Mauléon with seventy knights, and Richard de Gray and Geoffrey Neville with sixty knights sent by the king of England. These

1 County in the mid-east of Ireland; Walter de Lacy was also lord of Ludlow (Shropshire) in the Welsh Marches.

2 As a result of this campaign, Hugh established the earldom of Ulster, and became the first earl.

3 The king of Jerusalem's visit is noted by Walter of Coventry, p. 252, though he comments on the generosity of the churchmen in England.

4 There is probably a mistake here – it should be Richard.

5 This may be because by that time Henry III would have come of age and could decide himself what policy to take towards France.

Pre-publication copy

reinforcements together with the inhabitants of the castle came out to meet the king of France. In the battle they killed many Frenchmen and also lost some of their own men. In the end the French king laid siege to the castle with trebuchets, catapults, siege engines and innumerable other devices. Those who were inside the castle met engines with engines and defended themselves like men.[1]

Also in the octave of Pentecost, while the king was at Northampton holding discussions with the clergy and barons of the kingdom about the sending of support to Poitou, William de Bréauté with the agreement of his brother Falkes de Bréauté captured Henry Braybrooke the justiciar of the king at the exchequer, and kept him a prisoner in Bedford castle.[2] The king was extremely angry at this, suspended the help to Poitou and laid siege to Bedford castle. The archbishop of Canterbury came to his aid, together with the bishops, abbots and suffragans. They also granted the king a plough tax, consisting of half a mark from each of their demesne plough-lands, two shillings from each plough-land of their tenants, and two workmen from each hide to operate the siege engines. But to prevent this tax being extended to other occasions and amounting to slavery, the king gave the people concerned written agreements stating their immunity in the future.[3] [87]

In the meantime Falkes de Bréauté withdrew and waited in the territory of the earl of Chester. But this same earl of Chester,[4] [Peter] bishop of Winchester, the earl of Aumale, William Cantilupe, Brian de Insula, Peter de Mauley[5] and their satellites pretended to be assisting the king, but their words and all their actions made them suspect. Finally, when the bishop of Winchester and the earl of Chester saw that they had been excluded from the inner counsels of the king, they sought an opportunity from a friend and withdrew to their own homes. But in the meantime, as the fall of the castle was imminent, and as the bishop of Chester was acting as a go-between and messenger for the king, the earl of Chester returned to the king's court, and Falkes de Bréauté came as far as Northampton. While he was there under an escort of the king and while Martin Pattishall and [John] archdeacon of Bedford were arranging peace terms between the king and de Bréauté, Bedford castle was captured in the following way.

On the east side, there were one catapult and two siege engines which battered the tower every day. On the west side, there were two siege engines which pulverised the old tower. Then there was one siege engine on the south and one on the north,

1 The siege of La Rochelle was significant in that the town was strategically important as a base for the kings of England to mount their French campaigns, and had been such since the loss of their continental lands in 1203–4. Distracted by the seige of Bedford which was only just drawing to a close (details below), Henry II was unable to send assistance, and so La Rochelle and the remaining Plantagenet lands in Poitou fell to the French crown. For full discussion, see Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, pp. 370–3.

2 The following account of the siege of Bedford castle is one of the best narrative sources for this event with many details not found elsewhere, such as the types of weaponry used.

3 There was always a fear that so-called 'one-off' taxes like this one raised to pay for this siege would become a regular occurence.

4 Ranulf de Blundeville.

5 Of Mulgrave castle, near Whitby in Yorkshire.

Pre-publication copy

and these two made two gaps in the walls nearest to them. Besides these there were present two skilfully made machines of wood which were built up to overlook the tower and the castle, and these were used by slingers and spies. In addition to all these there were several engines in which slingers and stone-throwers were lying hid in ambush. Finally, there was at the siege a machine called the 'Cat', under cover of which subterranean diggers called 'miners' advanced and withdrew as they dug under the walls of the tower and castle.

The castle was taken by means of four attacks. In the first attack the barbican was taken and four or five foreigners were killed. In the second the outer bailey was taken, and in this attack more people were killed, while our own people of Dunstable took as loot horses with their sets [88] of harness, breastplates, slings, live oxen, hogs and pigs, and many other things beyond counting. They also burnt the sheds inside the castle where the corn and the hay were stored.

In the third attack, thanks to the miners the wall next to the old tower collapsed, and our men entered over the fallen masonry and in grave peril seized the inner bailey. Many of our men died in securing this gain. Also, ten of our men in their desire to enter the tower were shut in it and held prisoner by the enemy.[1]

For the fourth attack, at about vespers[2] on the eve of the Assumption [14 August] a fire was laid by the miners at the foot of the tower in such a way that the smoke swirled up into the living quarters in the tower where the enemy were. The tower was split open and cracks could be seen in its sides. Then the enemy gave up any hope of saving their lives and they allowed Falkes' wife[3] and all the women with her to depart safe and sound. They also permitted the departure of Henry the king's justiciar and the other knights whom they had previously shut in there, and then they submitted themselves to the king's commands, after placing his standard on the top of the tower. And thus they remained for that night in the tower in the custody of the king.

The next morning, they were brought before the king's tribunal, absolved from excommunication by the bishops and at the order of the king and justiciar eighty or more of them were hung on gibbets. At the prayers of his magnates the king allowed three of them to join the Templars and to fight for the Lord in the Holy Land in the Templar uniform. The captain of the castle was handed over to the archbishop so that he might be tried in an ecclesiastical court. It is not easy to give details of all the treasure and all the weapons and supplies of food that were found in the tower. And so all Falkes' men in England scattered to the four winds, without their goods or properties.[4]

After these events Falkes, accompanied by a few of his men, was brought to Bedford. His men were set free, but Falkes remained under sentence until he should restore to the king Plympton castle [89] and the castle of Stogursey, and the gold and silver vessels and money which were his. And so he was taken to London.

[1] The references here to 'our men' suggests that men from Dunstable were involved in the taking of the castle, providing the annalist with eyewitness detail.

[2] The time of evening prayer, usual around 6 pm.

[3] Margaret, daughter of Warin fitz Gerald, widow of Baldwin, earl of Aumale.

[4] The hearing was held by Henry Braybrooke at Dunstable, hence the detailed knowledge of the situation and outcome: http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-07-2007.html#fn02

Pre-publication copy

In the meantime, the sheriff was ordered to demolish the tower and outer bailey of the castle. The inner bailey was left as a home for William Beauchamp,[1] once the battlements had been removed and the ditches filled up. The canons of Newnham and Caldwell and St Paul's church in Bedford were allowed to have the stones. Falkes was later acquitted in London. Because he was a crusader, he was allowed to depart for Rome. He crossed the channel and landed at Fécamp, but was detained there by the officers of the French king. When he was finally set free from prison the following Easter, he went to Rome and persuaded the pope to write a very touching letter addressed to the king of England concerning the recovery of his wife and lands. But the king and his barons wrote back to the pope telling him about Falkes' treason. After this setback, Falkes went to Troyes and after staying there for a year he was banished from the kingdom of France because he was unwilling to do homage to its king. Finally, he returned to Rome and, by impassioned pleading in a letter to the judges appointed to his case, he had his patrimony and wife restored to him. And so he was returning home from Rome loaded down with many debts when he breathed his last at St Ciriac.[2]

In the same year Robert Passelewe and Robert Kent set out for Rome on behalf of the earl of Chester and themselves, having first taken an oath that they would ask at Rome for nothing that was not for the good of the king or his kingdom. On their arrival in Rome, they immediately asked that a papal legate should be sent to England who would compel the king to admit to his inner counsels the earl of Chester and his adherents and also to restore to them the custody of their castles, on the grounds that they had been loyal to his father in time of war. But the two Roberts met with strong opposition from the archdeacon of Bedford and from master A. the chancellor of the archbishop of Canterbury. Their hopes were frustrated and they returned home a failure, [90] basically because the noblemen for whom they were pleading had conspired to destroy the king and his kingdom, even though at one time they had seemed to be loyal.

In the same year in the octave of Pentecost the itinerant justices had been at Dunstable. They had convicted Falkes de Bréauté of thirty-five acts of taking possession of lands. He had been exceedingly angry. He had set an ambush for the justices as they went away from Dunstable and then on his orders Henry Braybrooke had been taken captive, an act from which many troubles sprang.[3]

In the same year there arose a quarrel between the churches of Coventry and Lichfield over the election of the bishop.[4] After the canons of Lichfield had named their choice, the monks of Coventry chose their own abbot as bishop,[5] but because the canons of

1 Of Elmley castle, Worcestershire.

2 For a similarly detailed account of the siege of Bedford and the fate of Falkes, see Wendover, pp. 450–4. In his account of events, Walter of Coventry also includes a letter written by Henry III confirming the aid given by the clergy during the siege, pp. 254–5, and the letter of complaint Falkes made to the pope about being forced to resign his castles and his excommunication, and an appeal for help, pp. 259–74.

3 That is the siege of Bedford, described above.

4 A peculiarity of the diocese meant that both churches came under the power of a single bishop, hence the cause for conflict.

5 Probably a man named Geoffrey who was abbot from 1216 to 1235.

Pre-publication copy

Lichfield had already named their choice, [Stephen] archbishop of Canterbury quashed the election made by the monks. And so the monks appealed to the apostolic see. But then, as the monks pursued their appeal and the canons opposed it, the pope intervened and produced harmony. For his appointment of master Alexander Stavenby as bishop, with the rights of both churches left intact, met with the approval of both parties. So around the feast of St James, Alexander Stavenby came to England, a consecrated bishop, and was honourably received by king, clergy and people.

In the same year the king of Jerusalem married the king of Castile's daughter. She was the sister of the wife of Louis, king of France, and the niece of the king of England.[1]

In the same year the earl of Arundel died. Hubert de Burgh the justiciar took over the control of his earldom.

In the same year the king of Aragon died.[2] His sister and heir[3] was married to Raymond, the count of Toulouse. Raymond made a complete submission to the Roman church and swore to obey its commands, especially concerning the extermination of heretics and the preserving of the unity of the faith and the giving of help to the Holy Land. [91] And so in this way he was fully reconciled to the Roman church. As a result, the king of France, who had planned to invade the lands of the Albigensians, turned aside to attack Poitou. He captured firstly the castle of Niort and secondly the castle of St Jean of Angely. Then he laid siege to La Rochelle which he gained possession of by the trickery of Savary of Mauléon, who was pretending to be the friend of the king of England. Having been admitted inside for that reason, de Mauléon then weakened the fighting spirit of its defenders and persuaded the minds of the majority to surrender the castle, provided that the liberties and the freedoms of the inhabitants were guaranteed, and that the knights of the king of England who had established themselves inside the town and their equipment [reading *hernasiis eorum*] were safe.[4]

1225

In AD 1225 William Marshal the younger married the sister [Eleanor] of Henry, king of England. At this time Hugh de Lacy, who had dismissed his legal wife and taken a mistress, had made for Ireland, and there had seized some castles by pretending to be a friend and had extorted protection money from the Irish all the way up to the city of Dublin. [5]And so William Marshal, filled with a zealous zeal, girded himself with the sword of bravery and with his sword in his strong hand and his arm extended made for Ireland. There he attacked Hugh and besieged the castles which Hugh had taken

1 This was Berengaria of Leon, who was John of Brienne's third wife.

2 Peter II, though his death at the Battle of Muret actually took place in 1213, see p. 16 n. 4 above.

3 There is some confusion here over the marriages. Raymond VI of Toulouse married Eleanor of Aragon, the daughter of Alfonso II of Aragon, who had died in 1196. She was Peter's sister, not heir, as the crown passed to his son James I (1213–1276). Raymond VII of Toulouse, who became count in 1222, married Sancha of Aragon, Eleanor's younger sister.

4 Much of this passage is a repetition of the information given on pp. 53–4 above.

5 Again, this is a repetition of information given on p. 53 above under the preceding year, detailing how de Lacy made himself earl of Ulster.

Pre-publication copy

from him by trickery. He chased him from place to place until Hugh found asylum in the steep mountains and dense forests. Finally, Hugh could see that he was unable to resist William, and gave back to the Marshal his own castles and submitted himself to the mercy of the king. Thus William Marshal, as befitted a justiciar of the lord king, brought peace to the land and made the whole of Ireland loyal to the king of England. Everything was arranged at his nod.

Meanwhile William sent Hugh de Lacy under the custody of John Marshal back to England to the king, together with a letter asking the king to admit Hugh to his favour, on the grounds that other nobles who were rivals of the king would be more easily won to friendship by this precedent. Hugh arrived at the king's court, but for eight days did not see his face. [92] For at the request of the bishop of Dublin Hugh had been excommunicated on the orders of the pope because he had rashly caused such disturbance in Ireland. But finally, he entrusted his case to [Stephen] archbishop of Canterbury, who freed Hugh from the chains of excommunication according to the forms of the church. But Hugh still made no headway with the king. Then William Marshal returned from Ireland, and at his urging the king gave Hugh two hundred marks from his exchequer until he should make a more generous provision for him.[1] The king also made a gift to William Marshal of Luton and all the other lands which William with foolish generosity had once given to Falkes de Bréauté. And so the Marshal won back that which he had previously given away foolishly.

In the same year the king of England sent select envoys to Rome to complain that the king of France had rashly presumed to invade Poitou and other lands of the king of England, even though he was a vassal of the Roman church. And now the king of France was refusing to give back those lands, despite the fact that the proctor of the king of France and other Christian princes had raised no opposition when he had been present at the general council of the Roman church which had decided and decreed that the wars of Christendom should be either peacefully concluded and brought to an end or suspended by the intervention of a long-lasting truce.

When his intelligence officers reported this to the king of France, he uttered threats against the English, saying not only that he would keep the lands which he already had, but also that within a few days he would take possession of England, as it was a land which had been awarded to him under oath and whose legitimate heir was at his court. He immediately sent royal letters to all places on the coast, making promises to sailors and other troops both French and English, of inheritances, freedoms and many gifts of money to all who were willing to join his side in this matter. He even declared that he was sure of England, both because the king was a pubescent pauper and because the nobles of the land had assured him of the kingdom, handing it over to him through hostages and written promises.[2] [93]

[1] For fuller details of this Irish campaign, see Daniel Brown, *Hugh de Lacy First Earl of Ulster; Rising and Falling in Angevin Ireland* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 155–64, and Colin Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms: the Lacy Family 1066–1241* (Manchester, 2014), Chapter 8.

[2] The French claim to the throne of England here harks back to King John's reign, when Louis was invited to take it by the barons who were at the time in open rebellion against John.

Pre-publication copy

Fear struck the king of England when he heard of this. After a discussion with his loyal supporters, he fortified the coastal places, sent an army to the offshore islands and took hostages from the Cinque Ports. At length at a parliament held in London the king asked the barons for their assistance in the defence of the kingdom. But the barons in their turn demanded various liberties, which had been granted to them by King John and later confirmed by King Henry himself, although as yet not delivered to them because of the opposition of the king's officers. After many twists and turns in the discussions, finally everybody was pleased that the king, now that he had grown up, freely gave both to the middle classes and to the common folk the liberties which he had conceded to them when he was a boy.[1] And in their turn the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons and men of religion themselves generously promised to the king himself in this great emergency a fifteenth tax on all their moveable goods.[2] Because the secular clergy did not accept this commitment, the king obtained from the pope a letter to be sent to all the clergy of England, which awarded him suitable help according to the value of their benefices.

In the same year, in the ninth year of the king's reign, we obtained from the exchequer, during the circuit of Henry Braybrooke and his fellow justices, the right to impose two fines on John Youngman and Alexander his brother for cases of novel disseisin.

In the same year in the fifth week after Easter [first week of May] an entry was made on the king's rolls of the agreement between us and master Roger de Newport concerning land at Segenhoe.

In the same year a deed was drawn up between us and the monks of Woburn abbey concerning their release from toll in the market at Dunstable. They paid us eight marks for this, and master Simon Bobelin paid an annual rent of three shillings for them.

In the same year died John, bishop of Ely. He was replaced by [Geoffrey] the archdeacon of Norwich.

Also E[ustace], prior of Newenham, died and was replaced by Hervey, prior of Osney. [94]. Also the prior of St Neots[3] died. Also [John] prior of Huntingdon. Also the prior of Southwark.[4] Also Earl Hugh Bigod, whose wife, sister of William Marshal, immediately married [William] the earl of Warenne.[5] Also John of Bovilla. Also Robert Ferrars. Also [William] the prior of Ruislip and Theobald of Valoines.

In the same year on the king's orders his brother Richard was made a knight amid great solemnity and set out for Gascony with his uncle William, earl of Salisbury, and many knights and much treasure. He was honourably welcomed by the archbishop [William II] and citizens of Bordeaux. The whole province immediately surrendered

1 This is referring to his confirmation of Magna Carta upon becoming king.

2 Magna Carta was again reissued by Henry III in 1225 once he was considered old enough to be acting independently; essentially, he was reiterating the barons' privileges in return for financial aid. For the most significant changes since the 1215 issue, see *Councils and Synods*, pp. 137–8.

3 Roger; nothing further is known about him, however.

4 The manuscript reads 'Suero'. Luard ('Annales de Dunstaplia', p. 94 n. 2) suggests St Mary Overy, Southwark, whose prior, Robert of Osney, died in 1223, or Southwick (Hampshire). See *Heads of Religious Houses*, I, p. 460.

5 Maud, daughter of William Marshall, earl of Pembroke. She married William de Warenne on 13 October 1225.

Pre-publication copy

to him, apart from two castles which had been previously seized by the king of France. One of these Richard captured within three months.[1] The other, called La Réole, he took after nine months. He captured the outer defences in a battle, and then the inner defences surrendered unconditionally. Richard is said to have acquired much booty. But the earl of Salisbury took no part in these events.[2]

In the same year a knight, pretending to be the count Baldwin who once had been elected emperor of Greece, was received by many in Flanders as their lord.[3] It was because of the many proofs of signs and scars on his body that he was believed to be their true lord by almost everybody. Protected by five hundred knights he established such a strong position in Flanders that the countess his daughter,[4] who refused to acknowledge him as her father, was not able to resist him but was forced to flee to the king of France [95], paying him a large sum of money to get his help. And so the king of France ordered the supposed count to come before him, as uncle before nephew, and as one who would receive every honour if he could prove his claim to be count by convincing arguments; and if he was perhaps frightened to come to Paris, he would at least not hesitate to meet the French king at a common boundary place. After his arrival he was having little success in persuading the French king to believe that he was the count, and so, fearing to be taken prisoner, he asked for one night's grace for thought. But when this was granted to him, he ran away in the middle of the following night. But the next month he was arrested in the marches of Germany. Many tortures were inflicted on him, and in the bigger towns of Flanders he was stretched on a rack, with two dogs hung on either side of him. Finally, on the order of the countess, he was beheaded and killed by night. Right up to this day the people believe that he was the real count Baldwin and that he was killed because of the jealousy of his daughter. As a result, many miracles have later occurred at the places of his death.[5]

In the same year Roger Cantilupe, a knight of Essex of noble birth, was accused of breaking the king's peace. He was found guilty by judicial combat and finally hanged. His sons were disinherited and outlawed.

In the same summer there was a plethora of robbers in all the counties of England. They not only robbed travellers of their valuables but even killed the innocent. There were so many of them that no citizens slept safe in their villages or passed unharmed from town to town. So that this ill might be remedied, itinerant justices were sent through all the counties of England to deal with cases of novel disseisin, the emptying of prisons and the punishing men for their crimes. These justices hanged many throughout

1 Wendover says this was Bergerac: II, p. 457.

2 For a fuller account of Richard's journey and victories, see Wendover, II, pp. 456–8.

3 Count Baldwin was one of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade, elected emperor of the new territories won in the aftermath. Before setting out, he had been the count of Flanders and Hainault. He was captured by the Bulgarians following the Greek uprising at Adrianople in 1205 and was thought to have died in prison.

4 Jane, countess of Flanders.

5 For a full examination of these strange events, see Robert Lee Wolff, 'Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death, and Resurrection, 1172–1225', *Speculum*, 27 (1952), 281–322.

Pre-publication copy

England, and on their arrival countless criminals fled and left the country. At that time the justices in our county were Simon Hale and Richard Duchet.

In the same year [96] by final concord we obtained the confirmation of William Marshal to the land at Chalton and the confirmation of William d'Avranches to the land at Worthing [near Wadlow manor, Toddington]. Also we received a writ at the king's court against the monks of Woburn abbey concerning the market toll and another writ against Hugh de Gornath concerning the land at Houghton Regis.

In the same year the archbishop of Cologne, a justiciar of the emperor, was killed in an ambush by his kinsman and vassal, just because the archbishop had refused to release this knight's cronies, who had looted a monastery.[1]

In the same year the king of Denmark[2] captured in war the duke of Saxony,[3] who gave him part of his lands for his liberation and paid him homage for the remaining part. The king then died.[4] His son,[5] an adolescent knight, held a solemn funeral for his father, wishing to win the favour of his barons. He invited to it archbishops and bishops, earls, magnates and nobles, and among others the duke of Saxony,[6] to whom he showed greater honour at the banquet than to all the rest. When the banquet was over, the young king, wishing to escape from such a great crowd, took the duke with him and sailed off in a flotilla of galleys to a certain island. There, besides the drinks of his country, he found just one jar of wine. The king was planning to make the duke more drunk then he had ever planned to make anybody drunk before. But while he was trying to make the duke drunk, he became drunk himself and many of his retinue with him. The result was that, while the king and his men were sleeping in a drunken stupor, the duke and his men sank the king's galleys, murdered his guard, threw the sleeping king wrapped in his own clothes into his galleys and carried him off to his own country. [97]

When the kidnapping was discovered, the nobles of the land held a meeting and a sturdy knight, a kinsman of the king and his heir, was chosen to lead an army of all the king's friends. He invaded the duke's land, and inflicted countless losses upon him by looting his property, burning his towns and seizing his castles. The duke however possessed an impregnable citadel, in which he was now lodged together with the stolen king. Although he was not frightened for his own body, the duke could not endure the losses being inflicted upon him, and so he made an offer to the leaders of the king's forces: if they were willing to return to Denmark with their army, he himself would bring back their king to them with great honour. And he swore that he would kill the king at once, if they refused to do this.

Then the whole Danish army asked the knight who was their leader to return home under the conditions proposed by the duke. The leader said in reply to them, 'Although I

[1] Englebert II of Berg was trying to bring his cousin Frederick of Isenberg to justice for his role in defrauding nuns.

[2] Valdemar II (1202–1241).

[3] This is an error. The king of Denmark was actually captured by Adolph III, count of Holstein.

[4] He did not actually die – he went on to reign until 1241.

[5] Valdemar the Young (1218–1231).

[6] Again this is an error – it was actually Henry, count of Schwerin.

Pre-publication copy

know that the duke is making this offer with trickery in his heart, so that I may not seem to love my country more than my king's life, I will do what you ask.' And so the Danish army returned home. But their leader had prophesied the truth. The naivety of his men was shown to be a delusion.[1]

In the same year there was a burst of miracles at the true cross in Bromholm, a cross which had once belonged to Baldwin, the emperor of Constantinople. His chaplain, an Englishman, had received it from him, brought it to England, and set it up in Bromholm.[2]

In the same year Viel of Engaine, Ralph of Bray and William fitz Ely were accused on a charge of treason by a knight called Richard fitz Nigel, and in consequence imprisoned in the Tower of London. But this Richard had a bad reputation. He had broken out of prison at Oxford, and put off the discovery of this crime for six months. And so his accusation was rejected, and he himself was condemned to be pulled apart by horses and handed over to the hangman. And so the accused left the Tower free men.[3]

In the same year, a dispute which had arisen between the bishop of Paris[4] [98] and his chancellor on the one hand and the scholars of the university on the other came before Romano, the papal legate in France on the order of Pope Honorius. On the express pronouncement of the legate the seal of the university was condemned and broken up, and similarly the privileges of the university were condemned.[5] The scholars were shocked and incensed by the legate's pronouncement and hurled insults at him. As the legate's servants were trying to push them back, the scholars began to strike the servants, so that many were wounded on both sides and some even killed.

Meanwhile the legate took refuge in the bishop's palace, and sent for help to the king, who was present in the city at the time. But the scholars in the meantime broke down the palace doors, and, while they were charging into the palace and trying to break down the doors to the bishop's chamber and chapel, the legate climbed up the palace tower. But just in time the king's men turned up, freed the legate from the scholars'

[1] There are a number of inaccuracies in this version of events, though the outcome referred to here is the defeat of the Danish at the Battle of Bornhöved in 1227. For a more accurate outline of events, see Jens E. Olesen, 'A Danish "Empire" in the Baltic (1168–1227)?', in *The Norwegian Domination and the Norse World, c.1100–c.1400*, ed. Steinar Imsen (Trondheim, 2010) pp. 263–87.

[2] See *Chronicon Anglicanum*, for further details. Also Wendover, II, pp. 446–8. For a detailed study of the rood, see C. E. Wormald, 'The Rood of Bromholm,' *The Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 1 (1937), 31–45.

[3] The content and process of the case are laid out in considerable detail in Peter Coss, 'Law and Political Culture in Thirteenth-Century England: The Treason Trial of 1225', in *Soldiers, Nobles, and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. Peter Coss and Christopher Tyerman (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 261–78.

[4] Bartholomew (1224–1227).

[5] The seal was of huge symbolic importance to the university, as it represented the rights and privileges of the university as a corporation. These actions led to what has become known as the 'great dispersion' when many teachers and students left Paris for other universities. For further discussion, see Ian P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University, c.1100–1330* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 101–2.

Pre-publication copy

hands, and put in chains in prison the one hundred and forty scholars found inside the bishop's door.

Now the English masters and scholars had not been part of all this and had not agreed with such high-handed behaviour. But the legate pronounced the following sentence against supporters of this criminal attack: that masters concerned should not in the future lecture in Paris or anywhere else; that beneficed clerks should lose the benefices which they had and the hope of holding others; and that men in orders should be suspended for good. Upon some, who had committed still graver crimes, the legate inflicted graver punishments.[1]

In the same year a fleet of the English king, which had taken out a great sum of treasure to Gascony for Richard the king's brother,[2] was seeking to return home, having completed its mission. But as it came towards La Rochelle, it was unable to proceed further as the wind failed. Savary of Mauléon, who was in charge of the coastal strip, noticed this. He came up with his galleys, and, because he had discovered that the ships were English, he ordered them to put into the port and to pay a ransom for their property and their bodies. [99] If they refused, he threatened to capture and kill the lot of them. The sailors were frightened and offered him first sixty marks, then one hundred and then two hundred. But while messengers were taking these offers to Savary and he was refusing all of them, he gave orders for his fleet to be prepared. But a miracle! Just in time a south wind blew up, and the sailors on the English ships raised their sails and sailed smoothly on, refusing to give Savary a penny. While they were bound for Britain, they came across a very large vessel of Bayonne, loaded with merchandise worth ten thousand marks. They attacked and captured the vessel, killed many of the rebels and brought their prize into Southampton harbour. But as much of the contents belonged to the merchants of France, and as England had a truce with France, the king gave orders for the merchandise to be kept by the citizens of London at a fair price.

In the same year we acquired the rights to tithes of hay and mills against Simon Littlington, John Youngman and many others.

1226

In AD 1226 master Otto[3] was sent to England by the Roman see. He demanded from individual cathedral churches a better prebend after the first one, and from abbeys and priories a suitable benefice, and, until that should become vacant, a suitable allowance of rooms in which to lodge the servants of the high pontiff. Similar ambassadors were sent to France and other provinces. The reply of the provincial council which met at London was that the Canterbury province would not make such grants without the

[1] Not even Wendover records these events. The details must have been related to Dunstable priory through someone known to Prior Richard from the time he spent there a decade earlier.

[2] Richard of Cornwall.

[3] Otto or Oddone of Montferrat, who died before 23 January 1251, was an Italian papal diplomat and cardinal. He was of the noble house of Montferrat, son of Marquis William VI of Montferrat.

Pre-publication copy

meeting of a general council and the agreement of its patrons, and the other provinces replied not dissimilarly.[1]

In the same year the earl of Salisbury, as he returned from Gascony from the direction of Brittany, suffered shipwreck. He only just escaped alive both from the sea and from the hands of his enemies. Getting back to England at last, he died after a few days.[2]

In the same year Richard, [100] bishop of Durham, died and also Simon, abbot of Reading.

In the same year the vicarage of Pattishall was given to Robert the clerk, and the wood of Wodenhale was given to us by Roger, chaplain of Ivinghoe.

In the same year a written agreement between us and Hugh Gournay, William Cantilupe and various others was obtained from the king's bench about the lands at Houghton Regis. Also at that time we began to put up buildings on this land.

In the same year peace was made between Llywelyn and William Marshal and the earl of Chester. Pandulf, bishop of Norwich, died and was replaced by master Thomas Blundeville. The abbot of St Augustine at Canterbury [Hugh] and [Alexander] abbot of Burgh died, and Geoffrey Hecton was made prior of Canons Ashby.[3]

In the same year Romano, the cardinal and legate of the apostolic see, was sent to France to warn King Louis to restore Normandy, Anjou and Aquitaine to Henry, king of England. Louis discussed the matter with John, king of Jerusalem, and with his other barons and then replied that he would not give back to the English one foot of the earth which his father Philip at his death had bequeathed to him.[4] After this failure of his mission, the legate turned all his attention to the case of the Albigensians. He held a council at Bourges and advised the count of Toulouse to return to the catholic faith with all his people; he was also to restore to Amaury de Montfort the Albigensian land, which the Roman church had given to de Montfort, but of which de Montfort had been robbed with no attention paid to the process of law. But the count said in reply, 'We hold fast to the catholic faith. If any heretic is found [101] in our land, we want him to be punished, but not so that a just man should perish as though he were an unjust man. Nor will I give my inheritance to another. I lost it through a defeat in war, but I subsequently justly recovered it. All the same, for the good of peace I will pay de Montfort three thousand marks.' And so the legate spent another day with both parties, in the hope that further discussion on this matter might lead to peace.

But in the meantime the French king, on the advice of the legate, had given money to Aimery and had bought from him all his rights with their documents which he had in the land of the Albigensians. Having done this, he declared a holy war against the Albigensians as though against heretics, though God knows whether he was moved by

1 For all Otto's dealings in England, see *Councils and Synods*, pp. 155–8. Wendover (II, pp. 469–74), says that this was because the archbishop and other bishops were with the king at the time and refused to give an answer.

2 Wendover relates in much greater detail how William Longespee, earl of Salisbury, survived the shipwreck and evaded capture: II, pp. 460–1, and his 'glorious' death by poisoning: pp. 468–9.

3 Geoffrey of Hecton; he is of particular interest to the compilers as he was the former precentor of Dunstable.

4 Wendover's account of the meeting does not include this detail; it focuses instead on the Albigensian question dealt with next.

Pre-publication copy

a spirit of greed or a spirit of piety.[1] So great was this holy war that about a hundred thousand men were moved by their fear of the king and the pronouncement of the legate to set out for those parts, taking with them treasure and countless siege engines, in order to fight for the crown of France.

The king with the legate, the clergy and his men entered the province and laid siege to Avignon. And others from Vaux, Carcassonne, Narbonne, Béziers, Montpelier, Marseilles and Saint-Gilles and the people in between these places all swore to obey the orders of the legate. And so they were restored to communion and the rites of the church. The people of Avignon were now under siege and beset by so many causes of distress that they sent to the king at one time women naked to the waist with their children, and at another time grey-haired old men to beg the king to show them the mercy of allowing them to depart from their city empty-handed, leaving all their possessions behind. The king did not listen to them. They returned to their city and kept up their defence of it for a long time until finally the lord pope instructed the legate to recover the city which belonged to him without doing harm to persons or property, provided that the whole community swore to obey the commands of the pope. This was done and the city admitted into the protection of the church, except that orders were given for the city walls and the forty best palaces to be destroyed, and for unbelievers to be punished as heretics if they would not accept catholic doctrine. And in this way the siege ended.[2]

But the king of France left his brother Philip [count of Boulogne] behind to destroy the walls and himself made for France. When the king was now [102] four days' journey away from Avignon, Count Raymond came to Avignon with his forces, destroyed Philip's army and seriously wounded and took prisoner Philip himself. When the king heard of this, he began to recall his army, but in Auvergne he breathed his last, whether because of distress and trouble or whether, as some think, he had been given poison to drink.[3] There also died the archbishop of Rheims,[4] Hugh count of St Pol and many other princes and famous men. And besides these deaths, about thirty thousand ordinary soldiers died, some by the sword, some because of the bad weather.

At the same time Louis, the son of Louis, was crowned king.[5] But the counts of Champagne,[6] Brittany,[7] La Marche[8] and Barre did not give their consent to his coronation, nor were

1 This neatly summarises the ongoing debate surrounding the Albigensian Crusade: to what extent was it really religiously motivated, or for the political and territorial advancement of the northern French?

2 For further details on the siege of Avignon and the other events of the crusade, see Jonathan Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade* (London, 2011).

3 King Louis died of dysentry on 8 November 1226 at the Chateau de Montpensier, Auvergne.

4 William of Joinville (1219–1226).

5 He was nominally king while his father was away on crusade, and, although he was brought up to be king, he died in 1260 before his father.

6 Theobald IV, count of Champagne.

7 Peter I Mauclerc, duke of Brittany (1213–1221), then regent for his son.

8 Hugh X of Lusignan, husband of Isabella, widow of King John.

Pre-publication copy

they supporters of him. But Count Richard and the count of Toulouse swore their allegiance and grew in prosperity from day to day.

In the same year the revenue of half the vicarage of the church at Pattishall was given to Robert the chaplain.

In the same year died Benedict [bishop] of Rochester. He was replaced by Henry [Sandford], archdeacon of Canterbury.

In the same year died master John Luton, master John Linley and William de Mandeville.

1227

In the year AD 1227 on the fifth day after *Laetare Jerusalem*[1] came the death of Pope Honorius III.[2] He was replaced by Gregory IX, who previously had been bishop of Ostia.

In the same year Hubert de Burgh, the king's justiciar, was made earl of Kent. His nephew Raymond [de Burgh] married the countess of Essex,[3] and his daughter[4] married [103] the eldest son of the earl of Gloucester.[5] Hubert also at that time held in prison the son of the earl of Arundel[6] and his retinue, and, in similar fashion, almost all the castles of the lord king of England were in his domain. The princes of the realm were indignant at this, but their lips were sealed by bribes.

In the same year Romano, the papal legate to France, finished his term of office and returned home. After his departure Louis, the king of France, held a council at Loudun. There he came to an agreement with his enemies and received homage from them. By the terms of the agreement he awarded an annual rent-charge to Hugh, count of La Marche, now the husband of Isabella who had been queen of England.[7] This was instead of the dowry which was owing to him from the land of King John and which he should have received on the day of the betrothal. The French king also accepted the daughter of the count of Brittany[8] as the wife for his younger brother, to whom he gave the Angevin dominions: the count of Brittany was to keep the boy and the girl under his protection until they should come of age, and in the meantime he would be called the count of Anjou. King Louis also restored to the count of Champagne two castles which Philip, king of France, had taken away from him in his own lands.[9]

Now that he had his kingdom thus pacified, Louis so prospered and advanced in strength and age that on the advice of his nobles he sent an army to the aid of that army which his father had left to deal with the Albigensians. And so the hopes of the English king

1 This translates as 'Rejoice O Jerusalem' and is traditionally sung on the fourth Sunday of Lent.

2 The pope died on 18 March 1227 after holding office from 1216.

3 Christiana, widow of William de Mandeville, earl of Essex.

4 Margaret de Burgh.

5 Richard de Clare, the future earl.

6 Hugh d'Aubigny.

7 This was John's second wife, Isabella of Angoulême. She had previously been betrothed to Hugh's father.

8 Iolante, daughter of Peter Mauclerc. She married Hugh XI de Lusignan.

9 This type of reorganisation and distribution of lands and titles was common at the beginning of reigns in the Middle Ages.

Pre-Publication Copy

for the alliance recently discussed with the counts of Brittany and the men of Poitou came to nothing, although [Walter] the archbishop of York and the bishop of Carlisle [Walter Mauclerc] and other high-ranking envoys had worked for it despite the many dangers and the great expense involved.

In the same year Richard, count of Poitou, returned from Gascony, having first been granted a truce by the king of France. [104] Richard left Henry Turbeville there as his seneschal, and on his return to England, he was made earl of Cornwall. Also the king his brother awarded to Richard the towns, castles and lands which their mother had as her dowry in England.

In the same year John Tattenhall died, and we recovered for our own use half the revenue of the chapels of Ballidon and Tissington.

In the same year master William Scot, archdeacon of Worcester, was elected bishop of Durham. As he sought confirmation of this, the objections were raised that he had not been born in the land of the king of England and also that he suffered from the falling sickness. William appealed to the archbishop of York and set out for Rome accompanied by the proctors of those who had elected him.

In the same year a dispute arose between the churches of Coventry and Lichfield, because the men of Lichfield were trying to have an equal say with the monks of Coventry in the election of the bishop of Coventry. But the monks opposed this and declared that Lichfield had no right to share in the election. In this situation the dispute was fought out before judges appointed by the pope, and when witnesses had been produced and their evidence written down, a fully detailed account of the case was sent to the apostolic see. There, after much dispute and argument, the matter was entrusted to the decision of the pope. And the final verdict was that the electors of both chapters should convene for the election of a bishop firstly in the church at Coventry, and for the election of another bishop in the church at Lichfield. And always in the future it should be done this way, alternately, but so that the prior should have the first voice in the election and the dean the second.[1]

In the same year an agreement was made between us and the parson of Wymington [near Bedford] about demesne tithes for the house of Roger Welton. He and his descendants would have them from us, paying for them to the synod ten shillings after Easter and ten shillings to the synod after Michaelmas in perpetuity. This agreement was confirmed by [Hugh] the bishop of Lincoln and his fellow judges.

In the same year, [105] when we held the primacy of Dunstable in our hands, a dispute arose between us and the townsmen over the punishments for offences. For the townsmen said that, for no court which the prior could hold, should he be allowed to exceed four pence as a penalty. Then arose another point of contention, namely that no outside person should intervene in a case involving some citizen of the town, nor should he be summoned to take part in such a case. Also the townsmen said that the prior was not able to seize their goods on the public highway inside the town. Also that the prior ought to set free themselves or their goods, wherever in England they should be seized. Also that the prior was not able to summon any of them to

[1] These two churches had disagreed over this before: see p. 15 above.

Pre-publication copy

appear before the bench of the lord king, if some doubt arose in a court case between himself and them.

When the townsmen had obtained a writ from the king on these and other matters, to the effect that we were seeking from them certain customs of behaviour which were contrary to their liberties which they had enjoyed up to that point, the claims stated above were brought for judgment before the itinerant justices, Stephen Segrave[1] and William London, and their fellow justices. But the judgment was postponed and the matter passed on by them to the king's court.

At the same time a robber called Henry accused four of our townsmen of being his accomplices in a robbery. When they appeared in court, they committed themselves to the testimony of their town concerning their law-abidingness. And because the townsmen said on behalf of the accused that the liberty of the town was that non-townsmen could not interfere in the affairs of the town, the prior and the townsmen were summoned to appear before the king's bench to show on what authority they made such a claim.[2] Now the prior, appearing on the stated day, replied that he himself made no claim at all for such a liberty. But when the townsmen who had been summoned did not turn up, twenty-four [106] of their elders were arrested and held in Bedford prison until they should fully take the trouble of describing on an appointed day in the king's court both their liberties and their warrant for them. When they at last appeared, they stated the relevant claims and some others as well, but the only warrant they could show for them was that of long usage. And so they remained at the king's mercy.[3]

In this position they gave twenty marks to Hubert de Burgh, who was then justiciar, besides other private gifts both to Hubert and to various others. But we at the same time obtained from the king the confirmation of the charters of King Henry I and King Richard, together with the following addition:

> *We have granted to the same prior and his canons that they themselves should have and hold in perpetuity the town of Dunstable and the townsmen of Dunstable and their belongings, as fully and completely in respect of aid, punishments, obligations, services and customary practices just as if we or our heirs should have and hold them, if the said town of Dunstable and the said townsmen were ours and in our hands.*
> *Nor let the fact that for whatever reason the prior and the canons have so far not made full use of the aforesaid aid, punishments, obligations, services and customary practices be any obstacle to the prior and the canons themselves having these rights in the same way as we would have them if the aforesaid town and townspeople were ours and in our hands.*

[1] Stephen was sheriff of many counties, before becoming Chief Justiciar of England from 1232 to 1234.

[2] When cases were referred to the 'king's bench', this meant that they could not be dealt with by the itinerant justices on a local level but needed to be dealt with by the king himself. His 'bench' moved around with the royal court.

[3] This anecdote demonstrates the increasing importance of the written word in medieval culture, and the importance of committing rights to writing and confirming them.

Pre-publication copy

We paid the king one hundred pounds for all this. The townsmen helped us by providing one hundred marks of it.[1] The sum was assessed by trustworthy men of the town, but the money was collected by the bailiffs of the prior. When it came to seizing the goods of Martin Duke for the payment of his portion, the bailiffs seized the corn on his lands. But while John Youngman was trying to carry off this corn by force, a fight started between the servants of the prior and the townsmen, with the result that many on both sides were wounded. But victory on this occasion fell to the prior's men, because, despite the opposition, they led away to the prior's house a cart belonging to Alexander Youngman, which was half full of corn. This violence led to John Flitte appealing [107] against Henry Duke, John Youngman and certain others. Then Henry Duke appealed against John Cateby, John Flitte and certain others. But all these appeals before the itinerant justices came to nothing.

In the same year the emperor Frederick had given the impression that he wanted to proceed to the Holy Land. But crusaders from England, France and many other tribes and nations were kept waiting so long in Apulia and its seaports that about thirty thousand of them lost all they had and died wretchedly. The others just about got away safe back to their homes. For this sin and other excesses, the emperor was excommunicated and denounced through all the lands of the faithful. But the emperor in his defence sent letters of apology through all the provinces of his empire. But God is not mocked.[2]

1228

In AD 1228 a disagreement arose between the king and the archbishop of Canterbury over various liberties. The archbishop had asked for the right of sanctuary for a thief who escaped from his prison. Both the archbishop and his monks sought all the rights of punishment of their people, both in the county courts and before the itinerant justices. The archbishop also exhibited royal charters on these matters. He even offered the king three thousand marks so that he might be more willing to grant his requests. At first the king objected to the charters, on the grounds that archbishops had not used them. But later, after thinking the matter over, he allowed the use of them to archbishop and to monks, and he generously sent back the offered money. A little afterwards the archbishop became so weak that he could not ride his horse, but had himself carried in a litter all the way to Slindon [Sussex].

In the same year master Simon Langton and Robert Passelewe[3] were so reconciled to the lord king that Simon was made archdeacon of Canterbury, and both became friends of the king.

In the same year [108] certain earls and certain abbots and priors were summoned to parts of France, for example to Troyes and Tours, on the authority of letters from the lord pope. But the lord king of England appealed against this.

[1] A mark was two-thirds of a pound, so the townsmen were effectively paying two-thirds of the sum.

[2] Frederick had been promising to go on crusade since 1217. When he finally set out in 1227, he was forced to turn back by an epidemic, referred to here as 'wretched'. Wendover tells us how the crusade was preached in England and how it was delayed by Frederick's absence, II, pp. 491–3.

[3] Elected bishop of Chichester in 1224, but was never consecrated.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year we made a settlement with the abbot [Richard] of Woburn, [Hugh] prior of Beaulieu and Philip Flitte and their free tenants concerning the marsh at Flitte and at Flitwick and the mills at Greenfield and Hipwell, and a deed was drawn up about these.

In the same year the prior of Dunstable held his court at Dunstable, assisted by Stephen Segrave and William London. In this court the prior appointed Elias Capella and William fitz William as coroners. They swore to act inside Dunstable just as other coroners acted outside the town. The prior also made them overseers of measures, namely measures of length, gallons, dry measures and the width of cloth.

In the same year a deed was drawn up between us and Juliana Landas.[1]

In the same year on the day of St Stephen [26 December] a treasure was found in Husborne Crawley churchyard [Bedfordshire], worth about fifty marks. We were compelled to hand it over to the justices who were then on circuit, and under their seals it was taken to the king in London. As both the bishop of Lincoln and the prior of Dunstable as well as the king himself laid claim to this treasure, the decision was taken on the prayers of the king that the bishop and prior should give the treasure to the new hospital at Dover, with the rights of all of them being secured.[2]

In the same year three juries were asked for against the prior, concerning a wall around his garden, and a jury spoke against the prior.

In the same [109] year died Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, the abbot of Bittlesden, Nicholas dean of Luton, Simon Passelewe, Richard Pirot, John Hyde and Simon the anchorite.

In the same year William, dean of Lincoln, was compelled to go to Rome because a cardinal canon of Lincoln had been summoned to come to the Roman chapter. He set out with John Bedford and having completed his business returned home a success.

In the same year William Scot, archdeacon of Worcester, was elected bishop of Durham. But as the king appealed against him and pursued his appeal, the election was quashed for the trivial reason that it had not been carried out canonically. So Richard, bishop of Salisbury, was translated to this see[3] and master Robert Bingham replaced him as bishop of Salisbury. In the same year Adam, abbot of Eynsham, was deposed by Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, as being a manifest perjurer and squanderer. [Nicholas] prior of Freiston was solemnly established in his place.

In the same year there was a disturbance in the priory at Newport Pagnell, when it sought to get observed a charter of settlement, to which had been appended the seals of the abbot and of the convent of Marmoutier. Because of this disturbance William, the prior of the place, and all the monks except three were expelled. And

[1] This was for a plea of land and is also recorded in the roll of the justices in eyre at Bedford in 1227, transcribed and translated by G. Herbert Fowler, 'Roll of the Justices in Eyre at Bedford, 1227', in *The Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, vol. 3 (Aspley Guise, 1916). pp. 1–207, p. 20.

[2] Ibid., pp. 151–2. The rolls confirm that the treasure was found by two local men, Roger Crudel and Stephen son of Gilbert, who were trying to bury a corpse at night. The treasure included six gold plates, a gold chain, a gold and silver cross, and two golden brooches.

[3] Richard Poore.

Pre-publication copy

some of the monks were imprisoned. Finally, an agreement was reached and written down in a charter. Part of the charter was deposited at Woburn abbey. In this part the three marks which were usually given and all pecuniary charges were remitted, with only the visitation and the correction of the order being reserved. And in this way all were converted and reconciled.

In the same year there arose such a quarrel at Oxford between the scholars and the townspeople that, as the townspeople rioted, several scholars were wounded and their lodgings damaged. [110] For this reason the town was put under an interdict by the bishop of the diocese, so that the bodies of the dead in the streets and in the squares could not be buried. Finally, it was decided that those who had assaulted the clerks should be sent to Rome, that stolen property should be given back, and that fifty marks should be given by the people to the masters to be divided among the poor scholars; and that if a similar incident happened in the future, the people bound themselves to the judgment of the four leading masters of the time, by whose decisions the guilty could be canonically punished, with no appeal to a higher court.[1]

In the same year in September King Henry led an army into Wales, where he lost many of his men and William de Braose was taken prisoner. Then the king began to build a castle at Kerry near Montgomery. Finally, he made an agreement with Llywelyn that his lawful heir should hold the land of Kerry from the king and his heirs. Llywelyn gave the king one hundred cows as a premium. In the end the king returned home with only a modicum of honour. But the blame was put on the justiciar.[2]

In the same year a disagreement arose between the prior of Dunstable and ten of his townspeople concerning their withdrawal of offerings to the church. For these ten had put their heads together and decided that, at weddings or purifications or when bodies of the dead were being brought, only two people should attend the principal person. For this reason, those ten townspeople were excommunicated. But despite this the people joined the cause of the ten, and now and again the ten themselves went into the church and the people with them. The result was that the priory and the parish priest stopped celebrating solemn mass in the church from 1 August right up to the feast of St Dionysius [9 October]. During this period solemn celebrations of the mass were held in the infirmary chapel.

And so the bishop of Lincoln arrived at Dunstable to deal with this, attended by a flock of clerics and chaplains. From the pulpit of the church he solemnly excommunicated both the ten, if in the future they entered the church and disturbed the divine office, and all [111] others who after this associated with the ten. Also both groups were excommunicated if they did not make restitution to the church of the missing offerings before the feast of St Martin [11 November]. All this was said in the presence of the sacristan and with his knowledge. Also to be excommunicated were all those

[1] Riots often occurred in university towns. The students were given certain privileges and freedoms which riled other groups such as merchants. An example of this coming to a head is the 1229 Paris student strike below.

[2] Hubert de Burgh received the blame, showing the continuation of his fall from grace and power. For a fuller account of the Welsh campaign, see Wendover, II, pp. 509–11, while for an analysis of the role of these events in Hubert's fall, see Carpenter, 'The Fall of Hubert de Burgh'.

Pre-publication copy

who in the future because of some lawsuit or hatred of some person should make some withdrawal of the offerings due to the church or of customary practices or of ecclesiastical dues, which had been habitual with them before the lawsuit began.

On the same day, thanks to the mediation of the archdeacons of Lincoln and Bedford[1] and of master Stephen Ekington, the following settlement was arrived at: the excommunicated should be absolved in the formulas of the church; afterwards they should pay a mortgage of twenty pounds to the prior, but at the prayers of the mediators the prior should return the money except for fifty shillings to be paid to the prior within the half year. Next they were bound under oath to obey the decisions of the church in the future, and in the future to make no withdrawal of the tithes, offerings or any ecclesiastical dues which had been customary in the priory before the time of the lawsuit. Also they were bound under oath to make restitution for the missing offerings to the sacristan of the church before the next feast of St Martin [11 November]. Similarly, all those who had associated with them, when they had been put under the same oath and discipline, were solemnly absolved at the church door and similar injunctions laid upon them. So in this way future withdrawers of offerings were not only under sentence of the bishop but also guilty of perjury.

In the same year Pope Gregory IX solemnly excommunicated Frederick the Roman emperor because, by breaking his vow of going on crusade, he had treacherously deceived not only the people of Jerusalem but also those Christians who were heading for that city. As a result of his treachery forty thousand Christians and more went home.[2] Even when excommunicated, Frederick so corrupted the Roman people and won them over to his side that the pope was compelled to leave the city and go to Turin. In the meantime, [112] the empress[3] died and Frederick took as his concubine the sister of [Al Kamil] the sultan of Babylon. Later on he did cross the seas to Jerusalem. [4]

In the same year the princes of the Comans were converted to the catholic faith by the preaching of some Cistercian brothers and some Dominicans. The princes were baptised together with their people, and bishops and priests were ordained for the parishes there.[5]

In the same year in the land of Syria the truce between Christians and pagans was broken. And so the Christians rebuilt the city of Caesarea and repaired Jaffa and similarly the city of Sidon. At that time, besides the Templars and the Hospitallers, there were as leaders of the army there the bishops of Winchester and Exeter and the count of Limburg.[6]

1 Robert of Hailes and John Houghton.

2 Repetition of information given on p. 69 above.

3 Yolande de Brienne. For more on the rumour, see the letter of Henry of Lorraine in W. W. Shirley, *Royal and Historical Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III from the Originals in the Public Record Office*, vol. I (1216–1235) (Cambridge, 1862), p. 343.

4 Frederick was actually excommunicated in 1227, and finally set out on crusade in 1228. He managed to 'take' Jerusalem and be crowned king by negotiating with the sultan Al-Kamil in 1229, forcing the pope to lift the excommunication in 1230.

5 This is probably somewhere in modern-day Romania.

6 Peter des Roches, William Brewer, and Count Henry IV.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year the priors of Dunstable and Newenham were chosen as visitors by the general chapter and visited the monasteries of their order in the dioceses of Lincoln and Coventry. Also at this time the prior [Simon] of St Frideswide resigned and was replaced by another prior called Elias [Scotus]. Similarly the prior of Gresley [in Derbyshire] resigned his office of prior.

In the same year Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, died. The monks of Christ Church elected as archbishop a claustral[1] monk of their college called master Walter of Evesham. When Walter was presented to the king, Henry began to oppose the appointment and to make many criticisms of Walter's person which are not worthy of mention. Also the bishops of the whole province supported the king on this matter and their chapters appealed against his election. To make this appeal and to lodge objections against Walter, there set out for Rome the bishops of Coventry and Rochester, Geoffrey [Crowecombe] [113] the king's steward, the archdeacon of Bedford and several of the king's clerics. On the other side were the elected Walter and his supporters. As his opponents wished to exercise jurisdiction in spiritual matters on the authority of the council, an appeal was made against Walter. And, with the archbishopric still being vacant, appeals and spiritual matters of this kind devolved on the bishop of London,[2] as being the senior bishop.

In the same year was founded the chapel of St Mary in the cemetery of the canons of Dunstable.

In the same year in Michaelmas term an entry was made on the rolls of the king at the treasury, saying that that we had the right to one mark from our men at Segenhoe, who had been found to be defaulting by the justices, and also to five shillings and six pence from our men at Husborne Crawley, who had been under the judgment of the lord king for treasure found there. Also, both for ourselves and for our men, we had the right to discharge from murder by means of the following writ:

> *Henry, king of England, sends greetings to the deputy sheriff of Bedfordshire. We have established from our rolls, which our justices on their last journey in your county delivered to the barons at our treasury, that the hundreds of Radburnstock, Manshead and Flitte and the half-hundred of Stanbridge were put under judgment in the presence of the same justice, their liberties excepted. And because the canons of Dunstable produce charters of our predecessors, the kings of England, through which they claim the right to discharge from murder and from other punishments, we have instructed you to permit the same canons and their men in the aforesaid hundreds to have the right to discharge both from the demands of murder and from the demands of other punishments. And if you have taken anything from their men on this occasion, you must give it back to them.*
> *Witnessed by Jocelin, bishop of Bath, at Westminster 15 December 1228.*

[1] Literally, 'of the cloister'.

[2] Eustace of Fauconberg.

Pre-publication copy

1229

In AD 1229 Pope Gregory absolved the subjects of the empire from their homage and fealty to Frederick,[1] both because he had refused to sail to Jerusalem as he had sworn to do, and also because of the cruelty [114] which he had shown to the Templars and Hospitallers, punishing their persons and stealing their property. Frederick himself, after an interval, did set sail with forty galleys, so that he might give the appearance of keeping his oath. But when he arrived at Acre, he behaved like an excommunicated person. He neither started a war himself, nor allowed others to start one.[2] Then he commanded the pope to absolve him, but the pope replied that he was under no obligation to do this, unless Frederick first made restitution to the Templars and the Hospitallers and to the others who accused him of doing injuries to them. Frederick's messengers, on their return from Rome, immediately began war against the pope, burning and sacking his castles and towns. But the pope collected an army and attacked them. He drove them from his kingdoms through the efforts of John de Colonna, the cardinal legate of the apostolic see, and of John, once king of Jerusalem[3] and the marshal of his army, and of a count of Apulia called Thomas. Also the Lombards allowed the pope the aid of one thousand soldiers for one year, and other of his friends, out of the affection which they had for him, gave him help. For example, the French church allowed him a tithe of their revenues and income, as they had previously done for the king of France in his war against the Albigenses.

In the same year and at the same time Stephen, the pope's chaplain, came to England for the tithe of the revenues and income of the English church. He also sent out from his side his companions to Wales, Ireland and Scotland. ('Income' was interpreted as the receipt of a tithe without the expenses being taken off.) He carried out the taxation of property in the cathedral churches and in the monasteries through canons and monks bound by oath to obey, and he imposed the penalty of excommunication on those who refused to pay or who tried to get out of it by trickery. To speed up the help to the pope, he compelled bishops, abbots and priors, when he thought it appropriate, to say that they were able [115] to send speedy help to the pope himself. An additional evil was that this Stephen received payment from individual monasteries. The house at Dunstable helped by promptly paying twenty marks.

In the same year a peace was made between the king of France and Raymond, count of Toulouse. This was because [Alfonso] brother of the king of France[4] married the daughter of Count Raymond[5] together with all her inheritance. Also the king gave to his brother one countship in France and an annual revenue from his treasury which

1 Frederick II of Germany. This is in reference to his failing to go on the Fifth Crusade.

2 This was arguably because he did not have enough numbers to fight. He did manage to get into Jerusalem through negotiation instead, as a result of which the pope lifted the excommunication and hailed him a hero. For a full analysis of the Fifth and Sixth Crusades, see Riley Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, Chapter 6.

3 John had ceased to be king when he married his daughter to Frederick II.

4 Alfonso, count of Poitiers and Toulouse.

5 Joan, countess of Toulouse from 1249 to 1271. She married Alfonso, count of Poitiers, in 1237.

Pre-publication copy

was beyond counting. And so on the Thursday before Good Friday [12 April] in front of the church of St Mary in Paris the count of Toulouse was solemnly absolved by the papal legate. On the Friday following he received from the same legate the cross, which he was to take against the pagans in Spain or to Jerusalem, as the church should decide.[1]

In the same year Eustace, bishop of London, died. He was replaced by master Roger Black. Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, died. He was replaced by Hugh [of Northwold], abbot of St Edmunds, and Richard, abbot of Burton, took over the abbacy of St Edmunds.

In the same year Richard, bishop of Salisbury, was translated to Durham,[2] and replaced at Salisbury by master Robert de Bingham.

In the same year died Alexander, prior of Caudwell. He was replaced by William.[3] Osbert [of Dunton], abbot of Leicester, died, as did [William] abbot of Welbeck. Also [Henry] archbishop of Dublin died, and was replaced by Luke, the king's treasurer. His election was quashed, but, when the election was repeated, the same Luke was chosen and took office.

In the same year St Francis [of Assisi] was canonised by Pope Gregory.

In the same year [Peter] the count of Brittany was excommunicated, because he had flayed a priest alive. And Martin of Pattishall was struck by a complete paralysis.[4]

In the same [116] year the university of Paris was broken up, and its masters and scholars from the various regions of France went back home.[5]

In the same year the archbishop of Lyons, while returning from a meeting with the papal legate in Paris, was taken prisoner by the count of Champagne and many of his nobles. After an extremely heavy ransom he was set free by the legate. Then Philip, count of Boulogne, charged the count of Champagne with the death of his brother, King Louis. The result of this was that the kingdom of France was threatened with a serious split, as the legate had departed and most of the princes supported the count

1 This is referring to the count of Toulouse agreeing to go on crusade. These terms and the marriage alliance outlined above were part of the Treaty of Paris signed in 1229 between Raymond VII of Toulouse and Louis IX. It officially ended the Albigensian Crusade, although in fact fighting continued for more than a decade.

2 Richard Poore.

3 Also spelled Caldwell. Alexander (1212–1229), former sub-prior of Dunstable. William was then abbot from 1229 to 1244.

4 Martin was chief justice from 1217. The paralysis referred to here was the result of a stroke, and he died later that year.

5 This is a reference to the 1229 strike, which was caused when a group of students from the university got into a fight with a tavern owner over the bill after drinking heavily at the carnival before Lent. The following day, the same students returned to the bar, now closed as it was Lent, and set about destroying it with heavy wooden clubs. The violence escalated to a full riot, and the regent Blanche of Castile ordered that the students' special clerical privileges be lifted so that they could be properly punished. In response to the violent punishment which left several students dead, the whole university went on strike, taking its considerable business and economic benefits elsewhere.

Pre-publication copy

of Boulogne. Indeed, only the king and his mother[1] and the count of Flanders[2] stood beside the count of Champagne.[3]

In the same year Walter [of Evesham] was elected to Canterbury. He set out for the apostolic see to seek confirmation of his election and to deal with many charges which were being brought against his person. He was examined by three cardinals and found to be inadequate. So his election was quashed, and the monks at Canterbury lost their right of electing for this turn. But Pope Gregory IX made a wise and holy decision and appointed as archbishop of Canterbury master Richard [Grant], chancellor of the church at Lincoln. He was the complete scholar, but his morals were shakier. Richard was translated to the see of Canterbury, and raised in honour not only to the office of archbishop but also to that of primate. Amid much solemnity and great festivity, he received the pallium which was passed to him by master Walter Cantelupe.[4]

In the same year master Stephen Lexington, the abbot of Stanley,[5] was made visitor of the [Cistercian] order in Ireland. He deposed many abbots, replaced them with Englishmen, and transferred very many monks from Ireland to the province of France. Shortly afterwards Stephen was solemnly made abbot of Savigny [Northern France].

In the same year [117] the university of Paris with its masters and scholars was removed to the city of Angers. A few learned doctors stayed in Paris, but their numbers and names are not worth recording, and they were soon scattered on military service.[6]

In the same year William de Braose was taken prisoner by Llywelyn. He ransomed himself for three thousand marks and the castle of Builth. He also guaranteed that he would never fight in the future against his captor. Besides this, he gave his daughter[7] to a son of Llywelyn[8] in marriage, with Builth castle as a dowry, on the condition that if the pair had no children, the castle would return to William's heirs after the death of the husband.

1 Blanche of Castile.

2 Ferdinand.

3 King Louis was still a minor, with his mother as regent. Following the Treaty of Paris, a number of other French lords found it necessary to sign their own treaties. Hugh of Burgundy and Theobald of Champagne are one such example. The kidnap of the archbishop was in retaliation for Hugh of Burgundy violating the treaty; as it had been the archbishop (Hugh's former tutor) who was responsible for maintaining the agreements, capturing and ransoming him seemed a good response. Hostilities were interrupted by Henry III of England arriving in France. For further details of these events, see Elizabeth M. Hallam and Judith Everard, *Capetian France, 987–1328* (New York, 2001), pp. 267–70.

4 Again, Roger of Wendover gives an even fuller account of the reasons for quashing the election, including his inability to answer questions on the nature of the devil and Christ's resurrection: II, pp. 519–21.

5 Stephen of Lexington later became the abbot of Savigny, then abbot of Clairvaux.

6 This is again referring to the removal of scholars from Paris following the strike; see p. 75 above.

7 Isabella.

8 The son's name was David.

Pre-Publication Copy

In the same year the men of Bologna with their allies besieged the castle of Bazzano in the diocese of Modena.[1] During the siege the men of Modena with all their allies were present and helping the resistance of the inhabitants of the castle. After the Bolognese troops had taken and destroyed the castle, they sent back to Bologna a long line of their soldiers together with prisoners who were to be led there. As these were departing, the troops of Modena were so crazed by excessive grief that they waded across the river which separated the armies and attacked the army of Bologna. A great slaughter took place. On both sides many were killed, and still more were taken prisoner. Then night came down and the fighting was broken off. But the same night the Bolognese withdrew from the battle field the cart [which carried their standard], so that it should not be captured by a secret raid of the enemy. But the rank and file did not know of this intention, and left their tents [seeing the absence of the standard] and returned to Bologna. So when in the morning the Bolognese generals sent about two hundred armed men to collect the baggage and bury the dead, the enemy appeared and captured all of them, with their carts, provisions and booty, and led them back to Modena and Cremona. In the process of time the bishops [118] of Bologna and Modena[2] with some others made a truce between the parties, chiefly out of fear of the emperor Frederick who was returning from foreign parts. And so a truce was drawn up for the eight years following.

In the same year a truce was made between the emperor Frederick and the sultan of Babylon[3] for the ten years following. Under its terms the city of Jerusalem with its suburbs and properties was restored to us, as was free passage right up to the river Jordan, and as were many castles and houses; also, during the truce we would be allowed to fortify our cities and castles, but the pagans not at all. The Templars and the count of Tripoli[4] did not agree with this truce, and because of this a quarrel arose between the emperor and the Templars, with the emperor persecuting them savagely. The emperor then returned to Sicily, and then to Apulia, and within a few months had recovered his own lands which the pope's army had seized in his absence. Afterwards a truce was made between the parties in the hope that they would live in peace.[5]

In the same year after the departure of the emperor from Syria, many troubles arose there. For the sultan of Babylon laid siege to Damascus and took it, with the sultan of Damascus[6] only just managing to escape. Afterwards the victorious sultan started

1 This is one of many conflicts fought between the rival Italian factions of the Guelphs (Bolognese) and Ghibellines (Modenese). The politics of the northern city states of medieval Italy were riddlled with factionalism, with each city belonging to one or other party. The groups represented the powers in the region: the Guelphs supported the pope, while the Ghibellines were for the Holy Roman Empire.

2 Henry of Fratta and William of Savoy.

3 Al Kamil (1180–1238).

4 Bohemund IV of Antioch (1187–1233).

5 This is a very concise version of the episode which is also covered by Wendover, who also includes a letter from Frederick to Henry III; II, pp. 521–8.

6 Al-Ashraf (died 27 August 1237) was a ruler of the Ayyubid dynasty.

Pre-publication copy

a war against the count of Tripoli and others not covered by the former treaty. Also a war began between the Old Man of the Mountain[1] and his neighbouring prince.

In the same year, in the month of May, King Henry was passing through Dunstable and had taken lodgings at the priory. Prior Richard went to the king and humbly begged that, since the king had accepted the tiller of the whole ship of state and in particular had become the patron of the church itself, he would provide a solution acceptable to God for the disagreements which had sprung up between the prior and the townspeople, and that he would make the solution as beneficial to the church as to the townspeople. Then, on the advice of Hubert de Burgh, the king did draw up a peace settlement, which the leading men of the town on Dunstable agreed to in the presence of the king. The mediators of the settlement were the following magnates from the court [119] of the king, Luke bishop elect of Dublin, Ralph fitz Nicholas the seneschal, Robert Lexington, John Monmouth, Ralph bishop of Chichester, chancellor of the king, and many others.

But after the king's departure, the townspeople totally denied that they had made such an agreement. So the prior had them summoned to Westminster by means of the following writ of the lord king:

The king sends greetings to the sheriff. We instruct you to ensure that, within fifteen days from the day of St Martin, twelve of the worthier and more sensible men of the town of Dunstable come before our justices at Westminster on behalf of the whole town of Dunstable, in order that they may listen to and confirm the agreement made between them and the prior of Dunstable concerning the disputes which had arisen between them, just as this agreement was read out in our presence and assented to by the same prior and the same men. And you are to produce there this writ and the names of the twelve men. Witnessed by etc.

Later, when the twelve townspeople had taken their places at the king's bench, the justices themselves, after taking counsel with the lord king and his nobles, read out to the parties present the very agreement which had originally been made at Dunstable. They subsequently instructed the sheriff of Bedford to make sure that the agreement was observed. Their instruction ran as follows:

King Henry sends greetings to the sheriff. I must inform you that there had been several disputes between Richard prior of Dunstable, the plaintiff, and the townspeople of Dunstable, the defaulters, concerning services, and customs, payments, taxes and other things. Finally, in our presence at Dunstable an agreement was made, to which both the said prior and these same townspeople spontaneously and unanimously gave their assent. Indeed, this agreement is of course of such a kind that, whenever we or our heirs shall impose taxes on our towns, on those occasions the same prior and his successors shall be able, in the same terms as we or our heirs have taxed our towns, to impose taxes on their town of Dunstable because of our particular mandate.

And if by chance payment is not made to the person of the prior or his canons or to his bailiffs, then a fine is to be paid to them depending on the size of the forfeiture, as to a

[1] It is not clear who inherited this title, but the original, mythologised character was Rashid ad-Din Sinan who was a key figure in crusading texts during the rule of Saladin.

Preservation copy

lord or bailiff. But, besides the actual fine, there will be a penalty of four pence. And if some townsman offends against a townsman or some other, a fine is to be paid according to the size of the offence, but the penalty will be of four pence.
Concerning [120] a case in the court, it is laid down that those in the town who are tenants-in-chief should come to the court, whereas those from outside the town who have a good reason and are not acting maliciously (or those inside the town who are ill) should not be bound to come to the court, unless they are plaintiffs or defendants in their own suit. But if through some failure of judgment, a decision is made in the same court concerning them, then the prior shall be able to summon other tenants-in-chief to attend the court, in order to enforce the order of the court. And for the frank-pledge inspection, all are to assemble who are of fifteen years and live inside the town, providing that they have had one month's warning. Those who are in distant parts, or at markets or overseas are considered to be excused without default.
As for the penalty for those selling non-standard bread and ale, it is laid down that the bailiff of the prior should take four pence for the first offence, four pence for the second offence, and that for the third offence he should take away all the ale and bread for the prior to use. At the fourth offence indeed the defaulter should undergo the ducking-stool or pillory punishment, and the prior should none the less have the bread and ale. And because both the aforesaid prior and the townspeople have assented to that agreement, we instruct you to make sure that, concerning that agreement, our commands written above are obeyed and faithfully observed. And if any of the parties themselves should presume to act in any way contrary to this agreement, you must, if necessary, force this party into keeping the actual agreement, so that we may not hear still louder clamour about your feebleness. Witnessed etc.

But since the townspeople refused to consent to taxes because of this letter sent to the sheriff, unless they had a special order from the king on the matter, the king wrote again as follows to the sheriff:

The king sends greetings to the sheriff. Because, in the agreement made before our justices at Westminster between the prior of Dunstable and his townspeople of that town concerning various disputes that had arisen among them, it was laid down among other things that whenever we or our heirs should tax our towns and domains, the same prior and his successors should tax his townspeople in Dunstable and to this the townspeople assented, we instruct you now to allow this same prior to have reasonable taxes from the aforesaid townspeople, just as we allow suitable taxes for our work to be taken from our towns and domains.

When therefore the sheriff wished to tax the townspeople using this authority, they replied that they would only allow the prior to tax tenants-in-chief and no others. They approached the king and obtained from him the following letter:

The king [121] sends greetings to the sheriff. On the matter of the taxation concerning which we instructed you to allow it to the prior and Dunstable on his Dunstable tenants, we now give our command that you are not to allow him to impose taxes on the men of William Russell of the same town, nor on men who are tenants of the men of the prior himself. [Issued] *by Stephen Segrave.*

Pre-publication copy

The prior was crippled by this letter, but since he at least wished to tax his tenants-in-chief, he called into his presence the twelve townspeople whom he judged to be more reliable than the rest. But although they swore a corporal oath that they would assess the tax fairly, neither putting unjust burdens on their enemies nor having regard for their friends, they only collected sixty-three shillings, and this in such a way that the richer men of the town were only assessed at three shillings. The people were so angry at this manifest perjury that in their hatred for the church they withdrew their tithes and offerings. For example, when a funeral was taking place or a woman was purifying herself, they only offered one penny. They even caused the fabric of the church to fall into disrepair as its income was quite diminished. They abused and threatened the canons and their households, and by putting false charges upon them they spread slander about them throughout the whole of England. They even proclaimed publicly in church that no townsman should grind his corn at the prior's mill. Also they trampled to the ground the demesne corn of the prior himself on roads used from antiquity, and they shut up his horse under their own guard. Indeed, the horse could only just be set free, once by the reeves, once by the neighbouring chaplains, and once by the dean himself. They also bribed the bailiffs of the nobles in the vicinity to be a hindrance to us and our affairs on their lands. The enticement of bribes meant that they did this frequently.

But when the prior revealed all these happenings to the king's chancellor and to Stephen Segrave, the king's chief justice, who were passing through the town of Dunstable during the frenzy of this persecution, the chancellor and the justice were seen to be angry and to regard it as a bad thing and they began to threaten the townspeople. But with their going away the evils did not cease. On top of everything else, [122] when the sheriff's bailiff wanted to take pledges for the tax that had not been paid, both the men and the women of the town rose up against him and prevented any such sort of distraint from taking place. And although the lord bishop of Lincoln,[1] at the urging of the prior, had ordered that the malefactors should be excommunicated on solemn days throughout the neighbouring towns and deaneries, the people of Dunstable still did not cease from the madness and wrongdoing which they had embarked upon. Rather they proclaimed that they had been excommunicated and that they preferred to go down to hell than to yield in the matter of the tax. They even discussed with William Cantilupe[2] the possibility of him giving up to them forty acres of land bordering the town of Dunstable, into which they could transfer their households and live at peace, free from tolls and taxes.

Such was the storm that had arisen that the justices of both courts got fed up with the frequency of the prior's complaints. As if overcome by accidie,[3] they pretended that they were in a daze, and shrank from antagonising the whole people of Dunstable. And because the numbers involved, both of taxes and of persons, were enormous, the offences that remained unpunished were beyond counting. But as this iniquity was spreading far and wide, suddenly and miraculously the Lord visited the spirit of master John, archdeacon of Bedford. And he made an amicable settlement between the

1 Hugh of Wells.

2 William III Cantilupe, lord of Abergavenny (d. 1254). Already the lord of extensive territories, he gained further lands from his marriage to the heiress Eva de Braose.

3 Defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as 'spiritual or mental sloth'.

Prepublication copy

parties and in a moment changed the blasts of pestilence to the breath of calm. This is made clear and plain by a deed drawn up in the lord king's court and by a charter of prior and monastery which follow below;[1]

[The deed of the king's court]

This is the final agreement made in the lord king's court at Westminster, within fifteen days from the day of St John Baptist [24 June], *in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Henry the son of King John, in the presence of the following justices: Thomas Multon,*[2] *William Raleger, Robert Lexington, William de Insula, William London, master Robert Sardelow, Ralph of Norwich, and other loyal men of the king who were then present there. The agreement is between Richard, prior of Dunstable, the plaintiff, and all the townspeople of the same town, the defendants. The townspeople are represented by Alexander Youngman, John his brother and Elias Capella, [123] to win or lose, concerning the taxes and aids, which the same prior demanded from the same townspeople, whenever the lord king taxed his domains, and concerning the payment of pence as penalties, which the townspeople themselves incur, just as other men also from neighbouring towns were accustomed to pay.*

The defendants said that they were not bound to pay any tax or give any aid to the same prior; and that none of them was bound to pay a penalty of any kind whatsoever, except only the four pence; and similarly concerning the other customary services which the same prior was demanding from them, and which the townspeople themselves did not admit they owed him.

As a result of this the following agreement has been made between them in the aforesaid court. The said prior for himself and his successors, as far as it concerned himself and his successors, conceded that all the said townspeople and their heirs should be quit of all taxes and aids in perpetuity. As for the penalties which the townspeople might incur in the future, each one of them by means of the four pence should be quit in all suits and cases which could be tried between the prior himself and his successors on the one hand and the said townspeople and their heirs on the other in the court of the prior himself and his successors, except for pleas of the crown. But anyone who had suffered an injury would still be able to claim fitting compensation, according to the manner and amount of the loss or injury.

Further, the same prior for himself and his successors, as far as concerned himself and his successors, conceded that the said townspeople and their heirs should use in the future all their other free customs which they had used before the writ had been issued against them, as had been their custom and right.

And the said townspeople for themselves and their heirs conceded that they would perform for the said prior and his successors and his church at Dunstable all the free customs which they had been accustomed to perform before the said writ had been brought, as had been their custom and obligation.

All this of course with the proviso that if on any matter in the future some quarrel arose between the prior himself and his successors and the said townspeople and their heirs, which could not be put to sleep by both the parties themselves, they should with one

[1] It was important to record the outcome of the conflict so that it could be used as evidence in any future disagreements between the priory and townspeople.

[2] See 'Moulton [Muleton, Multon], Sir Thomas of (d. 1240), Landowner and Justice', *ODNB*.

Pre-publication Copy

accord come together or send representatives to the court of the lord king's justices at Westminster, and that both sides should without any contradiction or delay faithfully observe between themselves whatever reply, decree or judgment should be given by these same justices, provided that the aforesaid points about taxes, aids and penalties were observed, just as they had been stated earlier. And for this concession, settlement and agreement the townspeople paid to the said prior sixty pounds sterling.

[The charter of the prior and monastery]
To all the faithful in Christ etc. The whole body of the people should know that for [124] the nourishing of peace and concord between us and our men of Dunstable we have granted them that they themselves for the future, as far as concerns us, should be quit of taxes in perpetuity. And that, concerning penalties to be paid to us, they should not be liable for more than four pence in any suit which we can judge between ourselves, except for pleas of the crown, with the proviso that there can be adequate compensation for one who has suffered a loss or injury according to the manner and amount of loss or injury. Further, we have conceded to them all the free customs, which they have used up to this time, as was their custom and right. And if it should chance in the future that a dispute on some point arises between us and them, which cannot be settled by us and our mutual friends by mutual discussion at home, it has been settled by mutual agreement between us that without delay or excuse, by sending messengers from both sides to the lord king's bench, we should seek the counsel of the justices who are in session there at that time. And we shall see to it that the answer of the justices is observed, we on our side for them without contradiction, and they on their side for us.
For the confirmation of this our concession our men of Dunstable have paid us sixty pounds sterling, promising also that they will be loyal to us in all the days of the future. And as all this etc.

1230

In the year of grace 1230, on the feast of the translation of St Benedict [11 July], in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Henry, the church of Dunstable was recorded in the rolls of the lord king at the exchequer as being quit of the one hundred pounds which it had promised and paid for the confirmation of its liberties. And on the same day a document about this agreement between the parties was handed over to the prior and the burgesses.

In the same year at St Paul's church in London, on the feast of the conversion of St Paul [25 January], Bishop Roger [Black] was solemnly celebrating mass, when, after the gospel, the tower of the church was hit by a stroke of lightning, the fire from which took hold and spread on all sides. The priests were so overcome by fear and panic that they fled from the choir, and some of them were knocked down and killed by the crowd of rushing people. Only the bishop remained standing at the altar and went

Pre-publication copy

on with the service. After a time, the fire moved away and reduced to ash a windmill situated in the east of the city.[1]

In the same year [125] [Iorwerth] bishop of St David's died, and William de Braose was treacherously captured and hanged by Llywelyn.[2]

Also the prior of Chacombe [Northamptonshire] died and was replaced by the prior of Osney.[3]

Also William Whitchurch and Richard Stanford died.

In the same year in the month of April King Henry crossed the channel to Brittany with a large army, but, after a modest success there, he returned home in the month of October.[4] At this time died [Gilbert] earl of Gloucester, Raymond de Burgh, Maurice Gaunt, Nigel Mowbray and many others.

In the same year the elector of Saxony landed in England. He stayed in London until the king returned. Then, after being honoured with many gifts from the king, he returned to his own land.

In the same year peace was established between Pope Gregory and the emperor Frederick, after each had inflicted innumerable losses on the other.

In the same year Pope Gregory collected a tenth of the income from all lands, revenues, tithes and offerings (expenses not excepted) of bishoprics, abbeys, priories and other churches, both those under a rule and those not, and from the houses of lepers. The only exception was the Cistercian order. In England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales the pope collected the tenths by the hand of Stephen, his chaplain in England. At this time the church at Dunstable paid forty marks from its own income, and two and a half marks from its chapels at the Peak.[5]

1231

In the year of grace 1231 the schools at Paris were restored, and the privileges of both the apostolic see and the king of France were restored to their former freedoms.[6]

In the same year Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, set out to Rome to complain about Hubert de Burgh, the justiciar, [126] who had robbed him of his possession of Tonbridge castle, and about [Robert] abbot of St Augustine's, who had refused to be consecrated by him. But he died there, with his business unfinished.

1 The fire is also recorded by Wendover, who adds that a terrible smell contributed to the speed with which the priests left the building, II, pp. 533–4.

2 William's death by hanging is the final outcome of event beginning with his capture and ransom detailed above. Llywelyn decided to hang William after it was revealed that the captive had been having an affair with the Welshman's wife.

3 Probably Richard de Gray (1221–1229).

4 Wendover adds details such as the route that the party took from Reading, sailing from Portsmouth on 30 April, landing at St Malo. He also gives a full account of who paid homage to the king, who refused and how the king of France marched against him. Henry then marched to Gascony to receive homage from his nobles there before returning home; see Roger of Wendover, II, pp. 533–8.

5 Wendover gives the details of the meeting at which the raising of this tax was agreed. Interestingly, the clergymen 'grumbled' for three days before finally acquiescing; II, pp. 528–31.

6 This marked the end of the strike, details of which are given at pp. 67, 75 and 76 above.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year died William Marshal, Hugh Steppingley, William Saumur, Reginald archdeacon of Middlesex, William Muscamp archdeacon of Derby, Hugh abbot of Ramsey, Walter Bidun, William London the justiciar of the king, Ralph the clerk of Norwich.

In the same year an altar to St Mary was dedicated by Hugh, bishop of Ely, assisted by Thomas [Blundeville], bishop of Norwich.

In the same year the treasurer of Exeter became bishop of St David's,[1] despite the opposition of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, who had quashed his appointment.

In the same year the Danes and Norwegians invaded Scotland and the Isle of Man. They did a great deal of damage and were only driven off after much toil and trouble.

In the same year Peter [des Roches], bishop of Winchester, returned from Jerusalem. He had been so active there that he had earned the grace and favour both of the Roman church and of the emperor Frederick. During their periods of enmity with each other, he was thought worthy of being their mediator, and was, as it were, a corner stone between opposing walls. It was particularly by his help that the city of Ascalon was restored and that both the fort at Jaffa and the fort at Sagitta were rebuilt to their former strength. It was also through his foresight that the order of canons at St Thomas the martyr, which had been established in Acre by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, was changed to the order of the Spanish Spata.[2] He acquired very many possessions both by purchase and by prayer for the improvement of the order. A remarkable thing happened [127] to the prior of this place. He had resigned, and, upon coming to England celebrated mass at Westminster. After the mass, he just managed to get outside the church, but there he collapsed to the ground and died. His property was scattered to the four winds.

I must add to this that Bishop Peter, as he was making his way through France, succeeded in establishing a three-year truce between the king of France on the one hand and the king of England, [Peter] the count of Brittany and the count of Chester[3] on the other. Then, on his return to England, he found the king in Wales, and he gave him stronger help than all the other bishops put together.[4]

When finally the truce had been agreed to for a year, the bishop invited king, justiciar, bishops, earls, barons, clerics of the exchequer and as many other nobles as he could manage to celebrate Christmas with him at Winchester. At this feast the bishop with amazing generosity lavished upon his guests so many different dishes, so many pairs of clothing, so many valuable presents of gold and silver and horses, that the celebration could justly have been thought sufficient for the coronation of the king.[5]

1 Anselm the Fat (1230–1237).

2 Ascalon, Jaffa and Acre were all important coastal settlements in the Middle East which had been taken by the Christians during the crusades of the previous century. As Spata means sword in Latin, this is likely referring to one of the many Spanish military orders by a colloquial name. It was in fact Pope Gregory IX who confirmed the military role of the order in 1236, when they adopted the rule of the Teutonic Order, a shift in purpose from the role envisaged by kings Richard and Philip when they founded the priory during the Third Crusade.

3 Ranulf de Blundeville.

4 Roger of Wendover, II, pp. 541–2.

5 The detail provided here of the feast suggests that the prior of Dunstable may have been present.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year two people returned at the same time, the earl of Chester who had shown too much favour to the party of Llywelyn, and Richard Marshal, who, after being much harmed by an unjust delay, was at length thought worthy of recovering his inheritance.[1]

In the same year Llywelyn began a war in Wales against the king of England. And because he spared neither churches nor clerics, he was excommunicated by name together with twelve of his chieftains, and they were denounced on feast days throughout the whole of England. But a truce was agreed upon, and the denunciations stopped. But in this war Llywelyn captured two sons of Richard Argentine and three other nobles. Also thirty knights were killed, but the number of foot-soldiers killed is unknown. While the king with his army restored castle Maud, that same pestilence, Llywelyn, destroyed ten castles in the Welsh Marches.[2]

In the same year [128] Simon de Montfort recovered possession of Leicester and half of his earldom.[3]

In the same year John Catesby resigned as vicar of Pulloxhill, and his place was taken by Simon Bardeney.

In the same year John, archdeacon of Bedford, became archdeacon of Northampton. Master Almeric [of Buckden] succeeded him as archdeacon of Bedford.

In the same year on St Edmund's day [20 November] the church of Newbottle [Northamptonshire] was dedicated by an official of the bishop of Lincoln.

In the same year Ralph [Nevill], bishop of Chichester, the chancellor of the lord king, was chosen as archbishop of Canterbury. But this choice was not allowed.[4]

In the same year Giles, prior of Merton, was made a white monk[5] at Beaulieu. He was succeeded by Henry, the sub-cellarer of Merton.

In the same year the Templars and the Hospitallers with their friends afflicted the Old Man of the Mountain with so many losses and problems that he was forcibly compelled to become their tributary.[6]

In the same year the sultan of Babylon died.[7]

[1] His brother William Marshal junior died earlier that year. Richard eventually inherited the title earl of Pembroke and his brother's other lands.

[2] For further details of this Welsh uprising in context, see Michael Prestwich, *Plantagenet England 1225–1360* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 146–7. Wendover also records these events in particularly strong terms, referring to the Welsh as 'rats' and Richard Argentine as 'brave knight': II, pp. 539–41.

[3] This was after he renounced his claim to his French territories, and by association any allegiance to the king of France. He did not fully gain his title and lands until 1239.

[4] Pope Gregory claimed that he was illiterate, whilst others thought him more of a courtier than a priest.

[5] Or Cistercian.

[6] The Old Man of the Mountain was the leader of the troublesome group known as the 'Assassins' in the Middle East. For more on the Old Man and his sect, see Juliette Wood, 'The Old Man of the Mountain and Medieval Folklore', *Folklore*, 99 (1988), 78–87.

[7] Al Kamil. He did not however die until 1238.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year Cincius the Roman and several other Romans were taken prisoner, and set free after a few months. Also some envoys of the lord pope were taken prisoner while carrying his letters. One of them was killed. The others, though wounded, got away.[1]

1232

Hubert de Burgh, the justiciar of England, when he was called upon by a letter from the pope to fulfil his holy cross pilgrimage, freed himself in due form through an absolution from Pandulf, then the papal legate in England. Then there was the matter of his divorce from his third wife, the daughter of the king of Scotland,[2] because she was a kinswoman to his second wife, the countess of Gloucester.[3] By cunning schemes he prolonged this iniquitous state of affairs, refusing an audience with upright judges, and maliciously getting letters sent to three judges who were situated in the three corners of England.[4]

Also in the same season, a plot was hatched in a conspiracy of some clerics and knights who had their henchmen sell supplies of the Roman clergy's vigorously threshed corn. When the conspirators were accused by the king's bailiffs of such presumptuous behaviour, they showed the bailiffs letters patent from the justiciar himself. Once these letters had been seen, the conspirators were dismissed without charge, and these villains then sold corn of the English as well as the Romans.[5]

Finally, Pope Gregory wrote to the lord king of England,[6] asking him to check with the power of the secular arm the perpetrators of this crime. With this authority the king thrust into prison the brother of master Robert Chardelowe, and sent to the high pontiff the knight Robert Twinge, who had been the ringleader of all these criminals. He also deprived Hubert of Burgh of his office as justiciar, of his earldom of Kent, and of all the moveables and benefits which he had acquired through the gift of the king. The king also appointed for him a day on which he was absolutely bound to appear to give an account before his equals of what he

[1] According to Wendover, the pope had called a meeting at St Albans abbey to find if there were grounds for the countess of Essex to divorce her husband. We are not told the decision, only that the following day, Cincius, who was a canon of St Pauls, was carried off by armed men with covered faces. One of those who escaped was John Florentine, archdeacon of Norwich. Cincius was returned several days later unharmed though 'with his purse emptied'. Like the annalist here, Wendover does not sound at all sympathetic to the 'Roman's' plight; see II, pp. 545–6.

[2] Margaret, daughter of Alexander II.

[3] Isabella, third daughter of William, earl of Gloucester, wife previously of King John and Geoffrey de Mandeville.

[4] It would seem only the very surface of Hubert's 'iniquities' are mentioned here. For the full list of demands made by the king of him and how he was thrown into the Tower of London, see Wendover, II, pp. 553–61.

[5] Wendover also records this incident, suggesting around eighty men were involved, led by William Withers, who apparently distributed much of it to the poor; II, pp. 551–2.

[6] The letter is given in the Burton annals, 'Annales de Burton', in *Annales Monastici*, I, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1864), p. 239. These annals were composed in Burton-upon-Trent in Staffordshire and cover the years 1004–1263.

Pre-publication copy

had received and spent, and to make his reply to the complaints of the Romans and of others about him.

But because the justiciar had made his preparations for escaping before the appointed day arrived, some servants of the king, when hearing of this, chased after the justiciar. In his flight the justiciar had hidden himself away in a certain chapel, but the servants forcibly pulled him out and transferred him to the Tower of London. But on the insistence of Roger the bishop of London, Hubert was given ecclesiastical freedom and sent back to the very chapel of Boisars from which he had been forcibly extracted. He managed to stay there for forty days, but the earl of Essex laid siege to the chapel and dug a ditch around it as though it were a castle. Finally, because his food supplies were running out, he chose to leave the chapel. As he left it, he was captured and taken first to the Tower. Finally, on the advice of the most experienced men in the kingdom, he was given into the custody of four earls,[1] who handed him over to four of their knights. As they loved their life, they were to keep him in safe custody in Devizes castle.[2]

At the same time Ranulph Brito, the treasurer of the lord king, who for several years had persecuted the church at Missenden, aroused the anger of the king. Both his brother, the sheriff of Kent, and he himself were dismissed from their posts and paid a fine to the king, the one of one thousand pounds, the other of one thousand marks. They also, now that justice intervened, lost the many possessions which they had seized through force.[3]

In the same year four tournaments were granted by the king in four places in England, namely Dunstable, Brackley, Stamford and Blyth.[4]

In the same year there was a change of prior at St Bartholomew, with Gerald, a canon of this church, replacing John.[5]

In the same year Pope Gregory through [Peter] bishop of Winchester and [Richard] abbot of St Edmunds made an inquiry into the people who had belonged to the number of that whole group who had entered into a conspiracy against the Italian clergy. The bishop and the abbot sent the names of the suspects to the lord pope.[6]

In the same year the prior of Canterbury was chosen as its archbishop, and his election approved by the king. But having arrived in Rome, he resigned from the appointment and returned to England the prior that he had been before.[7]

1 Wendover names the ringleader as Godfrey of Craucumbe: II, p. 557.

2 For further details of this stage of Hubert de Burgh's decline, see Carpenter, 'The Fall of Hubert de Burgh', pp. 49–56.

3 The removal of Ranulph from his position was part of the rise of the des Roches faction to power in England. Peter de Rivallis (nephew of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester) became treasurer in his place.

4 In 1194, Richard I had named five sites in England where tournaments could take place. Those between Salisbury and Wilton and between Warwick and Kenilworth are here replaced by Dunstable. The other three are unchanged.

5 The date upon which John took office is not known, and this is the only source for the end of his term in office.

6 Wendover states that the bishop of London was among the accused and had to go to Rome to prove his innocence: II, p. 565.

7 This was John of Sittingbourne.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year John, son of Richard earl of Cornwall, was born and died. Also Ranulf, earl of Chester, died.[1] Also Alan Basset. Also Henry Oily.

In the same year the itinerant justices were in the county of Bedford, but they did not come to Dunstable or intervene in its pleas. But there was a declaration before them of our rights and the rights of [Mabel] the abbess of Elstow to joint ownership of the marshes of Flitwick and Maulden. And these are the words on the king's roll:

> *The abbot of Woburn[2] and the canons of Dunstable came before the justiciars, [131] and, as laid down in a writ of the lord king, granted to the abbess of Elstow and to Philip of Flitwick common use of Maulden, which belongs to the abbess and of Flitwick, which is owned by Philip himself; but on condition that the abbot and the canons of Dunstable still kept the right of common pasture on all these lands which they had had before.*

In the same year we made an agreement with the parishioners of Flitwick and the abbot [William] of Wardon with regard to the common of Bushy,[3] namely that we paid twenty shillings to the abbot to ensure that we were at peace with him and kept our rights.

In the same year we made an agreement with the countess of Pembroke[4] over a suit of court concerning Toddington and the hundred of Flitwick. The agreement was that for the whole of her life we should keep our liberty in full, but that the rights of anyone after her death would be secure. This happened in the month of November.

In the same year and month, we received full possession of the whole land of Wadlow with its tenants, demesnes and rents. This even included the payment of one penny which the countess of Pembroke owes to us for her manor house and dwellings in Wadlow.

In the same year Stephen Segrave was made justiciar of the whole of England.

In the same year there was granted to the lord king from the whole of England a fortieth of the corn harvested by the day of St Matthew apostle [21 September], and a fortieth of the cattle then countable. But the churches and the properties which belonged to them by right of parish were exempt from this tax.[5]

1233

In AD 1233 on the death of Robert, rector of the church at [North] Marston [Buckinghamshire], his place was taken by Alan as our appointment. He was to pay us five pounds each year, of which we would pay four marks to the hostel.[6]

In the same year itinerant justices of the lord king, namely Robert Lexington and some others, were in Dunstable. On that occasion the town paid us a fine of four marks,

1 Wendover gives a few more details here, that he died at Wallingford and was then taken to Chester to be buried: II, p. 561.

2 Richard was abbot of Woburn in 1217.

3 Bucokesheye is the original manuscript spelling; the identification is not certain.

4 Princess Eleanor, widow of William Marshall, then married to Simon de Montfort.

5 The full text of the king's writ is copied into Roger of Wendover, II, p. 559. It is also commented on at length by the Waverley annalist, p. 310.

6 The hostel may be the Priory House at Dunstable.

Pre-publication copy

[132] for all the things which were subject to our assessment. This was done with the agreement of the justiciars.

In the same year, on the orders of Pope Gregory, all bishops of England visited all monks and canons subject to them. At that time our church was visited by an official of bishop Hugh, namely master Robert, archdeacon of Lincoln. His decisions, signed with his seal, have been kept in our possession.

In the same year we established our right against William Faldho to one way of fifteen feet next to his grove in Pulloxhill.

In the same year on the day of Pentecost [22 May] at Gloucester the earl Roger Bigod was knighted,[1] as was Hugh de Vere, [fourth] earl of Oxford. Also the earl of Warwick[2] and several others were knighted.

In the same year John the Scot was made earl of Chester.[3] And [John de Lacy] the constable of Chester was made earl of Lincoln. And then the lands of the earl of Chester were divided between his five sisters.

In the same year [Peter] the count of Brittany took from our king the castle of St James de Beuvron, which R[anulf], earl of Chester, had given to our king.

In the same year master John Blund was unanimously elected as archbishop of Canterbury and set out for Rome. But in the end, because of the opposition to him by Simon, archdeacon of Canterbury, his election was quashed. The pretext for this was that he had had two parish churches, without special dispensation for this.[4]

In the same year the emperor Frederick granted to the Lombards all the liberties which they had in the time of Fredrick his grandfather. He also said that neither he nor his son would enter Lombardy with more than a hundred soldiers. The Lombards in return for this restored to him all the royal castles of his which they [133] controlled, and promised him three hundred knights at their expense for three years' service in the Holy Land. On these terms peace was made between them.[5]

In the same year John, once king of Jerusalem, landed at Durazzo and took the place by force.[6] Then he travelled to Constantinople and was peacefully received as emperor. Pope Gregory IX gave him help from his church's treasury in his early needy days.

In the same year master John Blund was elected to Canterbury and returned to England.[7]

In the same year master John, abbot of Boxley, with two colleagues was appointed visitor of the exempt monasteries of the black monks.[8] But when John with excessive severity wished to add to their burdens by his desire to stop them from eating meat outside

1 He was the fourth earl of Norfolk, and became Marshal of England upon his father's death in 1246.

2 Thomas of Newburgh, the sixth earl, died in 1242.

3 John of Scotland, seventh earl of Chester, from 1232 to 1237.

4 Wendover says it was because he had taken money from Peter, bishop of Winchester, in order to secure his position; II, p. 567.

5 Lombardy was a region in northern Italy which nominally came under the control of the Holy Roman Emperors, but was fiercly independent for much of the period.

6 Important city and military stronghold on the coast of what is now Albania.

7 Renowned Aristotelian scholar, and favoured candidate of Peter des Roches.

8 The term 'black monk' refers to those belonging to the Benedictine Order.

Pre-publication copy

the infirmary and from drinking after their meal, they appealed to the apostolic see.[1] They followed up this appeal by demanding letters of appointment for other visitors. But their appeal was turned down and so John placed these particular monasteries under an interdict, excommunicated their abbots and senior obedientaries and declared that both the black monks and their monasteries were to be avoided by everybody. But his pronouncements and his visitation were quashed by letters of repeal. Indeed, when John wished to visit Evesham abbey, [Thomas] the abbot arranged the escape of Evesham from his visitation. For he claimed that his monastery was not an exempt monastery, except only as being exempt from control by the church at Worcester, and in fact that it was subject to the church at Canterbury. As the abbot and monks proved this point by letters patent, the visitor went away.

In the same year two canons of Dunstable, Walter who had taken his vows and John who had not, without permission departed from the priory by escaping through a broken window and jumping over the monastery wall. They took the habit of the Franciscans at Oxford. The prior of Dunstable had them denounced both at Oxford and elsewhere as being excommunicated. Because of this Walter, bringing three [134] of the Franciscan brothers with him, came back to Dunstable and humbly begged the chapter for pardon. He swore that he would obey the commands of the prior in everything, his order permitting. And so he was pardoned on the order of the prior after receiving the discipline of corporal punishment from three canons, and afterwards vocal admonishment from the whole community. Finally, he was instructed first to return the books and clothes which he had taken away with him, and then within a year to decide whether to stay with the Franciscans, if their order was stricter than ours, or to return to our order, where he could count on a gracious reception.[2] John however was found by the prior in London and received a similar absolution. With brother Nicholas he went to Rome, taking with him Henry Archer. In this year Richard Falco converted to the same order.

In the same year Roger, bishop of London, set out for Rome but lost his jewels and his journey money at the city of Parma. He recovered part with difficulty. It is unknown why he was travelling to Rome. When he finally got back to England in the autumn, he was detained by the ministers of the king at Canterbury together with [Walter] bishop of Carlisle, who wished to cross the seas at the same time.

In the same year the Franciscans wanted to establish a house both in the town of Bury St Edmunds and in the town of Reading. So they obtained letters from the pope and the king which instructed [Adam] abbot of Reading to allow the Franciscans to establish a house in his city. They also obtained letters of protection from the lord pope to [Peter] bishop of Winchester, asking that the bishop should protect them against the enemies of Christ. As so as a result of much pressure they acquired a place for a

[1] The Benedictines had a reputation for their lavish lifestyle – it was a reaction to this which led to the extraordinary proliferation of monastic orders in the central Middle Ages.

[2] The Franciscans and Dominicans were 'mendicant orders', a new development of monasticism, which was very popular and fast growing. For further information relating to the foundation and growth of the order, see Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006).

Pre-publication copy

house from an unwilling abbot next to the bridge at Reading. This was regarded as a mark of transgression against the gospels by them.

In the same year Richard, abbot of St Edmunds, died. He was succeeded by Henry [of Rushbrooke], the prior of the same place.

Henry [135] abbot of Darley died. He was succeeded by Ralph, the prior of the same place.

Ferdinand the count of Flanders died; also the abbot of Thornton [Richard of Villa]; also the prior of Cokeford.

In the same year a Dominican brother called John de Vicenza performed many miracles at Bologna and healed all sorts of sickness. He is even said to have awakened the dead, to have had the birds fly down from the trees on to his hand, to have crossed the river on his cloak, and to have preached the word of God with great success.[1]

In the same year there were itinerant justices in Cornwall. In fear of them all fled to the woods. And so a proclamation was made that they should all return to the king's peace, on condition that they learned to live according to the laws of the kingdom of England. The only exceptions were homicides, whose accusers were ready for them.

In the same year [Conrad] the abbot of Prémontré was deposed and the English abbot of the Park near Darley was put in his place; and at the same chapter meeting very many harsh statutes were passed.

In the same year the three priors of St Victor, Clerkenwell and the Dominicans in Paris were sent by the pope to the general chapter at Ardres as decision makers. Their many definitions became decrees and commands to be observed by the whole order.[2]

1234

In the year of grace 1234, on the advice of the high pontiff, the monks of Canterbury chose master Edmund, the treasurer of Salisbury, to be their archbishop. In the same year, on the day when *Laetare Jerusalem* is sung,[3] he was consecrated at Canterbury in the presence of the king, and received the pallium on the same day. The king with great devotion committed his body and soul, crown and kingdom to the new archbishop. After this [136] the same archbishop removed and banished from the council and household of the king Peter bishop of Winchester, Peter of Rievaulx the treasurer and all other Poitevins. He also removed Stephen Segrave, the justiciar of England, and Robert Passelewe, the treasurer of the exchequer, on the grounds that they were deceitful supporters of the Poitevins. But he restored to the favour of the lord king those whom the advice of former counsellors had removed from his presence.

In the same year the lands of the see of Canterbury, which through the fraud of certain people had lain barren and uncultivated, were ploughed and summer corn was

[1] John's activities resulted in him becoming the leader of the 'Alleluia' or 'Great Devotion' in northern Italy, a wave of peacemaking efforts directed at the warring factions of the Italian city states. For further details on both the Alleluia and John de Vicenza, see A. Thompson, *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth Century Italy: The Great Devotion* (Oxford, 1992), esp. 39–44.

[2] The purpose of a general chapter was to discuss and decide on important matters affecting the whole order, with decisions then taken back to the localities by the representatives present.

[3] See p. 66 n. 1 above.

Pre-publication copy

sown. The stock was renewed. A loan without limits was received from the king and from others.

In the same year Satan had been at work and the lord king on the advice of the Poitevins had ignored the processes of law and seized a manor of Gilbert Basset.[1] The king refused to restore what he had stolen, although advised to do so by Richard Marshal, and angrily dismissed Richard himself. Richard, together with Gilbert Basset and Richard Seward, withdrew from the court. The earls and barons of England sent letters to them, promising advice and support. Also Llywelyn joined them and together with their forces, they did much damage, first in Wales, secondly in the Marches, and thirdly in England. For at Grosmont in Wales the king's army lost about eight hundred horses with their harness and equipment, and two knights were killed together with countless numbers of our foot-soldiers.[2]

Then presently reinforcements for his army were sent by the king from the household of John of Monmouth and from the Flemish, but Richard Marshal cut them down with great slaughter and John's lands were utterly burnt and destroyed. Meanwhile the Marshal had set off for Ireland and the archbishop arranged a truce between the king and his rivals which was to last to the feast of St James [25 July]. During the arranged time, Richard Marshal in Ireland, on the very bad advice of Geoffrey of Marisco and other traitors to the king, went against the truce (although it had been agreed to by his brother Gilbert) and with a few [137] men thrust his way into the army of the king, which was then commanded by Maurice the justiciar, Walter de Lacy, Hugh de Lacy and Richard de Burgh. In this attack Richard Marshal fell, wounded to the death. But he lingered on for fifteen more days and made his repentance before he finally died. When the king was told of his death, he lamented for a long time, as did King David for the deaths of Saul and Jonathan.[3]

At the same time Richard Seward and his confederates, like men possessed, burnt the manors and the stock of Richard earl of Cornwall, [Peter] bishop of Winchester, Peter de Rivallis, Stephen Segrave, Robert Passelewe and others of their rivals. By way of excuse they declared that they had done this justly, because their own holdings had earlier been ruined by the plans of their victims.

In the same year the most holy king, realising that he himself on the advice of Achitophel[4] had been the root and origin of this evil war, gave up the scheme suggested to him by the new Hushai,[5] that is the archbishop. He changed his cold opposition into favour, wishing to correct his mistakes and to overcome evil by good. He had no wish to disinherit the family of the Marshal and his supporters, but chose rather to reconcile

1 It is clear from the tone here that the tide has indeed turned against the strength of the Poitevin contingent in the king's court.

2 For further detail on the political situation at this time see, Prestwich, *Plantagenet England*, pp. 86–7.

3 This uprising and death of Richard Marshal are related in similar detail by Wendover: II, pp. 574–6, and in even greater detail in the Waverley annals, including a verse eulogy: pp. 313–15. Richard was the son of Henry's guardian and mentor, William Marshal.

4 Biblical figure, advisor to King David.

5 Husai was a friend of David and his spy, acting as an advisor to Absalom whilst sending information to David to sabotage his plans.

Pre-publication copy

them to himself. And so on the Tuesday before Pentecost [6 June] he restored them completely to what they had lost, namely their good name, all their lands and possessions, and above all to the kiss of peace. Later on the day of Pentecost [11 June] the king at one and the same time made Gilbert a knight, an earl and a marshal, and he bestowed many gifts on that family and the others. And so the war came to an end. They had passed through rough, trackless, forbidding territory on to wide, level roads.

In the same year Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, justiciar of England and a crusader, through the machinations of the Poitevins fell into disfavour with the king. In fear he fled to a chapel in Essex, but he was violently dragged out from there and hurried off to the Tower of London. But he was restored [138] to the chapel by [Roger] bishop of London. Then, on the order of the king, the earl [of Essex] enclosed the chapel with a ditch and a palisade. Then, when Lent was imminent, Hubert put his trust in the king's favour, and left the chapel and surrendered himself to the sheriff. He was taken away willingly in a carriage and led back to the Tower of London. Later on the king handed him over to the custody of four earls and the governor of the castle of Devizes.[1]

After a long time there, he avoided schemes for his death by letting himself fall from the wall of the castle into the moat. From there he fled to a neighbouring church for refuge. Finally, when this church had been surrounded for several weeks by the earl's men, Richard Seward suddenly turned up with a large force of armed men. He rescued the pleased Hubert from the church and led him off in honour to the Marshal in Wales. And presently with others he was admitted again to the king's favour, and he was fully restored, to his life, peace, good name and his inheritance, and to his honours, properties and earldom.[2]

In the same year of grace, the bishop of Carlisle was stripped of his office of treasurer, and of all his lands and revenues. He wished to flee but was detained at Canterbury. Then out of respect for his order he was allowed to depart and took up residence in Flanders. Later on through a new archbishop he regained the favour of the lord king.[3]

In the same year we took over twenty acres of land in the parish of Segenhoe which belonged to Robert Woodwell and for which an annual rent of seven shillings was due. A fight arose over this and some were wounded and buildings were removed by our men. As a result, suits were brought against about forty men of our household for robbery and breach of the king's peace. Then, when peace was restored, Henry Northwood in return for a payment to us of seven shillings received from us seven acres of land adjoining his own and he and his men withdrew from the suits which they had brought. We also withdrew from the complaints which had been registered in our chapter meeting.

[1] Hubert de Burgh had already begun his fall from grace, and this information is largely a repeat of the entry given on p. 87 above.

[2] Hubert's escape is recorded by all our annalists and chroniclers, though the degree of sensationalism varies. The Osney annals give a full account; 'Annales Monasterii de Oseneia', pp. 74–5. The most detailed, however, is Wendover's account; II, pp. 571–2.

[3] Walter Mauclerc's demise was a side-effect of Hubert de Burgh's own fall; his return to favour came after the leader of the rival faction, Peter des Roches, was stripped of his own powers.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year Hugh Wadlow gave a charter to Paulin Piper concerning all the land at Wadlow and his land at Chalton [139] and concerning all the rights and claims which could now be his to make, for tenant service to him, which he had received in a full court at Toddington, and for food and clothing for as long as he should live. As a result, Paulin gave us a considerable amount of trouble over these lands. But finally he calmed down and in an amicable settlement gave back to us Hugh's deed, and drew up for us his own deed concerning these lands. In return for this concession we gave to Hugh Wadlow one corrody of [the provisions for] one canon and four shillings annually for his clothing. And to Paulin we gave five marks, five quarters of corn and a rent of four shillings and six pence, together with a holding which was no good to us.

In the same year Walter Kirkby gave us one hundred acres of land at Ickwell, in return for which we granted food and clothing for life to him and his wife, to his two sons and his one daughter and to one servant of his wife.

In the same year died Hugh bishop of Hereford, Philip count of Boulogne and count Robert,[1] the brother of the count of Brittany. Also there died Henry, abbot of Darley, whose place was taken by Ralph, a canon of the same abbey.[2] Also [Robert] abbot of Abingdon died. Also the abbot of Rocester.[3] Also the prior of Cokeford.[4] And Brian de Insula, and Hugh Novavilla.

In the same year the following decree was issued by King Henry:

Henry, king of England, sends greetings to his sheriff. We have heard that you and your bailiffs and also the bailiffs of others who hold the hundreds in your county do not understand how the hundreds and the wapentakes should be managed in your county, ever since we granted to the men of our kingdom the liberties contained in those charters of ours which we drew up when we were still under age. We have recently had the same charter read out in the presence of the lord of Canterbury, all the senior and wiser bishops, earls and barons of our whole kingdom, in order that this clause contained in our charter about liberties should be set forth by us in their presence. The clause is [140] that no sheriff or bailiff shall visit a hundred on his circuit except twice a year, and he is to do this only at the appointed and customary time, namely once after Easter and again after the feast of St Michael [29 September], *without interference. This is so that all citizens should still possess the freedoms which they had and were accustomed to have in the time of King Henry our grandfather or which they obtained subsequently. When this clause was read out at the meeting, many there said and testified that in the time of King Henry our grandfather not only the hundreds and the wapentakes but also the courts of the nobles of England were accustomed to be held every fifteen days. And although it would please us greatly to make provision for the common good of our whole kingdom and the protection of the poor, all the same, because two circuits are not fully sufficient to preserve our peace and to correct the outrages which are inflicted upon the rich as well as the poor and which are dealt with in the hundreds, the following provision has been made with the general agreement of the archbishop of Canterbury and all the*

1 Robert III, count of Dreux.

2 Repetition of information provided above, p. 91.

3 Situated in Staffordshire. The name of the abbot is unknown.

4 Probably William.

Pre-publication copy

aforesaid bishops, earls, barons and others:
In the intervals between the two circuits, the hundreds and the wapentakes and even the courts of the nobles are to be held every three weeks, whereas formerly they were accustomed to be held every fifteen days, but with this stipulation that there is not to be a general summoning as happens at the circuits, but that the hundreds, the wapentakes and the courts should be attended only by plaintiffs and defendants and the others who should be witnesses, in fact the parties through whom pleas are heard and verdicts reached. The one exception is that at those hundreds and wapentakes there should also be an inquiry into pleas of the crown such as the death of a man or the finding of treasure and things of this kind. This inquiry should be attended by the four nearest villages as well as by the parties involved, that is to say by all the people from those villages who are necessary for the holding of the inquiry.
For this reason, we instruct you that for the future the aforesaid hundreds, wapentakes and courts (both ours and those of others) should take place according to this charter, that is every three weeks, except for the aforesaid two circuits, which in the future are to be held just as they were customarily held in the past. Witnessed by etc.

In the same year at Woburn abbey Abbot Richard was dismissed, and replaced by Roger, a monk from Fountains [abbey]. After his appointment, both the monks and lay brothers of Woburn abbey were sent to different monasteries throughout England, and were to stay in them until the monastery at Woburn was freed from the burden of its debts.
In the same year [141] we granted to the abbot and monks of Woburn abbey our mill at Greenfield at the rent of twenty-six shillings a year in perpetuity.
In the same year Thomas of Totternhoe died and his land passed to us.
In the same year Thomas Knot of Totternhoe gave back to us ten acres of land, abjuring his rights and claim to it, and out of piety we gave him in return sixteen shillings and six pence.
In the same year Hugh, bishop of Hereford, died, and was succeeded by master Ralph [Maidstone], dean of the same church.

1235

In AD 1235 died Hugh, bishop of Lincoln. He was replaced by master Robert Grosseteste. Also Henry [Sandford], bishop of Rochester died. Also William, abbot of St Albans, who was replaced by [John] prior of Hertford.
In the same year we recovered at the exchequer four marks from fines of our townsmen.
In the same year we presented master Alan to the church at North Marston, from which church we were accustomed to receive twenty shillings annually and to give one mark annually to the Hospitallers. But when [Robert] bishop of Lincoln wished to increase our gift to five marks and his chapter agreed, William the dean[1] blocked this grant. This was because of a lawsuit which had arisen between us and him over tithes at Hougham, where as yet we have nothing except our old pension. But in this lawsuit, which we brought before judges at Lincoln, we put our case but then withdrew without a day being fixed for the case to proceed.

[1] William of Tournay.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year we granted a chantry at his expense to James le Cauceis in his chapel at Sharpenhoe. In this way we kept seven acres of land, which of old had been granted to us for a chantry.[142] And then we made an exchange with him, of the land called Radcroft for fourteen acres nearer to us, to our common benefit. And the aforesaid James at his own expense recalled the suits brought by his men in the lay courts. And we got revoked the sentences of excommunication which had been brought against his men because of their suits.

In the same year a crusade was preached throughout the whole of England, but the emperor extended the truce to one of four years.[1]

In the same year the lord pope and the emperor took counsel together and through their marshals and their army laid siege to the city of Rome but from a distance. And so the people of Rome came out of the city towards Viterbo, and, with their enemies greeting them with shouts, many men on both sides were killed including two Teutonic counts and other nobles. Besides the very many Roman citizens that were killed several others were taken prisoner and herded into the prison of the lord pope. Peter, bishop of Winchester, brought a large army of knights and crossbowmen all the way to Turin to help the pope. In the end the Romans were led by necessity to make an agreement with the lord pope: they would pay back the losses inflicted upon his church and offer sufficient guarantees of this happening.[2]

In the same year Frederick, the emperor of Germany, married Isabella, the daughter of John, the previous king of England,[3] and received as dowry thirty thousand marks. To raise this sum a general scutage of two marks throughout the whole of England was asked for and granted. This scutage was not only on fiefs held in tenure from the king but also on other lands. Even the religious houses, both those of royal foundation and others, made their contribution to this sum. The emperor on his side promised to advise and help King Henry in the acquisition and maintenance of his rights.

In the same year [143] Alan of Galloway died. He was succeeded by his four daughters but, because the people of the land were unwilling to accept a division of territory, there was a great slaughter. In the end, through the intervention of the king of Scotland, the husbands[4] of the four sisters obtained their inheritance and an intruder[5] was sent into exile.[6]

1 This would eventually become the 'Barons' Crusade', but preparations were disrupted by crisis in the Latin empire of Constantinople and the events in Rome given below. For a full account of the Barons' Crusade, see Michael Lower, *The Barons Crusade: A Call to Arms and its Consequences* (Philadelphia, 2005). For the full text of the pope's summons to crusade, see Wendover's account, II, pp. 604–6.

2 We are told by Wendover that this conflict between Pope Gregory IX and the people of Rome was over the right of the pope to excommunicate them or place the city under interdict. For a fuller account of the disagreement between the pope and the emperor, see Wendover, II, pp. 601–2.

3 In other words, Henry III's sister. His previous wife, Yolande of Brienne, princess of Jerusalem, had died in 1228.

4 Hugh de Lacy, Roger de Quinci, John Balliol and William, son of the earl of Aumale.

5 An illegitimate son of Alan.

6 This was the end of the hitherto independent lordship of Galloway.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year, after the death of Richard Marshal, Gilbert Marshal married Margaret, the sister of the king of Scotland. She brought with her a handsome dowry in Scotland, together with ten thousand marks and more.

In the same year master Simon Bobelin leased to our church all the lands which he had in Houghton Regis and Sewell at an annual rent of three marks in perpetuity, and for twelve marks we obtained that year's crop, which by then had been sown.

And in the same year we received Hugh Scot and Richard Whitchurch as canons. And that year brother Walter died.

1236

In AD 1236 Alexander [of Stavenby], bishop of Lichfield, obtained by common law the right of making a visitation over the prior and monks of Coventry, and in the presence of the pope those monks were fined eighty marks of expenses.

In the same year Robert, the bishop of Lincoln, on his visitation deposed the abbots of Leicester,[1] Osolfeston, Thornton Curtis,[2] Nutley,[3] Brunne,[4] Dorchester[5] and Missenden,[6] and the priors of St Frideswide [Elias], Cold Norton,[7] Bradwell[8] and Launde:[9] and he had others appointed in their place. Indeed William Glover, who was appointed [144] at St Frideswide, and Walter Wilton, who was appointed at Cold Norton, were both canons of Dunstable. The deposed priors were then provided with revenues of thirty-five marks.[10]

In the same year the bishops of Ely and Hereford,[11] as proctors and envoys of the king of England, brought to him Eleanor to be his wife,[12] the daughter of the count of Provence, together with a promise of ten thousand marks by way of dowry. And then both of them, the king and the queen, were crowned in the month of January at Westminster.

1 Matthew of Bray.

2 Geoffrey Holme.

3 If this is Netley, the abbot in question is not known. However, if this is referring to Notley, it would have been John de Essenden who was deposed (c.1218–1236).

4 If this is referring to Bruern, this could be a reference to Abbot Thomas (1229–?), although this abbot is thought to have been excommunicated by the bishop of Lincoln in 1240.

5 Roger (?1215–1236).

6 Martin.

7 Ralph (?1212–1236).

8 Richard.

9 Details of this prior are unknown. *Heads of Religious Houses,* II, p.405. This monastery was in Leicestershire.

10 This may have been what the Dunstable contingent took away from this meeting, but the full range of decrees passed during Robert Grosseteste's visitations are in *Councils and Synods*, pp. 261–78, 264 especially.

11 Hugh of Northwold and Ralph of Maidstone.

12 The manuscript reads Ysabel here, but this is an error.

Pre-publication copy

And at the same time at Merton laws were established by the king with the consent of the barons concerning the dowries of women and their wills and various other matters.[1]

In the same year Peter de Rivallis, Stephen Segrave and Robert Passelewe were reconciled with the lord king, and Richard Seward was taken prisoner. But because he was about to go on crusade, he was set free by the archbishop and resumed his place in the king's household.[2] Ralph fitz Nicholas was removed from the king's court.

In the same year there died William bishop of Worcester, Thomas bishop of Norwich, Hugh de Ba, the countess of Hereford,[3] [Thomas] abbot of Evesham, [Henry] abbot of Crowland, the abbot of Walden[4] and Thomas Multon.

In the same year we granted to William Elston a chantry in his chapel at Barworth on the authority of the bishop of Lincoln, and with William Elston providing compensation for the mother church. Indeed, over and above all the compensation, he granted us five acres for pure and perpetual alms. Then he got extremely angry [145] and through Simon his tenant he brought summonses against thirty-nine of our people for breach of the king's peace. But later before the justiciars at Bedford, namely Robert Lexington and others, he released our men without any losses on our side.

In the same year Henry Northwood had twenty and more of our men indicted for breach of the peace of the lord king. Also in the same way Hugh Wadlow had twenty and more indicted for breach of the king's peace, and similarly James of Caus had about eight of our men indicted through two accusers. But the lord king acquitted us from all the charges brought before him, except that we did have to pay just three marks to the king because of the failure of some of our defendants to turn up.

In the same year an agreement was drawn up in the court of the lord king between us and Hugh Wadlow about his corrody, and about all the lands granted by his father, and about all the things which could accrue to him.

In the same year the justices were at Dunstable. All the cases involving us were tried in full. We received fines of up to thirteen marks because of the failure to appear of some of the townsmen.

In the same year Simon Kavegon was convicted of the murder of Geoffrey Francis. But because Kavegon could not be found, he and his brother Richard were outlawed. We had the money paid for his goods, and we emptied his barn. Those standing bail for him were fined, and his lands, after the year of the king, passed back to their owners. This same Simon was sentenced to be outlawed for the wound he had inflicted upon Geoffrey.

In the same year Richard, prior of Hurley, was made abbot of Evesham and his place as prior taken by Samson Eswell.

[1] This is corroborated by Matthew Paris, though the annals have more detail concerning the content of the new laws. Matthew Paris, III, p. 341.

[2] The date of this reconciliation is given as 29 May by Wendover, II, pp. 592–4. Matthew Paris gives even further details, including the king's demeanour, and the heart-felt prayer spoken by Hubert.

[3] Matilda, daughter of Geoffrey fitz Peter, earl of Essex, and widow of Henry de Bohun.

[4] This is probably an error as Dugdale's *Monasticon* states that Robert died in 1231, and that his successor Richard died in 1241.

Pre-publication copy

1237

In AD 1237 the bishop elect of Valencia [William], the uncle of our queen,[1] came to England. He was made a principal counsellor of the king together with eleven others, who swore on oath [146] that they would constitute a faithful council for the king. And the king himself also swore that he would obey their decisions. But we believe that neither party was free from perjury. The bishop elect was also given the honour of Richmond,[2] which the count of Brittany was accustomed to have. The bishop elect also arranged for his brother[3] (who was also the brother of the count of Val Maurienne [Savoy]) to marry the countess of Flanders,[4] and so become the count of Flanders.

In the same year Richard, bishop of Durham, died, as did John, earl of Chester, whose inheritance was divided between his sisters, and whose wife, that is the daughter of Llywelyn,[5] married Robert Quincy. This made Llywelyn extremely angry.[6]

In the same year discussions between the kings of England and Scotland were held at York, with Otto the legate of the apostolic see being present. A peace was made between the two kings. The terms were that the king of Scotland should send to the king of England the ten thousand marks he had promised as a dowry for his wife,[7] and that the king of England should give the Scottish king three hundred pieces of land worth a pound a year in return for his homage and the annual provision of one corrody. Then, returning to Worcester, they extended the peace between the king and Llywelyn and enthroned Walter Cantilupe as bishop of Worcester. With Walter they there celebrated a most solemn feast.

In the same year Otto, legate of the apostolic see, held his general council in London, to which the prelates of the whole of England were solemnly summoned, and at which the legate enacted many statutes which apply to several places. At this council Walter, archbishop of York, sat among those on the left of the legate, and his right to do this, both in petitionary and possessory claims, was stated by the legate as being valid. And although the legate feared for his skin, he put his fear behind him and passed some harsh measures against plurality of benefices and against the sons of officials taking over from them.[8] [147] Although the council lasted for only three days, the

1 Eleanor of Provence, queen from 1236 to the king's death in 1272.

2 This is an error as the honour of Richmond was actually given to Peter of Savoy. What this episode does show is the growing strength of the Savoyard faction in English politics.

3 Thomas II of Savoy, lord of Piedmont from 1233 to his death, and count of Flanders by marriage from 1237 to 1244.

4 Joan or Joanna of Flanders, daughter of Baldwin IX, count of Flanders and emperor of Constantinople.

5 Her name was Helen, the daughter of Llywelyn the Great and Joan (daughter of King John)

6 Llywelyn was angry because Henry III arranged the marriage.

7 Meaning Gilbert Marshal's wife.

8 Holding multiple benefices or inheriting them were customs that the papacy sought to eliminate during the Middle Ages.

Pre-publication copy

king ensured that an armed force gave the legate safe conduct on his journey from his lodging to the church of St Paul and back to his lodging again.[1]

In the same year on the day after the feast of St Matthew the apostle [21 September] a thirtieth was granted to the king on all discernible moveables from all lands with the exception of churches and their endowments and prebendal lands. It was also on all chattels except for gold, silver, vessels, saddle-horses, cart horses and carts. Half was to be paid on the feast of St Andrew [30 November] and half on the feast of Trinity [14 June].

1238

In the year of grace 1238 the following churches became vacant: Durham, Norwich, Winchester, Reading and Thorney. Also Joan, queen of Scotland,[2] Theobald Leighton and John Whitchurch died.

In the same year there occurred a riot at Oxford between the papal legate and the scholars. It was so bad that at [the abbey of] Osney the legate's cook was killed and one of his kinsmen. The legate himself was besieged in his house there until under the king's protection he was taken to the king by an armed band of men. This led to the grave scandal of many scholars being put in prison and their studies interrupted. Finally, about the end of the year, the legate allowed that he had received sufficient satisfaction from the scholars for the wrong done to him. Their good name was completely restored to them by the legate and they returned to their studies.[3]

In the same year Robert, bishop of Lincoln, made a general visitation of the monasteries, archdeaconries and deaneries in his diocese. In each of them he held general chapters, preached and announced his decrees. He suspended many rectors of churches, and from some received expiations or documents of obligation, as they were in danger of not keeping their orders and benefices in the future. In the same year Bishop [148] Robert dedicated churches and monasteries. At that time it was only with great difficulty that we were able to obtain from him churches which we had been granted for three years' rent.

In the same year we received a deed from the king's court about the church at Bradbourne [Derbyshire] and its appurtenances against the heirs of Geoffrey of Chauceis.

[1] Legate Otto called the council in order to reform the English Church. Many manuscript copies survive: *Councils and Synods*, pp. 238–59. The Winchester annalist says that the council took place in August, p. 87, as does the Waverley annalist, who also gives details of a constitution passed regarding the rules about when Benedictine monks are allowed to eat meat, pp. 317–18. Matthew Paris meanwhile gives details of his dealings with King Henry, pp. 54–5, and a full account of the council under 1237; III, pp. 70–93.

[2] Matthew Paris gives the date as 4 March, and that she was buried in the nunnery at Tarante; pp. 123–4.

[3] The Osney annalist records these events though in no more detail; pp. 84–5; the university was probably seeking the granting of further privileges by the papal legate when a riot broke out between the legate's household and members of the university at Osney abbey. Otto reacted by placing Oxford under an interdict, and suspending the schools there for the summer. Trevor Henry Aston, *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. I (Oxford, 1984), p. 103.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year Matthew, our chaplain, was made vicar of Segenhoe. And G. vicar of Sundon [Bedfordshire] obtained from us a canon's corrody. And we obtained a mill of Nicholas Tingrith for fifteen pounds for fifteen years. Also we acquired a rent of four shillings at Burcot [Oxfordshire] and of twelve shillings at Wingfield.

In the same year Ralph, bishop of Hereford, fell down a steep cliff face from a high rock into a valley. Although he lived to tell the tale, his hands were so damaged that for some time afterwards he could not celebrate the mass.

In the same year died Alexander bishop of Coventry; Henry prior of Merton; Hugh archdeacon of Colchester; William fitz Warin; Robert archdeacon of Lincoln.

In the same year Ralph, bishop of Hereford, became a Franciscan, and celebrated with episcopal insignia.

In the same year Peter Saracen and [his son] the dean of Wells[1] were taken prisoner. But because the latter was a cleric, he got away a free man and within a year had set his father free as well.[2]

In the same year we built at Wadlow, Gikewell, Chalton and Wingfield.

In the same year the election of the prior of Norwich to the bishopric was finally quashed[3] and William Raleigh was consecrated as the next bishop.

1239

In the year of grace 1239 Pope Gregory IX excommunicated the emperor Frederick. As a result a war developed between him and the Lombards.[4]

In the same year [149] Ralph Brito, a canon of St Paul's, was taken prisoner on the order of the king in the cemetery of St Paul's, but was set free by the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans.

In the same year for King Henry was born Edward, his first-born child.[5]

In the same year, on the death of Alexander of Coventry, two men were elected as bishop of Lichfield, namely Robert Lexington and Nicholas Fernham. But as they both withdrew, Hugh Pattishall was elected and confirmed as bishop.

And then, as the see of Canterbury was still vacant on the death of John Blund, it was on the authority of Otto the papal legate in England and because of our own privileges that [William] the archdeacon of Derby sent us to take possession of the church at Bradbourne with its appurtenances. We established three canons there, one of whom we presented to the archdeacon as the man who would report to the bishop about

1 John Saracen.

2 Matthew Paris adds that Peter was taken prisoner by Emperor Frederick, but paid ten thousand pounds to be set free. There is no mention of his son John; III p. 162.

3 Simon of Elmham's election was quashed on 17 January 1239 after three years.

4 Frederick was in fact already trying to quash rebellions in the cities in Lombardy which fell within his imperial territories, but he did banish all Dominicans and Franciscans from the region when news of the excommunication reached him.

5 The Waverley annalist says that this was on 18 June, p. 321, but Matthew Paris says it was 16 June. The latter also gives details of the infant's baptism, III, p. 172.

Prepublication copy

spiritual matters and to the prior about temporal matters. This took place on the feast day of St Margaret [20 July].

In the same year there arose a dispute between the bishop of Lincoln and his chapter concerning his inspection of the chapter itself and the prebends of the church, and the matter was referred to the archbishop. In the end, through the mediation of friends, the two sides agreed to send joint envoys to the pope. They also agreed to ask the bishop and the archdeacon of Worcester[1] and [Alan] archdeacon of Sudbury to consider their dispute and to bring it to an end.

But while this was going on, the wall of the church at Lincoln near the choir and just behind the dean's seat collapsed and three men were crushed in its fall. For some time afterwards, until the columns and arches roundabout were strengthened, the choir sang the day and night office before the high altar. But the envoys returned from the pope without having accomplished anything.[2]

In the same year died [William] bishop elect of Valencia; the countess of Gloucester;[3] [150] Jordan of Bottlesford; and John Bassingham, who was succeeded in the barony of Walhull by Saher Walhull, although half of Ravenstone passed to William Whitchurch to hold for the countess of Oxford.[4]

In the same year the count of Champagne who was king of Navarre,[5] [Peter] the count of Brittany and the count of Bar[6] set off for the Holy Land, together with many others, whose number is unknown.[7] But before they could reach their goal, the truce came to an end, the Christians fled in fear and the heathens without opposition entered Jerusalem. Only Richard Argentine remained behind in the Tower of David with twenty knights. The pagans were bent on his capture, but a messenger arrived with a letter from the emperor begging for an extension of the truce. Having read the letter, the pagans allowed Richard and his men to depart in peace.

At the same time the pagans so battered the city of Constantinople that it was almost reduced to nothing.[8]

In the same year Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, on the advice of his suffragans, excommunicated the violators of the liberties of England, which had been granted by King Henry and confirmed by Guala the papal legate. He also excommunicated Roger, the prior of Christ Church at Canterbury, and all those on whose advice the king had taken from the archbishop the guardianship of the land of Ralph fitz

1 Walter Cantilupe and William Scot.

2 The collapse was seen by some at the time as being symbolic of the acrimony between the clergy and the bishop. For more on this, see John Hendrix, *Architecture as Cosmology: Lincoln Cathedral and English Gothic Architecture* (New York, 2011), p. 83.

3 Isabella, daughter of William Marshal, first wife of Gilbert de Clare, then wife of Richard of Cornwall. Matthew Paris says she caught yellow jaundice and died whilst pregnant, and describes Richard's great distress at her death, p. 255.

4 Isabella of Bolbre, widow of Robert de Vere.

5 Theobald IV of Champagne from birth, and Theobald I of Navarre from 1234.

6 Henry II.

7 This is the Barons' Crusade.

8 Gregory IX had tried to divert the crusade to assist Constantinople, but the crusaders wished to go to the Holy Land.

Pre-Publication copy

Barnard which was his fief (with the exceptions of the king, the queen, Earl Richard and Stephen Segrave).

In the same year the archbishop of Canterbury obtained permission from the pope to build a conventual church at Maidstone with a dean and secular canons, and to endow it with up to fifty secular prebends. Work had begun on this church when a king's messenger reported the new work to the king by throwing [151] a small stone. After that the king gave orders for the workmen who were found there to be taken prisoner. And so the work came to an end.

In the same year there arose a dispute between the archbishop of Canterbury and [Roger] bishop of London over the visitation of monasteries. The prior of Dunstable and his fellow judges who were examining the issue sent a full report of the case to the pope, so that he himself might decide whether a metropolitan could visit the monasteries of his suffragans, where the bishops themselves were not negligent.[1]

In the same year Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, together with the countess of Pembroke,[2] the sister of the king, took themselves off into exile, fleeing in fear from the face of the king.[3]

In the same year a Cistercian monk was taking a service in the presence of his abbot and fellow monks when a hand was seen to write these words on the corporal cloth: 'The lofty cedar of Lebanon will be cut down. Mars will prevail over Saturn and Jupiter. Saturn in all things will plot against Jupiter. Within nine years there will be one God of rule. He has died for a second time. The sons will be set free from captivity. The people without a head or pruned back will return. A new order of clergy is vigorous. If it should fall: woe to you, you churches. There will be many battles in the world. There will be changes of faith, of laws, of kingdoms. The whole land of the Saracens will be overthrown.'[4]

In the same year, on the eve of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Roger Wotton was admitted as a canon, as was Thomas Bedford on the feast of St Katherine [25November].

1240

In AD 1240 Gilbert Marshal was reconciled to the king, but only on condition that he restored to the king the land of Gilbert de Aquila. Also the justiciar of Ireland [Maurice fitz Gerald] was reconciled to Gilbert Marshal in the matter of the death of Earl Richard, Gilbert's brother, but only on condition that the justiciar founded a monastery for his soul.[5]

1 In other words, if the diocesan bishop was allowed to judge the other bishops within his diocese.

2 Eleanor, widow of William Marshal the younger.

3 Matthew Paris gives further details of this, including the fact that Simon had incurred the king's wrath by defiling the countess before they were married, and that the union was arranged only to avoid scandal, Paris, III, pp. 194–5.

4 News of this vision spread across Europe, and is thought to relate to the coming of the Mongols who were already making their presence felt on Europe's eastern borders. For a detailed analysis of the imagery used here, see Robert E. Lerner, *The Powers of Prophecy: The Cedar of Lebanon Vision from the Mongol Onslaught to the Dawn of the Enlightenment* (Ithaca, NY, 2008), esp. pp. 15–24.

5 Founding a monastery – and all the expense that entailed – was a common penance for wealthy sinners.

Pre-publication copy

On the feast of the Holy Trinity in the same year earl [152] Richard, the king's brother, set out for Jerusalem with a multitude of men beyond counting. On the subsequent feast of the nativity of St John [24 June], the king of France and his mother Blanche [of Castile] gave in Paris a banquet beyond description for Earl Richard. The earl then remained in Paris, to consult the emperor.[1]

It was at this time that Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, crossed the seas with his little son. Then he said goodbye to his son and the son's mother, the sister of the king, and joined Earl Richard on crusade. But before this he sold the major part of his forests to the Hospitallers, the canons of Leicester and to some others to pay the expenses of his journey.[2]

In the same year and month Hugh Pattishall, the king's treasurer, was consecrated bishop of Lichfield at Newark. He arranged to visit his diocese around the time of the feast of St Michael [29 September] following. The pope awarded him the fruits of that autumn from all the churches which had previously been in his care.[3]

In the same year Ralph, bishop of Chichester, was removed from the office of chancellor and replaced by master Simon Cantilupe, to whom was immediately granted the archdeaconry of Norwich. But after a few days Simon was removed from the chancellorship and replaced by Richard, abbot of Evesham.

In the same year came the death of Llywelyn. He was succeeded by his son David, the nephew of the king of England. David imprisoned his elder brother, born of a different mother. Finally a dispute arose between David and the king his uncle and some Marcher barons over various castles and townships. They agreed that on all matters they would abide by the decision of the papal legate and various bishops of England and Wales. But their decision was not forthcoming.[4]

In the same year our canon, Walter Gledley, was made a monk at Woburn abbey. This was because [Robert] bishop of Lincoln, on his visitation of us, had extorted an oath from individual canons.

In the same year [153] the emperor Frederick made his son [Conrad] king of Germany. Conrad's mother was the daughter of John, the king of Jerusalem.[5] Frederick also arranged that Conrad should marry the daughter of the king of Dacia,[6] so that he might more easily obtain the kingdom of England. Frederick's other son [Henry] had previously been king of Germany, having as his queen the daughter of the duke of Austria,[7] whom Frederick kept in prison for a long time. Frederick now made Henry

1 Some scholars see this as a continuation of the Barons' Crusade; others make a distinction and see this expedition under Richard of Cornwall as a separate campaign.

2 Matthew Paris gives details of how Simon sold off all his possessions to raise money for the journey, IV, pp. 259–60.

3 Matthew Paris corroborates this, and adds that he was consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury in a new priory near Guildford, IV, p. 277.

4 The dispute arose because Henry was unwilling to allow David to inherit his father's lands in full.

5 Yolande of Brienne.

6 His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Otho, duke of Bavaria.

7 Margaret, daughter of Leopold VI, duke of Austria.

Pre-publication copy

king of Arles. He also wrote to the count of Toulouse[1] and to the dauphin, the count of Auvergne,[2] asking that they should provide him with help and assistance. But the count of Provence,[3] the father of the queens of England and France, stirred up war against Frederick, and forced his way into the city of Arles. When the count of Toulouse heard of this, he very courageously set siege to the city, in which was the count of Provence.

When this had been done, the emperor turned aside from Lombardy and advanced towards Rome, capturing en route the castle of Monte Falcone and the city of Viterbo with their surrounding castles and townships. But at the prayers of a senator and the people of Rome he spared the city of Sutri. Then setting out for Apulia, he captured the castle of Monte Cassino and the city of Benevento. But the high pontiff, surrounded by these great difficulties on every side, was afraid that the emperor would force his way into the city of Rome, in which he had many supporters. So amid fasting and weeping and lamentations he took up from their holy place the holy heads of the holy apostles and marched in solemn procession to the church of St Peter. There he spoke before all the people, saying, 'This is the church, and these are the relics of the Romans, which it is your duty to preserve even to the death. We commit them into the hands of God and your hands. I myself am not running away, but am staying here in expectation of God's mercy.'

Then the Romans were deeply moved by these and other such words and in a body [154] they took up the cross and firmly promised to defend to the death the church of Rome, as being their mother. While this was going on, the patriarch of Jerusalem[4] and the bishop of Downe [in Ireland] discussed the matter of peace between the pope and the emperor, but to no avail. And so for the help of the church at Rome the pope imposed a levy on all the churches in all his provinces, with the archbishops, bishops, senior abbots and priors all promising him individual amounts. On that occasion the dean and chapter of Lincoln promised to find one hundred pounds; the church of Dunstable twenty marks; [Robert] bishop of Lincoln sixty marks from his secular clergy; and foreign clergy with benefices in England paid a fifth of their revenues to help the pope. During all this, after the cardinal John de Colonna and various others had acted as mediators, a peace was proclaimed between church and empire. So that the proclamation should have greater effect, a council was held at Rome, attended by representatives of the leading seculars and the prelates of the church. Even Otto, the papal legate in England, attended it. On his return the levy mentioned above was paid.[5]

In the same year Alan Hyde was admitted to our fraternity. Together with himself he gave us twenty acres of land at Chalton, twenty acres at Leagrave, with its rent-charge of four shillings, and the rent-charge of half a mark at Stopsley. These benefactions were for the maintenance of those who at an annual celebration in our church would

1 Raymond VII.

2 William Dauphin I, count of Clermont and Montferrand.

3 Raymond V (1209–1245).

4 Guido, bishop of Nantes.

5 Matthew Paris' account of this is more cynical. He states how crafty the pope was in taking every opportunity to 'amass' money from the English clergy, IV, pp. 299–300.

Pre-publication copy

in perpetuity make special mention for his soul at this celebration. He also gave us twenty marks and a rent-charge of three shillings in Dunstable for food and clothing for John Passelewe for his lifetime. For the same money we bought Nicholas' mill at Flitwick, which is worth more than three marks to us annually.

In the same year [155] two disputes arose and were settled between us and John, rector of the church at Leighton Buzzard and archdeacon of Oxford. The first dispute was over St Hugh's tunic, and for the sake of peace it was agreed that we kept one sleeve of the tunic for ourselves and handed back the remainder to the rector.[1] The second dispute was over the small tithes at Gladley,[2] and for these we promised him two shillings annually for his lifetime.

In the same year the barley mill was completely destroyed, and fully rebuilt in the same year. Also the leave to repair the bridge was acquired in perpetuity.

In the same year, when the justices itinerant were at Bedford, at the great assize in the presence of William of York and his fellow justices we obtained land at West Worthing. Two of these justices came to Dunstable according to our charters to hold a meeting of our court. In their presence two cases remained undecided, and a day was assigned for their settlement when the justices should be in Newport Pagnell. There it was established that the writ for a freeman denied succession to his inheritance had no force in Dunstable.

In the same year Jocelyn Cadeby and his wife brought a suit against us, through a writ for freemen denied their inheritance, concerning all our land at Cadeby. But, as is clear from their charters, they withdrew the suit when we brought a suit against it.[3]

In the same year Eustace the vicar of Chalgrave died and was succeeded as vicar by William the priest.

In the same year Helias [of Cortona], minister general of the Franciscans, was deposed with the pope's approval at a general meeting of the chapter held in Rome. Now an apostate, Helias took himself to the emperor, who was then an enemy of the church, and for that reason Helias was also condemned as a schismatic.[4]

In the same year both monasteries and churches throughout England, Ireland and Scotland paid a tax to the high pontiff. Among the rest we ourselves at that time paid twenty marks to the pope and also four marks for hospitality for our legate when he left us. Indeed very soon afterwards our legate, the legate of France,[5] the Roman archbishop of Rouen[6] and [156] many abbots were captured by the emperor as they were travelling to a council to be held in Rome. They were stripped of all their goods and imprisoned by the emperor.

1 Saints' relics – including clothing – were hugely valuable spiritually and financially in the Middle Ages, and theft was a common problem. See Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Relic Theft in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1991).

2 Manor near Heath and Reach (Bedfordshire).

3 For the outcome of this suit, see p. 119 below.

4 Helias had been sent by the pope to reason with the emperor, but ended up sympathising with the latter, resulting in his being deposed.

5 James Pecoraria, cardinal bishop of Palestrina.

6 Peter II of Collemarro.

Pre-publication copy

1241

In AD 1241 Nicholas [Farnham] was consecrated bishop of Durham. Also Peter d'Aigueblanche was consecrated bishop of Hereford. This was after the resignation of Ralph who had become crippled as the result of a fall and had joined the Franciscans.[1]

In the same year Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, died in Burgundy and was buried at Pontigny. In return for his good deeds God performed many miracles through him. These happened both where his body lay, and at Lower Catesby in England when men touched his cloak, which the archbishop had given to his sister who was a nun at Catesby. Also, because Edmund before his departure from England had excommunicated the monks of Canterbury, two of those monks set out for Rome and obtained letters of absolution written to the abbot of St Albans and the prior of Dunstable, so that the fact of the excommunication should not be a pretext for their election of a new archbishop being made null and void, or damage the image of the church among the faithful; also so that a dispensation should be given to the monks if they had committed any irregularity in celebrating against their conscience after the sentence, but with the rights of the archbishop who would succeed Edmund being completely unimpaired. To begin with the archdeacon of Canterbury[2] opposed this mission, but he later withdrew his opposition. The monks themselves, both before and after their absolution, asked to have Boniface, a kinsman of the queen, as their archbishop, and they sent two of their number to Rome with envoys of the lord king on Boniface's behalf. But the monks were taken captive on the journey, although the king's envoys escaped.

In the same year a daughter was born to the king. She was called Margaret. A little later Gilbert Marshal died.[3]

In the same year Saher Walhull sought from us a suit of court for land of Alan Caperun at Segenhoe and also for land of John de Narbonne at Segenhoe. But because [Roger] abbot [157] of Woburn and John de Narbonne were acting as mediators between us and Saher Walhull, they came to the court, obliged to do so by writs of the king, and stated categorically that they were quitting us of a suit about these lands. So the sheriff informed the bailiffs that they were not to allow us to be troubled about these matters in the future.

In the same year we rented out in perpetuity to Sir Walter Hyde those twenty acres of land at Chalton and those twenty acres of land at Leagrave at annual rents of four shillings and half a mark respectively, together with some works at Stopsley given to us by Alan Hyde. For these lands Sir Walter was to pay us at Dunstable forty-four shillings annually, at the four quarter days of the year.[4] And so we received from him

[1] Details of the fall and his injured hands are given on p. 101 above.

[2] Richard of St John.

[3] The Waverley annalist states that it was while competing in a tournament at Hereford, and that he was buried in the New Temple at London; p. 328. Matthew Paris adds that the king had actually banned this tournament, pp. 322–3, 360–1.

[4] Lady Day (25 March), Midsummer Day (24 June), Michaelmas (29 September), Christmas (25 December).

Pre-publication copy

loyal homage and the power of distraining on all his holdings present and future in the county of Bedfordshire.

In the same year the king of France [Louis IX] on the day of Pentecost [19 May] gave the countship of Poitou to his brother [Alfonso] and at the feast to mark this he made a hundred knights together with his brother. In the same week Alfonso invaded the territory of [Hugh] count of La Marche. He kept some of the lands thus forcibly acquired and then made peace with the count.[1]

In the same year the legate of England crossed the seas all the way to Burgundy. There went with him the bishops of Worcester, Exeter and Norwich, [Walter] abbot of Peterborough and various other English abbots. But all these, when they saw the dangers on the roads, remained in France. Also the bishop of Coventry went on pilgrimage to St Eligius, St Edmund and other saints. After his return, he attended a bishops' council in Oxford on St Andrew's day [30 November]. The council discussed fasting and making prayers for the church.[2] And then on his way home that same week the bishop of Coventry died at Potterspury [Northamptonshire].

In the same year [158] we obtained a writ of the king against William Basset concerning the patronage of Rushton church.[3] We offered the church to Robert Rotelond.

In the same year we appointed vicars to the three churches of Totternhoe, Chalgrave and Segenhoe.

In the same year lord Robert, bishop of Lincoln, honourably recovered the prebend of Thame, which had been seized by John Mansel with the king's connivance.

1242

In AD 1242 on the day after the Sunday on which the *Laetare* is sung Geoffrey of Barton bought from Robert Cardle for forty marks the land which is called Cardle. This land was bought in the time of Prior Richard but the money was paid in the time of Prior Geoffrey.[4]

For in this same year on 9 April Richard of Morins of happy memory, once prior of Dunstable, died.[5]

In the same year on the day of absolution [Maundy Thursday][6] Geoffrey of Barton was elected prior. On the next day he was presented to the lord king and graciously accepted by him. On the Thursday after the Ascension he was confirmed by the bishop, and

1 For further details, see Matthew Paris, IV, pp. 362–3.

2 It has been argued that the prayers composed at this council may have been a response to the Tartar incursion of 1240 and 1241. They survive and have been translated in *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291*, ed. Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters and James M. Powell (Philadelphia, 2014), pp. 325–6.

3 St Peter's, the private chapel of Rushton Hall, near Kettering, Northamptonshire.

4 Geoffrey of Barton, 1242–62.

5 The words 'cui debebat Symeon de Edelesbure … marcas; et alibi, per totum, decem marcas' (he owed Simon of Edlesborough … marks; and to others, ten marks in total) have been added in the margin of the manuscript. Even upon the death of their prior, the canons of Dunstable did not fail to make a note of their leader's debts!

6 17 April.

Pre-publication copy

he was installed on the Thursday which was the next following feast of St Gervase and St Prothasius [26 June].

In the same year Henry III, king of England, with a large army crossed the sea to the bay of Biscay against the king of France. He took the queen with him and landed at Bordeaux. For two days he marched into the lands of [Hugh] count of La Marche, on whose advice he had come to France. But he was soon tricked by this same count and was almost captured, but for the grace of God. Then, with great losses of his men and equipment, he returned again to Bordeaux. There he was sent away by almost all his English nobles, for he had set out from England without consulting them.[1] [159] In his absence he had entrusted the rule of the kingdom of England to [Walter] the archbishop of York, to William Cantilupe and to William of York, the priest.[2]

In the same year William Marsh was taken prisoner on Lundy island, together with about twenty-four of his accomplices. In the end William himself, after a judicial enquiry, was dragged by horses through the middle of London and then divided into four parts which were sent to the four parts of England. His accomplices were hanged by the neck.[3]

In the same year Geoffrey Despenser through his attorney Robert Thorpe brought against us a writ of the lord king concerning the measurement of some pasture. And on the Thursday before the feast of St Clement [17 November] in the court at Nottingham our charter was upheld which said that no one could bring a suit about us, or even about our holdings, apart from the king himself or his chief justice. So we went back home acquitted.

In the same year around the time of the feast of St Michael [29 September] a settlement on many matters of controversy was reached between us and the monks of Woburn abbey.

In the same year, on the Friday before the feast of St Clement [21 November], Jordan, the vicar of Newbottle, died. We gave his vicarage to William Crofton, the chaplain.

In the same year there was much beech-mast. And a dispute arose over the common of pasture at Kensworth between us and the dean of London [William de S. Maria], who took our draught animals and kept them for eight days. Finally we freed them by a writ of the king, and so the common remained ours. Then the dean took our animals on the common of Caddington, and we freed them similarly by a writ of the king. On 11 March came the sudden death of William de S. Maria, and our suit against him died with him.

In the same year [160] on the feast of St Martin [11 November] we rented out Thorpe mill to the monks at Burton abbey.

In the same year at the feast of St Michael [29 September] we sent John de Colinchea to the Peak for good.

[1] In 1241 King Louis appointed his brother Alphonse as count of Poitou, sparking this disastrous response from the English king. For a fuller account of the campaign, see Prestwich, *Plantagenet England*, p. 295.

[2] For a fuller account of his activities in France, see Matthew Paris, IV, pp. 404–23.

[3] This was because he was found guilty of plotting to kill the king. The Waverley annals give further details of his hanging in London, p. 330. His plundering of Lundy is related by Matthew Paris, IV, pp. 406–7, and his capture and death, pp. 408–9.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year we sold a sack of good wool at Dunstable for a hundred shillings and forty pence. For all the good wool sold we received the sum of forty and a half marks. The rough and inferior wool we sold altogether for nine marks.

In the same year on the Thursday before the feast of St Clement [20 November] we gave one saddle-horse to lord John Gubaud (we had previously given a nag to his priest) and one saddle-horse on the same day to master Peter Peivere.

In the same year we bought land at Wadlow. Robert Tenbridge died.

In the same year we paid forty shillings for scutage, namely money paid on the fief of a knight.

In the same year there arose a dispute between Robert, bishop of Lincoln, and the chapter of Lincoln over the visitation of prebendal churches. The bishop wanted to visit such churches in his own person, but the canons were not willing to accept him, claiming that such a duty was the special responsibility of their dean and not of the bishop.

In the same year on the command of the bishop of Lincoln, we received, though unwillingly, into our own possession in mid-term our church of Cold Higham from the canons of Ashby priory.

In the same year there arose a dispute between the chapter of Canterbury (the see being vacant) and the bishops of England over the manner of dealing with appeals. The monks said that by special privilege they had the permission and the duty of judging appeals made to those parties and of keeping them away from the unlawful severity of the bishops. But the bishops, wishing to defend themselves, produced a joint document, [161] with their individual seals attached, stating their case against the monks. And the monks excommunicated Robert the bishop of Lincoln and [Richard of Wendover] the bishop of Rochester, their principal opponents on this issue.

1243[1]

Around Easter time in the year 1243, beginning from the feast of the Annunciation of our Lord [25 March], master John Norton became a farmer at Caddington. Like his predecessor, he took our beasts from the common at Caddington and forcibly impounded them for fifteen days. But in the end, just as before, we freed them by the writ of the king.

In the same year the clerk William Stratford, the bailiff of this farm, insulted the prior and monks of Dunstable. On this matter, because he was unwilling to stand his trial, he lost his horse.

In the same year on the eve of Pentecost [30 May] we recovered the land of Adam Stodun, which he held from us, together with the lands and all the holdings in adjacent villages acquired by him. Also we recovered the land of Richard Cardinal from Simon Eddlesborough.

[1] The change in the tone of the text at this point is quite marked. The entries for 1243, for example, are much shorter, and more localised in character. This coincides with the death of Prior Richard of Dunstable, and the potential loss of the annal's primary compiler. See Introduction, pp. xxxii–iv.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year around the feast of St James [25 July] [William] archdeacon of Derby made us his new charter for Bradbourne church, as the former charter made for us by the archdeacon had been nibbled into bits by mice.

In the same year Berkhamsted castle was restored, and Earl Richard [of Cornwall] married the queen's sister[1] at Canterbury in the octave of St Martin.[2]

In the autumn of the same year we bought the rent-charge of four shillings in Ballidon from Henry Blancfrunt.

In the same year master Peter Peivere recovered in perpetuity the houses at Wadlow.

In the same year we brought a suit against Simon Pateshull concerning our lease of Grimscote.

In the same year [162] we bought a croft at Mouldridge [Derbyshire] with outbuildings and several plough-lands and meadows.

In the same year the cardinal Sinibaldo was elected pope. He was consecrated on the day of St Laurence[3] and called Innocent IV.[4] Peace had not yet been established between the Roman church and the emperor.

In the same year, three days before the feast of St Michael,[5] King Henry, the son of King John, landed in England on his return from Bordeaux in Gascony. On the orders which he had sent ahead of his return he was met by all the magnates of England, namely archbishops, bishops, earls, sheriffs, barons, abbots, priors, knights and tenants, all bringing him jewels and many gifts. After his arrival, on the day after the feast of St Britius [14 November], the countess of Provence,[6] the queen's mother, landed in England with her younger daughter.[7] Just as for his own arrival, the king summoned all the magnates of England to her landing, so that they might, if possible, give more gifts to her than to the king and pay her greater honours. But she would only accept those given by the king and by Earl Richard, and around the time of the Purification [c. 2 February] she departed from England. At her departure she was told of the death of her husband.[8]

In the same year the election was requested of the bishop of Norwich, William Raleigh, as bishop of Winchester.[9] He obtained the spiritualities, as these were confirmed by the pope. But the lord king opposed this appointment, as far as the temporalities and the retention of manors were concerned. After many meetings and discussions with his magnates, the king was still unwilling to accept the request, although he had been

1 Sanchia of Provence.

2 Commencing 11 November.

3 An error probably owing to the fact that he was cardinal of St Laurence. He was in fact consecrated on 28 June.

4 He was pope from 1243 to his death in 1254.

5 26 September 1243.

6 Beatrice, daughter of Thomas, count of Savoy.

7 Sanchia.

8 Raymond Berenger, count of Provence.

9 The position was still vacant following the death of Peter des Roches in 1238.

Pre-publication copy

advised and asked to do so by the magnates. In his anger he sent envoys to Rome to block by any possible means the appointment of this bishop.[1]

But in the meantime, on the day before Christmas, William Raleigh came to Winchester, as he wished to celebrate the feast there. The mayor [163] and the magnates of the city opposed this, and, as they would not allow him entry, he put the city under an interdict. When the king was told of this, he was extremely angry and by royal edict prohibited any layman from performing any service for the bishop. No layman was to sell him food for his men or animals or serve him in any other way. And for some time the bishop, helped only by clerics with food for himself and his animals, supported himself as best he could. But he became thoroughly tired and weary of this, and, about the beginning of Lent,[2] he left England unbeknown to the king and the other magnates. Then, around the feast of the Assumption [15 August] in the following year the lord king sent his envoys to the bishop and recalled him with great honour.[3]

In the same year up to eight hundred of our sheep died in the Peak. Thomas and Adam were their shepherds at the time.[4]

1244

In the year of grace 1244, on the first Sunday after Easter [10 April], master John Norton, the farmer at Caddington, died. He was succeeded by John Bulmer, who immediately brought a lawsuit against us and on several occasions took away our beasts which we released by means of the king's writ at the court. Then afterwards an action was lodged at the king's bench by writ of the king and subsequently the action was pleaded on 15 February. The prior said that the dean and chapter and John Bulmer had taken away his beasts on his common and kept them unjustly, But they, denying all this word for word, made a wager of law with the person of the prior, with the dean acting for the dean and chapter and John Bulmer for himself. And on the next day, in the absence of the prior, they won their wager i.e. a threefold victory.

In the same year the king made a general prohibition against selling wool to people overseas. And that edict stood until [164] they made satisfaction to him. He did this out of hatred for the French and the Cistercian order.[5]

In the same year around Easter master Roger Parvus, canon of Salisbury, was confirmed as bishop of Bath. He was confirmed at Reading on the first Sunday after the feast of the nativity of the blessed Mary [11 September].

1 The king wanted to place his own candidate and relative William of Savoy – another foreigner – in the post.

2 Lent began on 1 March that year.

3 Eventually the king was forced to accept the papal backing of William Raleigh. For further explanation of these events, and William Raleigh's career as a justice before this election controversy, see Prestwich, *Plantagenet England*, pp. 88–90.

4 The rest of this column has been left blank.

5 The Cistercians in England enraged many monarchs in the Middle Ages as they were exempt from most taxes and tithes (as has been pointed out above already), and were very wealthy, in large part due to their dominance of England's wool trade.

Preproduction copy

In the same year, on the Thursday before the feast of Philip and James [31 April], Boniface [of Savoy], the archbishop of Canterbury, came to the king at Westminster and was received with pleasure by him. The king handed over to him all that belonged to him, together with plough-teams and livestock.

In the same year, at the urging of the king, Robert Passelewe was elected by the chapter of Chichester. But when he was presented to Archbishop Boniface, he was not accepted until there should be agreement about the form of his election and the person of the man elected. He was found to be less than suitable, and his election was quashed.

In the same year on the eve of the feast of the apostles Philip and James [30 April] we made a settlement with a Jew called Jacob about the land at Wadlow.

In the same year on the Sunday before the feast of St Michael [25 September] we acquired an annual mark from Richard, a lay brother.

In the same year, on the feast of St Peter ad Vincula [1 August] the lord king was at Newcastle upon Tyne with his whole army and with the count of Flanders,[1] who had come with eighty knights to help King Henry against the king of Scotland. Envoys were sent to the king of Scotland, and peace was offered and obtained on these terms: namely that the son and heir[2] of the king of Scotland should accept the daughter of our king[3] as his wife, and that he should retain in perpetuity the land which our king had previously given to his father together with his sister in marriage. When this had been done, our king returned to London. On the day after the nativity of the blessed Mary [9 September] he held a parliament with his magnates at Windsor. There he gave back to the bishop [165] of Winchester his barony, together with all stock and crops except corn. Besides this he gave him one manor for the term of eight years with mid-term requirements.

In the same year on the eve of the feast of St James [25 July] Robert Hay died. May God have mercy on his soul.

In the same year master Peter Peivere built for himself a bedroom above his gate at Wadlow, and about the feast of St James [around 25 July] he was presented to the church at Sundon. But his institution was delayed by an envoy from the lord pope Martin, who, on the authority of the pope, required him to make many provisions.

In the same year in autumn at the evening hour twenty-five thieves entered Luffield priory and robbed the monks of their gold and silver, and vessels and other precious objects of the church, and in fact everything they could lay their hands on. But when the lord king heard of this mishap, he sympathised with the monks and ordered them to be given three chalices and precious objects for the three chaplains, and fifteen pounds in pence.

In the same year and at the same time a similar misfortune befell three canons at Beverley.

In the same year before the feast of the Assumption [15 August] thieves entered the house of Simon of Edlesborough, and before his eyes carried off two silver goblets and shell shaped silver vases. As they left some of them were wounded. But they killed Simon's son.

[1] Thomas of Savoy, see p. 99 n. 3 above.

[2] Alexander, future Alexander III.

[3] Margaret, see p. 107 above for her birth. They did marry in 1251.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year, at the first court at Bedford after the feast of St Michael [after 29 September], before Sir William Holwell who was sheriff at the time, we obtained the right against Baldwin Rivers that he should be our demesne tenant in the lands at Ickwell and save us from a suit of court.[1] Rivers himself was found to be in the wrong and ordered by the sheriff to pay us a hundred shillings for our losses.

In the same year, [166] around the feast of St Andrew [30 November], Pope Innocent IV at a time of much trouble travelled to the city of Lyons to help Baldwin of Savoy, who had been elected as archbishop of that city. The pope immediately quashed the election. A crowd of people from lands this side of the Alps then flocked to see the pope.[2] Even the dean of Lincoln[3] made the journey, on behalf of himself and the chapter and against the bishop of Lincoln. The bishop followed him, but the dean got to the papal court first.[4]

In the same year after Christmas, William prior of Caldwell died. He was soon afterwards replaced by prior Eudo.

In the same year, on the eve of the conversion of St Paul [24 January], we sent Henry of Bilenda, the cellarer, to bring our requests before the papal court. He did obtain some indulgences, but only as many as he could and not as many as he would have liked. His journey cost us twenty-four marks.

In the same year on 16 December Queen Eleanor[5] bore to the lord king a handsome son, called Edmund.

In the same year master Walter Suffield was elected bishop of Norwich. For some days the king refused to approve the appointment, but Walter was consecrated around the time of the Purification [2 February].

In the same year around Easter master Martin, the envoy of the lord pope, came to England. With no delay he collected the annual payment from each religious house. We paid him ten shillings. Afterwards around the feast of St John [24 June] he had collected from the whole of England and placed at the New Temple all the arrears of pence which had been offered for the Holy Land before the return of Earl Richard from the Holy Land, whether by promise or because of the legate or by the crusaders or in any other way. Also in the same way master Martin collected the arrears of the help which had been promised to lord pope Gregory [IX]. [167] Then he soon asked the clergy for ten thousand marks for the needs of Pope Innocent IV, with the Hospitallers, the Templars and the Cistercian order being exempt. He appointed a day three weeks after the Purification as the deadline, but the clergy replied that they would not contribute, while the archbishop and the bishops of Lincoln and

1 Blank here in manuscript.

2 The papal court was usually held in Rome, so this was much closer for people to get to, and therefore cheaper and safer.

3 Roger de Weseham.

4 Arguments had broken out between Bishop Robert Grosseteste and his dean and chapter who did not agree to his election or rights of visitation on them. The pope ruled in Grosseteste's favour, despite the dean reaching him first.

5 Blank again left here in the manuscript to be filled in later.

Pre-publication copy

Durham were absent. So, against Martin's will, the matter was postponed until the general council.[1]

The king indeed at the same time asked for help from clergy, magnates and people. All his tenants granted him knight's service help, namely twenty shillings a shield, for the marriage of his first-born daughter. Next he sent his envoys throughout England asking the men of religion for the same help, and he received it, although they were under no obligation of knight's service to him. On that occasion we ourselves paid twenty shillings, in the following year.

1245

In the year of grace 1245, around Easter time, at the beginning of the feast of the Annunciation [25 March], Martin, the envoy of the lord pope, asked for the payments which had not been received. Because of this the king in great anger speedily dismissed him. So around the feast of St John the pope's envoy left England.[2]

At the same time in the same year the lord pope held a council at Lyons. He sought aid for the Holy Land and the king of Constantinople, asking each beneficed person for as much as he had above the sum of one hundred marks, the payment being for three years. The French agreed. The English, through proctors specially appointed for this, refused. Some of the proctors were for the king, some for the kingdom. They were Roger Bigod, William Cantilupe, Ralph fitz Nicholas and others.

The lord pope also asked each cathedral church in England for a better contribution and each abbey and priory for one church worth forty marks or above: they would not have such churches for their own use, but he himself and his successors would have the [168] advowson of them. The proctors for both king and kingdom refused this request. They also claimed on behalf of the king that he was under no obligation to pay tribute to the pope; if the king's father had ever done this out of his own resources, he ought not thus to have diminished the freedom of the kingdom, seeing that the magnates never agreed to it. Having done this and some other things, the envoys returned to England.[3]

In the same year and council the lord pope with general agreement excommunicated the emperor Frederick II and by a judicial sentence deprived him of his empire and the loyalty of all his subjects, and gave the power of choosing an emperor to electors.[4]

1 Again, Paris is cynical about the pope's latest attempt at extorting money from England, see IV, pp. 479–80; 500–3. He also includes a letter from Henry III complaining about the excessive taxation; pp. 503–4.

2 According to Paris, master Martin earned himself the nickname of 'Master Mattin', which is a play on the old French word for 'pirate'; IV, p. 13–14. Paris also includes a letter from Innocent IV to the English prelates demanding the money; IV, pp. 14–15.

3 The Dunstable annalist is typical of the English chroniclers here in focusing on the monetary side of things, and the bad reaction to the pope's decrees by the English clergy. Matthew Paris includes the letter summoning all to the council, pp. 48–9; the council itself is described, II, pp. 64–102. See also *Councils and Synods*, pp. 401–3.

4 *Councils and Synods*, pp. 401–3.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year and at the same time a decision was given on the argument which had arisen between [Robert] bishop of Lincoln and his chapter over the making of visitations. The question was decided in favour of the bishop, except that the dean still had the power to correct excesses which he had enjoyed before.[1]

In the same year and at the same time Roger Weseham, dean of Lincoln, was made bishop of Lichfield and consecrated by the lord pope, as a monk of Coventry[2] had resigned his election to this see.[3]

In the same year David, son of Llywelyn, prince of Wales, did much damage in the land of the king of England. He even, by tricking the court of the lord pope, managed to get the king of England summoned to Snowdon, so that he could thus be extracted from his subjection to him. But the king collected armies from England and Ireland and about the feast of the Assumption made for Wales and fortified Gannoch castle.[4] But there he and his army suffered a great shortage of food and drink. He lost very many of his men, and killed but few Welshmen. And so he grew weary of the expedition and about the feast of St Martin [11 November] returned to England. He entrusted Chester and its borders to the care of John Gray, who, by stopping trade between the two lands, caused the Welsh to suffer great want and hunger.

In the same year, on the Sunday before the feast of St Martin [11 November], John Bulmer, farmer of Caddington, [169] killed or mutilated fourteen pigs belonging to the prior of Dunstable, and treated seven other of his animals in similar fashion.

In the same year, around the feast of St Margaret [c. 16 November], we acquired for the first time land at Stoke Hammond, and we also let Gladley for the time being.

In the same year, on the feast of St Margaret, Vivian gave back to us our farm at Newbottle. Then we equipped it with two hundred and forty-six sheep, six oxen, three heifers, one saddle-horse, four cows with three calves, four measures of corn, one and a half weights of cheese, two pigs worth seven shillings, one iron shod cart[5] and two others, and forty shillings for getting in the harvest.

In the same year, at the first court at Bedford after Easter, letters of inquiry from the lord king were presented, concerning all the incomes of the Italian clergy in England, by

[1] *Councils and Synods*, pp. 401–3. This was the conclusion of events begun the previous year with the bishop and dean of Lincoln racing to reach the pope first.

[2] William of Montpellier.

[3] For a full list of the decrees and decisions arising from this council, see: http://www.legionofmarytidewater.com/faith/ECUM13.HTM.

[4] This is probably a reference to Deganwy castle (Gwynedd), which only survives as a footprint today as Edward I later reused much of the stone to build Conwy castle across the estuary. For more details on this exchange between Henry and David, see Huw Pryce (ed.) *The Acts of Welsh Rulers: 1120–1283* (Cardiff, 2005), pp. 29–30.

[5] This refers to the joints in the rim of the wheel being reinforced with strips of iron nailed across the joints.

Pre-publication copy

whatever means they were obtained. And the lord king, on pain of forfeiture, banned any payments being made to them.[1]

1246

In the year of grace 1246, on the feast of the Assumption [25 March], Roger Weseham, bishop of Lichfield, recovered his barony, which the king had kept in his own possession. He recovered the favour of the king, which he had lost because he had become bishop without consulting the king. Then the king gave him all the fruits on the granges and on existing lands.

In the same year and at the same time the lord king summoned bishops, abbots and priors, as he wished with general agreement to relieve the English church of several grievances: namely that the lord pope was imposing taxes and dues without consulting the king in contradiction of his privileges; that he was preventing patrons of churches from bestowing them on English clergy, but bestowing them on his own authority upon Italian clergy, who in their ignorance of the language did not preach, did not give alms, did not provide books and vestments and so did not serve their churches as they should have done; also that the lord pope was carrying off and extorting prebends from churches and churches from the men of religion; also that Italian succeeded Italian, [170] while Englishmen were dragged outside the kingdom and summoned to serve among enemies, contrary to written law and the privileges of the king; also that regulations, statutes, laws and privileges were weakened by that tiny *Notwithstanding* clause, a practice which caused much trouble for the English. The king wrote to the lord pope on all these matters, and had the seals of abbots and priors appended to the document.[2]

In the same year Walter Mauclerc, bishop of Carlisle, on the day of SS. Peter and Paul [29 June], took the habit of the Dominicans, and was succeeded by Silvester, the chancellor of the lord king. Although Silvester refused at first, he was later canonically elected as bishop, gracefully accepted by the king and consecrated as bishop of Carlisle around the feast of All Saints [1 November].

In the same year Robert Bingham,[3] bishop of Salisbury, died and was succeeded by William York, canonically elected on the day of the feast of the conception of the blessed Mary [8 December]. The next day he was received by the lord king and immediately received from him the custody of a barony. He was consecrated the following year, on the feast of the translation of the blessed Thomas the martyr.

[1] Following King John's submission to Innocent III (p. 14 above), the papacy had enjoyed a powerful influence in England through the papal legates Guala and Pandulf, and the candidates (often family members of cardinals) they selected. The money they received in benefices then went into the coffers of the papacy rather than remaining in the English economy. See M. T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers: 1066–1307* (Oxford; Maldon, MA, 2006), pp. 244–7 for the details.

[2] These letters are included in Matthew Paris' history, see IV, pp. 150–6.

[3] Another blank left in manuscript.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year the abbot of Fountains[1] won back the favour of [William] earl of Aumale, after they had had a serious quarrel caused by the abbot's men attacking the earl himself and his men and giving them a beating.

In the same year Roger Eltesdon, our vicar at Studham, died and was succeeded by Walter Kemsey, the chaplain.

In the same year we won at chapter the verdict against John Hyde that a good class beast should be paid to the church at the death of the master of the house, and another good class beast at the death of the mistress of the house, both from among the horses and the other animals.

In the same year [171] [Robert] bishop of Lincoln visited the chapter at Lincoln and all its prebends without any opposition.

In the same year we gave as our contribution to the pope six marks and five shillings.

In the same year we built a big barn at Stoke Hammond, and on the day of St Nicholas [6 December] our house at Studham was destroyed by fire.

In the same year around the octave of St Martin[2] came the death of Richard, abbot of Westminster.

In the same year our lay brothers were accused of trespassing in Brogborough park. We paid Hugh Wynn five marks for this offence. Richard Heyvyn, who had caused this accusation, pledged us four and a half marks for his many transgressions.

In the same year on the feast of St Michael [29 September] John, son of Jordan, married his wife at Studham and received her land.

In the same year and time we took into our keeping the two sons of William Elston for a term of eight years. Simon Elston married the widow of Giffard Tyringham.

In the same year between the feast of St Michael and Christmas came the deaths of three canons of St Paul's in London, namely Alexander Swereford, Ralph Brito and master Robert de Insula. This Alexander, while he was still alive, gave his property at Tywing to the canons of St Bartholomew and put them in possession of it.

In the same year William Russell began to bring a case against us for land in Shortgrave.

In the same year we made Walter Kemsey, the chaplain, the vicar at Studham.

1247

In AD 1247 there came to England three sons of the earl of La Marche, [uterine] brothers of the king. The first of these was called Guy of Lusignan, who was dubbed a knight on the day of Pentecost, the second was William of Valence[3] and the third Aymer the priest. William took as his wife [172] the daughter of Warin of Munchensy,[4] by the gift of the lord king.

In the same year Berardo of Ninfaa through [Richard] earl of Cornwall sued the executors of the will of Robert Hay, falsely claiming against them that Robert had been a crusader,

1 John of Kent (1220–1247).

2 Commencing 11 November.

3 He became an important supporter of the king in the Second Barons' War.

4 Joanna.

Pre-publication copy

although this had been unheard of before Robert's death; and through this extortionate action the executors yielded up to him in settlement of the suit twenty-six marks.[1]

In the same year at about the time of the feast of the Trinity, Walter, prior of Newenham, died. As the patron was living abroad, within the next three weeks master Walter Chauverton, a canon of Newenham, was chosen as the new prior and installed on the day after the feast of St Botolph [18 June]. But in the meantime Philip Cook, the steward of Sir William Beauchamp, did much harm to the priory, wounding the canons and damaging their property. He did all of this, so it is said, on the advice of Michael Querdon and Lady Ida Beauchamp. This Michael, Sir William Brito, Baldwin Poleyn de Cadingdon and John Clifford ended their lives at the same time.

In the same year in the octave of Easter [from 31 March], justices itinerant came to Warwick. They held session there until the feast of the Ascension of our Lord [c. 9 May]. They were Roger Turkeby, Gilbert Preston and master Simon Walton. We were excused attendance there in our suit against Jocelyn, Hauwisia and Geoffrey Cadeby. We were given a day at Oxford on the day after the Ascension [10 May]. Then we were given a day at Northampton three weeks after the feast of the nativity of St John Baptist [24 June]. We returned from Northampton acquitted of the claim against us by Jocelyn's charter, which we proved to be true by the witnesses signing it and by twelve free, law-worthy men, six from the neighbourhood of Cadeby and six from the neighbourhood of Dunstable.[2]

In the same year, [173] on the eve of the feast of the blessed Laurence [9 August], the king came to Dunstable with his queen, and with Edward and Margaret, his daughter. We gave them all precious objects, a gilded cup for the king and another for the queen, and a gold buckle for Edward and another for Margaret. The precious objects cost twenty-two marks, and then there were the other expenses. Then the king and the queen presented us with eight measures of silk, and the king gave us a hundred shillings of silver to make a thurible and a pyx.

On the day after the feast of St Laurence [11 August] Paul Peywre and Roger Turkeby made an agreement between the prior and the burgesses with their consent, that the burgesses should have a court for those who were tenants in fee, but not for the others. They also agreed that no one should plant an ash tree except on his own ground, and that if ash trees had been planted in the common parts of the town, they were not able to make any claim on them. They also agreed that at the frank-pledge inspection there was no necessity to make an answer concerning the bread and beer regulations, as the prior's bailiffs had the day-to-day power to punish offenders.

[1] Berardo was a papal chaplain, sent to England to collect the crusader tax; see Robert Brentano, *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA, 1988), pp. 8–9 for further details of his collecting duties in context.

[2] The manuscript here contains the word *vineto* meaning vineyard, and there were in fact vineyards in this area at the time. As this is a legal matter, however, it is likely that the scribe meant *vicineto* as in neighbourhood but abbreviated the word wrongly. The latter would be standard wording in a legal context, and the fact that there were vineyards there is a coincidence: the original scribe may be responsible for a slip of the pen.

Pre-publication copy

Here follow the claims and the decisions in detail[1]

There was disagreement between Prior Geoffrey of Dunstable and all the men of Dunstable over various issues. Firstly the prior asked of the burgesses that once a year at the frank-pledge inspection they should declare on oath which bakers and brewers had baked and brewed contrary to the town's regulations. On this matter the prior said that he and his predecessors had the authority to impose this requirement, while the burgesses said that they were not bound to make any such declaration, inasmuch as the prior had his own bailiffs in the town who could inquire into the matter and receive fines in individual court-cases.
Secondly the burgesses asked of the prior that those who were tenants of the prior should have their own courts as his tenants, both those who renewed their tenancy annually and those who held it in fee. On this the prior readily acknowledged that those who held land directly from him as his tenants in fee were accustomed to having their own courts, but that it was wrong and uncustomary for those who renewed their tenancy annually to have [174] a court, seeing that they were unable to possess any liberty in the town or to remain in it without the prior's consent or to be brought to justice by the burgesses.
Thirdly the burgesses said that the ash trees planted in the streets belonged to them, and that they could plant and cut down ash trees just as they liked, each man in front of this own house. But the prior said that they could not cut down these ash trees, even if they had planted them, because the ground where they planted them was not their own, but was the king's way which belonged to the prior by the gift of the lord king.
So in the court of the lord king at Dunstable, in the thirty-first year of the reign of King Henry, the son of King John, on the day after the feast of St Laurence [11 August], *in the presence of Sir Roger Turkeby justiciar and of Sir Paul Peywre steward of the king and of various others, it was agreed both by the prior and the burgesses, firstly that in future the burgesses should not declare at the frank-pledge inspection which bakers or brewers had baked or brewed contrary to the town's regulations, but that the prior's bailiffs should carefully monitor this matter, and fortnight by fortnight should impose fines in the prior's court according to the custom of the town.*
Secondly it was agreed that in future there should be no court for those burgesses who were fixed-term tenants of the monastery, nor for any of their tenants except those who were tenants in fee, but that all these should be brought to justice by the prior's bailiffs to stand trial in the prior's court, if anyone brought charges against them. And of the tenants in fee, only those should have their own courts who held their land directly from the prior.
Thirdly it was agreed that the ash trees and other trees planted in the streets should remain in the state in which they had been on the day of this agreement, so that neither the prior nor anyone from the town could cut them down. And if a branch was causing harm to houses or those crossing the street, the prior could allow it to be cut off and given to the lepers. And if anyone had cut down a tree or cut off a branch prior to this agreement, he should not remain in possession of it so that he could use this cutting as a precedent for a future cutting, but all trees should remain in peace, as was said above. Nor should any burgess be allowed to plant or cut down a tree except on his own ground, where other burgesses had no land in common.

[1] Written on a separate piece of parchment. Again, copying this text in full into the annals ensured that agreements and rights of the priory were recorded for future reference.

Preliminary Copy

In the same year on the feast of St Michael [29 September], while the justices itinerant were at Bedford, Sir Gilbert Preston and master Simon Walton came to Dunstable. They sat in session there for two days [175] at the prior's cost. Their fellow justices at Bedford were Roger Turkeby and John Cobham.

In the same year, about the feast of St Andrew [30 November], Simon Scutteraisun gave us his land at Buckleshore. Later, in the octave of the Purification, he died.

In the same year a new coinage was minted, and came into circulation around the feast of St Martin [11 November].[1] In the octave of the Purification we paid twenty-five marks as our contribution to the pope, and four marks at the Peak.

In the same year Richard Waldia, a canon of Dunstable, was elected prior of Wymondley and installed there on the Thursday after the feast of St Gregory [18 March]. Giles Argentine began a campaign against his election, but achieved nothing.

In the same year around the feast of the Purification we sold our land at Ickwell to William Triplow, who died inside a month with no heir or person to represent him. So we got the land back without the bother of a lawsuit.

In the same year around the feast of St Gregory we bought for nine marks sterling from Nicholas Tingrith at Flitwick a rent-charge worth ten shillings.

In the same year, around the feast of St Gregory, Adam Luton, abbot of Woburn, died. He was succeeded by Nicholas, abbot of Medmenham.

In the same year, on the feast of St Michael, Simon of Edlesborough resigned to Sir John Crakehall the church at Edlesborough and the holdings which he had from the canons of Caldwell. In the same year, after the feast of the Purification, Sir John began to build there.

In the same year at the beginning of Lent the following were promoted to the priesthood: Richard Caldwell, Roger of St Albans, Adam of Wymondley and [176] Henry Heddon. Maurice Elstow, Robert Barton and William Watford were made sub-deacons.

In the same year we bought ten acres of land at Ballidon for ten marks around the feast of the Nativity.

In the same year and at the same time we paid eleven marks for the rent of a mill at Lee for ten years.

1248

In AD 1248 immediately after Easter [19 April] we began to build a new house at Ruxox [Bedfordshire], consisting of a solar and a cellar, a kitchen, a room in the middle for bread and beer, and a dairy. Prior Geoffrey provided the money for all of this, apart from the bread, beer and lime which came from the cellarer.

In the same year at Pentecost we made an exchange of the land at Hares with Paulinus for twenty pounds a year.

[1] The Worcester annalist also records the new coinage, though says that it was introduced during the octave of Epiphany, p. 91. The Waverley annalist gives much more detail, however, describing the terrible state of the existing coins; p. 339. As usual Matthew Paris gives the most detailed account, explaining how coins were tampered with by 'clippers', who were mostly Flemish merchants. The reissue of the currency was intended to remedy this problem; IV, pp. 233–4.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year the king of France set off for the Holy Land with a great company of counts and barons, all very properly equipped. He made a diversion to the island of Cyprus, where he stayed for a very long time.[1]

In the same year we gave ten marks as help to the lord king.

In the same year John Sleigrom of Dunstable, our vicar at Segenhoe, resigned as vicar and accepted the post of vicar at Sundon. We gave the vicarate at Segenhoe to a chaplain called Robert of St Edmunds.

In the same year at the beginning of autumn Robert, our vicar at Pattishall, died. We presented Richard, rector of Steppingley church, to that vicarate. Richard accepted the appointment but died at Newenham in the Advent of our Lord [29 November] before he could be instituted. So we presented a Roman called Peter Vitella to Steppingley church. We paid him two marks a year.

In the same year in autumn Sir David Ruffus of Flitwick died and was buried at Wardon.

In the same year [177] on the day of Simon and Jude [28 October], Simon of Edlesborough died. He was buried at the church in Dunstable in front of the cross. From his property we bought a silver chalice for the altar by the cross, a missal, a vestment, a lamp permanently burning as one light for two masses, that is a candle from the Purification [2 February] right up to the feast of All Saints [1 November]. Also two candles will be placed for him from the feast of All Saints up to the Purification. Also from his property we were able to arrange that a mass to our Lady would be perpetually sung there, that on every Monday which was not a feast day a pittance would be perpetually given to the monks, and that on the day of his anniversary there would perpetually be a distribution to the poor of as much bread as could be got out of five quarters, together with a thousand herrings.

In the same year after Christmas we redeemed John Leighton's corrody for eighteen marks, of which he promised to give us back two.

In the same year Nicholas Tingrith gave us all his demesne land at Crawley and Husborne Crawley, and we received his oath and pledges of loyalty on the day of St Thomas the apostle [3 July]. We spent the night there with our friends. Nicholas only kept for himself the mill and ten acres of land, which later, on the feast of St Gregory [3 September], he donated to us.

In the same year on the feast of All Saints [1 November] we received the demesne at Stoke [Hammond] for the next two years.

In the same year on the feast of St Michael [29 September] we rented out our Ickwell land to Thomas the chaplain for the whole of his life.

In the same year, on the day of the Circumcision [1 January], after lunch, our fine new house at Wadlow caught fire.

In the same year, [178] around the feast of St Gregory [3 September], we made a start on two dove-cotes, one at Wingfield and the other at Caldecote and got them completed.

[1] This was the beginning of the Seventh Crusade, for which Louis had planned extremely well. Matthew Paris gives details of the French king's departure, and explains that he spent the winter in Cyprus, which would account for the lengthy stay commented upon by the Dunstable annalist; IV, pp. 268–9 and 306–7 respectively.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year we bought from John Blund twelve acres above Banelond in the fields of Pulloxhill.

In the same year in Lent in the court at Bedford we laid claim to the one quarter of wheat owed to us annually by Warin fitz Gerald. He paid us, on the oaths of his men, the quarter for that year and three quarters of arrears.

1249

In AD 1249 we filed a suit against Nicholas Tingrith concerning the land at Crawley and Husborne Crawley.

In the same year, within the fifteen days of St John Baptist [from 24 June] we filed a suit against John Allmar and his wife concerning William Linley's land at Houghton Regis.

In the same year, on the day after the feast of St Martin [11 November], we filed a suit against Ralph Fakenham and his wife Constance concerning land at Bradewine.

In the same year, in the fifteen days of Easter,[1] William York, then bishop of Salisbury, returned a judgment against us concerning the possession of pasture at Kensworth and Caddington. Sitting with him in judgment were William Raleigh then bishop of Winchester, Walter Cantilupe then bishop of Worcester and Paul Peywre then the king's steward. However there is still a point of law to be cleared up on this matter.

In the same year on the day of St James [25 July], [Robert] bishop of Lincoln made his visitation of Dunstable. Because Henry Bilenda [our cellarer] could not clear himself before the bishop of the accusations brought against him, on the next Sunday at dawn he secretly ran away in his fear of the bishop's sternness. On the following feast of the nativity of the blessed Mary [8 September] he entered the Cistercian order at Merevale.

In the same year [179] on the day after the feast of St Peter ad Vincula [1 August], the bishop made his visitation of Caldwell. Eudo, the prior of Caldwell, had been accused on many counts by his brother monks and by others. He was afraid to face the judgment of the bishop and resigned of his own accord, being advised to do this by the priors of Dunstable, Newenham, Huntingdon[2] and Bushmead[3] who were then present. The next Friday Eudo joined the Cistercian order at Merevale. On the same day, immediately after the resignation of Eudo, the monks at Caldwell, shouting with one voice, unanimously chose as prior Walter Caddington, who was then subprior of Dunstable. His election was confirmed by the bishop on the following day and Walter himself was installed on the next following day of the Assumption [16 August].

In the same year during the octave of Trinity[4] a general chapter of the order of St Augustine was held at Dunstable, presided over by Henry abbot of [St Mary] de Pratis in Leicester and Geoffrey prior of Dunstable.

In the same year before autumn the king of Scotland died.[5]

1 28 March–11 April.

2 Richard (1237–1256).

3 It is not clear if this is John de Wildbof or Simon de Colesdene.

4 The eight days following 6 June.

5 King Alexander II (1214–1249). Paris gives the date of his death as 3 July, and suggests that the king was struck down suddenly by divine agency for disinheriting an innocent man; IV, pp. 320–1.

Pre-publication Copy

In the same year we built a hall and a byre[1] at Stoke Hammond; a guest house at Wadlow; a sheepfold and part of a byre at Studham; a large barn at Charlton cum Newbottle; a hostel for servants at Pattishall; a dairy at Ruxox.

In the same year, on the Friday after the feast of the Trinity [11 June], the king of France with his army landed at Damietta. It was like a miracle. There was a short battle with the Saracens, and all the Saracens fled. The king entered the city and found there riches beyond counting. He organised the city just as he wished, and, entrusting it to the care of this own men, he himself with some close companions remained outside the city in their tents. But in that position he and his men suffered from extreme shortage of life's necessities until these were sent to them by [the emperor] Frederick. Then, later, around the month of March, King Louis wanted to ride out with [180] his men and get control of the lands of the Saracens. But when the enemy saw what was happening, they bravely massed together in one force and resisted the king's invasion. They did great slaughter in the Christians' ranks, took the king of France prisoner, and held him in captivity until the Hospitallers and Templars released him by paying an immense ransom.[2]

In the same year Robert, bishop of Lincoln, called together all the beneficed monks in the diocese of Lincoln, first at Stamford, secondly at Leicester and thirdly at Oxford. They were to provide for inspection by him the charters of their founders, the confirmations of the bishops and their papal privileges. After the inspection, he kept for himself a transcript of all the documents, saying that he intended to consult the pope about them. He actually did this on the day after Ash Wednesday [18 February], as the middle of the Lent following saw him travelling towards Lyons, where the pope was then staying. But he did nothing about the documents.[3]

1250

In AD 1250 in the month of March we began to build the inner gate inside the court at Dunstable, and we completed it within the same year; also a big barn at Pulloxhill; a byre at Wingfield; a byre at Crawley; and we put ten loads of lead on the refectory roof.

In the same year Godfrey [of Banbury], prior of Lanthony, seized at Chelmorton the sheep belonging to the monks of Merevale. He took them from pasture which had recently been given to the monks by Robert Ashburne. He took a tenth for two years, the current one and the next one, and then at once returned the sheep to their pasture. The monks were greatly disturbed by his actions and brought a suit against him at the court of the lord king by means of the writ *Since by force and arms*.[4]

In the same year around the feast of St Michael we bought land at Mouldridge, despite opposition from the monks at Garendon, who did us a lot of harm. We were not able to gain definite access to the land until we received the assent [181] of the earl [of Derby,

[1] A cowshed.

[2] For a full account of the Seventh Crusade, see Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, pp. 189–95.

[3] This last comment about documents further illuminates the concern of the Dunstable annalists for record keeping.

[4] 'Quare vi et armis' – accusation that the defendant used 'force and arms' against the plaintiff.

Pre-Publication Copy

William de Ferrers]. Once we had obtained this assent, we were given full possession by the earl at the beginning of the following Lent. But later we were frequently given trouble by Hugh de Ferrers.

In the same year on St Lucy's day [13 December] came the death of Frederick, once emperor. He left behind him his son Conrad [IV] to copy his father's crimes. Indeed Conrad inflicted many losses and countless injuries upon the lord pope and his people.[1]

In the same year, in the week before Ash Wednesday,[2] Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, made his visitation of the house at Dunstable. During his stay, he was joined by the bishops of London, Salisbury and Norwich[3] in person, while other bishops sent their proctors. They met to form a scheme against the visitation of Boniface, the archbishop of Canterbury. They put their seals to a joint document, promising in mutual good faith to resist the archbishop by the help of their common counsel. Each bishop succeeded in winning the approval of all the clergy in his diocese to this scheme, demanding two pennies for each mark, and in the following fortnight of Easter [20 March–3 April] messengers were sent to the apostolic see about this matter, one for a bishop and cathedral chapter and one for his clergy.[4]

At the same time William Cantilupe the second died.

In the same year Peter fitz Roger Loring[5] brought a suit against us at the Bedford court on behalf of Angevin concerning his households and tenants. Peter incurred a penalty from the sheriff and we were acquitted.

In the same year on St Leonard's day [6 November] we received with the habit of our order Stephen Wathamsted and immediately after him Henry Newton.

In the same year, around Pentecost [c. 15 May], Peter Vitella de Ferentino, who had been appointed rector of the church at Steppingley, arrived at our priory and stayed [182] with us until after the feast of St Michael [29 September]. This Peter, having farmed out his church for a five-year period to Gilbert Tingrith at an annual rent of a hundred shillings, left us and travelled to Lyons, where the lord pope was then in residence.

In the same year Adelina Wake, a lady of Wardon, gave to us a rent-charge of three shillings in the town of Wardon, which she had been accustomed to receive from Thomas the chaplain.

In the same year, around Pentecost, this Thomas the chaplain restored to us our land at Ickwell, sowed at his own expense. He had originally received it from us for his whole life for nine marks annually, to be paid to us at two terms in a year.

In the same year Walter Raleigh, bishop of Winchester,[6] died.

1 Conrad spent much of his life and resources at war in Italy, beginning with his invasion in 1252.

2 Week commencing 31 January.

3 Fulk Bassett, William of York, and Walter Suffield.

4 Boniface was a native of Savoy, and therefore stood for the kind of foreign interference in English affairs which was becoming increasingly frustrating to Englishmen – clergy and barons alike. *Councils and Synods*, pp. 447–8

5 The manuscript reads 'Loringer' but he is a member of the Loring family. See Joseph Hight Blundell, *Toddington: its Annals and People* (Newport, Isle of Wight, 1925), pp. 18–19.

6 According to Matthew Paris, Walter had been living with a diminished household for eleven months to save money. His deathbed repentance of sin is also recorded: IV, p. 394.

Pre-publication copy

1251

In the year of grace 1251 John Cobham died before Easter [before 16 April] and Geoffrey our steward immediately after Easter. In the week of Pentecost[1] Paul Peywre died, being at that time the steward of the lord king. His wife, for the wardship and marriage of her son, made a payment of fifty marks to the lord king.

In the same year on the Sunday after the Ascension [28 May], we appeared before the justices of the bench against Peter fitz Roger Loring, who had brought a suit against us concerning the tenants and the arrangements of the land of Angevin. Peter himself remained in the king's power to punish, while we were acquitted.

In the same year lady Joanna Peywre, since she was in possession of everything which had belonged to her husband Paul, kept the wardship for herself but sold her son's marriage to Sir John Grey for fifty marks. And Sir John took upon himself the burden of discharging Joanna herself from being bound to the lord king for such a great sum of money. Then her son, Paul, made a marriage before the face of the church with the daughter of this very John de Grey at Eton [183] before the feast of St Michael [29 September].

Now the lady Joanna regarded it as a great bore that the lord king had offered her marriage dowry to a foreign knight, namely Stephen de Salines. So, on the advice of her friends, she gave herself in marriage to Sir John de Grey. The marriage between them took place in London on the Thursday after the fifteen days of St Michael [?12 October], although the king, who was at Westminster, knew nothing about it. When the king was told about their marriage, he was extremely angry and asked his council what he should do to Sir John for such an offence. In the end Sir John's friends intervened and Sir John paid a fee of fifty marks to the lord king.

In the same year after the feast of St Michael, Peter fitz Roger Loring began a suit against us concerning one acre of land.

In the same year we built a new, private dormitory, as we were afraid the old one might fall down.

In the same year, on the night of the Nativity of our Lord, as the monks were beginning matins, Walter Denton died.

In the same year, soon after the feast of St Michael [29 September], we received Hugo Bray and Thomas Dyas as canons.

In the same year we built one pigeon-house at Segenhoe and another at Crawley.[2]

In the same year Robert the chaplain was made vicar of Segenhoe.

In the same year at Crawley we built a new grange and three wash-houses and enlarged the sheepfold. At Husborne Crawley we built a completely new chancel front.

In the same year, on the feast of St Peter's Chair [22 February] we received from the lady Hylaria for her whole life land together with its appurtenances, apart from the manor house.

[1] Week commencing 4 June.

[2] Pigeons were generally kept as a source of luxury food, as the young birds could be harvested directly from the dovecote before they learned to fly and their meat got tougher.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year at the feast of Christmas in York, the lord king gave his daughter Margaret in marriage to the king of Scotland.[1]

1252

In the year of grace 1252 we built a new house for carpenters and wheelwrights in the courtyard at Dunstable.

In the same year [184] on the feast of Pentecost [19 May], the archbishop and nobles of Bordeaux came to Westminster and made their complaints to the lord king about lord Simon de Montfort. They claimed that he had done much wrong to their citizens, hanging some and keeping others in prison until they died. Although lord Simon was ready to reply to all the charges according to English law or the law of Bordeaux, the envoys themselves said very clearly to the lord king that they would never accept Simon as governor or obey him. They urgently requested that the lord king should give them another governor, and in answer to their pleas the king gave them his own son lord Edward as their lord and governor. The envoys all pledged their loyalty to the prince, but claimed that they were not bound to pay him homage as long as his father himself was alive. But, as this Simon de Montfort had been given the governorship of Gascony by the lord king by charter for the term of six years, nothing could make him relinquish it. He left the court in a temper, and set on foot an endless war in Gascony.[2]

In the same year and at the same time the lord king and many of his nobles as well took the cross. The lord king took that opportunity to slim down his court and particularly the queen's apartments and he threw out many men and many women.[3]

In the same year, in the octave of Easter,[4] Silvester bishop of Carlisle, Sir Roger Turkeby and Gilbert Preston sat as justices itinerant at Nottingham. We appeared before them because of a general summons. And Thomas Makely took out a king's writ against us for entry on to ten acres of land at Ballidon. And he then withdrew the writ and, in the presence of the canons Robert Ashburne, Richard Whitchurch and Richard Caldwell and the layman Walter Ballidon and some others, on the Monday before the second Tuesday after Easter [8 April], he pledged his word that he himself would never bring a suit against us concerning these ten acres, and that no one whom he could prevent would do it for him.

In the same year these same justices on the day after the Trinity [3 June] came to Leicester.

[1] See p. 113 above for the circumstances of their betrothal. Paris gives a full account of the ceremony and wedding feast; IV, pp. 468–71.

[2] As mentioned here, Simon had been made governor of the duchy of Gascony in 1248 following Henry's disastrous campaign in the region. Although he had succeeded in deflecting external threats, his strict rule had upset many, as we see here. See Prestwich, *Plantagenet England*, pp. 294–5. See also Matthew Paris, II, pp. 420–2, 476–7.

[3] We know that Henry began saving to go on crusade (Carpenter, *Reign of Henry III*, pp. 118–19), and that he introduced a crusading tithe during the 1250s which was unpopular; Henry Mayr-Harting, *Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1066–1272* (Harlow, 2011). Matthew Paris gives a different version of this, saying that the king only took the cross to get the papal authority to raise more taxes; IV, pp. 481–2.

[4] Easter fell on 31 March that year.

Pre-publication copy

There [185] Hawisia Cadeby brought a writ of the king against us claiming our denial of an inheritance of hers. But our account nullified her claim. She remained under the king's sentence while we went home acquitted.

In the same year, on the second Tuesday after Easter [2 April], there was a fire at Ashbourne [Derbyshire] which caused much distress. Many were reduced to poverty. Our stable at Bradbourne was also burnt.

In the same year we built and sowed for the first time at Mouldridge.

In the same year we presented master Thomas to the church of St Cuthbert at Bedford and John Barton the chaplain to the vicarate at Chalgrave.

In the same year on the day of the Ascension [9 May] we admitted as a canon Benedict, a cleric of the bishop.

In the same year, on the matter of visitation the lord pope gave his verdict for Archbishop Boniface and against the bishop and chapter of London.[1]

In the same year, around the feast of St John [24 June], Robert Passelewe died, and Peter Peywre was presented to the church at Swanbourne.

In the same year Robert Martivals died. He had been prior of Launde near Leicester, where the justices itinerant were then in session, namely Silvester bishop of Carlisle, Roger Turkeby, Gilbert Preston and others. In their presence we quashed a writ of Hawisia Catesby, and we gave a deed for ten acres of land to Roger Hugeyn Catesby, with a payment to us of three shillings annually. Also at this court our servant Geoffrey lost his writ against Hawisia. This same lady straightaway afterwards sought a writ of right in the county court against us, but we quashed it before Lent.

In the same year before the Purification of the blessed Mary [2 February], William Wotton, John Maydenbury, William Hornsend and Adam Pocklington received our habit as monks.

In the same year [186] after Christmas there began to be a serious dearth of corn in most parts of England.

In the same year around the feast of St Michael [29 September], we borrowed £20 from master Berard. On the first Saturday after the feast of St John Baptist in the following year we repaid this money in full to master Berard in London by the hand of Peter, our cellarer.

In the same year Philip Lovel was appointed treasurer to the lord king. This was soon after the lord king had aroused a great deal of anger against himself by an accusation of some Jews before a justiciar and the scheming of Robert del Ho, who was acting as the justiciar over the Jews for queen's gold.[2]

[1] In 1250 a conflict arose between Boniface and his suffragan bishops over the matter of his visitation rights. The papal verdict marked the end of the matter, and Boniface returned to England and his post.

[2] Henry had already changed the monarchy's approach to England's Jewish community by imprisoning and fining them; he also set about a campaign to convert them to Christianity; and would soon legislate that Jews be segregated from Christians and be made to wear badges. For more on the Jews under Henry III see Robert C. Stacey, 'The English Jews under Henry III: Historical, Literary and Archaeological Perspectives', in *Jews in Medieval Britain*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 41–54.

Pre-publication copy

1253

In the year of grace 1253 around Easter we gave a twentieth to the pope for an indulgence granted to the rectors of the churches of England concerning the arrangements for the visitation allowances to archbishops, bishops and archdeacons as intermediaries. An archbishop for his visitation was to have fifty horses or four marks or more. A bishop was to visit with thirty horses, or to have thirty shillings for his visitation. An archdeacon was to go with seven horses or to receive seven shillings and three and a half pence.[1]

In the same year, immediately after Easter [20 April] the king summoned his nobles to ask for a subsidy to recover the land of Gascony, since his own people who had formed a conspiracy against him had seized the whole of it apart from the city of Bordeaux. He then asked for financial aid from bishops, earls, barons, knights, abbots and priors, and from these he exacted a very great amount of money. We ourselves as our contribution gave him ten pounds. The king himself assembled a great army at Portsmouth. He was then hindered by various matters, and delayed for rather a long time in Portsmouth. Finally, leaving England in the hands of the queen and Earl Richard, he set out under good conditions for Gascony and was joyfully welcomed at Bordeaux on the Tuesday after the feast of the Assumption of the blessed Mary [19 August].[2]

In the same year [187] before Easter [20 April] we completed two dove-cotes, one at Studham and the other at Shortgrave, and after Pentecost we built a grange at Shortgrave.

In the same year, within the octave before the feast of St John Baptist [before 24 June], we made peace with Hawisia Cadeby. We granted her ten acres of land with their homestead and appurtenances for the payment to us of two shillings annually. And so for herself and her heirs she conceded and gave up to us and our successors all rights and claim which she had or could have had over all the land which her uncle Simon had held at Cadeby.

In the same year, on the eve of St Simon and St Jude [27 October], the heirs of Alan Hyde all appeared in court in London and took on the task of acquitting us of all demands and charges which for any reason could be made against us concerning the lands, rents and holdings which we held as a gift from Alan Hyde. And it was announced by the lips of Sir Richard Havering, then steward, that the bailiffs of Luton were to make no distraint on our men or the aforementioned holdings in the aforementioned ways, but only on the heirs of Alan Hyde.

In the same year on the day of St Calixtus once pope, Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, died at Buckden. His body was buried at Lincoln. Archbishop Boniface, aided by several bishops, took the burial service. He had been in the chapter at Lincoln the previous Tuesday, performing his duty of visitation. He now, as soon as the bishop was buried, had the chapter called together, and in the presence of the canons he kept the episcopal jurisdiction in his own hands despite opposition from the canons, and passed sentence of excommunication on all opponents of his decision. The archdeacon

[1] This appears to be setting the hierarchy for expenses that clergy could claim for their visitations.

[2] Henry's preparations for his expedition to Gascony and departure are given in more detail by Paris, V, pp. 29, 30; his arrival, pp. 34–5.

Pre-publication copy

appealed against the decision and followed up his appeal. To avoid capture, he turned aside [188] to Bury St Edmunds and stayed there until his messenger […][1]

In the same year we built two cattle-sheds, one at Wingfield and the other at Crawley.

In the same year before autumn we sold wheat at five shillings a quarter, and we received one hundred and forty pounds and more for our corn. We spent twenty pounds on buying oats and twelve marks on lead.

In the same year the king of England, who was campaigning in Gascony, captured many castles and brought almost the whole country of Gascony under his own control.

But a Gascon noble called Gaston de Béarn in his fear of King Henry transferred his allegiance to the king of Spain [Alfonso X of Castile] and sought his help. And after very much money had been given to him, he received from him the belt of knighthood and did him homage. He also gave him to understand that the king of Spain had a richer claim to the land of Gascony than the king of England, so that the king of Spain, being greatly angered by this, sent a threatening letter to King Henry. But the king of England desired peace and alliance and so sent his own important envoys, [John] bishop of Chichester and Sir John Mansel, to the king of Spain, asking that, if he had a daughter or a sister, they might receive her as a wife for Edward, the son of the king of England. But as the envoys could not agree on a mode and form of marriage contract, they returned to the king of England. But, having received additional counsel, the king now sent back as envoys [Walter] bishop of Worcester and Sir John Mansel, and they received the king of Spain's half-sister as a wife for Edward and completed the matter, apart from the church service.[2]

In the same year, around the feast of the Purification, Silvester, bishop of Carlisle, died after falling from his horse.

In the same year [189] corn was so scarce in England that in many places it was sold for eight shillings a quarter or more, although at Dunstable it was sold for five shillings.

In the same year, in the octave of St Hilary [from 14 January], Earl Richard and others of the queen's council addressed in London a meeting of the archbishop of Canterbury, several bishops, earls, barons, abbots and priors. They asked for general help from both clergy and people for the needs of the king. All those assembled refused this help, unless a definite assurance was given that Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forest would be fully observed, that the sheriffs would be commanded to execute this by letters patent of the lord king, and that the church would be fully reformed in respect of its liberties. After hearing this, Earl Richard and the queen's council asked the clergy for a tenth for one year, out of that tenth for three years which the lord pope had granted to the king. The clergy refused to do this, unless they had letters patent from the lord pope, saying that he would allow this with the tenth of the first year. And so nothing was done.

[1] The text from 'He now …' to this point is found in the margin of the manuscript, and the remainder of the sentence has been cut away in the process of rebinding the codex.

[2] This was clever diplomacy on Henry's part, as he would have struggled to be victorious in a war with Spain over Gascony. The agreement of the marriage alliance between the two royal houses averted all-out war. Henry's capture of these castles and sending envoys to Spain is given in only slightly more detail by Matthew Paris, V, 40–2.

Pre-Publication Copy

In the same year, during the vacancy of the see of Lincoln, there was also a vacancy in the church of Marsworth [Buckinghamshire] owing to the death of master Richard Tingrith. The canons of Caldwell [priory], in the presence of the archbishop, laid claims to their rights. But they achieved nothing, except that their presentee to the benefice was allowed.

In the same year there arose a quarrel between the archbishop and the chapter at Lincoln over the matter of episcopal jurisdiction. This had been usurped by the archbishop for himself immediately after the death of the bishop, and he had fully exercised it through his own officials ever since the bishop's death, and until a new bishop should be appointed. The quarrel had gone on for almost six months. For all this time, [William] the archdeacon and canons of Lincoln argued with the archbishop, saying that since ancient times it was they who had the jurisdiction in receiving men presented to churches and instituting them there and of settling matters which belonged to the bishop. [190] Both parties agreed to put the matter before arbiters. The archbishop on his side agreed to the archdeacon of Canterbury,[1] and the canons of Lincoln to master Robert Marsh, their fellow canon. These two were to hear the arguments on both sides and to decide the rights of the case.

In the same year before Christmas the canons of Lincoln elected as bishop Sir Henry Lexington, the dean of their church. He went immediately to the king in Gascony. He received a friendly welcome and returned to England carrying a letter to the archbishop from the king. So the archbishop at once confirmed him in his appointment, and Henry Lexington received jurisdiction in matters temporal and spiritual. On the Sunday before the Ascension [25 May] he was consecrated at Lambeth. And on the eve of the feast of the Trinity [14 June] following he held his first ordination at Marlborough. On the next day of the apostles Peter and Paul [29 June] he was enthroned at Lincoln.[2]

In the same year Archbishop Boniface made a visitation of all monks and nuns in the sees of Canterbury, Rochester, London, Norwich, Ely and Lincoln. He took four marks for his expenses from each religious house. When he came to us he gave us his letter for [Roger] bishop of Coventry, testifying that he had inspected our monastery's privilege which we held from Pope Alexander [IV], and ordering the bishop not to interfere in our monastery contrary to the terms of our privilege, and not to allow anyone else to do so.

1254

In the year of grace 1254, in the fifteen days of Easter [12 April], the nobles of England assembled at Westminster. The king sent his envoys from Gascony. When they had conferred with the queen and Earl Richard, they successfully asked for the tenth, which had been granted [by the pope] to the lord king for three years. The lord pope had appointed executors for the matter of the cross and for the collection of the

[1] Stephen of Vienne.

[2] Matthew Paris adds that Henry was reluctant to go to the king in case Henry rejected him; this did not happen, although the acceptance was apparently 'not with good heart', V, pp. 60–1.

Pre-publication copy

tenth, namely the bishop of Norwich, [John] bishop of Chichester and [Richard de Crokesleye] abbot of Westminster.[1]

In the same year we made an agreement with Philip Lovel and his son, master H., concerning the tithes of Cardlehey [Derbyshire], and we gave the son ten marks on St John the Baptist's day [24 June] as the arrears from the previous seven years.

In the same year we built a new barn at Shortgrave and a large stable at Dunstable.

In the same year we bought for a hundred shillings the corn at Humbershoe at the price of two shillings an acre for corn and oats.

In the same year the lord king sent from Gascony for his queen and his son Edward. Around the feast of St Peter ad Vincula [1 August] they crossed the sea and arrived at Gascony after a completely successful voyage.[2] In the meantime the castle of La Réole, which the king had been besieging for a year, was surrendered to him, together with many prisoners.

In the same year Pope Innocent IV came to Rome. For ten years he had been in exile in many lands.[3]

In the same year Earl Richard had a tower of three storeys raised and roofed with lead in Berkhamsted castle. Also he had great quantities of timber carried out of Sundon Park, and his seizure of carts for this purpose did great harm to Dunstable trade.

In the same year about the feast of the Assumption[4] came the death of Hugh, bishop of Ely, who had formerly been the abbot of Bury St Edmunds. He was succeeded by master William Kilkenny.

In the same year came the sudden death of Walter de Chauvertune, the prior of Newenham. He was succeeded by Stephen, a canon of the same house. But when Stephen had been installed on the bishop's orders by the ordinary of the place, William Beauchamp the patron of Newenham and his wife Hilda intervened in the matter. They were extremely annoyed [192] at what had happened, and with terrifying threats they made the prior go back outside the gate of the priory and to ask for installation from them. When this had been done, Sir William took Stephen by the hand, led him into the choir and installed him a second time on his own authority as patron, thus causing affront to the bishop of Lincoln.

In the same year we sold at Dunstable a sack of wool fleeces for seven marks, and wool on the pelt for six.

[1] The king was away in Gascony and requested aid; the council was attended by all the bishops – except the archbishops of York and Canterbury, together with abbots and priors. Regents' reports survive stating that those present refused to agree to the taxation without consultation with the rest of the clergy. Time was, therefore, granted for them to do this and a new council was called on 26 April. It was not successful. For extracts from the report see *Councils and Synods*, pp. 481–3. Paris says that the demand for money was 'deceitful' and that those present felt they had been led into a 'trap'; V, 62–3.

[2] According to Matthew Paris, the queen went to the continent against the king's wishes; V, pp. 80–1.

[3] This exile had begun with the Council of Lyons and his excommunication of Frederick II. Following the emperor's death in 1250, Innocent IV gradually made his way back to Italy, then to Rome iself in October 1253.

[4] On 15 August. He died on 6 August.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year we acquired much lime from William Norham, for which we paid him seven marks, but with the payment consisting solely of woodland.

In the same year, on the Friday before the feast of St Michael [25 September], William Cantilupe the third died. He was buried at Studley on the following Wednesday, the eve of the feast of St Michael [28 September]. Present at his funeral were abbots, many priors and two earls, Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester and [Humphrey] the earl of Hereford, who laid the body of the dead man in his tomb.[1]

In the same year itinerant justices came to the county of Buckingham in the octave of St Michael [from 29 September]. They were [John] abbot of Peterborough, master Simon Walton, the clerks Robert Sotingdon and John Cave, and the knights William Trussel and Nicholas Hanlou. They also sat at Newport Pagnell until the feast of St Martin. Then they came to Bedford and sat there for fifteen days. The abbot of Wardon[2] brought before the justices seventeen writs against William Beauchamp. They summoned him to court, but, although he was present in the town of Bedford, he refused to appear before them. The justices were anxious and ill at ease at this refusal, and so sent their envoys to Earl Richard then governor of the land, asking him what they should do in this matter. He wrote back saying that they should follow the strict rules of justice. Hearing this, the justices took William Beauchamp's barony into the hands of the king, and put Sir William Faldo and Sir William Holwell to guard the barony and prevent William Beauchamp getting his hands on it.[3]

In the same year Gilbert Segrave died in lands across the seas in the prison of Reginald Puns. Many English nobles were imprisoned there. Some escaped, but many died in prison there.

In the same year master Thomas Vipont was made bishop of Carlisle. On the fifth day of Christmas [29 December] he was given the wardship of the barony by the king, at Canterbury.

In the same year the justices master Simon Walton, Robert Sotingdon and Sir Nicholas Hanlou came to Dunstable, and heard cases together with the prior. All oaths were made to the prior with these words, 'My lord prior, you are hearing this as justiciar of the lord king.' The prior had his own heralds there, and in the presence of the other justices he received the forfeited goods of criminals, including felon's land worth sixty shillings and more from Henry Percamenarius. The prior was acquitted of the escape of three robbers from his own prison, but was greatly dismayed at the expenses of the justices.

In the same year, before the feast of St Michael, the lord king sent his son Edward from Gascony to the king of Castile in Spain, so that he might receive the king's sister as his wife. The marriage took place, just as messengers between the two kings had previously arranged. Edward stayed in Castile [194] for some time and then returned with his wife and retinue to his father in Gascony. The king gave him as a dower for his wife

[1] This was the William Cantilupe whose marriage to Eva de Braose is given on p. 80 above.

[2] It is not entirely clear who this was, but it is most likely to be Geoffrey who was abbot from 1244. The next known abbot was Alexander of Reynes, but he did not take up the post until 1259.

[3] As the Beauchamp lands included the barony of Bedford, this transfer was of great interest to a Dunstable audience.

Pre-publication copy

lands, revenues and wardships worth fifteen thousand marks. To this end he assigned to him Gascony, all his possessions in Ireland and Wales, the earldom of Chester, the castle of the Peak with its appurtenances, the wardship of the lands of William, earl of Ferrers and William Cantilupe and Gilbert Segrave, the cities of Bristol, Stamford and Grantham, and many other things which are unknown to us.[1]

The king of England now left behind Edward and his wife and household in Gascony and, having asked for and obtained permission from the king of France, he came to Paris with his queen and retinue. The king of France welcomed him very joyfully with the kiss of peace, and gave a great banquet in his honour. The next day the king of England did the same for him. On that occasion four sisters were present at the same time. They were the queen of England, the queen of France, the wife of Earl Richard, and the wife of the count who was brother of the king of France. The king departed from Paris and came to the sea. He made for his ships and landed with his whole company at Dover on the day of St John Evangelist [27 December]. Many nobles of England met him there and welcomed him with joy. On the morrow, the day of St Thomas the martyr [29 December], he gave a great banquet for his nobles at Canterbury. On the following Sunday he came to London, where he was received with honour by priests and people.[2]

In the same year on Christmas Eve, Peter Chaceporc, the keeper of the king's wardrobe, died in foreign lands, and was replaced by a Provençal called Artaud.

In the same year, after the feast of All Saints [1 November], horses everywhere were afflicted by a terrible disease called foot and mouth. The disease killed many horses both in France and in England, and made many horses sick, useless and scarcely curable afterwards.

In the same year [195] we sold a sack of Dunstable wool of the better kind for seven marks, and a sack of the other kind for six marks, as wool was cheap at the time.

In the same year, on the day after the octave of St Hilary [from 14 January], the justices itinerant, who before Christmas had sat at Chelmsford, came to Hertford and sat there for some time. They were the abbot of Colchester,[3] Sir Gilbert Preston, Sir William Brito and the priest Roger Winchester. We sent our attorney there to act against Alice, the wife of Hugh provost of Dunstable, who brought a suit against us for one acre of land at Barwith, which she claimed was hers by rights. We were assigned a day at Bermondsey sessions in the octave of Trinity in the following year, but, because our attorney did not turn up on the day, we lost the case by default.

In the same year we won a case brought against Walter, our vicar at Studham, because the increase in the wealth of his benefice made by Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln,

[1] As some of these lands, such as those in the Peak, overlapped with those held by the priory, this change in ownership was significant to those in Dunstable.

[2] This is one of the most detailed contemporary accounts of the king's return; compare with Paris, vol. III, pp. 86–7.

[3] This is most likely to be William of Spaldwick, head of the Benedictine house at Colchester. There was also an Augustinian house there, however, and if this house is the one being referenced, then the abbot would be John whose dates in office are thought to be 1246 to 1279/80.

Pre-publication copy

had been withdrawn by him. Through [Richard] abbot of Westminster, who had been chosen as our judge, the wealth of the benefice was brought back to its former state.
In the same year we sent by the hands of Simon Eton, our cellarer, a gilded silver cup worth a hundred shillings to the king on his return from Gascony.[1]

1255

In the year of grace 1255, in the fifteen days of Easter [28 March], the king summoned all his magnates and held a great parliament with them, at which he asked for help from both clergy and people over and above the tenth which had been granted to him by the lord pope.[2] They all asked if they might postpone their answer until the next feast of St Michael [29 September], so that they could then give a definite reply, but only provided that in the meantime the king ensured that the liberties contained in Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forest were observed. The king promised that he would do this, but he failed to carry out his promise.
In the same year, [196] in the month of April, Walter de Gray, archbishop of York, died near London. His body was taken to York.[3] After a time the appropriate people were summoned and master Sewal, then dean of the same church, was appointed as pastor and archbishop. The king however refused to consent to the appointment, on the grounds that master Sewal was illegitimate because he had been born before his parents were married, and that the person who was elected maintained knights. But then the chapter, at a meeting of the monks, unanimously decided to send three of its senior members to the Roman curia, and these three got his election honourably confirmed by the lord pope contrary to the king's wishes.
In the same year, around the feast of St Margaret [16 November], came the death of the lady Eva, the wife of William Cantilupe the third.
In the same year, around the feast of St Margaret, Warin of Monte Cassino died, as did master Thomas Wallensis, bishop of St David's. Richard Carew[4] was elected in his place and presented to the king, but not accepted by him. So Carew went at once to the lord pope [Alexander IV], and was honourably received, confirmed and consecrated by him. So he returned to his bishopric holding his head high.
In the same year around the feast of St Martin [11 November] we paid the tithe of the preceding year, both from lay fiefs and from churches. And after the feast of the Purification [2 February] we paid in like manner the tithe of the current year.
In the same year, on the feast of St Michael [29 September], Simon Eltsdon, who had become sheriff, on his own initiative dismissed the bailiff, his place being taken by Robert Salvagius, a sensible and discreet gentleman.

[1] It could be that this cellarer brought back much of the information found here, which would account for the high degree of detail. Matthew Paris does record that many monks presented the king with rich presents of gold and silver upon his return; V, 112.
[2] Paris notes that the king complained of his debts at this council: III, pp. 119–20.
[3] His sudden illness and death are said to have been brought on by the stresses of the above council: see Matthew Paris, V, p. 121.
[4] Blank left in manuscript again for name.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year, around the feast of St Michael [29 September], master Rustand came to England. He had been sent from the side of the lord pope with a great power and in a short time he collected many revenues.[1]

In the same year and at the same time Peter Vitella returned to England. He had farmed out his church at Steppingley to Gilbert Tingrith, then a deacon, and had left behind as his agent Simon of Eaton, a canon of Dunstable. But for three years this deacon had not bothered to pay any of the hundred shillings per annum to either Peter himself or to his agent. So Peter brought a suit against him and wore him out by so much trouble and expense that in the end Gilbert paid him sixteen marks for two years. For the third year John Crakehall, the archdeacon [of Bedford], received sixty shillings. Of these sixty shillings, he kept twenty-three shillings for lodgings for three years, gave twenty shillings to Peter, and gave seventeen shillings to Roger of St Albans, a canon of Dunstable, for making three windows in the chancel at Steppingley and for repairing ornaments of the church. As Peter left England, he farmed out his church to Benedict the clerk at a hundred shillings per annum for the subsequent five years, which Benedict is to pay. This is recorded in the document drawn up between them.

In the same year peace was made between the lord pope and Manfred, king of Apulia (the son of Frederick [II]) . The terms were that Manfred was to keep Apulia and all the lands which had belonged to his father, but that he would pay a large sum each year to the apostolic see. So ended the hopes of the king of England, who believed that he was acquiring all these lands for his son Edmund, and so for himself. But, because the king did not keep to the times laid down for paying the vast sum of money, the pope also did not bother to keep his word about the promised kingdom.[2]

In the same year, at its end, we sold to Alexander of Charlton cum Newbottle the tithe of the sheaves there for three years, except for three months of the first year, for fifty marks sterling. [198] We also had the corn of Pattishall and Higham Ferrers carted home at the same time.

In the same year the king of England was angry with the Scottish king's councillors because they had treated his daughter badly. And so he sent ahead of himself Richard earl of Gloucester and John Mansel to inquire into the truth of the matter. When they arrived in Scotland and came to Edensbury castle, where the king and the queen were staying, they entered the castle as they found it very slackly guarded. They greeted the king and queen and learned for certain that the king was not allowed to come near the queen, as he was stopped from doing so by Robert de Ros, who had been appointed a guardian by the council of the kingdom. This was just the story which the queen had previously told her father. And then indeed the earl of Gloucester and John Mansel removed the guardians and put the king and queen together in bed. Then the two of them that very night withdrew to a remote spot and there reported all that had happened to King Henry who was following hard on their heels. The king was so

[1] Paris provides us with full details of Rustand's mission and the council held at his request; V, pp. 141–8. A second meeting was held around the festival of St Hilary, Matthew Paris, V, pp. 151–2.

[2] Henry III had begun negotiations with the pope to appoint his own son Edmund as king of Sicily (a hugely expensive and unpopular move); the territories of this kingdom included Apulia.

Pre-publication copy

full of anger and indignation with Robert de Ros and John Balliol the guardians, that he brought suits against them in London and accused them of many wrongdoings.[1]

In the same year Richard, earl of Cornwall, found through Abraham a Jew of Norwich a charter in which Robert Malherbe had made a bond with the Jews of all his lands, revenues and possessions. Using this opportunity the earl by means of an order from the king ejected William Beauchamp and his people from the manors of Houghton Regis and Hockcliffe and his people from Bedford from one hundred and eighty acres of ground, imprisoning some and making life hard for them in other ways.

In the same year, during the Advent of the Lord, we paid master Rustand fifty pounds sterling, which we borrowed from the agents in the matter of the cross.

In the same year [199] lord Edward received the wardship of the land of William Cantilupe the third: and he was not then heir for four years.

In the same year there was a noteworthy shortage of corn. If there had not been a surplus from the abundant harvest of the preceding year, the scarcity of food would have harmed many. I should say that Stoke Hammond, Crawley, Segenhoe and Ruxox were not able to be self-sufficient for corn that year.

In the same year Robert Vavasour, sheriff of Nottingham, lost his position as bailiff. He was accused by many people, and paid a fine of two hundred marks to the king.

In the same year the burgesses of Derby, after giving a sum of money, had their request granted by the king that the justices itinerant and the sheriffs should try cases for the county of Derbyshire at Derby. In the past these cases had been tried at Nottingham.

In the same year Peter d'Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford, wickedly had letters forged for himself by which he put almost all the great religious houses in England under obligation to the Roman curia, although they knew nothing about it and did not agree to it. He also obtained from judges south of the Alps the decision that if he found any in England who refused, he could summon them to where they would not dare to come.[2]

In the same year, around the beginning of Lent, William York, the bishop of Salisbury, died and master Giles Bridport was elected as the new bishop.

1256

In the year of grace 1256 master Rustand, master Giles Bridport, Richard abbot of Westminster and lord Henry were sent by the lord king to the Roman curia to complete his business there against the clergy and people of England. For when they returned to England, the lord king demanded from clergy and people all the expenses which he had then incurred in his attempt to acquire the land of Sicily for his son Edmund.[3] The expenses had been one hundred thousand marks, thirty-six thousand marks and

[1] The king's seizure of Robert of Ros's property following the king's refusal to pardon him, and the king's attempts at capturing John Balliol, are given by Matthew Paris, V, p. 181.

[2] Peter was another Savoyard, which explains the tone of this passage. The bishop of Hereford's fraud is also commented upon by Paris in disapproving tones; see V, p. 199. He was also accused previously of stirring up the prelates of England with Rustand's help in an attempt at creating a schism; V, pp. 147–8.

[3] Henry's expenses had been running away with him following the Sicily fiasco, simultaneously seeking funds for the campaign in Gascony and his potential involvement in a crusade.

Pre-publication copy

five thousand marks, and all to no purpose. It had been money down the drain. He also asked that the clergy and people should acquire the land of Sicily for his son [200] Edmund at their own expense, should get him there safely at their own expense, and should hand over to him a land with fortresses. First the magnates and then the clergy, regarding this as an impossibility, replied that they neither would nor could do what the king asked. They had particular reasons for their refusal. There was a shortage of money. Sicily was a long way away. The roads were thronged with enemies. Manfred, the present ruler of Sicily and Apulia, was very powerful and his wealth limitless. Moreover they neither would nor could do what he asked, as it would leave the land of England desolate. If the magnates did decide to give help and the country was left destitute, the king and the queen and their households and the whole land of England would be exposed to the greatest danger: both from the Welsh who even then were ravaging and devastating all the neighbouring land which the king had given to lord Edward his son, and from the king of France and the French, who were laying claim to their lands in England. If the French saw the land of England left empty, they would attack and invade it. And there were several other reasons for refusal which the clergy and people put forward.

Also master Rustand and some others then gave out to different people their own letters containing just the ending formula that is contained in the letters of the lord pope.

In the same year the Welsh went beyond their own boundaries. They had collected together a huge army under the command of Llywelyn II, a handsome man and a doughty fighter, and one who had all the Welsh, as it were, glued to his side. At that time the lord king and queen and their council made Geoffrey Langley guardian of Prince Edward's lands in Wales, and he was trying hard to put the Welsh under English law. He accomplished this in part. But then, believing he was bringing the matter to an end, he boasted before the king and queen that he had all the Welsh in the grasp of his hand. But when later he was organising the Welsh into counties and hundreds, they took counsel and confidently replied that they would do nothing for him which was [201] contrary to the laws of their fathers. So the English and Welsh went their several ways, but were still at loggerheads.

In the same year Robert Ludham and Roger Eyre of Norfolk, the cruel and very wicked bailiffs of Prince Edward, were at Eaton Bray and Houghton Regis. They caused great trouble to the abbots of St Albans and Woburn[1] and other neighbours, and were especially harmful to us. For we were unjustly fined six marks for the ditch at Shortgrave and the groom Hammo. Of these six marks we paid three, and three were remitted by Sir Geoffrey Langley. Before the end of the year the two bailiffs withdrew, amid great confusion.

In the same year we gave our land at Charlton cum Newbottle to John Cheydut for the rent from a fief. He paid us fifteen marks as a premium,[2] and then every year three and a half marks and eight shillings for the houses, with the two granges and the old hall being kept in our own hands. We also kept all the tithes from corn, hay and the mills, and the rent of thirty-two pence from two tenants of the church.

[1] John of Hertford and Nicholas.

[2] In other words, a fine.

Preview Uncorrected Copy

In the same year at Christmas a great quarrel arose between Sir William Cheydut and John Boyver. They met at dusk in Charlton cum Newbottle high street, and John Boyver suddenly with a mighty blow laid the knight flat on the ground, and left him lying there badly knocked about. Because this John had collected our tithes in Charlton cum Newbottle the previous autumn, the knight blamed us for his assault.

In the same year Richard, earl of Cornwall, was elected king of Germany.[1]

In the same year we received Sir John Watford as a canon.

In the same [202] year, after Easter [after 16 April], Geoffrey Beauchamp, rector of the church at Brickhill, died. Nicholas, the son of William de Grey, was presented to the church, and he withheld from us the tithes of the demesne for that year.

In the same year lady Johanna Peyure died at Leyham and was buried at Woburn. Her husband, Sir John de Grey, showed a lack of honour and respect at her funeral.

In the same year, immediately after Johanna's death, master Paul Peyure obtained from Sir John de Grey the wardship and marriage portion of the heir of Sir Paul Peyure [i.e. his mother] for a thousand marks to be paid to Sir John before the end of the year. [Nicholas] the abbot of Woburn and [Geoffrey] the prior of Dunstable were pledges for three hundred of these marks. Paul immediately sold the marriage portion of his kinsman to Sir Geoffrey Langley for three hundred marks to be paid within the year. He also paid forty marks to Simon de Montfort, to keep the peace.

In the same year began the sale of Caddington wood. We put down for it thirteen and a half marks.

In the same year master William Kilkenny, then chancellor of the king, was made bishop of Ely. He died within the year.

In the same year Roger Weseham, bishop of Coventry [and Lichfield], resigned. After pressure from the queen and then Earl Richard, Roger de Meyland was elected bishop.[2]

1257

In the year of grace 1257, at the beginning of the year, the king summoned a meeting in London of all the important people of England, namely the bishops, earls, abbots and priors, so that he might discuss with them the state of the kingdom, and the departure of his brother, the earl of Cornwall, who was then about to depart for Germany.[3] The archbishop of Cologne,[4] the bishop of Liège and two other bishops [203] had come to England to escort the earl to Germany. Earl Richard honoured all of them with expensive presents, received loyal homage from them, and then entrusted himself

[1] His coronation is widely recorded, though not in great detail apart from by Matthew Paris, who also gives reasons for his election, their hatred for the French being top of the list, closely followed by their mistrust of prideful fellow Germans and inability to accept an Italian who would not only be tainted by their proximity to the pope, but also their 'great avarice': V, p. 209.

[2] Roger was a cousin of Henry III, and had accompanied Earl Richard to Germany when he was elected king.

[3] There is some confusion in the chronicles about the various meetings held this year, but again, the king was requesting money. For surviving accounts with more detail, see *Councils and Synods*, pp. 524–30.

[4] Conrad of Hohenstadt (1238–1261).

Pre-publication copy

completely to their decisions and good faith. On Easter day [8 April] he appointed to their duties those who had come from Germany, each one appointed to serve him as their feudal lord. Then he began his journey to the sea and came to his ship, which had been made ready at Yarmouth. When the best time came, he committed his sails to the winds and sea with God as his helmsman, and so arrived safe and sound at his destination. Many nobles from Germany and neighbouring lands came to meet him and gave thanks to God for his safe arrival. He himself and his countess were crowned on the day of the Ascension at Aix-la-Chapelle, and on the following day his son Henry was made a knight. Some particular people whom he had brought with him from England, namely James Audley, Stephen Cheyndut and some other friends, were immediately sent back to England by his counsellors in Germany.

In the same year, after the feast of St John Baptist [24 June], our lord king collected a great army to wear down to the death the Welsh, who had spilled over their boundaries. With a great part of his army he went to Chester, and from there as far as the castle at Gannoch,[1] where he stayed as long as he remained in Wales. He lost many of his men because of infected food and drink, and was able to do little or no harm to the Welsh, who as a result assailed our men with a great many abusive insults. But the lord king had left a great part of his army with Richard, earl of Gloucester, so that he might subdue the Welsh in South Wales. But the earl suddenly left South Wales. With one squire he secretly went away from his army and travelled to Tutbury castle to speak with the queen, who was then staying there. The lord king had sent her to Nottingham to stay there during his absence, but she had been completely unable to stay [204] there because of the smell of the pit-coal. And so the lord king and the earl himself returned from Wales without honour around the feast of St Michael [29 September], so that the king could celebrate the feast of St Edward [13 October] within the fifteen days of St Michael.[2]

In the same year a monk of Ely was elected bishop of Ely. But when in the presence of Boniface, the current archbishop, he was responding wisely and well to the objections brought against him, the archbishop and his advisers with long faces turned against him and refused to admit him to so great a see. But the monk took his chance and went to the Roman curia to appeal to the lord pope. He was thought worthy by the pope of confirmation and consecration, and so returned to England with honour.[3]

In the same year master Simon Wauton was elected bishop of Norwich, and without any argument he was both received by the king and confirmed by Archbishop Boniface.

In the same year Simon Luton,[4] a monk of Bury St Edmunds, was elected as abbot of the church there. But he went to the Roman curia, was confirmed and blessed by the lord pope, and so returned to his country.

1 Deganwy castle, Gwynedd.

2 For more on this unsuccessful campaign, see Prestwich, *Plantagenet England*, p. 148. Matthew Paris describes the relative strength of the Welsh, and the lack of success on the part of the English, V, pp. 217–18, 233, 238, 247. The Osney annalist also recounts the episode in considerable detail, pp. 116–18.

3 The king also refused to accept this appointment: Paris, V, p.215.

4 Blank in manuscript.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year, around the feast of the Ascension [17 May], we bought from Roland Malet a rent-charge of twenty shillings, to be paid by Sir Warin Bragenham on two term-days in the year.

In the same year, after the feast of St Michael [29 September], we bought from Hugh Breton de Walda a rent-charge of twenty shillings, to be paid by Philip, son of Alexander Dagenham. We also paid twenty shillings to John Bocclesford, the owner of a fief, so that we might have free and peaceful entry to it.

In the same year, after the feast of St Michael, we bought from Aimery de St Amand for forty-three and a half marks land at Pulloxhill which he held from John Boynun.

In the same year [205] we bought for half a mark a small wood at Buckleshore from John Puscer.

In the same year we bought for one mark a rent-charge of fourteen pence from John Reinfred.

In the same year we bought for eight shillings a rent-charge of nine pence from Philip Dagenham.

In the same year we built a big barn at Ruxox, and we enlarged the cattle-shed at Pulloxhill, and then for the first time we put cows in it.

In the same year we admitted the following canons: John Edlesburn on the day of the Ascension, Richard Mentmore on the Sunday before the Assumption of the blessed Mary [12 August], Simon Wiscard and John Hallings on the day of the Assumption.

In the same year there was such a great scarcity of corn that many died stricken with hunger.

In the same year because of lack of food fifty-two nuns of their order and ten lay brothers were sent away from Chicksands to other houses.

In the same year Robert Chause was elected bishop of Carlisle by the monks in that place and presented to Sewall, archbishop of York. Sewall promised him all that was good, but did all that was bad. For he put off the matter from day to day and eventually in fact gave the bishopric to a certain master John. But Robert at the proper time made an appeal to the lord pope and brought back with him letters for executors concerning a papal command which said that, if the archbishop refused or was unable to appoint Robert, or shilly-shallied in some other manner, then the executors, namely the bishops of Salisbury and Bath,[1] should judge the merits of the case and make a final decision, and, if the person elected by the monks was found worthy, they should confirm his election and consecrate him as bishop. And this is what happened.

In the same year, [206] during the fifteen days of St Michael, we entered at Westminster two actions, one against Henry Broc and his wife, and the other against the sisters of Winfeud.

In the same year, in the octave of St Hilary [from 14 January], the justices itinerant sat at Derby. They were the abbot of Peterborough, Sir John Wyawilla and Sir Robert Bruce. A fourth member, Sir Roger Turkeby, was absent because he was very ill. We were present at the session because of a general summons, and on the first day the justices allowed us to depart.

In the same year about autumn, master Rustand, a man of great power in England[2] went to Rome, and stayed there in some distress on account of his previous actions. But later he returned to England.

[1] Giles Bridport and William Bitton (1248–1264).

[2] In his role as papal legate.

Proof uncorrected copy

In the same year John Helston mortgaged his land in Totternhoe below and above Duna[1] to Thomas Inge. Sixteen marks sterling were to be paid to Thomas in the following year, eight on the feast of St John Baptist [24 June], and eight on the feast of St Michael [29 September]. If he did this, he would receive a quit-claim on his land. But if he failed to pay, Thomas would pay another eight marks to John, and so keep the whole land in his fief.

In the same year William Welton at the beginning of Lent [25 February] confirmed for us all the lands which we had from his fief at Totternhoe. Later he enfeoffed his five boys in his demesne at Totternhoe, and immediately gave them possession. The boys were treated loyally by the tenants.

In the same year Richard, king of Germany, sent instructions to England for the selling of his woods on account of an unexpected shortage of money.

In the same year, [207] after the feast of St Michael [29 September], we paid scutage for all our lands. But we were misled about Stoke Hammond. We paid sixteen shillings and seven pence for it, but we were actually under obligation to pay only half that. But we did give after a warning, as was just, two shillings and three pence as a marriage portion to the daughter of Sir Alan Hyde.

In the same year we bought from John Helston for thirty-five marks some arable land and a grove, which he had above Duna.[2] We also freed him of the mortgage which he had made with Thomas Inge on all his land at Totternhoe below and above Duna, by paying Thomas the sixteen marks of the annual payment. We also handed over to John the deed and charter of enfeoffment which John had made with Thomas, and John at once had it burnt. But he soon repented of his action, and actually sold the whole land under Duna to Thomas, together with the rents and tenantry which he had at Totternhoe.

In the same year, immediately after the feast of St Michael [29 September], there began to be a scarcity of corn, and we then bought twenty quarters of wheat for sowing, which worked out well for us.

In the same year we bought from Aimery de St Amand for forty-three and a half marks the land at Pulloxhill, which he had been given as a present by John Boynun. We also bought for sixteen and a half marks a rent-charge of twenty shillings from Hugh Breton de Walda, and we paid twenty shillings to John Bocclesford for confirmation of the same land.

1258

In the year of grace 1258, on the Saturday in the week of Easter [23 March], our large stable at Dunstable collapsed. All the woodwork and the bricks were smashed, but we put it back together as quickly as we could, in fact before the next following feast of St Michael [29 September].

In the same year our barn near the gate at Shortgrave fell down. We put it up again immediately afterwards.

[1] Dunstable Downs.

[2] Dunstable Downs.

Pre-publication copy

In the summer [208] of the same year there was a very great shortage of corn. It was so bad that a quarter of corn was sold for twenty shillings at Northampton, for seventeen shillings at Bedford, and for one mark at Dunstable. Because of our own grain shortage at that time we bought twelve and a half quarters of corn, three of them at eight shillings and sixpence a quarter, and the others at six shillings a quarter. From the feast of St John Baptist [24 June] onwards we bought all our own drink, a quarter of communal beer costing six shillings and eight pence. We also bought for nine marks two casks of wine. We drank it all in the monastery, and it did us a power of good.[1] You should know that in this year we spent more than twenty-four pounds on bread, drink and food supplies.

In the same year, immediately after Easter, there came to England from the Roman curia a certain master Arlot. He came with great powers, and demanded from the lord king the massive sum owed by the king to the lord pope, namely one hundred thousand marks and more. The lord king took counsel with his nobles and replied that he neither had so much money nor any means of getting it. Arlot threatened to excommunicate the king himself and all his nobles. He also said the lord king had not only put himself under an obligation to pay the money but also the nobles and the other people of his whole land. The reply of both clergy and laymen to this was they themselves were free of any such obligation, since the lord king was not able to impose one upon them. And so they made an appeal to the lord pope against Arlot's verdict, and sent important men as envoys to him.[2]

In the same year, on the feast of St Barnabas the apostle [11 June], the lord king had all his magnates of England, both clerical and lay, summoned to a meeting.[3] After lengthy deliberations by this council, they agreed among themselves that the king should have twelve men for his council, chosen from the whole community of the English, and that he should rely on their advice and do nothing important without them. And this was done. Then immediately [209] those twelve men, with the agreement and consent of the lord king, chose one man as chief justiciar, who, in the presence of them all, swore that he would give justice to all, sparing neither rich nor poor, but showing to all the same justice. The lord king indeed, with his hands on the sacred elements, swore that from then on he would observe and get observed the good laws of old and the Magna Carta previously granted by him. Then all the magnates there present swore that they in their own estates for their own tenants would observe and get observed the same things which the lord king had promised them that he would observe.[4]

Next, the king's brothers were called to swear the same oath that the others had sworn, but they all refused to do so. The [half-] brothers of the king were Aymer [of Valence] bishop elect of Winchester, William de Valence, Geoffrey de Lusignan [and Guy de

1 Proof that monks were only human too!

2 Arlot had been sent to retrieve the money promised to the pope in payment for Edmund, the king's son, taking the Sicilian throne. Unsuprisingly, the barons were unwilling to finance such a scheme.

3 Held at Oxford.

4 These reforms were laid out in what has become known as 'The Provisions of Oxford', and essentially created the first parliament. The king's refusal to uphold these provisions was cited as justification for the Second Barons' War, more of which below.

Pre-publication copy

Lusignan].[1] They and their bailiffs had haughtily and heavily stamped on the English, regarding them as of no account and doing damage to people and property. And it was because they were unwilling to curb this headstrong behaviour that they treated the oath with contempt. The nobles indeed had sworn that they would regard as an enemy in chief anyone who attempted to contravene their oaths and decrees. As soon as the brothers realised this, they secretly withdrew to Winchester by night. When this was discovered, the barons immediately with an armed force followed them on horseback to Winchester, escorted them down to the sea, and made them swear that they would never do harm to the land of England either of themselves or by using others, and that they would not return to England unless with the consent of the king and his barons. Their lands and holdings were seized and taken into the king's hands. These are the names of the barons who did this: Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester, Richard earl of Gloucester, Roger Bigod marshal of England, Humphrey de Bohun earl of Hereford, the earl of Warwick,[2] Hugh Bigod the chief justiciar, James [210] Audley, [William] earl of Aumale, Hugh Despenser, Richard de Grey, John fitz Geoffrey, and many others whose names we do not know.

In the same year, at a parliament at Michaelmas [29 September], it was decreed by the king's council that each sheriff should have a charter written in English and sealed with the great seal of the king, and further that several times a year the charter should be read out before the county court so that its contents might become known to everybody. It was also decreed in the parliament that a new sheriff should be elected each year, who at the beginning of his term of office would swear that he would receive gold or silver from no one, and no presents except food, and those not to be worth more than twelve pence. And further, that he should not lodge with anyone in his sheriffdom unless he had a house worth forty pounds, and that no more than once or twice a year and with no more than five horses, and only if properly invited.

In the same year, on the feast of St Matthew the apostle [21 September], John Stoke, John Hertford and John Wales received our habit.

In the same year and at the same time Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, celebrated a general ordination at Dunstable, as the see of Lincoln was then vacant. The novice John Stoke, mentioned above, received the order of subdeacon from the archbishop, contrary to our practice.

In the same year John Crakehall was appointed treasurer of the lord king.[3]

In the same year, around Christmas, came the death of Philip Lovel, the king's treasurer. He had done many wrong things during his period of office.[4] In the same year we had a very late and wearisome autumn on account of the non-stop, persistent rain. The corn was almost all destroyed and barely stored and locked away before the feast of St Martin [11 November].

[1] Again, a blank is left here.

[2] John du Plessis, earl through his marriage to Margaret, the countess of Warwick.

[3] For the difficulties faced by the new treasurer, see Nick Barratt, 'Crisis Management: Baronial Reform at the Exchequer', in *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England, 1258–1267*, ed. Adrian Jobson (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 67–70.

[4] Matthew Paris says that he was deposed before his death, V, p. 306.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year in the octave of Epiphany [from 6 January], the clerk Richard Lincoln died at Dunstable.

In the same year, [211] while the barons were at Winchester, many of them were given poison. Richard [de Clare], earl of Gloucester, only just survived, thanks to medical skill and the antidote, which he had with him, but his brother[1] died soon afterwards, as did Richard, abbot of Westminster, and several others, whose names we do not know.[2]

In the same year Henry Lexington, bishop of Lincoln, died. He was succeeded by Richard Gravesend, who, immediately after his confirmation, set off on a journey to the king of France together with Simon de Montfort and Richard, earl of Gloucester, so that they might renew the peace between the French king and the king of England.

In the same year, in the octave of Trinity, there was a general chapter of regular canons at Leicester, which was more or less a non-event on account of the great number of absentees.[3]

In the same year we brought a suit against Thomas Inge for the four acres of land which he held as a gift from John Helston inside the enclosure at Shortgrave. But before John could be called as a warrantor, Thomas gave us in exchange four acres of land in the fields of Hocfield, and five acres next to these four in exchange for five acres which we had received as a gift from his father William in return for a chantry in his chapel at Barwith.

In the same year, right up to the time of the sowing of crops, all the different fruits of the earth were in short supply, and the price of corn was very high because there was so little of it, although that little was of good quality owing to the fine weather.

1259

In the year of grace 1259 a Dunstable youth called Laurence was said to have stolen more than sixty marks in St Albans and brought them to Philip Illig's house in Dunstable. Laurence took twenty-four of these marks and bought for himself a corrody at Newenham and so got right away from the town of Dunstable. But this Philip was arrested, detained on suspicion [212] for this theft and imprisoned, until by a writ of the lord king he was handed over in custody to twelve men, who were to bring him for trial before the justices itinerant when they came that way. But when they did so, Philip left the country and afterwards could not be found. This happened at the beginning of Lent.

Later on, in the octave of Easter [20 April], Hugh Bigod, the justiciar of all England, sent his writ, saying that Philip should be arrested and kept in prison until his arrival. But this could not happen, because Philip could not be found. But then in the week of Pentecost [starting 8 June] the justiciar together with Gilbert Preston came to Bedford

[1] William de Clare.

[2] Paris mentions the poisoning episode, but does not give the names of any victims. As a separate incident he records the earl of Gloucester's illness and the death of his brother; V, p. 296–7.

[3] Many monastic orders, including the Augustinians and Cistercians, had annual meetings called General Chapters which the abbot or prior of every house was supposed to attend, though many made their excuses, as appears to have happened this year.

Pre-Publication Copy

and demanded that we brought Philip before them. We replied that this was outside our liberty, but that, when the justiciars came to Dunstable, we would do what was lawful. And we immediately asked them to come to us, but they absolutely refused to do this, saying that their circuit was not for all cases, but only special ones. And because we refused to obey the justiciar, he took the whole of our possessions into the hands of the king and put individual guards on all our various properties. So we followed the justiciar as far as Huntingdon, and with difficulty paid a fine of ten marks. Philip's sureties paid a fine of six marks, of which we kept nothing.

In the same year and on the same circuit at Bedford a suit was brought against us without a writ by the three daughters of Ralph Eyl concerning land at Worthing. We called as evidence the rolls of William Euerwick and his fellow justices, with their transactions from a circuit at Bedford of many years ago. The rolls were at once looked out and it was found that the brother of the three daughters had lost the land at Worthing at the great assize before those particular justices. So we left the court cleared of the accusation, while the women remained under sentence.

In the same year Fulk Bassett, bishop of London, died and was succeeded by Henry Wingham, chancellor of the lord king.

In the same year [213] we obtained the land of Baldwin Whitchurch at Studham and the dwellings which belonged to it on the site.

In the same year, after many envoys had been sent on ahead to discuss renewing the peace, Henry, the king of England, the son of King John, met with the French king.[1] On the advice of his magnates, King Henry relinquished the land of Normandy and all his rights there to the French king in return for a sum of money and some other things. While he was there he gave his second daughter in marriage to the son of the duke of Brittany.[2]

In the same year, although we ourselves were opposed to it, the Dominicans entered the town of Dunstable after a great deal of hard work and seductive words, and through the agency of the lord king and the queen and some of the magnates they obtained our permission to stay there.[3]

In the same year the men of [William] prior of Grovebury[4] murdered Ralph, our lay brother at Studham for his defence of our church. This was a bad blow to our church and aroused much ill-feeling against them.

In the same year after Christmas justices itinerant came to Dunstable with authority to hear various special pleas. Because they did not have the power to hear all cases and we did not have any special letters of the king for them, they did not consent to our pleas.

[1] This was the signing of the Treaty of Paris (1259), in which the king of England officially renounced his claim to Normandy and other French territories lost by his father King John. Although the treaty was signed, the English monarchs never really gave up their ambition, a consequence of which was the Hundred Years' War less than a century later.

[2] John de Dreux, son of John I, duke of Brittany.

[3] This demonstrates the increasing spread of the Dominican Order, and marks the beginning of a bitter rivalry between the canons and friars in Dunstable.

[4] Grovebury is near Leighton Buzzard in Bedfordshire.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, and also the dean, chapter and archdeacons of the see of Lincoln asked the lord pope to send from his side a Roman to England, so that he might examine the witnesses on both sides in the dispute between the archbishop and the chapter of Lincoln. For the two sides had put forward different cases in the matter of episcopal jurisdiction, while the see was vacant. The archbishop claimed that, while the see was vacant, the episcopal rights belonged to him, just as they had belonged to his predecessors. But the dean [214] and the chapter of Lincoln, speaking for themselves and their archdeacons, said on the contrary that the episcopal rights of old belonged to them. Both sides produced witnesses to prove their case.

In the same year John Crakehall, archdeacon of Bedford and then treasurer to the lord king, was given by the dean and chapter in London one prebend in the church of St Paul in London, which had formerly belonged to master Rustand but was then vacant, because Rustand had taken up the habit of a monk. But later there arrived a Roman with a wonderfully written letter from the lord pope, and this Roman won the day on the matter and was given the prebend on the first Thursday in Lent [6 March]. But no sooner had the Roman and his two companions left the churchyard, than they were accosted by three youths who were complete strangers to them. These youths murdered the man, who had been installed, by the gate.[1] One of his companions got away as far as Westcheap and was there killed in front of crowds of people. The other companion even got over the bridge, but then was decapitated and died there. These murders took place around the hour of terce,[2] but there was no one who fought with the criminals or raised a shout or who mourned for the dead.

1260

In the year of grace 1260 Henry, king of England, the son of King John, stayed on in France for a long time after his ratification of peace with the French king. He had no thought of returning to England until the bishops and magnates of England instructed him by letter to hurry back to England.[3] The king was his old self again, once he received this message, and went back to England. But certain malicious people by means of false rumours sowed discord between the father and his son Edward, claiming that Edward and his counsellors had taken steps to stir up a war against the lord king.[4] This news

[1] This outbreak of violence is an escalation of the resentment felt towards the dominance of Italian clergy during the reign of Henry III.

[2] About 9 a.m.

[3] Henry remained in France to attend his daughter Beatrice's marriage to the future duke of Brittany (which was postponed following the death of the French heir apparent), then extended his stay as a cover for reopening negotiations with the pope over the Sicilian business in contravention of what had previously been agreed in Oxford. For further details on his time in France, see Adrian Jobson, *The First English Revolution: Simon de Montfort, Henry III and the Barons' War* (London, 2012), pp. 45–9.

[4] Edward did temporarily align himself with the reformers, and made his stance official in what have become known as 'the Provisions of Westminster' drawn up in 1259. For more on this and his alliance with de Clare and de Montfort, see D. A. Carpenter, 'The Lord Edward's Oath to Aid and Counsel Simon de Montfort, 15 October 1259', repr. in *Reign of Henry III*, pp. 241–52, and Jobson, *First English Revolution*, pp. 36–8.

Pre-publication copy

angered the king beyond measure and he brought back to London with him many knights from foreign lands. On the further side of the bridge he sent them away into parts of Surrey, while he himself entered the city of London and stayed [215] there for a time, with the gates of the city closed and barred and with guards placed, so that no one could enter without his permission. Of course the earl of Gloucester,[1] John Mansel and some others of the king's council came and went as they pleased. But the king would not allow his son Edward nor any who had given his son advice to come into his presence. 'My son Edward must not appear before me,' he said, 'because, if I see him, I shall not be able to stop myself from kissing him.'

In the end, stirred to the depths by a father's love and won over by the prayers of the magnates, he received his son with the kiss of peace, as did the queen his mother, who, as some said, had been the cause of the whole trouble.[2] The tongue can scarce tell of the immense honours and presents of money which Edward gave to all who wished to be on his side, while all this was going on.

After this the lord king by means of lying accusers loosed the reins of his anger against the earl Simon de Montfort, and set out to condemn him on many counts. But Simon received help and support from God. Using genuine documents or lively reasoning he answered all the charges so convincingly that his accusers were stunned and could make no headway against him.[3]

In the same year came the death of William Beauchamp the elder. His wife, Ida, received her widow's dower to do as she liked with. She at once turned her attention to Simon Pattishall. She entered his manor at Crawley, knocked down his buildings, cut down his trees and did other vast amounts of damage there.

In the same year John, vicar of Ashbourne, died. During all his time as vicar he had paid from his church fifty marks annually to the dean of Lincoln, spending all the rest, some two hundred marks, on his church. The dean [Robert Marsh] now wished to retain Ashbourne church for his own use, but the king claimed that he had the right of patronage over this church and presented the clerk [216] Peter of Winchester to it. And now the dean and chapter, fearing for themselves, gave to the lord king one thousand marks for the sake of peace, and to his clerk who had been presented there an income of a hundred pounds.

In the same year, around the feast of St Margaret [16 November], Laurence [of St Edward] abbot of Burton died, and within the month following he was replaced by John Stafford, a monk of Burton [abbey].

In the same year Aymer, the [half-] brother of the lord king and the bishop elect of Winchester, who had been banished from England for homicide by the council of the whole of England, was ordained priest by the lord pope on the eve of the feast of

[1] Richard de Clare, the aforementioned survivor of the poisoning incident, see p. 145 above.

[2] It was rumoured that Eleanor had stirred up the discontent leading to the Provisions of Oxford, by encouraging the English and Savoyard factions of the government to take steps towards expelling the Lusignan elements.

[3] As the work of Matthew Paris finishes in 1259, from this point onwards, the Dunstable annals constitute the most detailed and certainly original historical narrative to survive for many events. The return of Henry III from France is a case in point.

Pre-publication copy

the Trinity [29 May], and the following day consecrated as bishop. He died in Paris around the feast of St Michael. [1]

In the same year, around the nativity of the blessed Mary [8 September], came the death of John Crakehall, archdeacon of Bedford and then treasurer of the lord king.

Also the monks of Bardney presented to the church at Eddlesborough master David of St Frideswide's, who was then archdeacon of Derby. He entered that church by proxy, and held the living for a time. But Walter Rudham came on the scene with a force of armed men. He threw out the others, seized the church by force, and held on to it by means of a provision made in his favour.

Then the abbot [Hugh of Sulgrave] and monks of Ramsey presented to the church at Sullington master Roger Ravingenham, who was then archdeacon of Huntingdon. He entered the church boldly, took possession of it, and kept it peacefully.

In the same year lord Edward crossed the sea to foreign parts with a large retinue of knights to take part in a tournament. The prince, together with all his company, came off badly in many places, suffered many wounds in his body and completely lost the horses, [217] weapons and other things which he had taken there.

In the same year after Christmas the lord king went into the Tower of London and greatly strengthened it.[2] He locked the gates of the city and told the magnates to come to a parliament at the Tower. They refused and told the king that, if he was agreeable, they would come to Westminster, the usual meeting place of parliaments, but to nowhere else. So a great difference of opinion had sprung up between them.

In the same year [Alexander III] the king of Scotland came to London. He brought with him his pregnant wife [Margaret], the daughter of the king of England. After staying in London for a few days, King Alexander asked permission and departed from the lord king, but left his wife with her mother until she gave birth. And she gave birth to a daughter at Windsor.[3]

1261

In the year of grace 1261 the magnates provided and appointed the sheriffs and magistrates throughout almost the whole of England, contrary to the power and wishes of the lord king. They deposed the sheriffs and bailiffs appointed by the king and refused to obey them on any matter.[4]

[1] Aymer de Valence, elected 4 November 1250, but not consecrated until 16 May 1260; he then died on 4 December the same year. Aymer was of the Lusignan faction, and his election to the see of Winchester was much contested. He had been driven out of England by the barons after refusing to support the Provisions of Oxford, but petitioned Pope Alexander to support his claim to the bishopric, which the latter duly did. As it says here, he died in December 1260 on his way back to England to take up his post.

[2] The continuator of Matthew Paris mentions the king shutting himself up in the Tower and fortifying it. He adds that Henry broke open the treasure chests and squandered their contents, calling on Londoners aged twelve upwards to come and support him at his expense: V, pp. 335–6.

[3] Margaret (1261–1283), who later married Eric II of Norway.

[4] The appointment of sheriffs in the localities became a play for regional support in growing tensions between the king and his barons. For a more detailed account of replacing sheriffs in 1262, see H. W. Ridgeway, 'What Happened in 1261?', in Jobson (ed.), *Baronial Reform*, 103–5.

Pre-publication copy

At this time the earl of Gloucester as an apostate left the party of Simon de Montfort and the other magnates, with whom he had sworn an oath of alliance, in order that he might preserve the good laws of the land. When Simon de Montfort heard of this, he left England, saying that he preferred to die without a country than to perjure himself and become a liar.[1]

1262

In the year of grace 1262, in the fifteen days of Easter [from 9 April], the justices itinerant came to Bedford. They were the knights Nicholas Turri, Robert Bruce, William Englefield, William Bonquer and Adam Grenville. They were in session for three weeks and more. At their court, through twelve free and law-abiding men, we established and made good our right to the patronage of Harlington church against Ralph Pirot, the nephew of Richard [218] Pirot, who stoutly argued against this but who, to his great confusion, was defeated once and for all.

Also, before the same justices, William Pirot brought a case against us concerning the right of presentation to the church at Pulloxhill. William Pirot relied on the advice and help of a lawyer of great subtlety called Henry Borham, whom Ralph Pirot had presented to the church of Harlington in opposition to us. William also used the advice of master John Fraversham, to whom he had given as a perpetual possession himself, his wife and all the lands, revenues and belongings which he then had. Advised by him, William said that we had no right to Pulloxhill church except through John Pirot his grandfather, and that John Pirot had no such right except through his wife.

In the end William Pirot agreed with us that we had the right to the patronage of Pulloxhill church, and himself admitted that this was so in the presence of the justices. For himself and for his heirs he resigned the patronage to us, and quit his claim to it for ever. We ourselves granted to master John in perpetuity two shillings a year from our treasury on the feast of Pentecost [28 May], for the good of peace and so that master John might loyally act as our counsellor.

Also John de Esserugge, through a writ of the lord king, brought a suit against us for forty acres of land at Wadlow. Because we did not have a complete defence, we gave him two marks and obtained a charter from him.

Also at these sessions Colin Cook of Harlington brought against us a suit for ten acres of land and crops illegally carried off. We settled the matter for two and a half marks, and Cook himself, in his own writing, completely resigned his right and claim to the land and the harvested crops.

Also in the same year, within the fifteen days of St John Baptist [from 24 June], the lord King Henry, the son of King John, crossed the sea with his wife and his own private

[1] Richard de Clare was more moderate than Simon, and as a result switched sides a number of times during the conflict. The Osney annalist corroborates Simon's departure, suggesting that he did not want to be a part of the agreement made between the barons and king, pp. 128–9.

Preliminary copy

household. Hardly anyone on this side of the sea knew the reason for his journey, and there was much fear that trouble would result from it.[1]

Also in the same year in the month of June, lord Edward, the son of King Henry, was badly [219] knocked about and seriously wounded in a tournament overseas.

Also in the month of June in the same year came the deaths of Henry Wingham, bishop of London, and of Richard, earl of Gloucester.

In the same year, around the time of the feast of St John the Baptist [24 June], we had a beer failure. We bought on credit from Henry Chadde twenty pounds worth of malt, and also five casks of wine worth ten marks. Also from the previous feast of St Michael [29 September] we bought oats for sowing and forty quarters of them for our own horses and others. Besides this, from the octave of the Purification up to the time of the new grain we gave bread for food to our own horses and others.

While the king was still in foreign parts, there died there Baldwin de Insula,[2] Ingelram Percy and up to sixty others of the king's household. The king himself was dangerously ill with a quartan fever and almost died. Then Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, was poisoned at the table of Peter of Savoy, the uncle of the king. William Beauchamp died in the same way.[3]

At the same time Pope Urban [IV] gave the see of Winchester to master John of Exeter.[4] On the advice of the new bishop the king returned to England to convalesce in his native air. He arrived at the French coast, crossed the Channel on the Wednesday before Christmas [20 December] and landed at Dover. Then he went to Canterbury and celebrated Christmas there.[5]

At the same time there died Ralph, a canon of Studham, and Richard, a canon of Dedington.

At the same time at Dunstable, on the Saturday before the feast of St Nicholas [2 December], Prior Geoffrey of his own free will surrendered his office of prior into the hands of Richard, bishop of Lincoln.[6] [220] Through brothers Simon Eton and Henry Newton the priory asked for and obtained from the lord king licence to elect a new prior. The whole body of the monks put this appointment into the hands of Reginald Reding, Simon Eton, William Briton, Thomas Leirton, William Hann, Henry Newton and Richard Mentmore. And these men, acting for the whole community, unanimously chose Simon Eton as prior in the octave of Epiphany [6 January] in the same year. And before the next Friday [14 January], Simon had obtained confirmation from the bishop and ownership of the priory's lands and possessions from the lord king. He was installed as

1 The Osney annalist notes that the king left for France on 7 July, but offers no reason for his departure, p. 130. The Worcester annalist adds that he was unwell at the time, p. 448. Upon his return from France he remained at Westminster in poor health for three months. Carpenter, *Reign of Henry III*, pp. 253–4.

2 Baldwin de Redvers, earl of Devon.

3 This is the second time that the annals relate the story of Richard being poisoned; his brother was said to have died of poisoning while he recovered at Winchester, p. 145 above.

4 Otherwise known as John Gervais.

5 This is at odds with the information provided by the continuator of Matthew Paris, who says that the royal family spent Christmas in the Tower, V, p. 337.

6 Richard Gravesend (1258–1279).

Pre-publication copy

prior on the day after the feast of SS Fabian and Sebastian [20 January]: on this occasion Peter Aldeham, archdeacon of Bedford, asked the prior for a horse, but did not get one.

At the same time, on the previous day of St Lucy [13 December], Roger of St Albans was admitted by the bishop of Chester to the guardianship of our church, according to the terms of our presentation to it, namely that he should reply to the bishop about matters spiritual and to us about matters temporal, and that he should be called in whenever the standards of our order or the necessities of our house demanded it.

In the same year, around the time of the Purification of the blessed Mary [2 February], when the king was ill at Westminster, coals fell from the fireplace in his bedroom and burnt both his bedroom and the chapel of St Laurence. The fire also spread to the reception room and burnt it.

In the same year there died at Launde [John] the abbot of Peterborough, who was then treasurer to the king. Nicholas, archdeacon of Ely, was made treasurer in his place.

At the same time the king had his magnates summoned to Westminster, so that they might do loyal homage to Edward, his son. Many did so, but Gilbert de Clare refused to follow suit.[1]

You should know [221] that on the day of his installation Prior Simon found that his house was tied by debts owed to various parties, which amounted to as much as five hundred marks. In addition he found that the whole of the wool for the same year had been sold and the money received and spent except for [ ].[2] Also we bought all our oats from the same time up to the following autumn.

In the same year, around the feast of St Gregory [12 March], we received a writ from the lord king, instructing us to set free Laurence Broc from Dunstable jail. Also at that time a man was hung for theft, and others were set free.

1263

In AD 1263 Llywelyn gathered together a very large force. He invaded and burnt the Marches and captured some castles.

In the same year, around the time of the feast of the Finding of the Cross [3 May], on the orders of the lord bishop of Lincoln a settlement was made with our former prior, Sir Geoffrey Barton, about his allowance.

In the same year we bought a part of a wood in Flitwick from Simon, the son of Winart. We also bought half of the pasturage at Brademore from the daughter of Peter Tingrith, paying her for the same with corn as is written in the charter.

In the same year, around the feast of St Mark the evangelist [25 April], Simon de Montfort returned to England and, without the king and his council knowing about it, there assembled for a parliament at Oxford Richard then king of Germany, Simon de Montfort, [John] earl of Surrey, Gilbert de Clare and several other barons.[3] There

[1] This demonstration of authority and loyalty marked a temporary upturn in the king's support, and was possibly inspired by his own recent illness; no doubt he wanted to ensure the barons would recognise Edward as future king.

[2] Blank in the manuscript.

[3] This was arguably the first episode of the Second Barons' War.

Pre-publication copy

it was decided that all who opposed the Provisions of Oxford should be held to be public enemies, just as it had been laid down in those Provisions of Oxford on another occasion by the lord king and the barons, and confirmed by them in writing. When Earl Simon and the others put these demands before the lord king, he did not accept their decision. The earl then assembled an army beyond [222] counting, aided in his plans and actions by the earl of Surrey, Henry the son of the king of Germany,[1] Hugh Despenser,[2] Henry Hastings,[3] Roger Clifford, John fitz John, Roger Leyburne,[4] Gilbert de Clare, John Vaux, John Giffard, Hamund Estrange, Nicholas Seagrave,[5] Geoffrey de Lucy and countless others. They first attacked Peter, bishop of Hereford, took him prisoner and plundered all his property.[6] They did the same to the manors and possessions of Geoffrey Langley,[7] inflicting these lootings and losses on none but foreigners,[8] and on these because they had advised the overthrow of the Provisions of Oxford or had helped in an attempt to do this or had refused, when summoned, to appear before them. They regarded all of these as oath-breakers and called them criminals. They seized as plunder all the possessions of these people wherever they found them, as well as the lands and churches held by foreigners, which they gave away to new owners and new appointees. But this was contrary to the laws and could not stand.

At the same time, around the feast of the blessed Augustine [28 August], apostle to the English, the king and the queen went to the Tower of London, while lord Edward remained at the hospital at Clerkenwell.[9] For all of them the money in the coffers was running out, and there was no one who would lend them a penny on credit. But lord Edward was unwilling to live a life without honour, and so, helped by Robert Walramp and many others, on the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul [29 June] he approached the locked doors of the New Temple. The keys were given to him at his request, as he said he wished to see the jewels of the queen, his mother. He summoned the guardian of the treasury of the Temple and he and his band entered the treasury with criminal intent. They broke open the money chests of various people with iron hammers which they had brought with them, and Edward seized a great deal of money amounting

1 And, therefore, nephew of the king.

2 Hugh Despenser, First Baron le Despenser.

3 Henry Hastings was made First Baron of Hastings in 1264 by Simon de Montfort.

4 Roger Leyburne, whose father of the same name took part in the First Barons' War against John.

5 Grandson of the chief justiciar Stephen Segrave who is a prominent character in the above annals.

6 Paris' continuator explains further why the bishop of Hereford was targeted: he was a 'Burgundian by birth'. The barons raided the cathedral, dividing the money between them, and took the bishop to Ordeley castle, III, p. 340.

7 A knight on the king's side who later accompanied Edward I on crusade.

8 One of the main causes for dissent among the English barons was the crowding of the English royal court with foreign advisors, particularly those related to the Lusignans, so it is hardly surprising that these 'aliens' were their first targets. Compare the Osney annalist's version of these events; pp. 134–9, Worcester, pp. 448–9, and Waverley, p. 355.

9 He was not ill; this was a defensive position should hostilities escalate further.

Pre-publication copy

to as much as one thousand pounds and had it taken from the treasury.[1] After he had perpetrated this crime, the citizens of London rose [223] in revolt against him and others of the king's council who were staying in the city. They actually invaded the mansion of John de Grey just outside Ludgate, and took off his thirty-two horses and everything else they found there. John himself with the greatest difficulty fled to safety beyond the river Fleet. The citizens did the same to the houses and property of Simon Passelewe.

At the same time John Mansel embarked on the Thames from the Tower of London with the countess de Insula[2] and came by ship to Wissant. There he had lord Henry [of Almain], the son of the king of Germany, captured and detained by Sir Ingelram Feines. Lord Henry, who was crossing the channel at Wissant on business, was later set free by the king of France and returned to England.

At the same time we bought our freedom from our bonds to John Elston and Walter Goode.

In the same year, on the day of St Mildred [13 July], the queen embarked on to the Thames from the Tower, wishing to go to Windsor. She got by boat as far as London bridge, but there she was ignominiously assaulted by the Londoners, who even threw stones at her and her men, as well as shameful and abusive taunts. She was with difficulty rescued by the mayor of London and compelled by necessity to return to the Tower. The king did not allow her to come into the Tower, but had her escorted safely by [Thomas] mayor of London to St Paul's, where she lodged in the bishop's apartments.[3]

In the meantime, the bishops of Lincoln, London[4] and Chester were trying to bring about a peace between the lord king in the Tower and the barons who were in Dover. They were told by Earl Simon and the barons that they would never agree to peace unless the lord king and the queen first set free lord Henry [son of Richard of Cornwall], who had been taken prisoner in foreign parts; unless they opened to them Dover [224] castle and all other castles; unless they totally cleaned England of foreigners; and unless they had the Provisions of Oxford more fully observed, and gave good security that this would be so. The king was in a tight spot, and agreed.[5]

When the earl[6] and the barons heard this, the earl came from Dover to London, and was received with honour and the greatest delight by the citizens. He went to the tower, greeted the king and asked whether he had agreed to the proposed terms and was willing to abide by them. The king replied 'Yes,' and on this matter he had a charter written which said that persons selected for the task should by their words increase

1 This theft has been debated by historians: was it actually royal money? Was Edward acting on Henry's orders? For more details, see Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (Berkeley, CA, 1988), p. 39 n. 59.

2 Isabella, sister of the late earl Baldwin de Redvers, wife of William of Forz, earl of Aumale.

3 Eleanor was disliked by the citizens of London, both for her role in introducing so many foreign 'Savoyards' into the country, and for insisting on collecting a 'queen's gold' customary payment from them. See Margaret Howell, 'The Resources of Eleanor of Provence as Queen Consort', *English Historical Review*, 102 (1987), 372–93 for further detail.

4 Richard Gravesend and Henry of Sandwich respectively.

5 The Waverley annalist gives Queen Eleanor a leading role in this, saying that she agreed to the terms initially but changed her mind, forcing the king to do the same, p. 355.

6 The annalist often refers to Simon de Montfort as simply 'the earl'.

Proof Publication Copy

or reduce the Provisions of Oxford, just as was conducive to the advantage of the king and the kingdom. After this the lord king gave orders by letter that Dover castle and the other castles should be given into the keeping of the barons, although it was with great difficulty that Windsor castle, where Prince Edward was in command, was handed over to the king and the barons. For it was only done on condition that all the foreigners in it should be able to depart as free men with their horses and weapons, after the foreigners had first taken an oath that they would not return again, unless summoned by the whole community.[1]

Next, so that the assent of the whole community might be sought, all bishops, earls, barons, abbots and priors were summoned by letters from the lord king to a parliament to be held on the day after the feast of the nativity of the blessed Mary [9 September]. And in the church of St Paul in London in the presence of all the above and of lord Edward and other magnates the recent charter of the king was read out, and they all gave their assent to it, as did Prince Edward.

In the meantime Prince Edward, who had lost three castles to the earl [of Derby], Robert de Ferrers,[2] together with some other men who had been robbed of their property, decided to rise against the despoilers. But it was then decreed by the baronial council and put in a written document that the lord king and his justices chosen for the purpose should give the full satisfaction of the law to all those who had been despoiled and were complaining about their despoilers.

While this [225] was happening, the lord king and queen secretly arranged with the king of France that he should summon themselves, Prince Edward, the earl and some others to meet with him at Boulogne in the next octave of St Michael [from 29 September], so that the question of who was wronging whom should be more fully examined.[3] And there, when the lord king and queen, Prince Edward, the earl, and many other nobles were present, the king and the queen made serious accusations against the earl, concerning the injuries, imprisonments, seizures of castles and lootings of churches which had been inflicted upon themselves and their people in their kingdom. In his reply to these accusations, taken as a whole and individually, Simon completely satisfied the wishes of the lord king of France on the matter. He was then allowed to leave and returned with honour to England so that, within the fifteen days of St Michael mentioned above, he could make decisions about the Provisions of Oxford, together with the others elected for this purpose.[4]

Many Londoners and also many Welshmen gathered in arms for this day. But Prince Edward refused to agree with the decisions and left the parliament and made for

[1] For a more detailed discussion of Henry's 'Statute against Aliens', see D. A. Carpenter, 'King Henry III's Statute against Aliens: July 1263', *English Historical Review*, 107 (1992), 925–44 (repr. in *Reign of Henry III*, pp. 261–80).

[2] Robert III de Ferrers, earl of Derby. Paris' continuator adds that he also took the city of Worcester, killing Jews and plundering as he went, III, p. 340.

[3] The barons thought the enmity between the two kings would help their cause; Henry hoped as a fellow king Louis would support him.

[4] This not actually true, as will be seen below; the king of France sided with the king of England against Simon de Montfort. It would seem that Dunstable priory sided with Simon though, possibly having been won over by him during his visit the same year (see below).

Pre-publication copy

Windsor, as did the king and many others. The earl and his party took up quarters in the Tower of London. They ejected from London the earl of Surrey, Hugh Bigod and others of the king's party and closed the gates of the city. After a short time the earl went to Kenilworth. In the meanwhile Prince Edward won over very many, who formerly had been with the earl, by giving his manors to them. They were the earl of Surrey, Henry [of Almain] the son of the king of Germany, Roger Clifford, Roger Leyburne, John Vaux, Hamund Estraunge and others.

At the same time the king summoned a parliament at Reading. The earl did not attend, because he feared he might be taken prisoner. The king, acting on advice given to him, now withdrew to Dover with a large force of armed men, so that he might receive the surrender of the castle there, which was in the hands of Richard de Grey. The king arrived at the gates and asked to be admitted, but admission was refused.

When the earl [226] heard that the king was heading for Dover, he set off from Kenilworth for London. He received homage from the burgesses of Northampton as he passed through it, and so came on his journey to Dunstable. He was met by Simon, the prior of Dunstable. They greeted each other and when the earl asked to be admitted to the fraternity of the priory, the prior gave his assent and admitted him.[1] And so the earl came to London, as he wished with his men to encounter the king at Dover. But the king had been unable to gain entrance into Dover castle, and so was returning through the Weald, where he was met by some citizens of London, who faithfully promised him that the earl would not gain entrance if he came to London.

The king and Edward were overjoyed to hear this and, as they were now sure that they would capture the earl and his men who were at Southwark, the king summoned the earl to surrender. But the earl replied that he would never surrender to perjurers and apostates. When the earl saw that his force was so much smaller than the king's that resistance was impossible, he wished to enter the city, but the gates were closed, and he could not do so. Weighing up all this, the earl had himself and his men armed and in the name of the Lord had himself and the others signed with the cross in the front and behind.[2] As they waited they confessed their sins and all received the body of Christ, prepared to wait for the arrival of their enemies and to fight for the truth against them. When it was heard in the city that the earl was shut out, the citizens immediately broke down the gates, and the earl and his men entered. The opposition faction was completely bewildered when it heard of this.

While this was going on, the king gave to Roger Mortimer[3] three of the earl's towns from the Marches. Mortimer looted the towns, took the earl's bailiff prisoner, and kept him in custody until he paid a ransom of a hundred marks.

[1] Again, this demonstrates how well-placed Dunstable priory was and how details of many of the events recorded in the annals came to be known.

[2] This was a custom performed by those vowing to go on crusade. The implication here is that Simon de Montfort is escalating his cause to the level of Holy War, with the suggestion that Henry and the royalists are the enemies of God and the Catholic Church.

[3] First baron Mortimer, loyal supporter of Henry III throughout the war.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year, on the feast of St Michael [29 September], the canon called William Waterford died.[1]

After all this, at the intervention of some of the bishops, the king and the earl next agreed [227] on the compromise of abiding by the verdict of the king of France on all matters of controversy which had arisen because of the Provisions of Oxford.[2] The earl set off on his journey from Kenilworth to France to hear the king of France's decision, but his saddle-horse fell near Catesby and the earl broke a leg. So he returned to Kenilworth, and sent some clever clerics and laymen to hear the French king's decision for the barons. The king of England, with Prince Edward, crossed the sea in his own person. In mid-channel such a terrifying, violent storm arose that Prince Edward in his panic poured out prayer after prayer. They landed at Wissant only after very great difficulty. It was said that the king of France, under pressure from his wife and from the queen of England, forgot his honour as a king, went beyond the powers granted to him and pronounced against the barons in the dispute over the Provisions of Oxford and in all other matters, even when they had nothing to do with the Provisions. He had neither God nor the truth before his eyes as he did this.[3]

During all this, the earl and the barons refused to abide by such a diktat and the earl sent his two sons, Simon and Henry,[4] who were both knights, with a very large force of armed men to take vengeance for their father on the castles and towns of Roger Mortimer. The two sons looted and burnt them.

Next the sons of the earl came to Gloucester. The city was rapidly surrendered to them, but the castle, in which were the wives of Roger Clifford and Roger Leyburne and others, remained under the charge of the earl of Hereford.[5] And while the earl's sons were besieging the castle and most of their troops had drifted off to nearby places for some leisure time, Prince Edward with his men secretly entered Gloucester right through the middle of those that were left. Seeing such a modest force, he wished his own men to attack on the following day and gave them his instructions.

But the barons [228], being afraid of their small numbers, sent for [Robert] earl of Derby and others who were nearby, and they came with all speed. Now Henry and John fitz John and very many others of the magnates who were not knights, chose to die as knights rather than as squires, and, when ready for battle, received the belt of knighthood on the field.

[1] This entry is found in the margin of the manuscript.

[2] The Provisions of Oxford are dealt with on p. 143 above. The manuscript has the following passage here, crossed out: 'Et idem rex extendens se ultra potestatem sibi datam, de statutis et omnibus aliis dixit contra barones, honoris proprii non reminiscens.' It is then rewritten in the right place 13 lines down the page. This is further evidence to support the idea that the surviving manuscript of these annals was a fair copy, as this is a common mistake made by copyists.

[3] The annalist was clearly on the side of the barons again during this second war against the English monarch.

[4] Simon de Montfort's first- and second-born sons.

[5] Humphrey de Bohun. Prestwich says that they gained access to the town by a ruse, pretending to be wool traders; *Edward I*, 42. Paris' continuator says that Gloucester castle fell to Simon de Montfort after just four days' siege, V, pp. 340–1.

Pre-publication copy

But when Prince Edward saw the unexpected arrival of considerable reinforcements, he was sore afraid and came out to the barons, unarmed and with Henry, the son of the king of Germany, and others. In the presence of [Walter] bishop of Worcester, he offered peace to the barons and asked for a truce until the day after the feast of St Gregory [3 September], so that he might arrange through his father, the lord king, for this peace and the wishes of the barons in all matters to last unbroken until a day to be agreed upon. Henry de Montfort stood as surety for this and bound himself to it.

And so through Henry [de Montfort], the son of the earl, a bad concession was made, contrary to the wishes of his allies. For the suitability of the place, the time, and many other factors gave the barons a great opportunity of capturing their enemies or throwing them into confusion. So, with these pledges given on both sides, the barons' army returned to Kenilworth, while Prince Edward broke the terms of the arranged peace by capturing and imprisoning burgesses of Gloucester and robbing them of all their property. He then returned to Oxford, where the king was staying, and sent out William de Valence and others in all directions to plunder the countryside and especially the estates of his enemies.[1]

The earl went red with anger at the thought that Prince Edward had been let go so foolishly, and sharply criticised his son Henry for this. The barons indeed were greatly upset that Prince Edward had not kept to a day as in the agreement described above, and prepared to march with a force beyond counting to London, so that they might discuss their next move with their allies, the Londoners.

1264

In AD 1264 [229] the king in the meantime sent his messengers throughout the whole of England. They delivered a summons to all who owed the king service, that they should come to meet him at Oxford with horses and arms in the middle of Lent.[2] Having held discussions with his adherents, the king firstly (so it is said) got three bishops who were present there and twenty-four priests to excommunicate all those who were against the Provisions of Oxford and who had looted sacred places or who had robbed monks or priests of their property. Next, on the Thursday, he had his banners unfurled with the dragon going in front,[3] and marched from Oxford to Northampton. He wanted to know who would deny him access, especially since the barons had control of the town and had given charge of the castle to Sir Roger Wauton. For there were inside the town Simon de Montfort the younger, Peter de Montfort, Ralph Pirot, Hugh Gobion, Osbert Giffard, Simon Pateshull and several others.

[1] Again, Dunstable is clearly aligning itself with the barons' cause.

[2] Nominally this call to arms was to raise an army to fight the Welsh, but it was really a cover for raising a royalist army to combat de Montfort. Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 42–3. As Easter fell on 20 April, this would probably have been during the first week of April.

[3] Henry III had had this banner made in 1244, of 'red samite with eyes of sapphire and a fiery tongue': Robert W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners: Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge, 2010), p.44.

Pre-publication copy

On Friday men of the king's party came to the town and asked for admittance but were refused it. Then on the Saturday the king went up to the gate with some of his men, and was admitted with a procession, while others of his army made for those town walls which enclose the garden of the prior of St Andrew. This prior, it was said, had maliciously weakened these walls by some means and had told the king and his men about it. So it was here that the king's army made a major effort and fiercely assaulted the walls. Simon de Montfort, the younger, was told about it, and, although a large part of the wall had already fallen, he resisted manfully and manfully drove back the first and second attacks, helped by Ingram Balliol and a squire. But when he wanted to drive them back a third time and could not do so, he led a fierce charge out of the town, with himself fighting manfully in the middle of the mêlée. Then his horse fell backwards and he was honourably taken prisoner, together with his allies. When the others on his side saw this, some of them shamefully took refuge in the church, while [230] others retreated to the castle. But what tale is there to tell? They were all captured and kept under guard, while those of the king's party plundered the houses of the burgesses and all the other citizens down to the last penny.[1]

John Giffard took prisoner the earl of Warwick, his countess[2] and several others.[3] Prince Edward burnt the manors of the barons who lived round about, and captured Tutbury castle. The wapentake of Wirksworth offered him two hundred pounds to prevent him setting fire to it. They paid ten of these pounds for Bradbourne church on behalf of [Simon] prior of Dunstable.

The earl was in London at this time. He and his men prepared to march to Northampton, but when they arrived at St Albans the earl was informed that the Jews of London had raised a rebellion in the city. At this sudden news he returned and found that the Jews possessed Greek fire, with which they intended to set fire to the city on the eve of Palm Sunday [12 April]. They had acquired counterfeit keys to all the city gates, and, so it was said, they also had underground passages to every gate. In this situation the earl had all the Jews killed from the youngest to the oldest except for some elders, whom he wanted to question further, and except for those willing to receive baptism. Gilbert de Clare did the same to the Jews of Canterbury.[4]

While this was going on, the earl marched to Rochester castle, in which were hiding the earl of Surrey, another earl, Roger Leyburne, Reginald fitz Peter and several others. These men would have been ready to enter the city of London, as soon as the Greek fire had been applied to it, and to seize and destroy it. When Earl Simon reached Rochester, the burgesses broke down the bridge and also on their side had it fortified against [231] attack. But the earl cunningly set fire to the fortified section and captured

[1] This is a very anti-royalist version of events, with the king's victory being ascribed to underhand tactics as opposed to military skill. It is interesting to compare this with the taking of Gloucester (above) where trickery was used by the barons to gain access, and yet no mention of this is made in the annals.

[2] Alice, daughter of Gilbert Segrave.

[3] Written in the margin.

[4] For further details of attacks on Jews at this time by Simon de Montfort and the barons (many of whom were indebted to them), see Stacey, 'English Jews', pp. 52–3.

Proof Illustration Copy

the town with an armed force, first killing four or five burgesses. He then set siege to the castle and on the first day captured the outer bailey. He stayed on, as he was anxious to make a spirited attempt with his Londoners to capture the tower.

The king was at Nottingham, and he hurried with his army to lift the siege of Rochester castle. Meanwhile Earl Simon was told that London would be surrendered to Prince Edward by some rebels, unless he arrived there speedily. On hearing this, the earl abandoned the siege and returned in haste to London. He found that the news about these rebels was true, and so took hostages from them, in order that in future they might be loyal to the barons.

After the king arrived in the Rochester area, the earl left London with his army, with the rebels marching at the front, and pursued the king and Edward, his son, who were making for the sea coast. Indeed, while the king and the prince were at Lewes with their army, the earl discussed peace terms with them, first through some knights, and a second and a third time through bishops.

While this was happening, on the day of St Fremund [11 May] at evening time, some thieves in the fields around Sewell drove off towards Luton the almoner's sheep, despite the resistance of the shepherds. When the news reached Dunstable, some priory servants with men from the town arrested the two men with the sheep at Sewell. The next day the men were lawfully hanged at Passecumbe.

On the same day twenty or more armed men on horseback with several others on foot turned up at Segenhoe. They stole whatever they could find in the houses of the prior and Henry Norwood and Walter Beyvin. The local people followed them with hue and cry and on the same day at Beaulieu captured seventeen of the armed men with all the stolen goods. Later they were rashly allowed to depart by the prior of the place.

On the same day, 14 May, [232] the lord king of England, Richard king of Germany and Prince Edward with all their army were at Lewes. They would not accept any form of peace.[1] The earl of Leicester with his men had God and justice before his eyes, and chose to die for the truth rather than be false to his sworn oath. He followed the advice of the bishops and other men of religion, and advanced towards the king and his army to fight the battles of the Lord, protected by his faith. Once they had begun to fight each other, Sir Henry Hastings, Geoffrey Lucy and Humphrey de Bohun the younger were wounded, while the Londoners all turned tail and fled to London, leaving the earl and Gilbert de Clare and John fitz John and a few others with their contingents on the field. And now, although the lord king had four times as many men as the earl of Leicester and men of higher rank,[2] a miracle happened. The earl and his men, strengthened by help from God, captured the king of England, the king of Germany, Edward the son of the king,[3] Henry son of the king of Germany,[4] Philip

[1] Paris' continuator copies into his work the letters written by the barons, Henry III, and Richard, king of Germany whilst in Lewes, V, pp. 344–6.

[2] All the sources agree that the barons were outnumbered; this is not just literary convention to make the coming victory more miraculous.

[3] This name has been crossed out in the manuscript.

[4] This name has been crossed out in the manuscript.

Pre-publication copy

Basset, the earl of Hereford,[1] Roger Leyburne[2] and very many other barons. In fact they captured all they found, except for John earl of Surrey, Hugh Bigod, Roger Mortimer[3] and William de Valence, for these fled to Pevensey, and except for Roger Mortimer, John Balliol, Roger Clifford, Roger Leyburne, Hamund Estraunge and certain others who were allowed to depart, once Prince Edward and Prince Henry, the son of the king of Germany, had been left behind as hostages for the king and those who had departed, guaranteeing that they would come to a parliament when summoned and stand trial before their peers.[4]

The earl of Leicester, the earl of Gloucester and the others with them left Lewes and went to Canterbury with the king. [233] They dispatched Prince Edward and Henry, the son of the king of Germany, to Dover, to be guarded in the castle there as hostages. Then the barons, fearing their presence might lead to a revolt, sent them on to Wallingford. The king of Germany, who had been under guard in the Tower of London, was later transferred to Wallingford.

In the same year, around the feast of St John Baptist [c.24 June], the barons heard that the queen of England, who was still overseas, had been worried and greatly pained and distressed at the outcome of the battle, and so had solicited the help of the king of France, Peter of Savoy and other foreign magnates. Because of her very persistent prayers and many promises and still more bribes, an armed force beyond counting had been brought to the coast, so that it might cross the channel and land in England for the overthrow and complete destruction of all the English. So, on the advice of his barons, the king of England had letters of command sent to all the counties of England, saying that all the sea coasts lying around England should be guarded by a large force of armed men against the arrival of their enemies from overseas. And this was done in the autumn. For these sea defences even we at Dunstable contributed four men with horses and arms and six foot-soldiers. Besides this we gave the tenth for the total valuation of our churches, although their vicars made no contribution together with us. Leaving out the purchase of horses and arms, we spent thirty marks altogether. Meanwhile, as foreigners overseas and native Englishmen this side stood opposed to each other, messengers were sent by both sides and peace discussions were held.

In the same year and at the same time the queen of England and the king and queen of France procured a well-equipped legate from the apostolic see,[5] who was to come to England wielding the power of a two-edged sword: with the one edge he would depose the bishops who were unwilling to excommunicate the barons of England,

1 Humphrey de Bohun.

2 This name has been crossed out in the manuscript.

3 This name has been crossed out in the manuscript.

4 The precise details of the agreement reached after the Battle of Lewes are not known though there is much discussion about what is known as 'The Mise of Lewes'; see J. R. Maddicott, 'The Mise of Lewes, 1264', *English Historical Review*, 98 (1983), 508–603; D. A. Carpenter, 'Simon de Montfort and the Mise of Lewes', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 58, no. 137 (1985), 1–11 (repr. in *The Reign of Henry III*, pp. 281–92).

5 Gui Foulquois, the future Pope Clement IV.

Pre-publication copy

and with the other edge he could disinherit up to thirty barons. In addition he could totally destroy [234] the Provisions of Oxford and the peace entered upon by the lord king and the barons.[1]

When the legate was in Boulogne, so it was said, and sitting in his consistory court, he summoned by proclamation the bishops of London, Lincoln, Worcester, Chester, Salisbury and Chichester,[2] [Walter Giffard] the bishop elect of Bath and various other clergy of lower rank. When these churchmen heard the rumours about the summons, they wished to make every effort to cross the sea to visit the legate, but the barons barred their passage and the passage of their proxies.[3] So, having obtained with difficulty the barons' permission, they sent across to the legate genuine bearers of excuses equipped with genuine reasons for their excuses. These bearers put before the legate on behalf of their lord bishops the genuine reasons for the excuses, but the legate did not accept them and took umbrage against the bearers for many reasons. And so the bearers because of their genuine reasons appealed in writing to the apostolic see or to the general council on behalf of their lords and on behalf of the whole clergy of England. On the Sunday after the feast of St Luke the evangelist [19 October], when the whole body of the clergy was summoned to Westminster, there was unanimous approval of this appeal.[4]

We admitted Robert Pulloxhill and Edmund Trel as canons.

In the same year Roger Mortimer, Roger Clifford, Roger Leyburne and the others who had departed from Lewes after hostages had been given to the earl, came to the Marches. They seized the castles of Gloucester, Bridgnorth, Marlborough and very many others and plundered the surrounding countryside, being keener to break the peace than to keep it. When the lord king heard of their rash behaviour, on the advice of the earls of Leicester and Gloucester and the other barons, he sent letters of summons through all the counties of England, giving orders that all who owed him military [235] service should be prepared with horses and arms to set out with him for Northampton sometime during the fifteen days after the feast of St Martin [11 November] on a day to be decided by him.

In the same year and at the same time Robert de Ferrers, the earl of Derby, taking with him many horsemen and up to twenty thousand foot-soldiers, advanced towards Chester. While on his way, he was met by William la Zouche, David the brother of Llywelyn, James Audley and many others. But these did not dare to fight a battle with the earl of Derby and ran away. The earl chased after them with his men and killed about a hundred of them and took some prisoner. None of his own men were wounded apart from one.

1 The introduction of a papal legate into this to help resolve the situation is given here in more detail than any other contemporary account.

2 Henry of Sandwich, Richard Gravesend, Walter Cantilupe, (Chester unknown), Walter de la Wyle, and Stephen Bersted, respectively.

3 The barons also blocked the legate's entry into England, thereby limiting his efficacy in reaching a resolution.

4 The Dunstable annalist gives the only known account of this last stage in the negotiations; for the circumstances leading up to this, see *Councils and Synods*, pp. 694–700.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year, on the Sunday in the octave of the blessed Martin [16 November], we received Ralph Tingrith as a canon, and Ralph Bray as a lay brother.

In the same year Roger Mortimer and the others to whom Prince Edward had been given into custody were summoned to come to a parliament at Oxford, but, fearing for their lives, they failed to attend it. When the lord king heard of this, he set out for the Marches with Earl Simon and the other barons on the joint enterprise of warring down the rebels, but they found that all bridges across the Severn had been completely destroyed by the rebels.[1] Just when the king and the earl with their men were ready to cross the Severn by some means or other, the rebels came to the parliament. Here Roger Mortimer, Roger Clifford, Roger Leyburne and certain other accomplices of theirs were sentenced to exile from England for a year or more.[2] Then they decided upon a parliament in London, where in common council they could discuss the release of Prince Edward, the keeping of the Provisions of Oxford, the sending of justices throughout England with the task of investigating the unlawful robberies, and other means by which the state of the kingdom could be improved.

A day for the parliament was arranged within the octave of St Hilary [after 14 January]. Present at it were the lord king, Simon earl of Leicester, Gilbert [236] earl of Gloucester, bishops and very many other magnates.[3] During the discussion about the release of Prince Edward, the terms of his release were written down as follows:

Henry, by grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, count of Aquitaine, gives greeting to all.[4] *On account of the war that had disturbed our kingdom, with the unanimous agreement and desire of us the king and of Edward our first-born son and of the prelates, earls, barons and the commons of our kingdom, hostages were given for the peace and security of the kingdom, namely the said Edward and Henry, the son of the king of Germany. It was also unanimously agreed that an ordinance, drawn up in London in June in the forty-eighth year of our reign with the unanimous assent of us, the prelates, earls and barons concerning the position of us, the king, and our kingdom, should be inviolably observed. We now wish the whole of you to know that we have sworn on the holy gospels of God that we will faithfully preserve the ordinance and the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom and in no respect contravene the ordinance. Also in this oath it was particularly and expressly added that, as for the cause of the deeds which led up to the oath at the time of the troubles and the war preceding it, we shall not accuse or blame any of those or their party whom we declared war on as enemies, I mean the earls of Leicester and Gloucester and their other followers, and the barons, and our citizens of London and the Cinque Ports, nor shall we claim damages from any of the aforesaid or order or allow any damages at all to be collected by our bailiffs.*

We have also sworn that, as far as we ourselves are concerned, we shall inviolably observe all the conditions that were agreed upon at the liberation of our son and nephew and

[1] Note that the 'rebels' are now the royalist faction.

[2] They were sentenced to exile in Ireland. Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 47.

[3] This was in a sense the beginning of Parliament proper. For a fuller discussion of where this sits within the development of this institution, see Carpenter, 'The Beginnings of Parliament' in *Reign of Henry III*, pp. 381–408, esp. at p. 393.

[4] There is a blank space here in the manuscript.

Pre-Publication Copy

signed with our seal, and that to the best of our ability we shall get them observed by others. Also we agree and it is our express wish that, if we or Edward our son should ever venture in any way to go against this ordinance, our promise or our oath, which God forbid, or to disturb the peace and quiet of our kingdom, or to blame any of those or their party whom we declared war upon for causing the happenings at the time of the disturbance and the war, or to claim damages from any one of them or to get damages paid, then it shall be lawful for all in our kingdom to rise against us and do all in their power to help to inflict injury upon us.

With this present [237] command of ours we want all and sundry to be bound to this course of action, their loyalty and homage made to us notwithstanding. They are not to submit to us in any way but to do all that causes us harm, as if they were in no way our subject. But this is only to be until this particular transgression or misdoing has been made good by suitable satisfaction and is again in accordance with the state required by the conditions of the ordinance and our promise and oath. Once this has been done, they are to become our subjects, as formerly they were.

Now suppose someone else from our kingdom ventures to contravene the ordinance and to disturb the peace and quiet of our kingdom, or provides assistance, advice, agreement or help of any sort to us, or our son Edward or any one else contravening the terms of the ordinance or any one of them. If this becomes known, or if this person is declared guilty by the deliberations of our council and the magnates of our land, it has been decreed and decided with the unanimous assent of us, the king, of Edward our son, and of the earls, barons and commons of our kingdom, that, if he is found, his body is to be made prisoner, or outlawed from our kingdom. And, whether he is found or not, both he and his heirs are to be disinherited for ever, and his lands and holdings are to be treated just like the lands of those convicted of felony are accustomed to be treated according to the law and customs of our land.

In addition to this, with the unanimous desire and agreement of us, the king, Edward our son, prelates, earls, barons and the commons of our kingdom it has been unanimously decided that there should be inviolable observance for ever of both Magna Carta and the Forest Charter, (recently granted by us to the commons of our kingdom, and against whose violators a sentence of excommunication has at our request recently been passed and specially confirmed by the apostolic see) and of all the provisions recently passed by the common consent of us, the king, and the magnates of our land at Worcester, and which we sent out under our seal to the various counties. Of our own accord we bound ourselves to the observance of these provisions by an oath taken on the holy gospels of God. Also we want all justices, sheriffs, and all bailiffs in our kingdom, both ours and those of others, to be bound by such an oath, so that no citizen is obliged to obey anyone's bailiff, unless that bailiff has taken this oath. And if any one in any way ventures to contravene the charters themselves or the above mentioned articles, besides the guilt of perjury and sentence of excommunication which he will incur, he is also to be gravely punished by the verdict of our court, saving only, as is proper, the privilege of the clergy. And because we want all these things to be firmly and inviolably [238] observed, we firmly order, instruct and command all of you that as a body and as individuals you carry out, uphold and inviolably observe every one of the aforesaid things, just as they have been written above. And we command you to bind yourselves in turn to carry out, uphold and observe all these things by taking a corporal oath on the holy gospels of God.

Pre-print draft copy

As witness of this matter, we are sending you under our seal the aforesaid charters and provisions together with these letters patent, and they are to be kept safe in each county as a reminder of the matter by reliable persons chosen for the task. But, so that no one in the future can pretend ignorance of them, we instruct you that they are to be read publicly at a plenary meeting at least twice a year, the first reading to be at the next meeting after the coming feast of Easter, and the second at the next meeting after the feast of St Michael [29 September]. *This process is to be repeated annually.*

Besides what we have said already, we also wish that everyone should inviolably observe and uphold all the other provisions and articles, thus far decided upon by us and the council, which can be observed for the honour of God and the church, for loyalty to us and for the good of our kingdom.

And so that the foregoing requirements, as a whole and in the details, may remain firm and unshaken, at our insistence the reverend fathers who have been appointed bishops in our kingdom have flashed their lightning and declared a sentence of excommunication on all those who knowingly contravene the aforesaid or any part of the aforesaid and effectively attempt to do so. On this point, we of our own freewill have submitted ourselves to their jurisdiction or coercion, unconditionally renouncing our papal privileges obtained in the past or to come in the future, or conceded to us on the initiative of the lord pope or to be conceded in the future. There is a fuller account of this in our letters written on the matter which are in the hands of the aforesaid bishops.

As witness of this matter, we have had these letters patent written. Witnessed by myself at Westminster.

Meanwhile the earl of Gloucester planned to hold a tournament with a great company against Henry [de Montfort], the son of the earl of Leicester, at Dunstable on the Tuesday before Ash Wednesday [4 March]. But the lord king banned the tournament by a letter sent to [Simon] prior of Dunstable.[1]

1265

In AD 1265 they settled on a tournament to be held at Northampton on the second Tuesday after Easter [21 April]. But it was cancelled through the absence of the earl of Gloucester [Gilbert de Clare], who withdrew to the Marches with his Marchers. On realising this, the lord king [239] and the earl of Leicester withdrew from Northampton to Hereford together with Prince Edward.[2] There Prince Edward and the earl of Gloucester joined forces.[3] This was on the advice of Roger Mortimer and other Marcher lords, to whom Prince Edward without permission fled for refuge when he had abandoned the king and Earl Simon. When the earl of Leicester saw this collusion, he advanced with the lord king to the castles of the earl of Gloucester

[1] It was probably cancelled for fear that further hostilities might break out.

[2] This makes it sound as if the king and Simon had joined forces, but in reality, the king was still the earl's captive.

[3] It is thought that the earl of Gloucester helped Edward to escape captivity. Having fought with Simon de Montfort the previous year, Gilbert earl of Gloucester had decided to switch sides, seriously weakening Simon's position.

Pre-Publication Copy

and also destroyed them. Meanwhile the earl of Gloucester broke down the bridges over the Severn, so that no way would lie open for them on their return.[1]

In the same year on 30 July Prince Edward and the earl of Gloucester with their forces came early in the morning to Kenilworth, where Simon de Montfort the younger and many other barons were lodged outside the castle. They took all of them prisoner, except for Simon who got away into the castle.[2]

In the same year, on the following Tuesday, the lord king and Earl Simon, who had returned from the Marches and crossed the Severn, arrived at Evesham. When Prince Edward and the earl of Gloucester appeared in their rear, they could have fled but chose not to, and a battle which would cause great pain was begun between the two sides. Prince Edward's side, with its host beyond counting, won the day.[3] Simon, earl of Leicester, Hugh Despenser and many other magnates were killed on that field.[4] As soon as the battle started, the lord king joined the other side, and after the battle he gave a general permission to the victors to attack and seize the lands and possessions of the vanquished, throwing out their wives and children as they did so. This the victors did.[5] They all by common consent handed these lands over to the king, so that he in person might give possession of these lands to individual people according to their merits.[6]

When they heard of this, Simon de Montfort the younger and John Eyvile and several others who were not at the battle [240] crammed Kenilworth castle with men, arms and food supplies and retreated to the isle of Axholme. Then Prince Edward came to the isle with a large force, laid siege to it and called upon the besieged to put their lives, lands and chattels into his hands if they wished to make peace. The besieged agreed to leave the isle on these terms, provided that good security was given them on the matter.

In the same year, around the feast of All Saints [1 November], the legate Ottobuono came to England.[7] The lord king had summoned a parliament at Northampton, and the legate, on his way there with the lord king and the queen, passed through Dunstable. At the parliament discussions were held about the reception of Simon the younger, John Eyvile and the others who were coming from the island to make peace. But,

1 This blocking of the Severn crossings is also recorded by the Waverley annalist, pp. 362–3.

2 For more details on the siege of Kenilworth, see, the annals of Worcester, p. 454, Osney, pp. 166–7, Winchester, pp. 102–3, Waverley, pp. 363–4; and Paris' continuator, pp. 353–5.

3 Though the tone is a little melodramatic here, many supporters had indeed flocked to Edward following his escape. He had promised to implement reform, something which many felt Simon had been making little progress in since Lewes. Simon had formed an alliance with the Welsh leader Llywelyn ap Gruffydd though.

4 Simon's body was mutilated after the battle: his head and genitals were cut off and sent as a prize to Roger Mortimer's wife.

5 Despite the fact that they were defeated, the tone is still very much in support of the barons here. The seizure of the rebel barons' lands was actually sanctioned by King Henry, and was carried out by knights commissioned specially for the purpose, though the treatment of wives and children was indeed harsh. See C. H. Knowles, 'Provision for the Families of the Montfortians Disinherited after the Battle of Evesham', *Thirteenth Century England I* (Woodbridge, 1986) pp. 124–37.

6 Interestingly, this last sentence in the margin is presumably to add balance to this version of the Battle of Evesham.

7 Ottobuono was Pope Innocent IV's nephew, and the future Pope Adrian V.

Pre-publication copy

when the discussions were over, the agreement entered upon by Prince Edward with the men from the island came to nothing, nor did Prince Edward keep it. The legate, the king and the queen, when returning from the parliament to London around the octave of the Epiphany, came to Dunstable and stayed in the town for some time. Simon de Montfort the younger was also with them, but when he learnt that Prince Edward wanted to capture him and imprison him in the Tower of London, he secretly escaped overseas with his companions.

At the same time, in the season of Lent, Ottobuono, the papal legate, had the bishops of Winchester, London, Lincoln and Chichester[1] summoned to his presence in London, to explain why it was with their advice and help that the barons had opposed the coming of a papal legate to England in the preceding year.[2] When he heard their explanations, he appointed a day for them to appear before him in London during the fifteen days of Easter. When they did so, he arranged a time for them to go to the Roman curia, so that they might appear [241] before the pope and give him a fuller reply. For indeed it was the pope who had been stopped from coming to England, at the time of the banned embassy.[3]

1266

In AD 1266, around the Ascension of our Lord [6 May], Sir David Offenthon, Adam Gurdun and some eighty other knights came to Shortgrave, and stayed there a day and a night. While they were there, they consumed and ate the food, and the next day they carried off all they could find. They departed, going towards the Chilterns and Kimble, but in Alton wood all of them that could be found were either killed or captured by Prince Edward, one of these being Sir Adam Gurdun. For a man called Robert Chadd, once their friend but now their enemy, had put the prince on their track.[4]

In the same year, on the eve of Pentecost [15 May], there was a great slaughter of the barons at Chesterfield carried out by Sir John Balliol and his companions.[5] Robert de Ferrers, earl of Derby, was captured and sent to imprisonment in Windsor. John Eyvile and Baldwin Wake were put to flight.

At the same time, on St Osyth's day [7 October], the almoner's plough-team of horses, worth twenty shillings, was seized at Dunstable.

At the same time Henry Hastings and Simon Pattishall, together with others who like themselves had taken shelter in Kenilworth castle, would each day sally out and plunder nearby towns just as they pleased, while from others they took protection money. They

1 John Gervase, Henry of Wingham, Richard Gravesend and Stephen Bersted.

2 This was Gui Foulquois who had had to conduct his business from Boulogne as he had not been allowed to enter the country.

3 Legates acted as a proxy for the pope, and therefore by excluding the legate they had effectively 'banned' the pope from entering the country.

4 This event was widely spoken of at the time: Edward supposedly overcame Gurdun in single combat as the prince's men were unable to assist him, being cut off by a ditch. Gurdun was captured rather than slaughtered, though, and later went on to have an active role in Edward's court. Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 56.

5 One of those companions was Henry, son of Richard king of Germany.

Pre-publication copy

were not stopped from this by the fact that Prince Edmund, the son of the king, was at Warwick with his men and was determined to stop them leaving the castle. There were in the castle, when the king arrived to lay siege to it, seventeen hundred powerful men carrying arms, one hundred and sixty women and an unknown number of youths.

In the same year, [242] on the feast of St John Baptist [24 June], the lord king arrived at Kenilworth with a large army to besiege the castle.[1] Tents were set up on the four sides of the castle, the king and his men on one side, Prince Edward and his men on a second, Sir Roger Mortimer with his men on a third, and Prince Edmund with his men on a fourth. They erected all round the castle nine machines called 'Stone-throwers' and did not cease from hurling stones. Although with these they destroyed dwellings and towers made of wood, they could do no sort of damage to the walls and stonework which they wanted to knock down. Also the besieged would come out of the gates of the castle, advance still further towards their enemies and frequently make spirited and fierce assaults on them. In these attacks they killed so many men from the king's party and the other contingents that by their sallies from the castle and their attacks they compelled the lord king or Prince Edward out of fear to arm themselves and their men time upon time.

So, when those in the castle day after day by their daily exits and their skirmishing provoked to battle those who were stationed outside the castle, and when those outside made no assaults on the castle at all, the result was that those outside were faring rather worse than those in the castle. And in this fashion the time passed up to the feast of All Saints [1 November].

In the same year, around the feast of St Michael [29 September], the lord legate and the lord king, seeing the slaughter of so many men and the peril of souls and the damage being done to the kingdom, desired to provide some formula by which peace could be restored. They considered this could not happen unless the disinherited regained their lands, and so it was decided that the lord king should choose six magnates who in their turn would choose six others, so that there might be twelve men whose chief desire would be the peace and quiet of the kingdom. Four of the twelve were to be bishops. The men chosen for the task were [Nicholas] bishop of Worcester, [243] [Walter Giffard] the bishop of Bath who was then chancellor, [Walter] bishop of Exeter, [Richard] bishop of St Davids, Gilbert earl of Gloucester, Humphrey earl of Hereford, Philip Basset, John Balliol,[2] Robert Walrand,[3] Warin de Bassingbourne and two others.[4] These twelve chose as their overseers the lord legate and Henry, the son of the king of Germany. The twelve were to see to and establish both the peace of the king and kingdom and the return of their lands to the disinherited. For these lands the twelve were to assess the amount of compensation for their present owners and ensure that it was paid. Two of the twelve were chosen to vet the decrees and decisions

1 The following account is one of the most detailed we have for the largest siege to be seen on English soil to date. For further analysis, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 56–9.

2 One of Henry III's leading advisors. His son, also called John, was king of Scotland from 1292 to 1296.

3 A well-known judge of the period, died in 1273.

4 Namely Roger de Somery and Alan la Zouche.

Pre-publication copy

of the twelve, with the power to increase or reduce them, just as they thought was conducive to the peace of the king and the kingdom.[1]

Once the twelve had discussed the situation and made those decisions which seemed to them to be for the good of the community, the lord legate summoned all the clergy and all the barons then available to a meeting at Coventry on the eve of All Souls [31 October], and in the presence of all of them announced the verdict and decision of the twelve. After certain matters concerning the king had been spoken of, there came the following sentence on the disinherited barons. All who had opposed the lord king at Northampton, and had been captured at Evesham, Kenilworth and in the battle at Chesterfield and in the castle of Kenilworth, apart from Henry Hastings and John de la Ware, should pay the value of their lands for five years to their present owners in order to redeem them. Henry Hastings and John de la Ware were to the pay the value for seven years, as their crimes had been greater. Yet others, in proportion to the size of their offence, were to pay the value of their lands for two years, and others the value of one year. There was also the rider that those paying the value of five or seven years [244] should make their payments in full within three years. They would then redeem their lands, and not before.

The whole company of clergy and barons and even the lord king and his sons then confirmed under oath that they would faithfully keep all these arrangements. Those in Kenilworth castle were then asked to agree to the decisions. As they saw that their food supplies were running out, and that many of their number were weak and ill and would die unless help came within the next forty days, they replied that they were willing to abide by the stated conditions. They were then allowed to leave, taking with them all their possessions in the castle. But those who had retreated to the isle of Ely did not consent to the stated conditions. They were not willing to leave and so hand back the isle to the lord king, but plundered the countryside for twenty miles around the isle and restocked their position with food of every kind and other necessities.

At the same time Walter Giffard, bishop of Bath and then chancellor of the king, was elected archbishop of York.

In the same year, around the octave of St Hilary [from 14 January], the king came to Bury St Edmunds in order to lay siege to the isle of Ely. Very soon afterwards, on the day after the Purification of the blessed Mary [2 February], the lord legate called a meeting of archbishops, bishops and men of religion to discuss making peace between the lord king and the men on the isle of Ely, if this were possible. Three high-ranking envoys were then sent to the isle of Ely to treat for peace, but achieved nothing.[2]

In the same year the lord pope [Clement IV] had granted to the lord king a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues. Nevertheless the king asked the clergy at the above mentioned meeting to give him financial aid in excess of the tenth granted by the pope. All the clergy as one man refused to go above the granted tenth.

[1] The peace treaty is known as the 'Dictum of Kenilworth' and is dated 30 October 1266. The manuscript and translation can be seen here http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/magna-carta/dictum-of-kenilworth/.

[2] The descision of the earl of Gloucester to switch sides again and move the centre of rebellion to London (details below) distracted from the issue of Ely for a time.

Pre-publication copy

At the same time Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, took himself away from the parliament in session at Bury St Edmunds [245] and went off to the Marches. He was aiming to destroy Roger Mortimer, because he claimed that Mortimer had stirred up the lord king against him. Or did the earl go to the Marches because he there assembled several magnates and others to assist him with an armed force (it was indeed a large army), in his intention to drive foreigners from the land, seeing that the lord king had refused to do this, although it had been agreed between them? The earl of Gloucester also wanted that all the disinherited should regain possession of their lands, and only then suffer the punishment of paying a reasonable redemption price according to the size of each man's crime, the price to be decided by the judgment of good men. He sent important envoys to the lord king on these matters, so that his wishes might be realised.[1]

1267

In the year of grace 1267 around Easter [17 April] the earl of Gloucester was extremely angry, because the king refused to show the favour to the disinherited for which the earl had asked, and as a result the earl entered London with a large force of armed men. The citizens permitted it, because the earl possessed from the lord king on this matter a letter patent, which he handed to the citizens.

Sir John d'Eyville came from beyond the Trent with a large company and allied himself with the earl.

Also very many left the isle of Ely to give similar help to the earl. Some of these, who were with Ralph Pirot, came into our own courtyard, and we paid them ten marks, which [Simon] our prior had promised to Ralph as protection money. Also they took our good horse from the mill and all the horses which they found in the town. They even carried off Bartholomew Youngman as a prisoner. After this they met up with Sir John d'Eyville at Wing, and from there set out together for London.

Immediately after Easter John d'Eyville with a large army should have left London and made a sudden attack on the king, who was then positioned near Canterbury. But the wife[2] of the earl of Gloucester, who had secretly come [246] to him in London, told the lord king her uncle about this intention. So the lord king and the king of Germany left Canterbury and passed through Dunstable and went off to Windsor. During their passing through Dunstable, two Welshmen were beheaded outside the town for robberies committed there.

The lord king of England with all his army and with the important barons from the south of England then set siege to London from the Stratford side, so that he might overthrow the earl and his men. But through the mediation of the king of Germany

[1] It is thought that Gilbert was indeed angry at the treatment of those reformers who had rebelled against the king, but he also had more selfish reasons, including the feeling that his important role in events surrounding Evesham had not been properly recognised. See Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 58 and n. 130 for discussion and further reading.

[2] Alice of Angoulême, daughter of the count of La Marche.

Pre-publication copy

and Philip Basset a peace was made between the king and the earl. The disinherited gained nothing from the peace, but even so they departed peacefully.[1]

Henry Puderescuhe, the steward of the earl of Gloucester, came from London to the manor of Geoffrey St Leger at Offley. He burnt the manor and then turned aside with his huge company to Brickhill. But Henry was pursued by Reginald de Grey with his force, and he took Henry prisoner while he was unarmed and suspecting no evil. Reginald Grey also killed about thirty of the higher-ranking nobles who were with Henry and retained some alive. Very many escaped.

In the same year Prince Edward, son of the king of England, gained entrance into the isle of Ely, with the permission and knowledge […] of Nicholas Seagrave's mother, who then had access to the island. Robert Pecche and his brother, Nicholas Seagrave, Robert Pirot and the other captains surrendered themselves and the isle to Prince Edward, on condition that they themselves and all who had stayed in the isle with them should be allowed to leave freely, taking with them their armour and all their belongings. And in fact they left freely without any hindrance. After this, all who wished to redeem their lands according to the statement of the legate at Kenilworth gained [247] complete possession of them.

Giles, Ambrose and Michael of Dunstable and some others of the town, while returning from the isle of Ely, stopped in Dunstable and there indulged in drinking, lechery and robbery. As they were afraid that they would be arrested for this, they left the district and ended their lives in wretched fashion elsewhere, through starvation or hanging. Also others, who on the isle of Ely had been robbers, died the most miserable of deaths on returning to their homes.[2]

1268

In the year of grace 1268 Ottobuono who was then the legate of the lord pope, as one of the duties of his office held a council at which the bishops and prelates of England were present. In it he sowed many seeds which were to bear fruit for the peace of the church, the state of the realm and for men of religion.

By favour of the lord legate, the archdeaconry of Buckingham was given to Percival, his brother. The prebend of Aylesbury was also given to him, although the dean and chapter of Lincoln kept the prebend and gave Percival four hundred marks a year for it. The whole of the remuneration from the archdeaconry went into the pocket of the archdeacon.

Henry Sandwich, bishop of London, who had been suspended by the legate for his friendship with Simon de Montfort, continued to stay in the papal curia. He had nothing from his bishopric apart from a sum of money given him by the legate when he left England, apparently out of pity.

[1] The presence of the papal legate, who had been trapped in the Tower of London during the crisis, may have helped the speed with which the settlement was reached.

[2] The Waverley annalist gives the events of this year in comparable detail, including the siege of Kenilworth and the Isle of Ely, see pp. 366–75.

Pre-publication copy

1269

In the year of grace 1269 Richard, bishop of Lincoln, who had received a summons for the same friendship with Simon de Montfort, bought peace for himself by a massive bribe and took himself to lands overseas, where he continued to remain with a modest household. Meanwhile John Maidstone looked after the bishopric of Lincoln in a noble and sensible fashion and without receiving any complaints.

Master Peter Aldeham, archdeacon of Bedford, who because of his support of the lord king had been impoverished [248] by the barons, also crossed the seas with Bishop Richard and took up his abode there likewise. Martin Peckham, the clerk of the Percival mentioned earlier, had the lease of the archdeaconry. He was the first to appoint officials as collectors of the archdeaconry money which the deans were accustomed to receive. This has now become the custom. The bishop eventually came back to England, but the archdeacon did not, as he died abroad.[1]

There was a dispute between us and David Flitwick, the third son of David and Hilary Flitwick. Its causes were as follows. We bought from Simon the son of Silvester a part of a wood for our fief. As this part was next to and adjoining a wood, called Le Mentel, belonging to David, which he had bought from Nicholas Tingrith, David claimed that we had done this to his own disadvantage. Also we bought an acre of land on the lower south side of David's wood, and another area of land below the east side of his wood within Stocking. Also we took in a part of J. Capucio's meadow from that acre which Geoffrey Damson held on our fief. Indeed this acre should have come down to us by right, because Geoffrey was a bastard, but the same David had carried off corn from it, because he was the first to hear of Geoffrey's death. Also, elsewhere on the estate we ploughed in boundaries which marked off his fief from our fief, where we had lands on both sides. Also, at Ruxox between our wood and the land of David called le Arem we dug a ditch from his land, which was ten feet or more wide. David believed that we did this without warrant, not remembering his earlier action. Also, without going to law, we asked David to give us a tithe of milk, lambs and calves, as was the custom with the neighbouring churches round about, and which had happened in Flitwick parish [249] from time immemorial, despite a contrary practice which we had often been kind enough to allow. Also we exchanged lands at Ruxox with his villeins and free men. And David claimed that we had done all these things in order to injure and disinherit him.

We disagreed. On the contrary, in that part of Simon Silvester's wood that became part of our fief, David later made a cart track which had not been there before. Also he removed and made level with the ground his hedge and ditch, which divided his wood from the wood which we bought from Simon Wymark, and made through the middle of our wood a cart track used by people leaving his wood at all hours of the day and night. Also, as soon as we dug ditches on our land to stop damage of this kind, he filled them up again, so that we were forty shillings worse off after attempts to defend our rights and stop his violent actions.

[1] These events do not seem to have been recorded elsewhere.

Pre-publication copy

Also the steward of the countess of Aumale,[1] to whom the villages of Flitwick and Husborne Crawley then belonged as part of her dower, complained about us. He claimed that he and his men had so often been given so much trouble and bother by us and our men that he had not been able to defend his holding for the countess. Also he complained that we had seized half of his fief in these two villages and had refused to reply concerning his tenants. He also complained that we had entered those lands without warrant.

The bailiff of the countess now sent twenty-four armed men to Ruxox, who stole six of our plough oxen without our guards noticing it. Also, he seized twelve plough oxen at Crawley and others at Roxton, where they had been impounded for twelve weeks and were [250] so not worth freeing. We were not able to obtain any remedy from the court of the lord king, because lord Edmund, the king's son, had married the heir[2] of the countess. After this we made peace with the countess. She herself ratified our right of entry and we gave her five marks. And so our draught animals were set free, after twenty shillings had been spent on guarding them.

In the end we came to the following amicable agreement with David. That the whole wood of Simon and the others should remain in our possession. That he should not make any track there in the future beyond our ground, or even claim the right to do so. That, of the land of Geoffrey Damson, the meadow should belong to us in the future and the plough-land to David. That the boundaries opened up between the fiefs, where we had lands on this side and on that, should remain for the future. That we could peacefully have our ditch at Ruxox between our wood and his land (for we made an agreement with David that Roger of St Albans, the keeper of Ruxox, before he made the ditch, would get his consent and even good will on all points, and for this would give him twenty shillings). That the exchange of lands with his men should stand and be kept for the future, seeing that it was to the advantage of David and his men. That we should peacefully keep the lands which we had bought on the lower sides of his wood, as they belonged to our fief and had nothing to do with him.

David also promised that in the future he would not do any undue damage in our woods, meadows, pastures and in other things belonging to us. And so in this way all offences and all past acts of harm by both sides were forgiven. On the matter of the tenth the agreement was that as a special favour from us David should pay in money the tithe on milk, calves and lambs, as he had been allowed to do at other times, provided that this did not lead to any loss [251] for our church, and that our special favour did not harden into a custom.

In the same year there was peace in the kingdom of England, except that some knights and several others who had been with the earl, Robert de Ferrers, after the earl's imprisonment in the Peak district, took to the forest and began living there. They took plunder from the whole area around, and stole a very good horse which belonged to our warden at Bradbourne. But when they later became our friends, they kept their hands off all our property, and stole the goods of other monks.

[1] Isabella, widow of William de Forz, daughter of Baldwin de Redvers, earl of Devon.

[2] Aveline de Forz, sister of Thomas de Forz, earl of Aumale.

Pre-publication copy

1270

In the year of grace 1270, while Prince Edward, the first-born son of the king, was stationed at Acre in the Holy Land, an assassin wounded him in his arm with a poisoned dagger. But the prince, after enduring many days of anguish, was cured of the wound. His attacker was captured and killed.[1]

His father, King Henry, from old age and sickness had become an invalid.

Because of the weakness of the king, in many parts of England the barons oppressed the poor, and there was no one of the king's party to give justice to the sufferers.

Of the robbers who had been in the isle of Ely with the barons, Henry Aumale, who had our horse from the mill, was hung in France; he was a knight. Peter Neville, knight, was hung at Bridgnorth. John Limoges, knight, was hung for theft. Gregory Caldwell, knight, died in Newgate. John Lymonges, knight, was hung for theft. Gregory Caudwell, knight, died in Newgate. John Suthun, a clerk, Hugh Caldwell, Robert Wersley and one Geoffrey, their associate, who had all been part of the robbery at Stanley abbey, quite often turned aside to Dunstable. Finally, when they had been surrounded on all sides and were about to be taken prisoner, John Suthun made his escape to our church and there abjured the kingdom of England. Later he was killed at [252] Oxford, without the sacraments of the church. Three of his friends were captured and imprisoned by the bailiffs. The prior got their five horses with their harness and expensive war-coats. These three thieves were sent to Newgate in London. Geoffrey died in prison there, but Hugh and Robert were set free after a corrupt enquiry and recovered their property from the prior. These two were then taken prisoner in London. Hugh was hung and Robert died in prison. Richard Offenton was taken prisoner in London and hung there.

In the same year on the feast of St Edward in October [13 October], St Edward was translated to a new, expensive bier, which the lord King Henry had had made for him. Also, on this very day, the first solemn mass was celebrated in that very church, which the king himself had built at his own expense. Its building was a thing of very great joy, and the king gave very many huge sums of money towards its construction.[2]

[1] Following the disastrous Eighth Crusade on which Louis IX of France himself died after landing on the North African coast, Edward decided to visit the Holy Land and offer his assistance to those holding out in Acre against the sultan Baibars. For more on his time crusading, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 74–82.

[2] One of Henry's other great (and expensive) schemes had been the rebuilding of Westminster abbey as a testament to his own piety and in honour of Edward the Confessor, his great hero. The translation of the saint is commented upon by many other annalists too, though the most detailed account by Thomas Wykes describes the new church's splendour and the monks' first celebration of 'the divine mystery': 'Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomae Wykes (AD 1066–1289)' in *Annales Monastici*, IV, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1869), pp. 226–7.

Pre-publication copy

1271

In the year of grace 1271, when the monks of Christ Church in Canterbury assembled on the death of Boniface, their archbishop, they elected their prior as the next archbishop.[1] But the lord king opposed this election, and the whole matter was discussed at great length in the papal curia.

On the day of the Epiphany [6 January], William Wederhore was admitted as a canon.

In the month of February came the death of Richard, king of Germany, brother of the king of England and earl of Cornwall. He was buried with great honour in the abbey of Hailes, which he himself had handsomely constructed.[2] This King Richard had Sundon[3] as a marriage portion from the mother[4] of Richard, earl of Gloucester, and he kept it for forty years. For all this time, just as always previously, the men of Sundon paid a toll to Dunstable, just as the men of Luton, of which Sundon is a part, always did and still do [253]. After the death of King Richard, the manor of Sundon passed to Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, and then for the first time the men of Sundon withdrew from paying the toll at Dunstable, seeing that the earl was so powerful and [Simon] prior so weak.

1272

In the year of grace 1272 Edmund, son of the king of Germany, married Margaret, sister of Gilbert, earl of Gloucester. He received with her Sundon as his free marriage portion. The men of Sundon immediately refused to pay our toll. Then Simon, our prior, went to lord Edmund, and asked to be given back possession of his toll, seeing that Earl Gilbert had unjustly taken it from us. The earl granted the prior's request, but, as he wished to be kept informed about the matter, he gave the prior his letter of enquiry for his bailiffs at Sundon. But the prior did not take the matter any further.

In the same year Pope Alexander X[5] quashed the monks' election of the prior of Christ Church at Canterbury as archbishop. The pope gave this office to brother Robert Kilwardby, who at that time had been established in England by the Dominicans.[6]

In the summer of the same year we spent one hundred and forty marks on hard corn. We began to use the new corn from the beginning of August, and before the feast of St Michael [29 September] we had used forty quarters.

1 Adam of Chillenden, abbot from 1263/4 to 1274, archbishop from 1270 until his election was quashed in the summer of 1272.

2 Richard's death and burial at Hailes is corroborated by the annals of Osney, p. 244; Winchester, p. 111; and Waverley, p. 378, and Paris' continuator, p. 378, though none of them agree on the precise dates.

3 A parish in Bedfordshire.

4 Isabella, daughter of William Marshal, and widow of Gilbert de Clare.

5 This is an error; it should be Pope Gregory X.

6 Robert Kilwardby, provisionally made archbishop in October 1272, consecrated in February 1273, resigned in 1278 when appointed to the papal curia as cardinal bishop of Porto. see below, p. 191.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year, on the feast of All Saints, on behalf of Ralph Pirot we bound ourselves to the merchants of Cahors for one hundred and twenty marks. They took our wool from the Peak at eight marks a sack until they repaid the one hundred and twenty marks. We ourselves had a rent-charge from this same Ralph for lands at Harlington and Wenerugge, an [254] arrangement which caused us very much loss.

At the same time Robert, the parson of Rushton, died. At our presentation Robert of Scarborough was appointed parson. Peter Basset had presented his brother John, and so we made an agreement with him, although it had no legal force, and bought off this source of annoyance. He gave us his letter of quit-claim.[1]

The prior of Caldwell, Walter Cadingdon, who had been a canon of Dunstable a long time ago, of his own accord resigned as prior and gave back his post into the hands of the bishop of Lincoln.[2] Immediately on the same day Matthew was elected and installed. Before eight days had passed Walter died, and the first mass celebrated by Matthew as prior was for Walter himself. Matthew also took the solemn burial.

In the same year we paid a fine of four marks for the twentieth[3] which had been granted to Prince Edward when he went to the Holy Land.

In the same year, on the day of St Edmund the Confessor,[4] came the death of the king of England, Henry III. He had reigned for fifty-six years and twenty-four days, and he was buried at Westminster on the day of St Edmund the king. On the day of St Cecilia [22 November] the magnates of the realm named as king his son Edward, who was then campaigning in the Holy Land. The date of his kingship began from that moment.[5]

In the same year and on the same day John, the parson of Harlington, died. He had been the vicar of the church for twelve years. We presented William de la Mare to it, but Ralph Pirot opposed our presentation. You will find out what happened in my account of the next year.[6]

In the same year, on the day of St Vincent [22 January], Michael of the Peak was admitted as a canon. [255] He was then fifteen years old.

On the preceding day of the nativity of the blessed Mary [7 September] Roger Cumethone was admitted as a canon.

In the same year, on the day after the day of St Fremund [11 May], we bound ourselves and our posterity to say a particular prayer for the soul of John Crakehall every day at the mass of our Lady in the priory, beginning '*Have mercy, we pray, on the soul of your servant John*' etc. We also promised that for the next ten years we would ensure that three masses were said every week by one of us, so that altogether there would

1 This is a legal document which denotes the transfer of land or property, 'quitting' their claim to it.

2 Walter was prior from 1249 to 1272.

3 A twentieth of all earnings or produce. By the thirteenth century such crusader taxes were becoming common.

4 Henry III died on 16 November, and was buried on 20 November, the feast of St Edmund king and martyr, in Westminster abbey, which he had rebuilt and dedicated to St Edward the Confessor.

5 Paris' continuator gives a detailed account of the king's deathbed scene, ending in an amusing anecdote illustrating the king's wittiness, pp. 382–3.

6 This is internal evidence suggesting that several years' worth of events were written up in one go. See Introduction, pp. xxxiii–v, for discussion.

Pre-publication copy

be a *requiem* for the soul of John, and three masses of our Lady, that is the *greeting*. We appointed brother John Walter, our co-canon, to carry out this duty. He himself began it on the day after the day of St Dunstan [19 May], and performed it faithfully. Also, for the sake of the soul of John Crakehall, we took into the priory as a recipient of alms a blind man called Simon, a priest of Westoning. He lived there for a very long time at our expense, in fact for ten years.[1]

John Crakehall's executors, master John Houghton and Gerard Ely, who had full power to administer his estate, gave us one hundred and twenty marks, fourteen marks and more, as is written in their letter. They also gave back to us our bill for that money and more, protesting that enough had been done for the whole money, for which we had been bound to John Crakehall from the beginning of the world.

In the same year William Rous, prior of Newenham, died and was succeeded by Michael, a canon of the same house.

1273

In the year of grace 1273 the clergy granted a tenth from ecclesiastical resources to the lord King Edward for three [256] years, according to the assessment of Norwich. On that occasion we paid thirty-one shillings for one term for our four churches in the Dunstable deanery, fourteen shillings and eight pence for the four churches in the Flitwick deanery, and sixteen shillings and three pence for our churches in the archdeaconry of Northampton. We also paid the same amounts for all these churches for a second term.

In the same year we took a lease for the term of five years for Lidlington church at eighteen marks per annum. We also gave its proctors five marks for saddle-horses.

In the same year, at Easter time [9 April], John Bothleford, son of Jordan, died. Before his death he confirmed our possessions from his fief, and, while still in a good condition, he granted us all of them in perpetual, unconditional tenure. All that happened the previous Christmas.

In the first years of the reign of King Edward, [Simon] prior of Dunstable was summoned to acknowledge within fifteen days Ralph Pirot's writ asking *Quare impedit*[2] Ralph Pirot from presenting a suitable person to Harlington church, which is vacant and to etc. The prior answered the summons, and they came to a legal agreement, for which the prior gave one mark. The agreement was that Ralph recognised that the right of presentation to Harlington church belonged to the prior himself and his church of St Peter at Dunstable. Ralph ceased his protests, and gave a quit-claim in perpetuity from himself and his heirs to the prior and his successors and his church. And so the judgment given was that the prior should recover his patronage of the church, and that he should have a writ for the bishop of Lincoln, stating that notwithstanding the counter-claim of Ralph Pirot, he himself should admit a suitable person to the church. Furthermore, he has this in writing. And so on our presentation William de la Mare

[1] This last phrase was added to the manuscript later.

[2] Literally 'why he hinders', a writ issued in cases of disputed presentation to a benefice, requiring the defendant to state why he or she hinders the plaintiff from making the presentation for the vacancy.

Pre-publication copy

was [257] appointed to Harlington church. And because Ralph Pirot had refused to proceed with the case, the permission, which we had promised to one of his men, to levy a fine became null and void.

In the same year, on St George's day [23 April], George Cantilupe,[1] who was then very old, was put in possession of Eaton Bray, Houghton Regis and his other lands. On the feast of the nativity of the blessed Mary this George for twenty marks confirmed, ratified and made unconditional the entrance which we had on to the lands of John Elston at Totternhoe, which were from Cantilupe's fief. Around the time of the next feast of All Saints [1 November] George Cantilupe died. A half of his lands passed to Eudo la Zouche, who had married George's eldest sister.[2] The other half came down to [Joanna][3] the sister of George who was the widow of Henry Hastings.

In the same year we paid to the exchequer of the lord king at London the sum of four marks which we owed for the twentieth granted to King Edward. We received a tally for this which we took to the greater exchequer, where we received a receipt for the sheriff stamped in green wax.[4]

In the same year we granted to Bartholomew Youngman and his son Richard a perpetual chantry in the chapel which Bartholomew himself had built at Humberstone, while preserving the rights of the mother church at Studham. After their deaths, the chantry will soon cease.

In the same year we granted to Sir Peter Loring and his son Peter the same privilege of celebrating a chantry at Chalgrave.

In the same year the parishioners paid for the renovation of the vault of the north aisle in our church at Dunstable, from the altar to the cross and as far as the west door. Henry [258] Chadd was the chief donor for these repairs.

In the same year Henry Sandwich, bishop of London, died. He was succeeded by John Chishull, then dean of St Paul's.

In the same year we built a large pigeon-house next to the tailor's room; we built a windmill at Schykes-acre; Thomas Eyton was made vicar of Segenhoe, and William Ely was made vicar of Husborne Crawley.

In the same year in our part of the world many men died, especially parsons, vicars and clerics.

On his return from the Holy Land King Edward was honourably welcomed by his cousin, the king of France, who gave back to him many lands belonging to him.[5] Then King Edward marched to Gascony, where he heavily punished those who had conspired

1 Lord of Abergavenny.

2 Millicent Montault.

3 Luard inserts this name after consulting 'Roberts's Calendarium Genealogicum, i. p. 197'. See *Calendarium Genealogicum, Henry III and Edward I*, ed. Charles Roberts, 2 vols (London, 1865).

4 The green wax seal was the distinct mark of the Exchequer.

5 It is more likely that Edward paid homage to the King Phillip III for his lands in France, and formally received them in return.

Pre-publication copy

against him. He captured alive the chief conspirator, Gaston de Béarn, who later escaped into hiding, but subsequently made his peace.[1]

In the same year, in December, we said for the first time in the priory the *Mary full of grace, mother of mercy; protect us from the enemy and take us up at the hour of our death*.[2]

In the same year brother Joseph, a Jerusalem Hospitaller,[3] was made head treasurer of the lord king in England. Men said that it was on his proposal that half a mark was first given to the king for every sack of wool sent overseas, but in fact a certain merchant called Pontius Ponto thought up this scheme.[4]

In the same year the lord king restored to Eleanor, countess of Leicester, her lands in England which had come to her as her dowry when she married William Marshal, her first husband. [259] After the death of Simon de Montfort, her second husband, Eleanor stayed in Dover castle. Later she surrendered the castle to the king and went to live in French lands, taking her daughter Eleanor to live with her.[5] Simon de Montfort the younger and his brother Richard[6] had escaped from England. They now came to their mother in France and died there. Their brother Guy escaped from Dover castle, and he was honourably welcomed by Charles, king of Sicily.[7] On account of his vassalage Guy had a marriage arranged for him by King Charles with the daughter and heir of Count Aldobrandini,[8] and Guy became a great man in those parts. But he lost his reputation because of the murder of his nephew Henry, the son of the king of Germany, whom he killed in the church at Viterbo.[9] Amaury de Montfort was captured at sea together with his sister, while he was taking her to be married to Llywelyn, prince of Wales. After a long imprisonment, imposed on him by the king and the clergy, he was set free by Pope Martin IV. Finally the mother Eleanor in the same year regained her lands and died.[10]

In the same year Eudo la Zouche and his wife Millicent got possession of Houghton Regis and Eaton Bray and the other lands which he was entitled to hold after the death of George Cantilupe. Eudo was on our side to begin with, but he afterwards turned nasty, as I will explain below.

1 Gaston was supposed to have gone on crusade, but instead took the opportunity to expand his authority while the king of France and Edward were away and Henry III too ill to intercede.

2 The 'Hail Mary' began being used around the 1260s in a form which would seem familiar due to its popularisation by the Dominican Friars, and the endorsement of Pope Urban IV. L. Grandcolas, *L'ancien sacramentaire de l'église*, (Paris, 1649), p. 419.

3 Prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem.

4 For further details of this scheme and its impact, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 99–100.

5 Eleanor went to live in Montargis abbey, but her daughter would later return to England to marry Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, details below.

6 'Brother Richard' written in the margin. He was the fifth son of Simon de Montfort.

7 Charles of Anjou. Guy was the fourth son.

8 Margherita Aldobrandesca, the lady of Sovana.

9 Guy did not act alone; his brother Simon (the younger) was also involved in the murder. Both were excommunicated as a result.

10 The Worcester annalist gives further details on the capture of Amaury and Eleanor, pp. 469–70; see also the annals of Osney, pp. 266–7; and Winchester, p. 121.

Pre-Publication Copy

In the October of the same year we paid a two-year fine of twenty marks to master Raymond for our temporal possessions in his lands. At that time the yearly income of the priory was one hundred and seven pounds, according to the assessment of Constantine and George Tanton.

In the same year we paid forty shillings to the proctors who went to a council meeting of the Augustinian order at Lyons.

In the same year [260] we gave the vicarage of Chalgrave to Walter Radnor. Geoffrey Loring refused it.

In the same year we gave the vicarage of Studham to Thomas Rothland, who occupied it for a short time. And then we gave it to William Stockton, an elderly chaplain.

In the same year we paid five pounds and fifteen shillings as the tenth for the second year.

In the same year and at the same time great preparations were made against the arrival of the lord king Edward. But he was hindered from coming by Gaston de Béarn.

In the same year and at the same time Ralph Pirot was imprisoned in London, because a certain merchant had brought an accusation against him.

In the month of March of the same year there was a very hard frost which lasted a long time.

1274

In the year of grace 1274 at Easter time [1 April] Simon Pattishall died. His son John did homage to Simon, who was prior at the time, for the land at Grimscote. His payment to his overlord on his succession to the land was forty-six shillings and six pence.

In the same year the wife of Benedict Youngman killed herself by throwing herself into a well. Because we refused to allow her burial, the Hospitallers brought a suit against us. We came to an agreement with them, because we were afraid of their powers.[1]

In the same year, on the feast of the nativity of St John Baptist, a general council was held at Lyons in France under Pope Gregory X. At this council the clergy granted a tenth for six years as a help in the Holy Land, to come from all sources with no exceptions. At the same council the order of the brothers of the Sack was severely censured, and from that time on they were to admit no new members to their order.[2] Also many other new orders, which had mushroomed overnight and had no lands, were similarly banned, so that many of their numbers fled to other brotherhoods.[3] The order of the Augustinian [261] brothers and the order of the Carmelite brothers were accepted by the council because they were of long standing.

In the same year Nicholas Aldbury, who had come to us from the Dominicans and been a canon with us for nine years, went back to the Dominicans.

[1] The Hospitallers were indeed a wealthy and influential international institution.

[2] The Friars of the Sack, so called because of their simple rough sack-like attire, were a relatively new order, only introduced in England during Henry III's reign.

[3] In general, there had been a rise in lay piety and the popularity of the ideal of the apostolic life across Europe from the mid-twelfth century. This may have been in response to many things, including the rise of trade and urbanisation and the resulting economic development, leaving many in fear for their eternal souls. As a result, there had been an explosion and proliferation of monastic, military and mendicant orders over which the papacy struggled to maintain control and authority.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year Thomas Inge, the bailiff of Eudo la Zouche, in the frank-pledge inspection imprisoned at Houghton Regis our man, John Chuke, because at that inspection Chuke had been accused of robbery by the tithing groups of the hundred. Later, because John was our man, the bailiff transferred him to our prison at Caldecote. Then on 9 June that Eudo sent to Caldecote a gang of unknown persons armed to the teeth. These villains broke into our prison, took away John with them and put him in their prison. They claimed that the frank-pledge did not allow us even to impose fines in the matter. Also at the frank-pledge inspection some country folk gave information that the prior in the lands of Houghton Regis had made some encroachments against their lord in places where their demesnes lay side by side, and that because of this their lord had taken such strict and tough measures against the prior that twenty-four of the prior's horses were killed. Also the prior's lands at Houghton Regis had lain uncultivated for that year, so that the prior was twenty pounds or more worse off. Also Eudo, without any impeachment, had smashed to pieces the prior's gallows at Edesuthe, which had been part of the liberty of the town of Dunstable since its foundation. Also Eudo had cut down the prior's own wood near Shortgrave, and had enclosed with a hedge the ground where the prior and his predecessors had rights in common. Also Eudo forced out of the prior twenty-five shillings for an annual rent-charge, claiming that this rent-charge was owing to him as it had been assigned to him for the lands at Houghton Regis by the heir of master Simon Bobelin. Brother Simon, our prior at the time, for the first three items brought a writ of trespass before the king against Eudo [262] and his wife Millicent.

In the same year, for three weeks beginning from the day of St Michael [29 September], Eudo la Zouche and Millicent his wife were summoned to appear before the king to explain to brother Simon, the prior of Dunstable, why they had by night broken open his prison at Caldecote and by armed force had broken the peace and taken away John Chuke, who was imprisoned there. Also Eudo was to reply to the prior's charges that he had inflicted loss and damage on the priory by his harsh impounding of the prior's cattle by means of encroachments on his lands. Also he was to reply to the charge of smashing the gallows at Edesuthe. And for the three weeks beginning from the day of St Michael, Prior Simon was excused from appearing before the king in London because he had died, and for that reason Eudo and his wife Millicent were excused from appearing without a day then being fixed for their appearance.

Later the following agreement was made between brother William [le Breton] (the next prior after Simon) and Eudo and his wife Millicent. Eudo, without being fined, built new gallows for Prior William. Similarly he also remitted his claim for an annual rent of twenty-five shillings, because he agreed completely that the prior was sufficiently immune from this rent. The prior gave Eudo one saddle-horse worth four marks. However, the arguments over the prison and the prior's rights at Houghton Regis continued, with Eudo saying that the Houghton Regis rights could not be divided. The prior's reply to this was that the rights were not divided, but were merely being exercised by different officials. For the dispossession of his common lands at Shortgrave, Prior William brought a writ of dispossession against Eudo and Millicent. Concerning the frank-pledge inspection and the fines of bread and beer on his men at Houghton Regis, he brought another writ against them. I will deal with this in my next folio, when I describe the itinerary of Roger Seyton.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year [263] we granted two marks to master John Radnor from the treasury, until we should have provided him with an ecclesiastical benefice.

At the feast of Pentecost [20 May] our beer ran out. We drank five casks of wine, which did us a lot of good.

In the same year, on the feast of St Margaret [16 November], the lord king's marshals found a defect in all the bushels of the whole township, and we were given a new standard. The township paid four marks for the defects, and the prior's bailiff took on the task of providing hospitality for the marshals.

By a charter of the chapter we granted to Vivian Chettingdon, that we would in perpetuity admit one canon after another in his name. He gave us sixty marks for this.

On the day of St Simplicius and St Beatrice [29 July], Geoffrey Merston received our habit.

On the same day we handed over to Martin Peckham the fruits of Lidlington church of that year for twenty marks. But when these fruits had been stored in the barn, they were plundered and looted by John […][1] and his men, so that Martin gained nothing from the arrangement.

In the same year, on the Sunday within the Assumption, King Edward and Eleanor his wife received at Westminster the crowns of the kingdom at the hands of Robert, archbishop of Canterbury. Walter [archbishop] of York was present, but he did not lay his hands upon them.

In the same year and at the same time we gave the vicarage of Pulloxhill to Reginald the chaplain.

The lord king changed almost all the sheriffs of England. He also sent investigators throughout the kingdom to find out how the sheriffs and the other bailiffs had conducted themselves. But no good came of this.

In the same year on 23 October Simon, our sixth prior, died. He was prior for eleven years and nine months. At that time the house was heavily in debt to the sum of [ ].[2]

In the same year [264] and on the day after the day of SS Simon and Jude [28 October], after a licence for election had been obtained from the king, brother William Breton, then our subprior, was elected prior. On the day of St Leonard [6 November] he was confirmed by the bishop of Lincoln in Stowe park; on the day of St Martin [11 November] he was admitted by the king at Northampton; and on the day of St Catherine [25 November] he was installed.

During the vacancy John London, the king's escheator this side of the Trent, had the custody of our house and its lands. We gave him five marks for a saddle-horse. None the less he took from us twenty marks for the work of the lord king. All the profits from the courts and from the other revenues remained in our hands, and the king had none of them. The archdeacon asked us for a saddle-horse for the installation, but he did not get one. Richard Inge the cleric received the favour owing to the clerics of the lord at the election of a new prior. For we presented Richard to the church of St Peter in Bedford which was then vacant, and thus gave him the required favour.

In the same year Eudo la Zouche erected a gallows just south of Pudley, as there was not a gallows in the area.

[1] Blank in manuscript.

[2] Blank in manuscript.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year, hard upon the death of Prior Simon, came the death of all the horses of his stable. On all fronts troubles came our way.

In the same year, in the presence of [John] dean of Lincoln, we acknowledged that we owed a debt of twenty marks to master John of Houghton for the corn, cattle and other things which we had borrowed from the man himself while he was alive and afterwards from his executors. We paid these twenty marks to the dean and chapter of Lincoln, according to the legacy of master John.

In the same year, on the day after the Purification, master Richard, a canon of Lincoln, came to us on visitation duty in the name of the lord bishop. He left behind his criticisms in writing.

In the same year, in the middle of Lent, we began to pay the tenth granted at the Council of Lyons, but only of ecclesiastical revenues. We paid forty shillings to [Walter] prior of Caldwell for the eight shillings in the archdeaconry of Bedford.

In the same year the king's marshals found some unlawful measures at Dunstable, and the township paid a fine.[1]

In the same year came the death of Beatrice, countess of Brittany and the sister of the lord king of England.[2] She was buried at Reading. Also about the same time Margaret, the queen of Scotland died, the sister of the king of England and of Beatrice.[3] Eleanor, countess of Leicester, died in France and the manor of Luton passed down to the heirs of the Marshal. This manor was divided into six parts, and the part inside the hundred of Flitte came down to William Moun.

1275

In the year of grace 1275 after Easter the lord king at once held a parliament in London, where he passed some good laws, especially against the Jews, making it illegal for them to have a fief or any free holding.[4]

In the same year Henry, once a Jew but now a convert, produced a papal letter, which said that we were to provide him and his family with the necessaries of life. But an official at Lincoln made this provision for him elsewhere.

In the same year we sold our wool from the Peak for five years beforehand at nine marks a sack. We received thirty marks in arrears. From this we paid the twenty marks, mentioned above, to the Lincoln chapter for John Houghton and one mark as a fine.

In the month of June in the same year four knights of the county by a writ of the king emptied our jail. Five thieves were hanged. A sixth turned accuser and on his information thirteen or so of his accomplices were hanged.

In the same year, within the fifteen days of St John [from 24 June], we paid Bartholomew Marcer thirteen marks and thirty-two pence for Lidlington. He put us down for

[1] It was common for tradesmen to be fined for mis-selling their products, such as bread and beer.

[2] Beatrice (1242–1275) married John of Dreux, duke of Brittany. Details of Henry III delaying in France to attend the wedding are given above, p. 147.

[3] For details Margaret's marriage see p. 127 above.

[4] This 'Statute of Jewry' also made usury illegal in England. For full details of the law, see Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-Semitism in England* (Oxford, 2012), p. 127.

Pre-publication copy

twenty-four shillings [266] for the tenth of two years, and forty shillings for the repair of buildings, and in this way paid all his debts.

In the same year and month we paid seven pounds, three shillings and nine pence to the prior of Beaulieu as the tithe of the previous year.

In the same year we imprisoned in our jail Richard Ash, on suspicion of a homicide committed outside our liberty. But his accuser was thrust into prison. Richard was set free by a Dunstable jury, and recovered his possessions.

In the same year, within the octave of the nativity of the blessed Mary [from 8 September], there was an earthquake throughout the whole of England. But it only lasted for a short time.[1]

That summer we spent one hundred marks on bought corn.

Richard Stratford, a canon, died at the hour of the great mass. He was buried immediately because of his dropsy.

In the same year in a parliament in London the Jews were forbidden by the king to lend money at usury any longer. At this same parliament a grant was made to the lord king of a fifteenth of their temporalities from the clergy and from the people.[2]

In the same year Eleanor de Montfort was married to Llywelyn, prince of Wales, by messengers.[3] Then, while she was crossing the channel to Wales, she was taken prisoner at sea, and her brother Amaury was taken prisoner with her. I mentioned this earlier.

In the same year, on the day after All Souls [2 November], Richard Granbury was made a canon.

On St Andrew's day [30 November] the king and the queen stayed at our priory. The king gave us a precious brocade.

In the same year, on the day on which *O Sapientia* is sung,[4] Richard, bishop of Lincoln carried out in person his duty of visitation in our house.

In the same year [267], on the day after Epiphany [7 January], master Raymond and brother John, the chief collectors of the tithe for the Holy Land, were unwilling to abide by our oath as to the due amount of our goods, and instead themselves taxed all the goods on our lands as being worth four hundred marks a year. So, according to their taxation, we were to pay forty marks each year at London, as long as that tenth lasted. They also agreed that all the money which we had previously paid to other collectors should count to us as payment.

In the same year Pope Gregory X died, during whose papacy the tenth was granted. After him came a pope from the Dominican order called Innocent V. After him came Ottobuono, who had been a papal legate in England. His papal name was Adrian. After him came Peter the Spaniard, known as John XXI. These last three

[1] The earthquake was also recorded by all the other annalists: Worcester, p. 469; Osney, p. 264; Waverley, p. 386; and Winchester, p. 119.

[2] These laws are also noted by the annalists of Osney, p. 265, and Winchester, p. 119, though no further details are given. The Worcester and Waverley annalists meanwhile only record the demand for the fifteenth, p. 470 and p. 386 respectively.

[3] This is referring to the practice of marriage by proxy, where either one or both of the intended couple are not themselves physically present, but representatives act on their behalf.

[4] 'O wisdom'; the hymn is one typically sung during Advent, so it would have been a Sunday in early December.

Pre-publication copy

mentioned barely lasted two years. Men said they had deserved this, as they had been unwilling to give up the tenth.[1] After these came John Geytel, a nobly born Roman, known as Nicholas.[2]

In the same year we granted one mark from our treasury to Richard, the son of John Durant, until the provision of an ecclesiastical benefice should be made for him.

In the same year we took the amount of one hundred shillings from the pence given as offerings to St Freemund, and bought oats with them.

In the same year the justices itinerant sat at London in the Tower, although they had not sat there for the past twenty-five years. During that session one of the citizens [of London], Michael Towy, was hung because he had fought against the king at Lewes.

In the same year the marshals of the lord king took measures because the brewers of the town had not paid the assize, and the township paid a fine of forty shillings. But nothing was then done about the bushels.[3]

In the same year [268] Sir Walter Studham, beyond the new ditch which he had made around his lands towards the cross, made for us a manse in several places, and took away his own plantations from it.

Sir Walter Steppingley allowed us to make a quickset hedge and a ditch between ourselves and Steppingley field.

In the same year [Robert] archbishop of Canterbury gave a helper to Richard [Gravesend], bishop of Lincoln, because he had found him to be powerless.

In the same year we paid a fine of ten marks to the king for the fifteenth on our lands, if the king should later dispute that this had been done. We paid to [William] abbot of Ramsey at St Neots five marks for this fifteenth, and we received a tally for the payment. By a writ of the lord king we received in deposit the whole money of the fifteenth coming from the counties of Bedford and Buckingham, and by a writ of the lord king we paid the same money to merchants. And then we paid to the collectors themselves five marks for our fifteenth. In the same year the assessors of the fifteenth for the lord king came to us, and, through townspeople put on their oath, they taxed our goods inside our grounds and the goods of all the burgesses.

On that occasion the total sum of money of all the men of the town of Dunstable came to five hundred and forty-eight pounds, sixteen shillings, seven pence and one halfpenny, and the total of the fifteenth was thirty-six pounds, eleven shillings, nine pence and one halfpenny.

The total sum of the goods of the priory was sixteen pounds, four shillings, and ten pence, and the total of the fifteenth for the priory was twenty-one shillings and eight pence.

[1] In other words, would not put an end to the tax.

[2] The succession of popes this year was indeed this quick: Innocent IV was pope for 153 days, Adrian V for 38 days, John XXI for 254 days, then finally Nicholas III who held office from 1277 to 1280.

[3] A volume measurement of 8 gallons used for corn, liquids and so on.

Pre-publication copy

1276

The court [269] session of Roger Seyton at Bedford

In the year of grace 1276, the fourth year of the reign of King Edward, on the day after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross [15 September], master Roger Seyton and his fellow justices itinerant sat at Bedford, to continue the session which Gilbert Preston had begun there in the last year of King Henry, but had not completed because of the death of the king.

In the presence of master Roger and his fellow justices, suits were brought against us by means of writs and by means of pleas. John Granby of Crawley brought a suit against us by writ concerning our denial to him of succession to his inheritance of fourteen acres. We returned the land to him, and he gave us one mark in recognition of this. He has it in writing. The verdict against him remains open.

The township of Husborne Crawley brought a writ of dispossession for our enclosing the plot of land where a priory sheepfold is situated, and for our enclosing a plot of land in front of the mill. In the plot before the mill we gave the townsmen entry in two places and so they dropped that part of the suit. We came to an agreement about the other plot.

Walter Beywin brought a writ against us concerning seven strips of plough-land beyond Ridgemont castle. We gave him one mark, and he made a quit-claim for us.

Emma Pick brought a writ of dower at Segenhoe. We came to an agreement with her.

The township of Eversholt wished to put before the court our many encroachments on their land. An agreement was reached with Eversholt. Also, out of our generosity, we put back into the possession of their original owners many other encroachments which the twelve jurors of Manshead and the other hundreds had wished to put before the court.

Donablina, the wife of Roger Smith, brought a writ concerning her loss of a piece of land at Flitwick. We gave her ten shillings to settle the matter.

Alice, [270] the daughter of Robert Bending, brought a writ concerning her loss of the inheritance of an acre at Pulloxhill. We came to an agreement with her, and she gave us a quit-claim.

Sir Reginald Gray restored to us Silvester Field's rent-charge of two shillings at Ilam.

Thomas Bray brought a writ for our crime in detaining the sheep of William Bray, the son of Ralph, our lay brother. We came to an agreement with him for sixty-two shillings.

The twelve jurors of Manshead brought before the court the matter of the flight of John Peyure from the church at Dunstable. For this we were fined a hundred shillings. We had failed to notice that this matter was brought before the court, and so had not sought a settlement.

We made an agreement with Marion Bedford, the heir of Robert Halegod, for the holding which the same Robert had in Dunstable.

The chaplain Simon Curtis had long ago brought a suit against [William] prior at the bench in London by a writ of prohibition. He did not take steps for the return of his writ to Bedford, and so the matter was left open.

The whole county was fined forty marks for false judgment, with no areas of liberty being excepted. Because of this we made a contribution for our lands outside Dunstable, just like the other taxpayers.

Pre-publication copy

On the day of St Michael [29 September] our shepherd at Pulloxhill killed a man, and after this he was not given a harbourage by us. But we were fined for retaining his shillings, although neither he himself nor anyone in his name had ever claimed them.

Also we were fined twenty shillings for several other defaults, simply because the chief justiciar opposed us at every turn.

Also in this session [271] Prior William brought the following writ against Eudo la Zouche and his wife Millicent:

> *Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, etc. If the prior of Dunstable satisfies you that his claim should be pursued, then you are to summon by reliable summoners Eudo la Suche and Millicent his wife to appear before our justices at the first assize when next they come to the area. They are to explain to the justices why it is that, although the prior of Dunstable and his predecessors there through the charters of our predecessors as kings of England have always been accustomed up to now to hold the frank-pledge inspection and also to have the fines of bread and beer in South Houghton in the county of Bedford, the same Eudo and Millicent do not allow the said prior to have the frank-pledge inspection and the said fines there, as he was always accustomed to have, as he says. And you should produce this writ there, etc.*

Prior William also brought a writ for ejectment of Eudo and Millicent from the pasturage which they had enclosed at Shortgrave. The prior also postponed the execution and the taking up of his writs until the end of the justices' session. Then Eudo appeared and promised the prior that he would not give any further trouble to him or to his successors in the matter of the frank-pledge, and that on this matter he was prepared to provide him with any security which he considered necessary. Also he promised that he would immediately return to him his common land at Shortgrave which he, Eudo, had enclosed. The upshot of this was that the prior withdrew from his writs, as he believed Eudo and his oath. But he was deceived, for Eudo kept not a word of his promise, but, as soon as the justices had departed, harassed the prior just as before.[1]

The aforesaid master Roger refused to uphold the prior's liberty or for him to withdraw to Dunstable to plead his liberty. Instead he wished him to plead his liberty with the taxpayers, unless he had a special writ from the lord king on this matter. And the lord king through his writ did ask the justiciar to go in person [272] to Dunstable and to hear the suits concerning the prior and his monks inside that liberty. The justiciar refused to go, but instead arranged a day for the prior to appear before the king and his council in London. And in the next parliament in London the prior did appear before the king. He testified to the antiquity of the liberty, and the king granted the prior his liberty. And master Roger pledged his word that he would come for the pleading of the liberty.

In the meantime some townsmen obtained other special justices by a writ of the lord king. Roger was mortally offended. But when the appointed justices took their seats at Dunstable, on the first day of their session their powers were revoked by a writ of the king and instead placed solely in the hands of master Roger.

[1] This is the 'nastiness' to which the annalist referred under 1273 on p. 179 above.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year, on the day after the day of St Hilary [14 January], Roger Seyton sat as justiciar in Dunstable. To begin with, he put the liberty in the hands of the lord king, because prior [William] only had one coroner. He removed the prior's bailiffs, and imprisoned one of them, because he had gone outside the liberty to examine the goods of the informer Elias, who was then in the jail. Also he handed over the liberty to the sheriff of Bedford, so that he might give a decision on the outcomes. Nor did Roger allow the prior to sit beside him or to have a clerk entering the proceedings on a roll, as had always been the custom. He caused the prior as much trouble as possible. He heard a few cases brought by writ and closed the session. He released the prior's bailiff from prison, because he was a clerk, and tonsured. He restored his liberty to the prior, but with the proviso that he should make haste to seek the king's favour on the matter. Afterwards Roger himself restored full liberty to the prior, in return for forty shillings for the needs of the lord king, and gave up completely his hostility and attacks on the prior. A little later master Roger was struck with the disease of paralysis. He lost the use of his tongue and of almost all his limbs. Taking that illness with him, he became a regular canon at Thornton.

While Roger [273] was acting as a justice itinerant at Dunstable, a suit was brought against us by John Spurling, concerning the holding of Robert Halegod in Dunstable. We gave him seven shillings to settle the matter. He gave us his quit-claim.

Robert Culworth, a carpenter, and his wife Galiena brought a suit against us by a writ of entry, concerning the eighteen pence annual rent at Dunstable. We gave him one mark to keep the peace. We received a document from him, containing his guarantee.

We came to an agreement with John, the son of John the clerk, concerning the land at Wadlow.

On 16 December in the same year there was a set-to between the lord king's falconers (who were lodged in our house) and some of our household inside the priory, and between the falconers and our chaplain outside the priory. In the evening the falconers with a crowd of their friends who were staying in the town went out into the streets and fatally wounded the chaplain, who, in fact, died two days afterwards from the assault. When the falconers later that evening wanted to come back inside the priory, they manhandled and beat up the door-keeper who tried to stop them. Then in a mass they stormed through the whole priory, knocking down all who stood in their way. Many of our household were badly beaten and buffeted, and even the canons and the lay brothers did not escape blows. The lay brothers, who were sleeping in the dormitory and knew nothing of this riot, were woken by the noise. Then, as the great bells pealed out, the people of the town ran up and the prior could barely stop them from assaulting the falconers, although no violence was in fact done to them.

In the morning the falconers came to the king at Wallingford and complained about the prior, the canons, the community and the townspeople. Even when the prior himself immediately appeared before the king and wanted to tell him the whole story, the king was barely willing to listen to him. But on the following day at Abingdon, before the council of the lord king, serious accusations were brought against the prior by the falconers. And when the prior attempted [274] to make clear his own innocence and that of his people, and to expose the crimes of the falconers, he was not believed. But he was given the answer that the king wished to inquire into the truth of the matter, and that in the meantime all things should remain at peace. Later on master Roger Seyton in his session at Dunstable made a careful inquiry into the case with twelve

Pre-publication copy

jurymen. These twelve swore on their oath that the prior and all his people and all the townsmen were completely blameless in the matter.

But the lord king did not accept this inquiry, and on the first of March he came to Dunstable in person. Thirty-six law-worthy men from the two hundreds, who were not kinsmen or friends of prior [William] or of the canons or his household or the townspeople, were chosen to declare under oath if the prior, the canons or any of the townspeople were guilty of the extreme violence which the falconers complained of receiving at their hands in Dunstable. They were also to declare how the chaplain had been killed and by whom. Before the council of the lord king these thirty-six men said that the canons and the others accused were guiltless of inflicting any injury, violence or damage on the household of the lord king, and that no one in Dunstable should incur forfeiture. And if any of the king's men had been injured, this had been caused by a person acting in self-defence. They also said under oath that the chaplain had been killed by some hotheads from the king's household.

And so the prior and all his people were acquitted. The prior had no other punishment except the need to soften the anger of the king. It was also added by the thirty-six men that whoever in the king's household had wished to kill the chaplain should be prosecuted by his peers and justice done to him.

At the same time we granted a room inside our priory to John Elstow. He gave us the sum of twenty marks, although we had hopes of a larger gift.

In the same year [275] we granted to master Walter Ludeford two marks annually from the treasury. Later [in 1279] we gave him the church at Harlington.

1277

In the year of grace 1277 we sold all the wool from the Dunstable area to John Duraunt. Each fleece was sold for six pence, and it would be kept at that price until he had paid us in full the agreed price of one hundred and forty-eight marks, three shillings and eleven pence. From this money we paid out one hundred marks, forty-four shillings and eleven pence as the tenth for the Holy Land; twenty-three marks to Martin the clerk for Lidlington; and thirty-two marks which we owed to John Duraunt.

In the same year Peter Radnor's executors excused us the one hundred and twenty marks owing to him. We gave the dead man the special favour of being mentioned in our book of benefactors.

Llywelyn, prince of Wales, held back the customary payment to the king, and refused to do him homage. Because of this the king, with the help of David the brother of the prince and several of the Welsh magnates, marched into Wales with a large army, and laid it waste on all sides. First he took the island of Anglesey through an attack made by sailors of the Cinque Ports and killed the Welshmen in the island. Owing to the disagreement between the brothers, the king easily subjugated the other Welshmen also. Prince Llywelyn fled to Snowdon with his army.[1]

[1] This is widely recognised by historians as a humiliating defeat for Llywelyn. For more on the background to these events, see David Walker, *Medieval Wales* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 124–7; and Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 175–80.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year, through the intervention of David and some English nobles, Llywelyn was reconciled to his lord king. The lord king built two castles in Wales, one at Flint and one at Rhuddlan, and retained for his own use as many of the other castles of Wales as he wished.[1] The king granted the whole of Snowdon to Llywelyn. He also granted him the island of Anglesey, which he was to hold from the kings of England for a fixed sum of money annually. To David, the brother of the prince, the king gave Hope castle[2] and several [276] other lands and forests. And so the lord king returned to England.

This year the lord king celebrated Christmas in London. Llywelyn, prince of Wales, was there with him for the feast, and afterwards returned peacefully to Wales. Later the lord king released from prison Eleanor de Montfort, the wife of the prince, and sent her to the prince himself with an honourable escort of nobles.

In the same year, at the beginning of autumn, we began a large room for the use of the lord king, next to the prior's room.

In the same year, having made great preparations, we began to get in the fruits of the church at Lidlington, which at that time we rented, as I described earlier. Richard, bishop of Lincoln, threw us out of the church, and gave the custody of it to his cleric, Walter Stow, since its rector, Pagan, was said to have died, but Pagan's proctor gave us no concession on this matter. At the same time Walter de Ba was presented to the church on the grounds that there was a vacancy. And so we lost all the fruits of the church in this year.

The archbishop of Canterbury held a grand council with his fellow bishops and with the clergy to discuss the liberation of Amaury de Montfort.[3] But in the meantime the pope,[4] who had asked for his release, died and so nothing happened.

The archbishop, in the name of the bishop of Lincoln, held a general ordination at Huntingdon. He received from the bishop twenty marks as his expenses for that day.

Having made his visitation of the Lincoln diocese, the archbishop finally came to us for his visitation on St Lucy's day [13 December], and stayed with us for five days. For one day only we met all the expenses of his stay. On the other days we found the firewood and the hay, and there were presents every day. He was courteous in making his criticisms and behaved according to the book. He left his criticisms behind in writing. [277] We showed him the titles under which we held our churches, and he accepted our rights of entry to all of them.

At that time our parishioners at Tebworth had us summoned before the archbishop at St Neots. John Poleyn, one of the parishioners, came to the session, and asked our procurator, outside the proceedings as it were, if we would arrange for services to be held in Tebworth chapel on three days every week, just as had at one time been the case, or at least if we would restore to the parishioners the thirty-six acres of land with their appurtenances, which it was said their forefathers had given to the mother church at Chalgrave so that

1 This was the beginning of his castle construction campaign in North Wales, forming what is now known as the 'iron ring'.

2 Known today as Caergwrle castle in Flintshire.

3 He was kept prisoner for much longer than his sister.

4 Probably Adrian V.

Pre-publication copy

there should be such services. An agreement was made between John Poleyn and our procurator that the parishioners would lay to rest their complaints and all their grounds for legal action, and that we would do the friendly thing on the matter, as justice demanded. This was done cautiously, as the archbishop was on the side of the others on this issue.

Bartholomew Youngman of Dunstable died, and left us a legacy consisting of forty shillings for the great altar, ten marks for celebrating two anniversaries in our church, and ten pounds to acquire funds for the pittances of the priory. Prior William indeed made a change in these ten pounds and gave them for the cellarer's use instead, but with the proviso that the pittancer should receive twenty shillings each year from the cellarer until the ten pounds had been completely used up. But during this period ten shillings were handed over, and no more. The priory agreed that in return for this favour Bartholomew and his wife Isabella should have on their anniversaries a service taken by two professed canons as their corrody.

In the same year our manor at Cadeby was rented out for the term of twenty years to brother William the parson, beginning from the feast of St Michael in 1277 [29 September]. As stated in the document drawn up between us on the matter the rent was for twelve marks.

In the same year, [278] on the feast of St Thomas the apostle [21 December], we rented out our manor at Stoke Hammond. The letting began from the feast of St Michael [29 September] in 1277 and was to last for the term of twenty years at an annual rent of five marks. We also received twenty-five marks for the tenants' entry into the manor.

In the same year Walter of Merton, bishop of Rochester, fell into a river. He was pulled out from it alive, but died two days later. He was succeeded by a monk from Rochester.[1]

In the same year the exchequer of the lord king returned to London from Shrewsbury. The justices of the king's bench similarly returned to London. It was then that the prior ate for the first time with the Dominicans in the town. It was then also that it was unanimously agreed that the seven psalms should be said nightly, up to the first Sunday in the Passion.[2]

In the same year Geoffrey Leukenor the justiciar emptied the jail at Dunstable. Henry Em and his two companions were set free. They had been jailed for the rape of a Dunstable woman. A third companion died in prison.

In the same year master Michael made us two larger bells. His son Henry, after his father's death, made us a third.

1278

In the year of grace 1278, on the Sunday before Pentecost, in London brother Robert, the archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated William Middleton as bishop of Norwich.

In the same year, on the day of Pentecost [12 May], the said archbishop resigned his cross, because he had been called to the Roman curia by the lord pope so that he might be titled the cardinal bishop of Porto.[3]

1 John de Bradfield.

2 These are the Seven Penitential Psalms; the 'Passion' is Good Friday.

3 See p. 175, n. 6 above.

Pre-publication copy

The Canterbury monks chose as their archbishop Robert Burnell, who was then bishop of Bath.[1] The pope [Nicholas III] did not accept their choice; indeed he is said to have quashed it. He gave this high office to the Franciscan John Peckham, [279] who was then lecturer in theology at the Roman curia.[2]

In the same year, on the day after All Souls [2 November], the justices itinerant sat at Hertford. The prior [William] brought a writ of dispossession there against Thomas Hyde for the common pasture of the prior himself and for the common way through the middle of the wood of the said Thomas. The prior did not continue with the case, as Thomas restored to the prior what he had claimed.

Edelina Bradewin brought a writ concerning an agreement for the arrears of her corrody. We made peace with her. Robert Ferrars of St Albans confirmed our rights to the lands and holdings, which had belonged to his father Robert of Cheddington in the parish of Studham or elsewhere. We gave him half a mark.

In the same year, in the month of November, all the Jews in England were taken prisoner on one day and put in jail at London for clipping the king's coinage. The Jews pointed to very many Christians, especially men of some nobility in London, who had been in collusion with them. For this crime two hundred and eighty Jews of both sexes were hung in London, and great numbers in other cities of England. The king received an immense sum of money for the ransom of the Christians, but some of them were handed over to the hangman.[3]

In the same year the king removed from office all the clerical and foreign sheriffs of England and put in their place knights from their own counties.[4]

The king's marshals were in Dunstable on the day of St Thomas the apostle [21 December]. The township paid a fine for false measures. The prior discharged the duty of giving them lodging.

In the same year we let our tithes at Brassington and Atlow[5] for the term of thirteen years for two hundred marks paid in advance. We drew up three deeds on this matter.

In the same year, Roger, bishop of Coventry, confirmed our possession of Bradbourne church with all its chapels [280]. He also acquired for us confirmation of this from the chapters of Coventry and Lichfield. In return for this we gave to the bishop's almonry the two hundred marks from Brassington and Atlow. But it was said both by the bishop and by ourselves that the payment was made because of a long-lasting sequestration, which the bishop said that he had made for Bradbourne church.

1 Robert Burnell was archbishop for much of 1278 before being quashed in January 1279.

2 John Peckham also studied and taught in Paris, and was a renowned scholar in many fields, including theology and optics.

3 This accusation of coin-clipping and the executions which followed mark the escalation of anti-semitic feeling in England which would culminate in the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290.

4 This was indicative of the sort of reforming action that is such a large part of King Edward's legacy.

5 Both in Derbyshire.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year an edict went out from King Edward that all who had twenty librates of land should become knights.[1]
Simon of Ho,[2] abbot of Bury St Edmunds, died.
In that winter there was no snow or ice in our area.

1279

In the year of grace 1279 Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, died. He was succeeded by master William, the dean of that church.
In the same year, in the month of May, there was a tournament at Dunstable.
In the same year and month there was a terrible thunderstorm. In many places the trees were uprooted and carried off elsewhere. Men were snatched up to the clouds. Buildings collapsed. Even lakes of water dried up and crosses were reduced to small particles.
In the octave of the Trinity [from 28 May] brother John was admitted by the lord king as archbishop of Canterbury, and his barony was restored to him.
On the same day the king gave instructions to the sheriffs of England that false or clipped coinage should no longer be used. The king sent from his own treasury whole, unclipped old money to ten cities of England, to be used as the medium for exchange until the new money was minted. Later on 4 August came the first usage of the new money in round pennies and farthings. For the whole of the following year the old coinage was still currency together with the new, and then the old money was totally banned. [281] In the meantime whole halfpennies had also been minted and began to be currency on the day on which the ban on the old coinage came into force.[3]
In the same year, in the month of July, justices came to Bedford to discover who had been clippers of money and who had agreed to help the Jews in this way. These justices wanted us to reply to these points to them in Bedford, outside the liberty of Dunstable. And the township had to pay a fine of ten pounds to the justices for the king's use. The arrangement was that the justices would send for the money or come in person to carry out this duty, but with none of the money coming from [William] the prior. This being so, the prior granted to the town as a help to pay the fine a half of all the income accruing to the priory while the justices were in session. But the justices did not come, and the town paid the ten pounds fine at Oxford.[4]
In the same year we gave the custody of the chief gate with the work involved to Thomas. He gave us twenty marks.
In the same year the town butchers built wooden sheds over the counters where they were selling their meat. But when these sheds eventually touched the ground, they

[1] Relaxing the means of becoming a knight in this way was an effective way of increasing the size of the force Edward could call upon for his various military campaigns.

[2] Usually referred to as Simon Luton, see p. 140 n. 4.

[3] For more details on the reasons for and impact of the recoinage, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 245–8. It would seem though that his replacement of the old much-clipped coinage resulted in a stronger and more stable economy.

[4] No other annalist gives details of how the coinage crisis affected their locality, so this is particularly valuable detail.

Pre-publication copy

were removed by [William] the prior and all the citizens of the town. But the prior did allow the butchers' counters to be covered with boards, provided that they did not touch the ground.

In the same year a round table was held at Kenilworth.[1]

The cardinal brother Robert, once archbishop of Canterbury, died.[2]

By a writ of novel disseisin Walter Hay recovered rights of common on forty acres of land above Hyde, and Richard Wischard did the same at Kethingges. The justiciars were Robert Fulche and Robert Maleth.

On the anniversary of the dedication of the church master Gilbert was made a canon.

At the same time in a parliament at London the king decreed that monks should no longer acquire for themselves lands or holdings, unless the rights to them were clear and it was with the agreement of the feudal lords concerned.

In the same year at the Advent of the Lord came the death of Richard, bishop of Lincoln, in the twenty-third year of his pontificate.[3] He was succeeded by master Oliver, who was then dean of the church at Lincoln. In the meantime [Roger] archdeacon of Leicester took charge of the spiritualities.[4]

John Chishull, bishop of London, died. He was succeeded by Richard Gravesend, then archdeacon of Northampton.[5]

Nicholas, bishop of Winchester, died and was succeeded by master John Pontoise by the pope's gift. The monks' choice of bishop, master Richard de la More, was quashed, because it meant him holding two offices at the same time without dispensation.

In the same year brother John, the archbishop of Canterbury, made a visitation of the Coventry and Lichfield diocese. He found that we had sufficient title to Bradbourne church with its chapels, once he had examined the grants of patrons, the assignments of bishops, the confirmations of chapters, and the confirmations and ratifications of bishops, and he made the pronouncement that we had canonical entry to it and confirmed this for us by his archiescopal authority. In the same year we made a grant from our treasury of forty shillings annually to master Walter Wotton, seeing that he was the man who had arranged and brought about this confirmation.

In the same year, in the month of March, our hall at Segenhoe suffered a fire, but the solar adjoining the hall and its appurtenances was saved. Within the next three weeks the hall was repaired.

In the same year, from 1 December right up to the feast of St Michael [29 September], we daily subtracted from the alms in the refectory three loaves of bread and three gallons of ale; also each week we subtracted for the granary [283] one quart of corn.

In the same year, on the feast of Pentecost [21 May] and before that and afterwards, our beer failed. And on the feast of St John [24 June] every kind of cereal failed. The cost for buying replacements with pennies was one hundred pounds and more.

1 Edward introduced these 'round tables' which were a nod to King Arthur and Camelot, and consisted of a tournament and jousting competition.

2 Robert Kilwardby, cardinal bishop of Porto. He died in Italy.

3 Richard Gravesend (d. 18 December 1279).

4 This is another term for the sacraments.

5 Nephew of the Richard Gravesend above.

Pre-publication copy

1280

In AD 1280, immediately after Easter, a high-class tournament was fought out at Dunstable. At the same time the prior of Gisborough, who had been elected bishop of Carlisle, appealed to the Roman curia against the archbishop of Canterbury and returned to England consecrated bishop.[1]

[Richard] the bishop of St David's died. He was succeeded by master Thomas Bek, the treasurer of the king.

In the same month Oliver Sutton was consecrated in London as bishop of Lincoln.[2]

John Hertford, a canon, died at Ruxox and was buried at the house.

In the month of October William de la Mare, the parson of Harlington, died. Master John Radnor was admitted to the church on our presentation. Although he had a letter of presentation, he resigned the living, and so we saved the two marks which he received annually from our treasury. Later Walter Ludeford was admitted to the church on our presentation, and so another two marks which we owed to Walter from the treasury ceased being paid.

In the same year St Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, was translated with great honour.

In the same year, on the day after St Katherine's day [26 November], Oliver, by grace of God bishop of Lincoln, visited our house in person. He carried out his duties in proper form and strictly, with no favours shown to anybody. He criticised very freely for clear reasons the administration of the subprior and various other brothers. Also on his orders [284] several less useful members of the household were sent away. He postponed making his criticisms until the feast of the Holy Cross after Easter [3 May], and then sent them to us in writing. He also removed William Breton, who was then prior, from his pastoral office, but subsequently, on the bishop's orders, provision was made for William at Ruxox in the following way. For his rations fourteen white bread loaves, fourteen gallons of the better kind of beer, and eight pence each week for something to go on his bread. For his room twenty shillings annually. He was also to receive and have lighting and many other things contained in the letter of provision. Also for his servant he was to receive a corrody and as much payment as one stable lad of the prior's usually got.

We sought and obtained from the lord king permission to elect a new prior, but the election was put off until we should have paid the money which we owed for the tenth for the Holy Land.

In the same year, on the day after Epiphany [7 January], when all the brothers had been set free from the sentence by which they had been bound for not paying the tenth, brother William Wederhore, who was then chamberlain, was elected prior and pastor by the method of choosing delegates. On the day after the conversion of St Paul [26 January] he was confirmed by the bishop, on the day of the Purification of the blessed Mary [2 February] he was admitted by the lord king, and on 9 February he was installed amid great joy. Master Richard Bradwell, archdeacon of Bedford, installed him. He had persistently demanded a saddle-horse for this purpose, and the great marshal of

[1] Ralph of Irton.

[2] See p. 194 above.

Proof Uncorrected copy

the lord king had likewise demanded a saddle-horse with very great persistence. But neither of them received what they asked for.

The sheriff of Bedford had the custody of our lands for the eight weeks of the vacancy. He was not a burden to us in any way, and he did not oppress our tenants. In total he took twenty-one shillings from the revenues of our house for the work of the king, and the same [285] from the merchants of the town. Richard Inge, a clerk of the lord king, received a present because of the new appointment, namely forty shillings until we should make the appointment. And because the priory was unusually laden with debt at this time, it was unanimously agreed by the bishop of Lincoln, the prior and the community that there should be many withdrawals from payment by the head and the limbs and that these withdrawals should stay in place until they had again been revoked by the community. This is what actually happened.

Our friend John Duraunt, for the sake of peace, gave the archdeacon out of his own pocket five marks for the saddle-horse which the archdeacon had demanded, so that the installation of Prior [William de Wederhore] should not be hindered.

Master Walter Ludeford, the parson of Harlington, excused the prior the thirty marks of debt to master Peter.

In the same year, on the day of St Bartholomew [24 August], Pope Nicholas [III] died. He was succeeded by Pope Martin IV from this side of the Alps.

In the same year, on St Vincent's day [22 January], a hard frost began which lasted for fifty days and stopped all agriculture.

The lord bishop admitted brother Stephen to the church of Flitton.

At the start of Lent [10 March] a hard-fought tournament was held at Dunstable.

In the same year, in the presence of the archdeacon of St Albans, we made a claim of twenty shillings a year from Brickhill church against John who was then rector of Brickhill. A public deed was drawn up on this matter.

In the same year, on the day after St James' day [25 July], so that the status quo might be maintained, we were put in possession by the archdeacon of St Albans of the tithes which we demanded of [Henry] abbot of Darley. But then the abbot's party appealed to the court at Canterbury against the archdeacon's verdict. After a lengthy [286] battle between us on the matter before the dean of the Court of Arches, the case was handed back in toto to the archdeacon of St Albans. And by him we were put in possession of the tithes, or, more precisely, of the tithes of the following year. The opposition party now appealed to the curia of the lord pope, and the priors of Hagnaby,[1] Coventry and Newenham[2] were appointed as judges in the court of appeal. And because the first two judges proceeded with the matter in the court of appeal without waiting for the third to arrive, we appealed from them to the court at Canterbury. Nevertheless the two judges proceeded with the case, and deprived us of our possession of the tithes while awarding them to [Henry] abbot of Darley. But see the next folio for developments in this matter.

[1] John of Barrow was prior from 1270 onwards. Although the date of his death or retirement is unknown, the next prior did not take up office until 1290, so it was probably him. Luard suggests his name is Herbert of Oreby.

[2] Priors Thomas Pavy and Michael of Goldington.

Pre-publication copy

1281

In the year of grace 1281, immediately after the octave of Easter [19 April], the justices itinerant sat at Derby. The prior [William] appeared there before them, but was soon given leave to depart.

In the same year and at the same time we let our estate at Gladley for the term of his life to William Chaurugge at an annual rent of one mark, with the proviso that we kept the bigger trees. He paid us fifteen marks in advance. In the same year we received twenty-five marks from William for corrodies.

In the same year the clergy paid to the lord king the fifteenth on all ecclesiastical revenues, as required by the Norwich assessment.

On the feast of Pentecost [1 June] a quarrel broke out between the scholars of Oxford and some foresters of the lord king. As a result some clerks were imprisoned and the schools were divided.[1]

In the same year our parishioners in Dunstable first paid a tithe to the vicars of Kensworth and Caddington [287] for the fodder of their animals which passed the night in Dunstable but grazed on the pasturage of the villages of Kensworth and Caddington. A tithe was also paid for lambs when they were born, and as they grew up milk and wool were paid pro rata.

In the same year we sold to Thomas, the son of John Duraunt, for forty marks fourteen white loaves, seven brown bread loaves, seven cob-loaves and fourteen gallons of the better beer for every week of the whole of his life.

In the same year on the feast of St Andrew [30 November] we assigned a fixed income to the kitchen, namely the toll of the town and the market and of the pigs on the franchise. Also, the cellarer was to maintain the larder in the usual way, and the cook was to bear the other necessary expenses in the kitchen.

In the same year there was deep snow and a frost of great severity. London bridge was greatly damaged as was the bridge at Rochester. There was also damage in other places throughout England because of the strength of the ice.[2]

Near Biddenham bridge the ice broke under a woman. She sat on a piece of ice and was carried over the water clinging firmly to it until she came to Bedford bridge. No one could get to help her. At Bedford bridge the ice broke, and the woman was seen no more.

In the same year, on the day after St Bartholomew's day [24 August], John Studham received our habit.

Roger, abbot of Woburn, died and was succeeded by Hugh Sulebury.

[1] Foresters were extremely unpopular royally commissioned individuals, and the 1279 investigation into royal forests had revealed problems in Oxfordshire. See M. Bazeley, 'The Extent of the English Forest in the Thirteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4 (1921), 140–59, p. 155, for further details.

[2] The severity of that winter was also commented on by the Worcester annalist, who refers to the damage to London Bridge, and adds that the Thames was frozen over from Lambeth to Westminster, p. 483.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year Edmund, earl of Cornwall, founded a house at Oxford as a school for the grey monks.[1]

In the same year David Flitwick brought the following writ of the king against us:

> *Edward, by the grace of God etc, sends greetings to the sheriff of Bedford. We instruct you, by using evidence given on oath by good, law-abiding citizens of your county though whom the truth of the matter can be better examined, to inquire carefully [288] who were the criminals and disturbers of our peace who in the free warren of David Flitwick at Flitwick, without the permission of David himself, chased after and caught and carried off his rabbits there and did an immense amount of other damage to the heavy loss of David himself and in contravention of our peace. You are to send back to us without delay this writ, together with the results of your inquiry carefully and openly carried out, under your own seal and the seals of those through whom the inquiry was made. Given before myself as witness at Westminster on 25 October in the ninth year of our reign.*

In the tenth year of the lord king, on the day after the feast of St Lucy the virgin [13 December], twelve jurymen came before John Cheney sheriff of Bedford, with other men loyal to the lord king being present there on that occasion, and declare under oath that David Flitwick has no warren there, neither himself nor his ancestors. This being so, they know no criminals. The names of the jurors are Edmund Wedon knight, Robert Bryan knight, John Poleyn, John Stanbrugge, Richard Sopurun, William Blundell, Peter Northwood, Robert Burn, John Passelewe, Ralph Bradley, Peter Tingrith and Thomas Northwood. When the inquiry was finished, we ourselves and several nobles of the neighbourhood immediately on the very day of the inquiry chased and caught rabbits there without any hindrance from David himself.

For the whole of that year to aid the bakery we withdrew the whole white bread tithe customarily used for giving alms.[2]

The archbishop of Canterbury held a convocation of the clergy of his province to discuss the state of the church. Absentees were heavily punished. Our own prior was absent. With difficulty he obtained the grace of absolution at Winchester.[3]

1282

In the year of grace 1282 master Robert Lincoln, a physician, was admitted on our presentation to Steppingley church, with us retaining the pension there of one mark per annum. We had presented [289] Richard Inge to this church, to whom we owed forty shillings a year because of the new appointment of our prior, but he refused the presentation. And so we were quit and freed of that annual payment. But at the

[1] This was Rewley abbey, which was actually founded as a Cistercian house; the annalist should have referred to them as 'white monks'.

[2] The priory ceased taxing the bakery a tenth of their white bread which the annalist says was used to donate to the poor.

[3] The letter he sent out admonishing absentees is included in the annals of Worcester and Waverley, pp. 481–3, and 395–6 respectively.

Pre-publication copy

insistence of Robert Burnell,[1] the chancellor of the lord king, we gave him the gift until he had begun to study the arts.

In the same year, in the month of April, we presented Geoffrey Buguleun to the church of St Cuthbert [in Bedford] which was then vacant. We were obliged to pay him two marks per annum. He retained the title of the church presented by us for quite some time but did not take it up. And so we were similarly quit of that payment. But after a lapse of time, by the grace of the bishop, the son of Henry Crone was admitted to St Cuthbert's on our presentation.

We bought from Robert Ingolf part of a wood at Buckleshore for thirty shillings. In the previous year we had bought another slice of wood from Robert next to it.

In the same year on the orders of the lord pope[2] Amaury de Montfort was released from the prison where he had been held by the bishops and sent to the Roman curia.[3]

Ralph Harewold, canon, died at Bradbourne and was buried there on 29 August.

In the same year some prisoners escaped by night out of the Tower of London as far as the church of St Paul's. They were dragged out of the church by force and beheaded outside the cemetery, with one of them being wounded before a crucifix. As a result the whole city of London was put under an interdict by the bishop.

A woman of St Giles in Dunstable died and was buried among the Dominicans. Her body had at first been taken to our church, where we celebrated a mass and received an offering and eight candles. The sacristan gave two candles to the brothers, two to the nuns and kept all the rest.

Brother [290] Philip Merston, a Franciscan, died within our enclosure. Because he was a particular friend of ours and a lecturer among the Franciscans, he was buried with fitting honours in our cloister.

Thomas, bishop of Hereford,[4] died while returning from the curia of the lord pope. Master Richard Swinfield succeeded him as bishop.[5]

In the month of October came the death of master Richard Bradwell, archdeacon of Bedford, professor of law and an officer at Lincoln. He was succeeded as archdeacon and officer at Lincoln by master John Hoke.

In the same year on 17 November, in a full court of Prior [William], it was granted by the townspeople that the prior could shut in and enclose that lane called Gruntslane. So the prior built a wall there. But some men from South Street quickly knocked it down. These attackers later made their peace with the prior, and the prior made another road for them, seven feet wide, next to the house of Stephen of Stabulo, the land being given by the township.

A canon of Bushmead castrated himself with his own knife and died of the cut the same day.

1 Blank in manuscript.

2 Martin IV.

3 Amaury, third son of Simon de Montfort, had been a member of the clergy as canon of York before being captured by Edward along with his sister on the Thames. See p. 179 above.

4 Thomas Cantilupe was later made a saint recognised by a papal bull in 1320.

5 Richard played a major role in the canonisation of his predecessor.

Pre-publication copy

We bought one acre of land at Buckleshore from William son of William. It belongs to our fief and is within our land.

Millicent Montalt looked at the confirmation which we had from her brother George concerning the land of John Eltesdon at Totternhoe, and ratified the confirmation herself.

In the same year, in the month of October, we paid three pounds to John Cheney, sheriff of Bedford, for several defaults which had come out of the eyre of master Roger Seyton. He gave us a receipt for the money.

Also William Bithoke, the clerk of John Cheney the sheriff, paid on our account at the exchequer in Shropshire two marks of queen's gold, for the fine of twenty marks settled by John of London, who at the time of the vacancy was then escheator on this side of the Trent.

Also William [291] at that time and in that place paid for us twenty shillings concerning several defaults of ours towards the Jewish community and received a receipt. He also paid there for us one mark for defaults towards the Jewish community, and received a similar separate receipt. The prior [William] handed back these two receipts with reference to the Jewish community to this clerk William so that he might get them placed in the exchequer at his first accounting.

In the same year, on the feast of St Peter's Chair,[1] we granted and gave to William Atte-Ho and his wife Alexandra various corrodies of bread, beer and other things which are mentioned in their charter. For these grants we received from the couple forty-five marks, for the very pressing needs of our house.

In the same year the Welsh again rose in rebellion against their lord, the king of England. Their main reason for this was because the lord king had established the laws and customs of the English in their lands as well, ordering the Welsh to follow the system of counties and hundreds. But in addition the justiciar of Chester had carried out the hanging of several followers of David [ap Gruffydd], the brother of the prince of Wales, contrary to Welsh custom. Also, on the orders of the lord king a wood belonging to David had been cut down to make the road there safe for travellers, as they had been suffering attacks by robbers.[2]

Llywelyn, prince of Wales, and David his brother because of these grievances became friends again, although there had been much disagreement and even hostility between them, and now they stood together as one against the lord king in defence of their own laws.[3] Then David on Palm Sunday with a great force of armed men captured Roger Clifford,[4] the king's baron in the Marches, in his own bed. He also killed Fulco Trigald, Roger's kinsman, and others of his household. Roger himself, seriously wounded, was carried off captive by other Welshmen who in the same way had risen against the king

1 Either 18 January or 22 February depending on whether this refers to the feast of 'St Peter's Chair at Rome' or the 'Chair of St Peter at Antioch'.

2 David rebelled first, by launching a successful attack on Hawarden castle. It coincided, as this entry suggests, with further uprisings across the country. See Walker, *Medieval Wales*, pp. 129–31 for details of the beginning of the uprising.

3 It was an astute move for Llywelyn to support his brother, and an opportunity for him to undo the 'humiliation' of the 1277 defeat. Walker, *Medieval Wales*, p. 129.

4 Commander of Hawarden castle.

Pre-publication copy

of England. These set ablaze the lands of the lord king which were adjacent to them and their territory, pitilessly destroying individuals and their properties. Llywelyn and his brother David indeed with followers beyond counting set siege to two castles of the lord king, Flint [292] and Rhuddlan. The king could scarcely believe the news when he heard it, because he had great trust in the Welsh themselves. But he rapidly sent there a numerous force of loyal men who at once raised the sieges, and defended the subjects of the lord king and their lands from the enemy until the king should come to those parts in person.[1]

On the feast of the nativity of St John the Baptist [24 June] the lord king with the magnates of his kingdom again entered the territory of Wales. His army spread throughout the country and carried out a great slaughter of the Welsh. Any of their goods not taken as booty were consumed by fire. Although the king was extremely angry, he nevertheless courteously received those Welsh who came to make peace. But the other Welshmen persisted in their folly and mercilessly killed any of the king's men that they ambushed, although they never attempted open warfare. They killed William de Valence, the younger son of the lord king's uncle, and several nobles with him.[2] And so from that time on our English forces fought more fiercely against the Welsh and their territories.

Meanwhile Sir Luke de Tany, to whom the king had entrusted the custody of Anglesey, with a great company of men crossed the bridge, which the king had had built there over the Menai straits, by putting very many boats sideways on, and entered into Welsh territory in order to see a certain ditch which the Welsh had dug. But when a few Welshmen who were in hiding nearby shouted out at Sir Luke and his men, the Englishmen soon turned to flee, wishing to return by the bridge by which they had come. This they were unable to do as the river water was too strong and instead they climbed into some boats. But they loaded these beyond their capacity and so they were drowned in the very river. Those who lost their lives were Sir Luke Tany himself, Roger Clifford the younger, thirteen other knights with them, seventeen esquires of noble birth, and, so it is said, about two hundred infantrymen.[3]

After this Llywelyn, prince of Wales, came down safely from Snowdon into lands belonging to Roger Mortimer [293] to receive the homage of those people, just as he had been invited to do by the sons of Roger Mortimer. But that had been a trick, and when Llywelyn came near an abbey called Cwmhir [Powys], suddenly after sunset he was attacked by those whom the king had appointed to the defences of Montgomery and Oswestry, and who were aided by all the powerful men of those marches. There they killed Prince Llywelyn. They sent his head to the king at Rhuddlan. It was later taken to London and placed on the Tower for all the people to see. Together with the prince, three of his magnates were killed and two thousand infantrymen, but just a

[1] For details of the forces mustered by Edward, including naval power from the Cinque Ports, see Walker, *Medieval Wales*, p. 130.

[2] William died at the Battle of Llandeilo Fawr, and his father the earl of Pembroke was given command over many of Edward's troop as he was bent on revenge. See David Stephenson, *The Last Prince of Wales: Llywelyn and King Edward: The End of the Welsh Dream, 1282–3* (Buckingham, 1983), p. 40.

[3] Edward was furious when news reached him of this set-back, as de Tany was supposed to have waited and coordinated with other English attacks. Walker, *Medieval Wales*, pp. 130–1.

Pre-publication copy

few horsemen. This victory happened in the eleventh year of King Edward and on the tenth day of December.[1]

Although Prince Llywelyn was dead, his brother David with a huge multitude of Welshmen still held out against the lord king. But he was pursued over Snowdon by the lord king's army and David himself with his men was driven to wander in flight over hills and marshes. And every day his army grew smaller. The lord king with the greatest of ease reduced all the castles, and all the fortifications on Snowdon and in the rest of Wales. He also took innumerable hostages from the more noble Welshmen and sent them to various parts of England. The king captured Rhys ap Maelgwn, who had been on the king's side but had fled from him to David, and imprisoned him in the Tower of London. Then many Welsh nobles came to the king to make peace. Those who refused to do so met a miserable end by famine and starvation. And just as Merlin had prophesied, there was a great desolation throughout the kingdom, just as if the rivers were flowing with blood.

Then, on the next St Alban's day [22 June], David, who had been in hiding on a mountain with a few others, was betrayed by one of his men and taken prisoner.[2] He was kept securely bound in chains up to the following feast of St Michael [29 September]. His wife also was similarly captured and kept in safe custody.[3] On the feast of St Michael David [294] received the following four sentences from the whole company of the barons of England.

1. Because he had betrayed the lord king, who had made him a knight, he was dragged by horses at a slow pace to the place of hanging.
2. Because he had killed Fulco Trigold and other English nobles he was hung alive.
3. Because he had done this at the time of our Lord's passion,[4] his innards were burnt in fire because of his blasphemy.
4. Because in many places he had plotted the death of the lord king of England, he was divided up limb from limb and sent to the different parts of England to terrify grumblers.

His head was fixed on a lofty pole at the Tower of London, facing the sea. All this also took place during the eleventh year of lord King Edward's reign.[5]

In the same year the lord king asked for help for his war in Wales from the men of religion and all the merchants of his kingdom, although he was only asking for that favour as a loan. He received on that occasion forty shillings from us; fifteen pounds, ten shillings from the town; twenty pounds from John Duraunt; ten marks from Stephen Agnew.

1 Events surrounding the prince's death are a little confused: see Walker, *Medieval Wales*, p. 131 and Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 193–4.

2 David was indeed betrayed and handed over to Edward by his own countrymen.

3 For the fate of his wife and children, and niece, see Walker, *Medieval Wales*, p.133.

4 That is, at Easter.

5 This account of the latest Welsh rebellion is more detailed than the other contemporary accounts. However, they are still detailed and worthy of comparison, as they have slightly different versions. For example, the Osney annalist implies that these events started with the ravaging of Llywelyn's lands following the Parliament held in Worcester in June 1281; details of the surrender of Bere castle and David's execution in 1282, pp. 288–95. See also the annals of Worcester, pp. 485–6; and Waverley, pp. 397–9.

Pre-publication copy

In the summer of the same year we built a new roof for the bake-house with its sheds, and a short time before this a wall for the brew-house. We also built a new roof for the chancel at Husborne Crawley out of timber which had long been set aside for the purpose.

1283

In the year of grace 1283 on Palm Sunday [11 April], Oliver, bishop of Lincoln, celebrated a high mass, took part in our procession and preached an excellent sermon. He did not arrive to carry out a visitation, but was just passing through.

In the same year, immediately after Easter [18 April], the goods of all who had possessions worth more than half a mark were taxed by twelve jurymen of their neighbourhood, for the thirtieth granted to the lord king. On that occasion our possessions outside the town [295] were taxed with the others and our possessions inside the priory were taxed through the townspeople. Later on, this taxation was revoked by a writ of the lord king, as far as it affected men of religion and merchants who on other occasions had helped the lord king with a loan in his war against the Welsh.

In the same year and at the same time in the name of the lord king a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues for three years was demanded from the clergy, also for help in his war against Wales. The archbishop of Canterbury discussed this matter in London with his fellow bishops, all his prelates and clergy. There was clear opposition to this contribution from the delegates of all the clergy.[1]

These are the arguments against the contribution. The church has been so impoverished by the decrease in revenues, the changes just made in the English coinage, the unexpected destruction of animals, and the payment of different monies collected both for the lord king himself and for help in the Holy Land, that the income of the church is now not sufficient for paying its day-to-day bills and its regular stipends to its ministers. Indeed in very many places (and it pains us to say this) the number of ministers has drastically declined.

Also, one term and one year of the fifteenth recently granted to the lord king by the church still remain unpaid. As long as this lasts, it is not fitting for his royal majesty to ask for other help, especially as before very few days have passed provision has to be made for the king by every single one of the clergy of England of a very great sum of money.

Also, the remedy and relief promised by the lord king to the clergy in some of their difficulties has not yet come into effect. This is especially true of those royal prohibitions by which ecclesiastical liberty first began to be enslaved under the king himself, and because of which mother church has been brought so low that scarcely any of her sons in these days is afraid of the power of her keys.

Also, the cause for which this help is asked is the inflicting of cruel punishment on the blood of Christians, an act which the clergy are expressly forbidden to perform, especially because of the stain of the breach of law which it causes.

Also, we are expecting that the yoke of a new payment or contribution is to be placed on the English church by the lord pope. From time out of memory the Roman church

[1] For further details of Edward's taxation policies at this time, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 240–1.

Proof Uncorrected Copy

has [296] never been exposed to such dangers and such oppression as it is now. Because of all this we do not dare to make any promises or to bind our church or ourselves to make a fresh grant of this contribution to the lord king, unless we have first consulted the high pontiff on this matter.

Of course a case could arise in which it would be legal for the clergy to make a grant or contribution from the goods of the church, for example, if the prince was besieged, imprisoned or otherwise detained by the enemy (which God forbid); or if the archbishop or the clergy had clearly stated that there was such a great necessity or need that ordinary sources were not sufficient to meet it, or if they had described other crises when the church could provide and contribute help without danger or scruples of conscience. In all these cases we would extend generously helping hands to our lord king, of course after consulting the high pontiff, whose task it is to provide for the needs of all.

In the same year we made a clock, which was placed over the pulpit.[1]

In the same year none of our parishioners in Dunstable who had land in Houghton Regis or did not have it was able to have rights of common with his animals on the pastures of the town of Houghton Regis, unless such animals lay on the fief of Houghton Regis. So then, some of our Dunstable parishioners set up sheepfolds in Houghton, and it was there that their sheep gave birth to lambs. Some others indeed took their sheep off to Limbury, where those sheep likewise gave birth to lambs. And so in that one year we lost the tithe of lambs, milk and wool of these sheep. It is said that Walter, vicar of Houghton Regis, deceitfully caused all this trouble of gaining the tithes to antagonise the lady of Eaton Bray.[2] In the same year a woman of Dunstable gave to Houghton Regis of her own accord the tenth lamb of her lambs born at Dunstable. But when the sacristan found out about this, he forced her to give a better lamb to the church at Dunstable in its place and to make considerable amends for her mistake.

In the same year on 20 June the long dispute [297] between us and the abbot [Henry] and monks of Darley abbey [Derbyshire] about some tithes in the Peak came to an end. The case had been argued before different judges and finally had been taken on appeal to examination by the dean of St Mary of Arches in London.[3] But now, after various arguments on both sides and some legal complexities, our representatives and those of the monks came to a friendly and peaceful agreement, when the dean in charge of the case announced his definitive judgment, namely that these tithes which were claimed as being in a charter should remain for ever peacefully and quietly in possession of [Henry] the abbot of Darley and his monks. But this was on condition that the abbot and his monks, in return for these tithes, should every year in perpetuity in their church at Bradbourne pay sixteen shillings to the prior of Dunstable [William] and his monks or their representative, at the two terms of the year etc. All this was under pain of the greater excommunication, which the dean at the Arches imposed from that time on and in writing upon the persons of the abbot, prior, subprior, cellarer

[1] The first mechanical clocks did indeed begin appearing around this time in English religious buildings.

[2] Millicent Montalt.

[3] An ecclesiastical court judge.

Pre-publication copy

and sacristan of the abbey of Darley, as often as there any failure in whole or in part to pay the sixteen shillings. A public charter on this matter was drawn up between us, in which were contained various other sanctions.

In the same year on the day of Pentecost [6 June], we admitted brother Roger Kylpsham as a canon on the presentation of Millicent Montalt, the mistress of Eaton Bray, according to the contents of the document drawn up between us and Millicent's ancestors.

In the same year Michael, prior of Newenham, died. He was succeeded in the month of July by John Bedford, a canon of the same house.

In the same year and at the same time we sold William Pyke, our villein, with his family. We received one mark from his purchaser.

In the same year a servant of John Duraunt the younger committed suicide by throwing himself into his master's well. [298] On the verdict of the coroners he was thrown into a grave outside the town. But the Hospitallers took him out of there and buried him in the cemetery.

In the same year on 21 June, David, the brother of Llywelyn, prince of Wales, was taken captive by the people of the lord king, his legitimate son being captured with him. David was put in prison on the order of the lord king. Many of his followers made their peace with the king, and afterwards the lord king made what arrangements he pleased for the whole province of Wales without any opposition. Also David's wife, the daughter of the earl of Ferrars, was taken captive on another occasion and put in prison. There is more about this in another part of the folio.[1]

In the same year and at the same time came the death of [John] the bishop of Rochester, a monk. He was succeeded as bishop by master Thomas Ingoldsthorpe, who was then dean of St Paul's in London.

There also died [Robert of Holy Island] bishop of the church at Durham. He too had been a monk. He was succeeded by Antony Bek, who was then the most famous of the king's clerks.

In the same year,[2] on the day of the beheading of St John the Baptist [29 August], there was a wrestling match at Hockliffe in front of the hospital. Many of our own people were present. The wrestling had finished and nearly everyone was leaving when John our smith was killed there by an axe. Also killed was Simon Mustard, a complete thug and rascal, from the party of Sir William Mountchesney, who then had the wardship of John Malherbe the heir. The plea was put by four townships before a coroner, and also in a full court, that they had killed each other. And so our own people came off safely, with none of them being summoned to appear on the matter.

In the same year, [299] on the feast of All Saints [1 November], master Walter Ludeford, the principal executor for master Peter Radnor, pardoned us for all the money which we owed to master Peter for whatever reason from the beginning of the world.

In the same year and at the same time we sold to John Ludeford certain corrodies in perpetuity for twenty-five marks.

[1] See pp. 202–3 above for a more detailed account of David's capture and sentencing.

[2] Folio 63 is a parchment fragment inserted in the manuscript.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year and at the same time the clergy of the English church granted to the lord king a twentieth of spiritual offerings for the duration of three years, according to their assessment by the bishop of Norwich.[1]

In the same year and at the same time we built a hall at Newbottle. Our chamberlain found the money for all of this, apart from the customary accommodation for the individual brothers.

In the same year in the preceding summer we spent twenty pounds on buying corn at Offley. Also we spent up to the amount of twenty pounds on corn bought at Shillington and in various other places. We also bound ourselves and our successors by a deed of chapter to make special mentions of master Peter in our calendar of benefactors, a privilege long since granted to him by our predecessors.

At the same time the lord king's exchequer and bench returned from Shrewsbury to Westminster in London.

In the same year, on the day after All Souls [3 November], the prior [William] and brother Michael of the Peak and brother John Hallings and certain others of our household at Ruxox were summoned by a writ of trespass to reply in London to David Flitwick concerning his accusation that they had broken the peace by fishing his ditches and fishponds by night.[2]

At the same time, on the order of Pope Martin, the king of Aragon[3] was excommunicated by the universal church because [300] he had driven out Charles, king of Sicily, from his kingdom and seized the kingdom himself together with other lands belonging to the Roman church, contrary to the wishes of the lord pope.[4]

In the same year we were entered on the roll of payments for the eleventh year of the reign of King Edward. It was granted to the prior of Dunstable that he should pay to the king sixty shillings a year for the hundred shillings which he owed the king for the flight of John Peyure, for the forty-six shillings and eight pence which he owed the king for the arrears of the fifteenth, for the one mark which he owed the king for obtaining a writ and for the twenty shillings which he owed the king for trespass. Half of this payment was to be made on the feast of St Michael [29 September], the other half at the feast of Easter [18 April]. The payment was entered on the rolls one month before the day of St Michael in the previous year. We had the following writ on the matter, sent by the exchequer of the lord king to Ralph Goldington, then sheriff of Bedford. It said:

Edward, by grace of God etc. You should know that we have made a concession to the prior of Dunstable concerning his payment of the hundred shillings into our exchequer, which he owes us for the flight of John Peyure, the forty-six shillings which he owes us for the arrears of the fifteenth, the one mark which he owes us for obtaining a writ, the

1 The outcome of the negotiations dealt with above, pp. 131–2.

2 This is the same David Flitwick who had previously compained about rabbits being caught; see above, p. 198.

3 Peter III the Great (1276–1285).

4 This is an update on the events of the Sicilian Vespers. For further reading, see Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers* (Cambridge, 1953). The annals of Worcester record this briefly, p. 491, as do those of Osney, pp. 300–1 and Waverley, p. 402. They all agree that it was due to his invasion of Sicily.

Pre-publication copy

twenty shillings which he owes us for trespass … And for that reason we order you not to distrain on the prior until we have instructed you further on the matter … any possessions of his which you have seized you are to give back immediately because of the aforesaid concessions. Given at Westminster on 8 December in the eleventh year of our reign, witnessed by Peter of Chester. From the roll about payments.

We also had the following writs from the chancery to the sheriff:

Edward, by the grace of God etc., sends greetings to the sheriff of Bedford. You should know that the prior of Dunstable [William] *is keeping his terms to our exchequer concerning [301] the hundred shillings, which he owes us for the flight of John Peyure, the sixty-six shillings which he owes us for the arrears of the fifteenth, the one mark which he owes us for a writ, and the twenty shillings which he owes us for trespass. For that reason we order you not to distrain on him until etc. and his possessions etc. Given at Westminster with Roger Northwood as witness on 28 October in the twelfth year of our reign. From the roll about payments and receipts from the exchequer.*

Edward, by the grace of God etc. Because our beloved prior of Dunstable claims the right to have all the fines on his people in the lands of his church at Dunstable, wherever fines have been imposed by our court, because of the charters of our ancestors, the kings of England, which he says he has at Dunstable, we order you to postpone until our parliament after the next feast of Easter the demand which you are making on the prior and the people on his lands concerning such fines because of a summons from our exchequer for our needs, so that then we may get done that which should lawfully be done. Given at Acton Burnell with myself as witness on 24 October in the eleventh year of our reign.

Edward, by the grace of God etc. Because the prior of Dunstable, our beloved in Christ, claims to have the right to the goods of fugitives and the convicted on his lands, and all the fines on his people, and similarly to acquittances of murder and forest offences, because of the charters of our ancestors, the kings of England, which he says he has at Dunstable, we order you to postpone until our parliament after the next feast of Easter the demand which you are making on the same prior because of a summons from our exchequer concerning the goods of this kind and fines on his people and similarly with reference to murder and forest offences, so that then we may get done that which should lawfully be done. Witnessed as above.

In the same year, [302] on the feast of St Michael [29 September], we paid to Ralph Goldington, sheriff of Bedford, the thirtieth of our temporalities for the expedition of the lord king in Wales. In fact this payment of a thirtieth was postponed because of the gift which we made to the lord king at the urging of John Kirkby; for the gift, which we handed over at that time as payment, counted to us as payment. In the same way our townspeople, who had also given a gift, escaped by the same means.

In the same year, in the month of January, Nicholas Basse of Kensworth was hanged for theft. Also, while Nicholas was still in prison, we cut down to the ground some hedges which divided his land from the land which we owned as a gift from Thomas Inge at Shortgrave. Because of this there arose the material for a suit between us and the lord of the manor at Caddington. Finally it was amicably agreed between the lord and us that, when those hedges grew again, they and other hedges between us and Geoffrey Amite should remain in the future as boundaries between the two

Preproduction copy

counties [Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire]. And that, as often as they were cut back, we should only take wood from the path between the hedges. Also we agreed that the lands of Nicholas and Geoffrey should not be ploughed in the future any nearer to those hedges than was the case on the day of this agreement. Also we agreed that the old thorn-hedge with its ditch between our cultivated land and that of Kensworth should remain undamaged in the future.

In the same year, on the day of Saints Vedast and Amandus [1 February] , John Duraunt of Dunstable gave a great dinner in Dunstable for the lord of the manor of Caddington and various great personages of the neighbourhood. Although it went against the customs approved of in our monastery, our prior was present at the dinner. But he could be excused for this. We owed John so much money that the prior did not dare to offend him.

The treasury [303] of the lord king returned from Shrewsbury to London in the preceding feast of St Michael [29 September].

In the same year, on the day after that of St Hilary [14 January], Robert Fuke and Walter Wymundesham, the justices of the king for the bringing of special writs, sat in session at Dunstable. In their presence a suit was brought against us by Agnes, the daughter of William Burgard, and by Alice, her sister, by a writ of mort d'ancestor to an inheritance of one tenement and ten acres of land and three and a half rods of plough-land and three and a half rods of meadow land with appurtenances at Eversholt. Also in the same writ Agnes and Alice brought a case against Simon Wymund for holding three rods of their land. Also against Ralph Philip, who held one rod of their land. Also against Richard Ford, who held one rod of their land. Also against Richard Philip, who held one and a half rods of their land. The prior, Simon, Ralph, Richard and Richard all opposed Agnes and Alice on this matter.

Agnes and Alice withdrew from the suit and put themselves totally in the good graces of the prior on this matter by these conditions: that the prior should inquire into their right in his own court at Segenhoe, and according to its verdict he should do more or less for them. And I must tell you that the women came away with nothing from the court of the prior. For their great-grandfather, William Burgard, had admitted before the justices itinerant at Bedford in the third year of the reign of King Henry, son of King John, that he was a tenant of the said prior of the said holding. This is clear from the fine then levied in the case between Felicia, the wife of Arnold Blottere, the plaintiff, and Prior Richard, the defendant, concerning [the Burgard] half a virgate of land and five acres at Eversholt etc.[1]

You should also know that none of these proceedings were registered in the rolls of the justices Robert Fuke and Walter, for they, as a gift, allowed the prior to regard the original writ as null and void. The date of this writ was 28 March [304] in the tenth year of the reign of King Edward, and, in the twelfth year of the same King Edward, Agnes and Alice withdrew their prosecution.

At the same time we had our six vicars in the Bedford archdeaconry summoned before the lord bishop of Lincoln for refusing, together with us, to pay to the lord king the fifteenth granted for three years, according to the assessment of wealth made on their

[1] For this case, see above, p. 29. This ability to refer back to the outcome of cases such as this one demonstrates why the canons of Dunstable were so keen to keep records of all the judgments passed.

Pre-publication copy

vicarages. Four of the vicars listened to the admonitions of the lord bishop concerning payment and soon gave us satisfaction without difficulty. But the vicars of Segenhoe and Husborne Crawley dug in their heels on this issue. So we proceeded against them in the presence of the lord bishop as follows:

These were the proceedings, in the prebendal church of St Mary of Stow, on the day after the day of St Agnes in AD 1283, in the presence of us, Oliver, bishop of Lincoln by divine permission, in the case in dispute between on the one hand the prosecutors, those men of religion the prior and monks of Dunstable, represented here today by their lawful proctor, master Ralph Luffenham the clerk, and on the other hand the defendants, the vicars of Segenhoe and Husborne Crawley, who are nowhere to be seen. Seeing that the deans of Dunstable and Flitwick have assured us that these two vicars were properly summoned to be here today, as they have not appeared, we, as justice demands, regard them as disobedient and we reserve for ourselves the right to inflict on them a penalty for their disobedience at this place and time. Our decision is that they should receive a second, peremptory summons to appear before us on the Monday in the first week of Lent, wherever we then happen to be in our diocese. They are to make reply to these men of religion on the matters which the men of religion have thought should be put before them, and further they are to act as justice shall urge them to act. So in this case we have appointed and assigned this day for them, wherever we are in our diocese, [305] so that justice may be done for the proctor, the representative of his masters, and for the masters themselves in his person.

Finally in a chapter held at Flitwick on 3 February in the same year the vicars of Segenhoe and Husborne Crawley fully satisfied our demands, and paid all their arrears to our proctors, John Maydenbury and master Walter Wotton.

[Richard de Ware] abbot of Westminster in London, who was then the treasurer of the lord king, died quite suddenly.[1] He was not much mourned by his monks because of his severity. He was succeeded in the office of treasurer by Sir John Kirkby, who had long been vice-chancellor of the lord king.

John Peyure, who had married a cousin of this John Kirkby,[2] proved his age as lawful before the queen dowager of England,[3] and was placed in possession of his lands on the feast of All Saints [1 November].

The lord king and queen after the Nativity of the Lord attended the consecration at York of Antony Bek, bishop of Durham. Then the lord king held his parliament at Lincoln. Then the lord king returned to Wales and decreed that in the future the Welsh and their heirs should live according to the laws of England.[4]

1 Richard de Ware (1258–1283). Appointed treasurer 18 June 1280.

2 Beatrice; again, Luard has identified her using 'Roberts's Calendarium Genealogicum, ii. p. 701'.

3 Eleanor of Provence, mother of Edward I.

4 This is probably a reference to the 'Statute of Wales', issued in March 1284. The statute laid out a new structure for local government and administration for Wales, bringing it into line with English practices. See Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 205–7 for further explanation and details.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year Edmund, earl of Cornwall, the cousin of the lord king, on his manor at Ashridge which he himself had magnificently built up, founded a suitable college for the reception of the religious. He established chaplains there, giving each one of them a uniform habit. He also decreed that each of them and their successors there should receive six marks annually from his exchequer for their expenses. But there was no expectation that the college could last for long, because its foundation was weak, since some of the chaplains themselves at the beginning did not behave particularly well.[1]

In the same year, because of the great rains which continued for more or less the whole summer, all the sheep who pastured [306] in the valleys became so wet and swollen inside that they almost all died. Around Dunstable we had scarcely two hundred sheep by the end of the March following, although our sheep in the Chilterns and in the Peak remained healthy and strong. And then, although late in the day, we discovered a remedy for the scab, which had attacked all sheep everywhere in England for the previous seven years. For we made an ointment out of a mixture of old silver and quicksilver and verdigris.[2] Then, wherever the scab showed itself, we smeared the place with ointment, and the itching soon stopped. But against the sickness caused by the wet there was no remedy.

1284

In the year of grace 1284 Christiana Mustard, who was the wife of Simon Mustard, in a full court at Bedford made an appeal against John Wederore and several others of our household and even Prior William concerning the death of Simon, whom I have mentioned earlier. The proceedings were as follows.

The process of the appeal which Christiana, who was the wife of Simon Mustard, made in a full court at Bedford against John Wederore, Walter Chamberlain, John Porcher, John the cellarer, Thomas Porter, Walter Pet, William Hakun, Hugh Gledley, William Cotel, John Studham and William prior of Dunstable concerning the death of the aforementioned Simon. All this will become clearer as the process of the appeal is described.

At the orders of the lord king given through his writs, the process of the appeal came before Thomas Bray and Robert Malet on the first Monday after the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul[3] in the twelfth year of lord Edward the king. On that day Thomas and Robert were present in the court, but Christiana did not appear, although her name was solemnly called several times. And so it was decided that Christiana should be put in prison, and that Nicholas the reeve of Rouhale and William Stragon of Houghton Regis, the sureties of Christiana herself in the pursuing of this appeal, should be fined. And that John Wederore and the others accused were released and could withdraw as far as Christiana's charge was concerned. But that it was also the duty of the said justiciars, Thomas and Robert, to enquire of John Wederore and all

[1] Ashridge priory, a community of 'Blue Friars' or Brothers of Penitence, a new religious order.

[2] Verdigris is the bluish-green patina found on oxidised copper.

[3] That is, 3 July.

Pre-publication copy

the others brought to court and mentioned above how exactly they wished to clear themselves of Simon's death.

All of them being present, except John the cellarer who had died, declared that they were not responsible for Simon's death and that they therefore put themselves before a jury. So an inquiry was made by means of John Cheney, Edmund Wedon, and Ralph Merston, knights; and through John Merston, Peter Tingrith, Alard Loring, John Poleyn, John Sewell, Warin Dene, John Stanbrugge, John fitz Thomas of Totternhoe, John Lymbury, William Clipstone-Bridge, Richard Sporum, Roger Pirot, Robert Linley, Stephen Tulesworth, jurymen. They all said under oath that John Wederore, Walter Chamberlain and John Porcher were not responsible for Simon's death. And so these then were acquitted. They also said under oath that Thomas Porter, Walter Pet, William Hakun, Hugh Gledley, William Cotel and John Studham were not in any way responsible for Simon's death, by plans, violence, force, help, wishes or assent. And so these were all acquitted. They also said that Prior William of Dunstable was not responsible for the death or for any harbouring of criminals. And so he was acquitted.

And when the said jurymen were asked which man or which men had killed Simon, they said that a certain John Smith of Flamstead had killed him by an arrow in his right side. And that Simon, before his death, had struck this John Smith such a fierce blow on his head with a stick that he had laid him flat on the ground. But they said that Roger Ballok had killed [308] John Smith. They also said that the appellant Christiana had never been the married wife of Simon. And so for this reason her accusation neither could nor should have validity. But they said that it was through the malicious prayers and urgings of David Flitwick, William Monte Casino of Edwasthone, Geoffrey Redland and Philip Wroxhull that Christiana had pursued her accusation, as Christiana would never have brought this accusation herself, if David, William, Geoffrey and Philip had not intervened and persuaded her to do so.

They also said that as Simon was a thief, his goods were confiscated and the property of the lord king. And that these goods were: six quarts of barley malt worth twenty-four shillings, which are at Dilewick [Bedford]; twenty-two sheep worth twenty-two shillings and one robe of blue worth half a mark, these being at Cranford in the county of Northampton; one surcoat worth eighteen pence. All these goods were given up by the coroners to the village of Hockcliffe.

The sureties for Christiana, Nicholas reeve of Rouhale and William Stragon of Houghton Regis, were fined, Nicholas sixty shillings and William twenty shillings. The assessors of the fine were Warin Dene and Stephen clerk of Tilesworth.[1]

The sequence of Christiana's appeal from court to court

Christiana, who was the wife of Simon Mustard, [finally] appeared before a full court on the first Monday after the Purification of the blessed Mary in the twelfth year of the reign of King Edward. She accused John Wederore of the murder of Simon Mustard, her husband. For she said that her husband in the village of Hockliffe, on the Sunday

[1] The final verdict in the case has now been given, and in pp. 211–14 we go back to the start and have fuller details of the case up to the point where the king appoints Thomas Bray and Robert Malet as justices.

Pre-publication copy

which was the feast of the beheading of St John Baptist, was keeping the peace of our present lord King Edward in the eleventh year of his reign opposite the gate [309] of the hospital of St John in a square called Stafteis, which is some fifty feet further to the east beyond the gate of the people she was accusing. It was the hour of the ringing of the bells for vespers. This same John Wederore came there with wicked, felonious intent to commit a premeditated attack. He lay in wait with a bow made of yew and with a string of whipcord at the ready in his left hand, and he wickedly and criminally shot at Simon with a barbed arrow, of which the shaft was of ash, winged with the feathers of a goose, and with an arrowhead of iron and steel. He struck him with this arrow in his left side. He made one wound four thumbs long, two thumbs wide and so deep it reached his heart. Simon died of this shot in the arms of Christiana his wife. John immediately took to his heels after his wicked deed, while Christiana immediately raised a hue and cry and pursued him to the nearest villages. Then she went to the four townships roundabout, next to the bailiffs of the lord king, then to the coroners and so to this full court. If John Wederore wanted to deny that crime of his, Christiana was prepared to give proof against him as a criminal, in as far as the court of the lord king considered a woman could and should.

Christiana also brings an accusation against Walter Chamberlain that, on the said day in the said year at the said place and hour, he did strike Simon Mustard with a Danish axe which he had in his hand, the shaft being of ash and the axe-head of iron and steel, and that he did make one wound on the left side of his head, five thumbs long and deep enough to reach the brain, so that if Simon had not died of the arrow shot, he would have died of that axe blow. And Christiana is ready to give proof against him as a criminal, as against John Wederore.

Christiana also accuses John Porcher of arriving at the said day, place and hour with a bow strung in his left hand, the bow being of yew [310] and with a string of whipcord, and that he did wickedly and criminally shoot at Simon one barbed arrow of which the shaft was of ash, winged with the feathers of a goose and with a head of iron and steel. Further, that with this same arrow he did cause a wound two thumbs long and one thumb wide right in the middle of the brawny part of his arm between shoulder and elbow. Further, that he fled as soon as he had done the wicked deed, and that Christiana raised a hue and cry and pursued him to the nearest, etc.

Christiana also brings an accusation against John the cellarer that with wicked and criminal intent, violence, force and help, he was concerned, at the said year, day, place and hour, in the death of Simon Mustard, her husband, and that he hung about on the spot until Simon had been killed. Further, that if John the cellarer had not been there, Simon would have escaped that death. And if that crime etc.

Christiana also accuses Thomas Porter of being concerned in the death of Simon Mustard, her husband, in his intent, violence and help. She also says that if he had not been present at that year, place and hour, Simon would not have died, and that she herself is ready to give proof of this against him as a criminal.

Christiana also accuses Walter Pet of his intent, violence and help in the death of Simon etc.

She also accuses William Hakun of intent, violence and help in the death of Simon etc.

She also accuses Hugh Gledley of intent, violence and help in the death of Simon etc.

She also accuses William Cotel of intent, violence and help in the death of Simon etc.

She also accuses John Studham of intent, violence and help in the death of Simon etc.

Pre-publication copy

She also accuses William, prior of Dunstable, of harbouring the said criminals, and of the fact that at the said day, year, place and hour they did depart from the priory of Dunstable and come to commit that criminal deed, and that after the crime had been committed [311] they did return to the same priory, where Prior William then harboured them as criminals, and does still so harbour them. If the prior wishes to deny this, Christiana is ready to give proof against him, as against a criminal.

The sureties for the accusation William[1] and Nicholas were later fined because of Christiana, as she did not pursue her case. Therefore, etc.

First court day after the accusation

At the court in Bedford, on the nearest Monday before the feast of St Gregory [6 March], in the twelfth year of the reign of King Edward, Christiana, who was the wife of Simon Mustard, came before the full court and made her accusation against John Wederore, Walter [Chamberlain] and John [Porcher] for the death of Simon Mustard, her husband. But when these men were later called for, they did not appear. And so Christiana was given a day one month away from that day.

Second court day

At the court in Bedford, on the Monday after Palm Sunday [3 April], in the twelfth year, Christiana, who was the wife of Simon Mustard, came before the full court and made her accusation against John and the others, for the death of Simon etc. When these men were asked for on this second occasion, they did not appear. So a day a month later was given for this accusation.

Third court day

At the court in Bedford, on the Monday which was the feast of the apostles Philip and James [3 May], the said Christiana made her accusation against John and the others for the death of Simon etc, but when asked for a third time they did not appear. So a day in one month's time was given to Christiana.

Fourth court day

At the fourth [312] court hearing in Bedford in the week of Pentecost [starting 28 May] in the said year the said Christiana came and made her accusation etc. The accused when asked for a fourth time did not appear. But R.W.S. went bail for John, Walter and John, and therefore a day was given to Christiana in one month's time from that day.

At the fifth hearing, held in Bedford on the next Monday after the feast of St John Baptist [25 June] in the said year the said Christiana etc. came before a full court and made her accusation against John and the others for the death etc. They were called and did not appear, but a writ of the lord king for them was delivered to the full court. It went as follows:

Edward, by the grace of God, gives greetings to the sheriff of Bedford.
Christiana, who was the wife of Simon Mustard, is accusing in your court John Wederore and others including the prior of Dunstable of the murder of Simon, once her husband. And these same accused, seeking no loopholes in the case but allowing themselves to receive justice according to the law and custom of our kingdom, have especially pleaded with us that we should ensure that this case is heard and concluded with all possible

[1] In the manuscript the name John is given, but this is an error.

Pre-publication copy

speed, and full and swift judgment given to the parties involved.
Therefore we have appointed our beloved and trusty Thomas Bray and Robert Malet as our justices, together with those whom they take as their associates, to hear and finish this case in accordance with the law and the custom of our kingdom. And therefore we give orders to you that, at an appointed day and place which Thomas and Robert will make known to you, you should get this case brought before them with its attachments and with all those cases which are relevant to it. You should also have present a number of sound and law-abiding men from your bailiwick so that the truth of the matter can be better investigated and established. And you should inform Christiana that there and then, if she so wishes, she is to bring her accusation against John and the others and William the prior. And you should have this writ with you at the time.
Given on 9 May with myself as witness, in the twelfth year of our reign.

In the same year came the death of brother John Derlington, archbishop of Dublin. He had been appointed the collector of all the money granted at the council of Lyons for help in the Holy Land. It is said that he died suddenly, and more or less intestate.

In the same year died [Robert] bishop of Salisbury, who had been blind for seven years. He was succeeded by [Walter] the dean of Salisbury.

In the same year, on the day of St Mark [25 April] at Caernarfon, a son was born to the lord king, and he was called Edward.[1]

In the same year Alphonso died, the son and heir of the same lord king. The English grieved beyond measure at his death on account his extreme handsomeness and valour.[2]

In the same year, in the month of June, the lord king held a round table tournament in Wales, in its most distant part where Snowdon rises above the sea. It cost the lord king very much trouble and expense, for a countless host of Englishmen and foreigners had gathered there.[3]

In the same year we paid Henry Wyville about fourteen marks to pay off the annual rent-charge of fourteen shillings and ten pence which we owed him for the lands in Houghton Regis.

In the same year William and Richard, the sons of John Duraunt of Dunstable, began to study the Arts at Oxford. Their father John held a feast of celebration there.

In the same year Oliver, bishop of Lincoln, carried out in person on the day of St Donatus the office of visitation at Dunstable priory. He did not ask for his board and lodging for this, nor did he accept it when offered.

In the same year [314] we bought from Benedict Sporon a croft of arable land and some headlands of meadow land which he held from us at Wadlow.

In the same year brother Robert Trone, who had been a Franciscan for nine years and had been a priest, was sentenced and condemned because of a wife, whom he had married in proper form before becoming a Franciscan. He was stripped of his

[1] Having been born in Wales, and to consolidate his victory over the Welsh, he granted the title 'Prince of Wales' to his newborn son, a title which remains to this day for the first-born prince of England.

[2] The Waverley annalist adds that he was offered at the shrine of Edward the Confessor, but still died; p. 401. He was eleven at the time of his death.

[3] Again, the annals of Waverley corroborate this, although giving the date as being 1 August, p. 402.

Pre-publication copy

monk's habit. He went on living with his wife, but was later brought back to court and imprisoned.[1]

In the same year Laurence Duket, a London goldsmith, badly wounded Ralph Crepin[2] in Westcheap and fled into the church of St Mary-le-Bow. After this some thugs, taking Ralph's part, went into the church by night and killed Laurence, who was lying in the tower of the church. They then hung him up there, putting him down through a window as if he had hung himself. When an enquiry was made by laymen into this matter, the verdict was that he had hung himself. And so he was dragged by his feet outside the city and buried in a ditch. But very soon afterwards a boy, who had been lying by Laurence at the hour of his death and had fled in fear, told his story and the truth of the matter was brought to light. And so a certain woman,[3] who had been the author of this revenge killing, and sixteen men with her were all put in prison. Subsequently most of them were dragged apart by horses while the woman was burnt at the stake. The church itself was put under an interdict by the archbishop and the door and windows stopped up by thickets of thorns. Laurence was extracted from the place where he lay, and buried in a cemetery by a cleric. Finally, [Thomas] bishop of Rochester, on the orders of the archbishop, re-consecrated the church.

In the same year Robert fitz Alan cleared for us twenty acres of land in Stoke Hammond, which we held [315] from his fief as a gift from John Hastings. For this we gave Robert two and a half marks.

In the same year, on St Faith's day [6 October], Sir John Vaux, master Thomas Sodington and their fellow justices itinerant sat at Leicester. Our prior appeared before them on behalf of Cadeby, and on the second day of the session he was allowed to depart.

In the same year, brother John, the archbishop of Canterbury, first visited the Lincoln diocese, and on St Lucy's day [13 December] he turned aside to visit Dunstable. Seeing that the bishop of Lincoln had fairly recently visited the priory, the archbishop found everything there in prospering, but he did however stay for one night there. He received from the priory four marks for his board and lodging and then departed. Also there happened to be a canon of Dunstable who had committed a breach of canon law, and to him the archbishop handed a cross and by a privilege allowed on his authority to those signed by the cross, he absolved the canon from his breach of the rules. But this was done, provided that on his first military expedition the canon made restitution from it, as far as he could make money from his own room or even from his friends without injury to the priory.

On the following Sunday [16 December] the archbishop consecrated Walter Scammel as bishop of Salisbury, in a manor belonging to the bishop himself near Reading. Also at that time the archbishop postponed his inspection of our privileges concerning the appropriation of churches.

In the same year at the Peak we only had five sacks of wool weighing twenty stones. Of these at least two sacks belonged to the tithe. We were surprised and upset by this,

[1] The last two words have been added in the margin, but are barely readable.

[2] A town clerk of London.

[3] Alice Bowen, according to Luard.

Pre-publication copy

especially because in that shearing we had there as all our property twelve hundred sheep, of the long hundredweight.

In the same year Richard Hetherington was fraudulently put in possession of land at Charlton cum Newbottle by John Cook, under colour of it being for a fixed term.

In the same year Richard Hinge [316] by authority of the council was deprived of the church of St Peter at Bedford, and Peter Hareshull, a clerk of Sir Ralph Hengham, was admitted to the church at our presentation, with us retaining half a mark of his annual pension.

In the same year, before Roger Wotton and Roger Cumeton, both canons, John Saboth, the bailiff of the liberty of Dunstable, presented his account of the thirty-seven shillings and eight pence, which, sealed with green wax of the exchequer, he had levied and received as fines from Dunstable men who had been fined before the justices. The fines were as follows: from Henry Spencer the elder forty pence for a default before the justiciars at the bench in London. For Henry Spencer the younger forty pence for the same. From Robert Barkham twenty pence for the same. From John Moner forty pence for the same. From Robert Rilend twenty pence for the same. From William Pyrithone twenty pence for the same. From William Rhys twenty pence for the same. From Walter Cripps half a mark for a default before Robert Fulke sitting as a justice at Dunstable. From William Rhys half a mark for the same. From Alexander Baneter forty pence for the same. And you should know that John Saboth gave satisfaction to the exchequer of the prior concerning the monies mentioned and received a receipt for them.

In the same year the lord king of England, having brought the whole of Wales under his control, celebrated Christmas at Bristol. And the citizens of Bristol, who had been suing the constable of the castle over certain issues, withdrew their accusations, and, because they had been using those liberties contrary to the customs of the kingdom, submitted themselves and their goods to the graces of the lord king.

In the same year, on the feast of the Purification [2 February], we restored to the almonry the tithe of white bread which had been going to the bakery. Indeed by common consent this tithe was removed from the bakery for almost three years.

In the same year in Lent [from 26 February], two receipts were allowed us in the exchequer of the lord king. We had these receipts against [317] Ramsey abbey, for the fifteenth of the lord king paid to it, amounting to ten marks. For in the account which the abbot of Ramsey returned to the exchequer, it was found that these ten marks were included in the accounts. And so the prior let the matter rest.

In the same year came the death of Charles [of Anjou], the uncle of Philip the king of France. This same Philip made an expedition to Spain to fight a war against Peter of Aragon, because Peter had expelled Charles of Anjou from the kingdom of Sicily contrary to the wishes of the lord pope, and also because this Peter had frequently offended King Philip in other ways.[1]

[1] The rivalry between these two powers resulted in what became known as the 'War of the Sicilian Vespers' which continued until 1302. For further reading, see Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers*.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year the winter was so mild that our old men said they had never yet seen a milder.

In the same year came the death of Pope Martin IV, who had given his support to King Charles against Peter of Aragon.[1]

1285

In the year of grace 1285 Easter day fell on the day of the Annunciation of our Lord [25 March].

In the same year Pope Martin was succeeded by Pope Honorius IV, a Roman-born pope.

In the same year in the month of May, King Edward entered London for the first time after his conquest of the whole of Wales, carrying with him a most glorious cross which had once belonged to the princes of Wales, and which had great fame among the Welsh because the Lord had done many miracles through it.[2]

The king then held a long and important parliament at London of clergy and people. He passed many hard statutes. They were all for the good and gain of the kingdom, but very many of them were injurious to the clergy and a source of trouble for the men of religion.[3] Also at that parliament a scutage was granted generally throughout the whole of England to pay for Wales.[4]

Brother John, archbishop of Canterbury, and the whole clergy, noticing that very many of these statutes were detracting from the liberty of the church, begged [318] the lord king for a remedy on these matters, or at least that he should recall the letter of royal prohibition, which had emanated from his court with wider scope than usual. The king did indeed offer the clergy some mitigation concerning these statutes, although he did not give permission that cases, other than marital and testamentary ones, could be heard in Christian courts.

Philip, king of France, died of an attack of dysentery while he was besieging Girona. He was succeeded by Philip, his son and the cousin of Peter of Aragon.[5]

1 The pope supported Charles' invasion of the kingdom of Sicily which Peter was laying claim to through his wife Constance, who was the daughter of Manfred, king of Sicily, and therefore the only direct descendant of Frederick II.

2 Whilst he had been staying in Conwy the previous year, a group of Welshmen presented him with one of Llywelyn's greatest treasures, a relic of the cross known in Wales as the 'Cross Neith'. This was just part of the Welsh prince's treasure which Edward acquired for himself; for further details see Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 203–4.

3 Members of the clergy may have felt they were 'injured' as their lead representative, John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, was on visitation in Salisbury at the time and unable to attend.

4 The war in Wales and subsequent building and refurbishing of castles was and had been very expensive for the crown. See Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 196–201 for a very detailed discussion of the expenses involved.

5 Philip actually died of the illness on his return journey to France after the French had successfully taken Girona. For a full account of the siege, see Charles D. Stanton, *Medieval Maritime Warfare* (Barnsley, 2015), pp. 145–8 which also has a chapter on the Sicilian Vespers, pp. 136–58.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year, in the month of October, Sir John Vaux and Sir Roger Loveday and their associates sat at Northampton as justices itinerant of the lord king. And at this court Sir Henry Grey brought a suit against the prior of Dunstable by means of this writ:

Edward, by the grace of God etc., gives greetings to the sheriff of Northampton. You are to order the prior of Dunstable to make a just and immediate return to Henry Grey of the patronage of the church of Newbottle near Sutton Regis, which he is unjustly keeping by force. If the prior fails to do this, and Henry Grey in pursuing his claim gives you grounds for certainty, then with a valid summons you are to summon the prior to appear at the small assize before our justices, when they shall come to those parts, to make it clear why he has not done so. You are to have there the summons and this writ. Given before myself as witness at Southampton, on the nineteenth day of October in the thirteenth year of our reign.

[Henry Grey's plea:]

Henry Grey through his attorney is seeking against the prior of Dunstable the right of presentation to the church of Newbottle near Sutton Regis, of which an ancestor of his called Richard was in possession by reason of fief and law, in the days of peace in the time of King Richard, the kinsman of our present lord king. This ancestor took the fees from there and presented to the same church a cleric of his own called Jordan Humet, who on his presentation was admitted and instituted.
From his ancestor Richard the right etc. came down to a certain Jordan, as son and heir. And from Jordan himself, who died without an heir of his body, the right etc. descended to a certain John, as his brother and heir. And from John himself the right etc. descended to a certain Lucy, as his daughter and heir. And from Lucy herself the right etc. descended to a certain Henry, as son and heir. And from Henry himself, because he died without heir of his body, the right etc. descended to a certain Richard, as brother and heir. And from Richard himself, because he died without an heir of his body, the right etc. descended to a certain John, as brother and heir. And from John himself the right etc. descended to a certain Richard, as son and heir. And from Richard himself, because he died without an heir of his body, the right etc has descended to this Henry, who now seeks it, as brother and heir. And he claims that in this manner the right is now his, etc.

The prior came and denied the right of Henry himself and the possession by his ancestor Richard, concerning whose possession, etc. in respect of fief and law, and wholly etc. The prior then submitted himself to the grand assize of the lord king and asked for it to be decided there whether he himself or Henry had the greater right to this patronage. And he offered the king half a mark to make mention of the time. Henry Spigurnel of the county of Buckingham was received as a surety [for the prior], and Robert Romeney, John Roseley, William Bray and Ralph Normaville were the four knights summoned to choose twelve etc. They came and chose Robert fitz Walter, John Pateshull, William Turville, William Nodariis, Robert Barry, Nicholas Wymale, Roger de Lisle, John Ver, Hugo Dandely, Robert Nodariis, Robert Romeney, John Roseley, Ralph Normaville and John Lou etc.

These jurymen said on their oath that Henry's ancestor Richard had not presented his clerk Jordan Humet to the aforesaid church in the time of King Richard, as Henry himself had told the story. And so it was decided that the prior [320] should keep the

Pre-publication copy

patronage of the church of Newbottle near Sutton Regis for himself and his successors and his church of St Peter at Dunstable, and that Henry Grey and his heirs should be quit of it for ever. Henry remains under the king's sentence, etc.

Concerning the hundred of Sutton Regis

Philip Aynhoe was found murdered in the fields of Farthinghoe at Hyde. The person who first found him came up for investigation. He was not suspected of the murder and so was allowed to depart. It was not a question of whether the victim was English or not, as the investigation and the murder were the concern of the township of Farthinghoe, which is not part of the hundred, and the townships of Purston, Charlton cum Newbottle, Thenford and Farthinghoe did not come under a coroner's inquest. And so the case was left open. And then some men under oath testified that Roger Passevant and Richard Wise had disappeared and were suspected of the murder. And so they were exiled and outlawed. Roger's goods were worth forty shillings, as the sheriff will confirm. Richard Wise's goods were worth fifteen shillings, as the sheriff will confirm. Richard Wise was in debt to Henry Grimbaut of Charlton cum Newbottle, who now does not have Richard to stand trial for this. And so the matter was left open. There was also further inquiry into the goods of Roger Passevant in the hundred of Wardon [Chipping Warden] in the town of Edgcote. And because the prior of Dunstable [William] received the goods of Richard Wise without warrant, the matter was left open. And afterwards this leaving matters open by the prior was pardoned by the justices at the urging, etc.

Also Henry, son of Juliana, a villein of Sir Henry Gray, brought a writ of novel disseisin against the prior of Dunstable, concerning half of that two-part tenement at Charlton cum Newbottle, which he owned to the end of his life, [321] as had been granted to him by Geoffrey, once prior of Dunstable, without the consent of the brothers. Because this Henry had feudal rights to this tenement, the prior, for the good of peace, gave him one mark and received from the same man a deed of quit-claim. In addition to this one mark, the prior had spent about thirty-three marks on this same journey to Northampton assize[1] in presents, gifts, his own expenses and in getting knights for the assize.

During this journey of the prior we granted to Sir William Catesby, a clerk of the justice Sir Roger Loveday, one mark for an annual pension to be received from our treasury until we provided him with a suitable ecclesiastical benefice. This was especially because Sir William was useful to us.

In the same year we received from Philip Knyth thirty marks for corrodies. We spent this money on harvesting.

In the same year, by a letter patent from the lord king, four knights of the vicinity emptied Dunstable jail. On that occasion two criminals were hung because they had arranged to kill a merchant of the queen mother. Two of their confederates, who had been accused of murder in the Norfolk area, were not able to be 'delivered' by that general writ of the king, and also they were clerks and refused to submit themselves to justice from laymen. And so they were thrust back into prison.

[1] The account of the Northampton assize of 1285 begins at p. 218 above.

Pre-publication copy

A second time those four knights sat in judgment in our town to deliver Dunstable jail, and in their letter patent a special mention was made of one of these two clerks in connection with manslaughter. But that was of no advantage to him, because the manslaughter had happened in distant parts, and there was no one from whom the truth of the matter could be ascertained. And so they were again put in jail.

Also, in the presence of these four knights, a duel was fought at the west end of the street between an appellant and a defendant. The appellant won, so the defendant was immediately hung, while the appellant [322] returned to prison, because he had brought accusations of others outside the liberty.

In the same year, at the insistence of Sir Ralph Hingham, we presented his clerk Robert to the church of St Peter in Bedford, keeping for ourselves the half mark of annual pension.

In the same year the king's high roads were repaired and mended at Dunstable by orders of the lord king.

Writ.

Edward, by the grace of God etc., sends greetings to his beloved in Christ, the prior of Dunstable and the people of the same town. We have been informed that our royal high roads, which pass through the middle of your town, have suffered such severe and deep damage from the frequent passage of carts, that travellers along those streets are incessantly threatened by danger and loss. We wish to do something about such losses, which can go on happening in the future because of those defects, unless some repairs are put in place quickly. And so we give orders that each one of you, according to his status and means, should ensure that those roads are filled up and repaired, just as customarily happened in cases of this kind in times past. Do it in such a way that there may be no need for us to lay a heavier hand upon you because of your failure in this area.

Given with myself as witness at Westminster, the twenty-third of February, in the fourteenth year of our reign.

In the same year and on the same day Thomas Porter, chief bailiff at Dunstable, presented accounts for seventeen pounds and five shillings received from his office for the whole of the year then past. Allocated and named in this sum were the fines and revenues from the courts for fifty-two weeks, the tolls paid by different merchants, the goods of criminals and various other perquisites. Thomas also presented the account of the money [323] mentioned above which was released for the kitcheners. He received his receipts and then withdrew with a clean sheet.

In the same year master William Wickwane, archbishop of York, died at Pontigny while he was on a journey to the Roman curia. He was honourably buried there. After a canonical election by the York chapter, he was succeeded by master John le Romeyn, a canon of the same church and doctor of theology.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year came the death of Alexander, king of Scotland, who had married the sister of Edward, king of England.[1]

In the same year, in the octave of St Hilary [from 13 January], the justices itinerant sat at Newport Pagnell in the county of Buckingham. They heard pleas for part of the county there, but they adjourned the hearing of pleas for the rest of the county to the octave of the next Easter [14 April] following at Wycombe.

Also Aimery de St Amand died, the chief lord of the Pirot fief in Pulloxhill.

1286

In the year of grace 1286, after the octave of Easter [from 21 April], the justices itinerant sat at Wycombe. When we were asked by them by what warrant we took fines at Stoke Hammond on the assize of bread and beer, we replied that we did so because of the charters of the kings of England. And so that matter was transferred to the exchequer in London.

In the same year, within the fifteen days from Easter day, in the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury and his bishops some articles concerning heresy were read out. They went as follows.[2]

Brother Richard Clapwell is accused of having raised questions concerned with matter of three kinds, namely:

1. *Does not our belief in the essential unity of human nature with the Word make it necessary to posit plurality of forms, when we come down to the view, which is more probable, that nothing inconsistent follows, even if it is supposed that in Christ there was a joint form, just as in a man?*
2. *Clapwell also asserts that the dead body of Christ had a new substantial form which it did not have before when it was alive.*
3. *Also that in the sacrament of the altar the bread is now changed by the force of transubstantiation into the very rational soul of Christ, seeing that this soul was joined to his body.*
4. *Also, that if a mass had been celebrated inside the three days of the death of Christ, the bread would have been changed into the new form which he had been given.*
5. *Also, that neither opinion, in itself or in its consequence, can be seen to contain heresy or anything inconvenient or hostile to the faith.*
6. *Also, that it is not heresy but very possible and probable that in the death of Christ his body did not at all have the same substantial form as previously, but that he was given a new form and a new nature, although nothing new had been taken into or*

[1] His wife had been Margaret, but she died in 1275 (above). His only heir was a small child, his granddaughter Margaret of Norway, who was betrothed to Edward's son, the prince of Wales. She died on her way to Scotland, and so never became queen or married.

[2] Richard Clapwell (or Knapwell) was a Dominican, part of the order at the forefront of investigating and defining theological issues in the thirteenth century. John Peckham, the archbishop leading his trial, was a Franciscan friar, which is significant on two counts. Firstly, there was significant competition between the two mendicant orders; secondly, the Franciscan friars themselves had recently come under scrutiny for their potentially heretical views.

Pre-publication copy

united to him, but it was just as wine is changed into vinegar, or food into nourishment for the body, or as if by some miraculous chance woollen clothing is changed into linen.

7. *Also, that if there had been a consecration of the mass inside the three days of his death, by the force of the words of the sacrament there would have been a transubstantiation of the bread into that new form which Christ had been given.*
8. *Also that now every day the whole bread is changed into the whole living body of Christ, just as then into the dead body, with matter changed into matter and form into form. That is, into that which is intellectual soul itself according to what is the form of the body. And so this allows it to be corporeal. And all this by virtue of the sacrament.*
9. *Also he says that there is only a numerical identity owing to the identity of the matter and the dimensions without end and of the condition which remains for the spiritual soul of these things and of the same existence of the living and dead body in the same departure of the word.*
10. *Also he says that the aforesaid dimensions without end, their true extensions and quantities, although spiritual and without ends, which do not belong to their [325] essential nature, have as their subject pure essential matter.*
11. *Also Clapwell says that he is not bound on these matters which belong to the faith to follow the lead of any authority, whether of Augustine or Gregory or the pope or any other master, except the authority of the biblical canon and unarguable reasoning.*[1]

The following definitive sentence was passed against these heretical views:

In the name of God, Amen. We, brother John, by divine permission humble minister of the church of Canterbury, primate of all England, have heard and fully understood, by virtue of the duties of our office, the rights and wrongs of the matter concerning the accusations which have recently been brought against brother Richard Clapwell of the

[1] Clapwell was a Thomist, that is, a follower of the work of Thomas Aquinas, a very notable Dominican theologian from the University of Paris. The difference in theological stance, particularly on a matter known as the 'Unity of Forms', escalated into the 'War of Corrections' at the universities of Paris and Oxford, where the Franciscan theologians sought to 'correct' the writings of the Dominican Aquinas, causing a number of Thomists to spring to Aquinas' defence. In 1282 a Franciscan, Roger Marston, became regent master at Oxford and began promoting the 'Plurality of Forms'. Clapwell publicly defended Aquinas' 'Unity of Forms', in doing so attracted the attention of the archbishop of Canterbury, Pecham, who called a meeting at Osney of the Oxford masters, condemning the Thomist thought. It is unknown when exactly he decided to single out Clapwell, but it was probably in 1284 or 1285, when he appointed a committee who identified eleven statements here (drawn from Clapwell's *Quaestio disputata*) which they considered 'erroneous'. What is interesting is that these original eleven referred to matters of grammar and logic, while the ones listed in the annals refer to the issue of 'Unity of Forms'. Clapwell was excommunicated and condemned to perpetual silence on the matter, which may be what drove him to the madness cited here as the cause of Clapwell's death. A detailed account of the matter is offered by Andrew E. Larsen, *The School of Heretics: Academic Condemnation at the University of Oxford: 1277–1409* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 42–63.

Pre-publication copy

order of the Dominicans for various heretical statements, of which the tenor is as above. And now, with the unanimous consent and wish of our suffragan bishops who are sitting with us to hear this case, we excommunicate in general terms in this document both Richard himself, who it seems has been legitimately proved guilty in these matters and all his followers in so far as the same charges could be sustained against them as sharing his views or in any way giving him advice or help. These heretical opinions, which have already been abundantly and legitimately condemned and rejected by the Dominican brother Robert Kilwardby, our predecessor, we now condemn and reject in this definitive sentence.

In the same year the abbot of Deepdale[1] made an agreement with us over the tithes in the Peak, which we were demanding from him. This transaction between us was carried out before delegated judges.

In the same year, after the death of Aimery de St Amand, scutage was paid to his executors, which was owing to him when alive. For this scutage one hide at Faldho [326] in Pulloxhill paid eight shillings. And we paid thirty-two shillings for four hides of William Pirot, for us and our tenants. For this we received sixteen shillings from Woburn, and eight shillings from our other tenants from the same fief. And the aforesaid five hides made up one knight's service. Also, for the fief of John Boynun, which makes up half a knight's service, [William] abbot of Woburn paid twelve shillings for the lands which he then held. And we paid four shillings and two pence for the uncleared lands which we held there. For which from different tenants in the same fief we received forty-one pence, one farthing.

In the same year [Hugh Balsham], bishop of Ely,[2] died. He was succeeded by Sir John Kirkby, the treasurer of the exchequer of the lord king at London, who, after his consecration on the feast of St Michael, immediately returned to his office of treasurer.[3]

In the same year, at the feast of Easter [14 April], Queen Eleanor, the mother of King Edward, took a nun's habit and holy veil at Amesbury.[4] The daughter of the same lord king Edward[5] had also taken the holy veil here in the previous year.

In the same year the church at Ashridge was dedicated by Oliver, bishop of Lincoln, at the urging of the earl of Cornwall[6] who founded it.

In the same year John Vaux and Roger Loveday, knights, and John de Mettingham and William de Saham, clerks, as itinerant justices of the lord king sat at Bedford in the octave of St Hilary, in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Edward. The prior of Dunstable [William] appeared before them, requiring them to come to Dunstable to decide cases of the liberty [327] of his town, as had previously been

1 Deepdale was more commonly known as Dale abbey or Stanley Park, and the abbot at this time was Laurence Teuren.

2 Name inserted by Luard, as there is a blank in the manuscript. Bishop from 1257 to 1286.

3 He was elected on 26 July, consecrated 22 September 1286, and died 26 March 1290.

4 It was common for royal and noble women to retire to the monastic life. Amesbury was a very old Benedictine institution in Wiltshire which had been founded in the tenth century.

5 Mary. It was common for families to have ties with a particular house; in this case, both mother and grandmother were in the same house at Amesbury in Wiltshire.

6 Edmund, second earl of Cornwall.

Pre-publication copy

the custom. The justices then heard Sir William Boyville, then sheriff of Bedford, Sir Thomas Bray, Sir John Bruel, Henry Brone and other trustworthy men of the county say under oath that the prior held a liberty which had been held from time immemorial, and that, even on the circuit of Sir Roger de Seyton who had fought as hard as he could against the prior's liberty, on the order of the lord king Sir Roger had come to Dunstable and decided the prior's own cases. And so the justices promised that they would come to Dunstable. The coroners of Dunstable did not present their rolls with the tax involved, nor did the bailiff take the oath or receive the documents, but all things of this kind were postponed until the justices came to Dunstable. While the justices were at Bedford, Sir David Flitwick gave up and made a quit-claim to the prior and canons of Dunstable of all his right and claims to the advowsons of the churches of Husborne Crawley and Flitwick and his chapel at Ruxox, and to other lands and tenements of his fief and those situated at Ruxox with their appurtenances. Sir Warin Gerold paid us one quarter of corn which for some years he had been in arrears with at his place in Campton. Sir John Peyvere of Wadlow brought a suit by writ of consanguinity against us. We gave him a hundred shillings and received a quit-claim from him. Roger Payne of Flitwick, who then brought a suit against us concerning half an acre of meadow land, gave us a quit-claim, and we gave him one rod of meadow land at Smaleven, indeed the last we had there on the west side. Ralph Pick, our villein at Segenhoe, dropped his writ of wrongful possession of an inheritance against us, but submitted himself to the good graces of the prior. And the prior [328] gave him seven acres of land to go with the land which he then held in his possession, to be held in the form in which Robert Pick, his father, had once held them, and with the same service. He then gave the prior twenty shillings.

Ralph Pesley put the prior in possession of the sixpence annual rent, which we had as the gift of Cecilia Maufras of Pulloxhill.

John Golvild of Husborne Crawley laid a claim on M. Hakun and his son for a dwelling-house of his father, which was held by us. When called upon, we could not provide a warrant for it. And our charter was given back to us, since M. Hakun and his son held the buildings from Govild himself.

John Manasse of Houghton Regis gave us his word and assured us that he would restore to us our land which he had been illegally holding and ploughing, and that he would set up landmarks there as a permanent reminder.

Ralph Ordwy of Tebworth dropped the writ of wrongful dispossession of an inheritance which he had brought against us, because his writ referred to sixteen acres of plough-land and one acre of meadow land, and we did not hold more than eight acres there. And of these eight Ordwy himself held one acre as our gift, in fee. For that reason all the land of Hares near Tebworth, which was held by the three brothers Edwin, Simon and Huel, had been villeins' land of old. And a further reason for that writ being invalid was that Ralph himself had descended by blood from the last brother Huel.

[This was the writ:]

Pre-publication copy

The king[1] *gives greetings to the sheriff of Bedford. Give orders to the prior of the church of St Peter at Dunstable that he is to return justly etc. to Ralph Ordwy the sixteen acres of plough-land and the one acre of meadow land with their appurtenances in Tebworth. Give orders to Le Loring the younger that he is to return justly etc. to the same Ralph one acre of land etc. in the same township. Give orders to the master of Hockliffe that he is to give back to the same man seven and a half acres of plough-land and one acre of meadow land etc. Give orders to Andrew Attehalle that he is to return to the same Ralph the four acres of land, of which Simon Porymesone (Ralph's grandfather and whose heir he was), had been in possession, on his own demesne as his own fief on the day on which he died, as Ralph says. And if he does not do this etc.*

The men of Tebworth urgently and noisily demanded that the prior should build a chantry for them in the chapel at Tebworth, or should give back to them the lands which their ancestors had given of old for the building of this chantry. The prior replied that no chantry had been made by his predecessors as priors of Dunstable from the time of the gift of the church of Chalgrave to Dunstable priory. The parishioners of Tebworth took the case to the court of the lord king in an attempt to get a royal writ sent against us. But they were unable to gain their request, and nothing happened.

A miller of Reading, the son of the miller W., did not pursue a writ about wrongful dispossession of an inheritance, which he had brought for the son of Walter, the miller at Flitwick, because the son of Walter held that land at our pleasure. His father Walter had actually placed that land in the hands of the prior in a full court at Ruxox, as is recorded in his written document in our possession. And so our Charter, which the said W. had, was annulled.

Sir John Mettingham, one of the justices, in association with Sir Thomas Bray, by writ of the lord king specially brought a lawsuit of the lord king of *Quo warranto*. And the prior of Dunstable was summoned to reply to the suit of the lord king and to say by what warrant he claimed to hold the frank-pledge inspection and the right to remove property in Dunstable, and also to hold the frank-pledge inspection in Segenhoe, Husborne Crawley, Totternhoe and Studham. Also by what warrant he claimed to have in his possession the returns of the writs of the lord king, his own coroners, the goods of criminals and fugitives, fines on his own people, immunity [330] from general fines and imposts, and the markets and fairs of Dunstable. Also by what warrant he made the claim that neither himself nor his people should make reply on any matter concerning the town of Dunstable except in the presence of the lord king or his justices of the exchequer. Also by what warrant he claimed that the justices of the lord king should come to the town of Dunstable to hold the pleas of the lord king there. Also by what warrant he claimed to hold in custody prisoners taken in Dunstable without the permission and will of the lord king, seeing that such custody belonged to the lord king himself and his crown.

The prior came to Sir John de Mettingham and said that, as far as him holding the frank-pledge inspection was concerned, the whole town of Dunstable belonged to his fief. Also he held three hundred acres of land at Segenhoe. Also half of the township of Husborne Crawley was in his fief, that is a quarter of the fief of one knight. Also

[1] In the margin of the manuscript.

Proof Publication Copy

half of the township of Flitwick was in his fief. Also a sixth of Chalgrave, a fifth of Houghton Regis and a tenth of Totternhoe was in his fief. Also he had about ten tenants at Studham.

Further [William] the prior claimed to hold the Dunstable frank-pledge inspection for all those resident in Dunstable once a year. He also held another inspection once a year at Flitwick for all those resident in his fief at Segenhoe, Husborne Crawley and Flitwick. He also held another inspection at Houghton Regis for all those resident in his fief at Chalgrave, Houghton Regis, Totternhoe and Studham. This likewise was held once a year, without the king's bailiff, and the prior gave nothing to the king for holding the inspection.

When asked how many tithings he had, the prior said that he had about thirty groups in his inspection held at Dunstable, about four groups in his inspection held at Flitwick, and similarly, he had four main groups in his inspection held at Houghton Regis.

When asked if he had gallows, tumbrel and pillory, he said that he had at Dunstable all the instruments of justice, and that in his inspections he made inquiry [331] about all those matters which the sheriff etc. made enquiry about in his court. He took his standard from the king's marshal and checked the measures and weights etc.

The prior laid claim to this frank-pledge inspection and right to remove property by means of a charter of King Richard, which he produced. This charter stated that King Richard granted to the church of St Peter at Dunstable and to its canons serving God there the town of Dunstable with all its appurtenances, apart from the court of the king himself and the houses which King Henry his great-grandfather had kept in his own possession. This grant included the right of holding courts and markets, rights over his bondmen and villeins, the right to judge thieves and to intercept on the highway, and the right to receive fugitives and to punish burglars. Also the king gave the prior all liberties and free customs and discharges for assault, breach of peace, theft, murder and bloodshed. This was in all matters and in all places and in all lands which belonged to the said church or would ever belong to it. As for all wrongs done to his own men or to outsiders when they came into his lands, all cases and punishments should be in the hands of the aforesaid canons, just as they would be in the hands of the king, if he held the lands in his possession as his own. In short the king's justice would not remain there, but it would be properly and fully carried out by his servants.

King Richard also granted that the said prior and all his men and his goods should be free of charges throughout the whole land at markets and fairs, road crossings and bridges, tolls and ferries, and from tolls for bridge repair, export duties, shires and hundreds, wapentakes, tributes levied on all subjects, imposts, danegelds, hide-gelds, assarts, labour-services and other requirements of the king, or for giving help to sheriffs and the money paid to the sheriff through which he claims to hold his inspection.

Also the same king gave orders that no one should interfere with his lands or men or goods, except themselves and their servants, lest he should incur forfeiture from the king himself by causing trouble or disturbance to the prior's people or over his lands or acres.

And so that he should include everything, the same King Richard, by the same authority with which King Henry, the king's own great-grandfather, had held the town of Dunstable from God in freedom and in peace, and had given it to them to be held

Pre-publication copy

[332] and possessed and had confirmed this by his charter, the same King Richard gave it to the people of Dunstable to be held for the salvation of the king and for his soul and the soul of his father, and confirmed that this should be for ever. The date of this charter, given at Vezelay, was the third of July in the first year of King Richard's reign.

The charter was then confirmed and ratified by the lord king Henry, the father of the present king. The date of this confirmation at Westminster, by the hand of the venerable father Ralph, bishop of Chichester and chancellor of the king, was the thirteenth day of February in the eleventh year of the reign of the king himself.

And so the prior claims that by this charter he can hold an inspection of frank-pledge and has the right to remove property.

And similarly he makes the claim by his own long possession and the continuous possession of his ancestors up to this time. And similarly he claims the returns of writs, his own coroners, the goods of criminals and fugitives, fines on his own people, immunity from general fines and imposts, and similarly the market and fair, that is the fair which he holds on 1 August, and the market which he holds on Wednesday and Saturday every week.

He also claims another fair in the town of Dunstable by reason of a charter of King John, the grandfather of the present king. This is of three days duration annually, on 10 May and the two days following. This charter was given at Rochester on the first of July in the fifth year of his reign.

And similarly he claims by the charter of King Richard that neither he himself nor his people should make reply on any matter affecting the town of Dunstable except in the presence of the lord king or the justices of the exchequer. And similarly he claims that the justices of the lord king should come to the town of Dunstable to hold the pleas of the king there. And similarly he claims the custody of prisoners taken in the said town etc.

He also says that he claims to hear those writs which the sheriff can hear, and to receive fines from them; and similarly to deal with cases of prevention of goods seized in distraint inside his town which affect his town. He also claims to receive all profits [333] affecting the town from all the cases heard there before the justices itinerant, both cases of the crown and of the district. That is together with the goods of criminals in cases heard before the justices appointed to empty the jail and before the justices itinerant. And similarly the goods of all those arrested and taken prisoner at Dunstable, both outsiders and natives of the town, wherever justice happened to be passed on them, even if it was outside the liberty. He also claims the pennies which come from murder fines inside the town. And he says that he receives copies of fines by the hand of the sheriff, and that all the aforesaid points should be given to him for his accounts.

Gilbert Thornton, who followed for the king, said that the prior was using the charters of the lord king to claim other liberties besides the ones contained in the charters. And so he said that the prior had no rights of liberty if they were not contained in the charters, and if he only had its illegal use by his predecessors to go on. For the honours given by the king which belonged to the very substance of the crown could not be separated from the crown itself by arguments of obscure generalisation. He further said the king's majesty had the right to revoke liberties of this kind which had been stolen from the crown, especially when there had been no confirmation of them

Pre-publication copy

by the king. A day within fifteen days from Easter day was appointed for hearing the prior's case before the treasurer and the barons of the exchequer.[1]

An accusation in the hundred of Manshead

Recently, in the presence of Sampson Folioth and Edmund Caldecote, the justices appointed to hear cases of this kind, the accusation was made that Paul Peyure, the grandfather of the present John Peyure, had withdrawn forty pence of hidage payment owing to the lord king in the township of Haren. John came in person and said that it did not seem right to him to make reply on a matter where there was no writ from the king. For he himself had done no wrong or kept any money back. If there had been some failure to pay, it had been Paul's failure and not his.

And [334] because in the Statutes of Westminster it is clearly stated that any lord can distrain in his fief for services owed to him, from the time that a writ of novel disseisin begins to run, and because John cannot deny that lord King Henry, the father of the present lord king, received the aforesaid forty pence in his day, John himself later came and begged that he should be given a day for discussing that demand, up to within fifteen days from Easter day [from 14 April]. And so a day was given him for appearing at Westminster before the treasurer and the barons of the exchequer etc. After John had said before John de Mettingham that the prior of Dunstable should have acquitted him of his payment because of a certain document which he believed he had on the matter, an appointment was made on the next day for the prior as well as for John. The prior turned up, but John was represented by his attorney. The attorney admitted that he had nothing which indicated that the prior should acquit John.

The justices mentioned above withdrew from Bedford in the octave of the Purification [from 2 February] and went to a parliament at London, summoned there by the council of the lord king. They left behind them unheard the case of the hundred of Radburnstock against the crown and several other writs and cases concerning the territory of the county. But the justices gave a common day for hearing all these cases at Dunstable, namely the Thursday before Ash Wednesday, the day after the day of St Juliana the virgin [16 February]. But the prior regarded this arrangement as an insult prejudicial to his liberty at Dunstable, and he had the meeting arranged by the justices moved to Bedford by a writ from the council of the lord king. And the justices were told to hear no cases at Dunstable except those concerning the liberty of the town of Dunstable.

So on the Thursday before Ash Wednesday, when the justices William de Saham, John de Mettingham and Roger Loveday and the associates of Sir John Wallibus sat at Dunstable for three continuous days at the prior's [335] cost, they only heard writs concerning the liberty of the town of Dunstable. There were no cases there about non-burgesses, who were diverted elsewhere, with all their cases being remitted to Bedford.

[1] Of course, if the charters were examined and claims were made which were not explicitly laid out in the document, then the priory could be challenged, as indeed it is being here. King Edward began an investigation into all landholdings under the writ *Quo warranto*, 'By what warrant', in an attempt to establish any unauthorised increases in ownership at the expense of the crown.

Pre-publication copy

The justices did not allow [William] the prior to have his own clerk making entries on the rolls alongside their own clerks. The prior had been allowed one outside his rights by Roger Seyton, who was the last justiciar itinerant at Dunstable. A day within fifteen days from Easter day was given to the prior on this matter at the exchequer in London.

In individual cases concerning the liberty of the prior, the justices were very strict but quite fair, except in clauses concerning the crown, and here the liberty of Dunstable itself was quite often in danger, but saved, thanks be to God. The one exception was that the justices loaded the goods of criminals coming to the town from outside upon the sheriff of Bedford, despite the charters of the kings of England produced by the prior and his own long-lasting possession of them. But a day was given to the prior on this matter as above, and the sheriff was ordered not to levy these goods in the meantime.

Leaving Dunstable, the justices came to Bedford. On Thursday, Friday and Saturday they heard there all the writs postponed at Dunstable, their own eyre there having terminated. They fined the whole county forty marks for false judgment. Our prior spent eighteen pounds and one mark at Bedford for the journey itself. He also paid fourteen pounds, seventeen shillings and three pence on their arrival in Dunstable.

In the same year, by a statute at Winchester, all trees extending over the king's highroads were cut back on both sides to two hundred feet. Also the quickset hedges. It was under that statute that the wood at Bocwode was cut down, and also our grove at Shortgrave.

In the same year, one month after Easter day [mid-May 1286], the lord king and the queen went to France. They stayed overseas [336] for three years in a row. Philip, lord king of France, restored to our king many cities and many liberties, so it is said.

In the same year in the month of January came the death of Peter Lorenge who had a special love for us, above that of all his forefathers.

In the summer of the same year we had John and Edmund taken from our jail at Dunstable to Norwich, to appear before the justices itinerant there on account of the grave crimes which they had committed in that area. John was hung there and Edmund died in prison.

1287

At the beginning of the year of grace 1287 Pope Honorius IV died. After the see had been vacant for almost a year because of squabbling among the cardinals, Honorius was succeeded by Nicholas IV.[1] He was a Franciscan brother and had formerly been known as Jerome.

In the same year Sir Salomon de Roffa, clerk, and his companions as itinerant justices of the lord king sat at Hertford during the octave of Easter [week following 6 April].

[1] The annalist has made an error here, saying it was Nicholas V rather than IV. Nicholas IV was the first Franciscan to be elected pope, and held the position until his death in 1292. It was this Nicholas who was a friend of Archbishop Pecham and condemned Clapwell to silence over the 'Unity of Forms' controversy.

Pre-publication copy

Our prior appeared before them concerning his dwellings at Barworth. He sued no one and no one sued him, so on the fourth day he was allowed to go home.

In the same year, within fifteen days after Easter day [from 6 April], our prior presented himself before the barons of the exchequer at London to reply to the question of *Quo warranto* he claimed the liberties more fully described in a document. The prior was told to appear in the same place within fifteen days from the next St Michael's day [29 September], and on the very feast of St Michael the prior presented himself there. And then he was given another day within the fifteen days after Easter day to reply to the question of by what warrant he claimed the liberties.[1]

In the same year, to stop the machinations and evil deeds of the Dominicans at Dunstable, we got our porter Thomas to buy a messuage next to the brothers' land, which had once belonged to Robert Francis of Dunstable, and then we took the deed of conveyance for the messuage from Thomas. This would prevent the brothers enlarging their boundaries without our consent.[2] The document drawn up between Thomas and the seller of the messuage is in the court of the lord king. Its drawing up meant that we were heavily burdened with annual corrodies and other things.

In the same year some parishioners of ours at Ballidon in the Peak, villeins of lady Helena who held the manor of Ballidon as her dower, had brought under fresh cultivation a meadow there. Formerly we had had a part of this meadow in a corner of it assigned to us as a tithe. At harvest time we asked for the whole tithe from the villeins. As they made a fuss and showed some unwillingness to pay it, we carried off by way of a tithe about three or four sheaves of corn. And so the lady Helena brought a suit against us in the court at Derby about our recent strong-arm measures, without a writ as was the custom in that court. Later on Sir William Menyl, Sir Edmund Munchoye, the dean of Castelle, Stephen Irton and other common friends who were present at Atlow made an agreement between the prior and the lady that the sheaves carried off by the prior should peacefully remain as a tithe in the possession of the prior and his church at Bradbourne, and that the lady Helena and her villeins should leave the field uncultivated all their life long. If as time went by, it happened that the field was sowed, it would be open to the prior and his successors to ask for the full tithe from it, using just verbal persuasion. The prior and the lady Helena both paid fines to the sheriff of Derby for the case which had been brought in his court.

In the same year, immediately after the feast of All Saints [after 1 November], the prior of Dunstable made a personal visit to his place at Bradbourne. He found there in the granges an abundance of grain of every kind because of the heavy harvest which had been widespread [338] throughout the whole of England in that year. And at that time the total number of sheep there, counting by the long hundred, was eight hundred. But the place was grievously burdened by debt because of the failure of the harvest and other unfortunate events which had happened there in previous years. However, the little wood to the north, which had been sown and planted there long since by canon Henry Newton with ash trees and other trees of different kinds, had now grown up and was very pleasant to see.

1 This is the continuation of events beginning on p. 221 above relating to the rights of Dunstable priory.

2 The rivalry between the priory and the Dominicans in Dunstable was clearly growing.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year there was such an abundance of produce that, long after the Easter following, all over England a quarter of corn was sold for twenty pence and a quarter of oats and beans for twelve pence.

In the winter of the same year there were very heavy rains and floods. The North Sea from the Humber to Yarmouth went beyond its usual bed, to a width in some places of three miles, and in others of four miles, drowning everything in its path. Enormous numbers of men, sheep and mules were killed.[1]

In the summer of the same year the Welshman Rhys ap Meredith[2] started a war in Wales. Robert Tibetot and Alan Plunkeneth, the stewards of the lord king in Wales, had constrained Rhys to follow the system of counties and hundreds, just as happened in the rest of Wales by then, contrary to the liberty which Rhys had received from lord Edward king of England. And because Rhys had inflicted very many losses on the men of the lord king, [John] bishop of Ely, the prior of the hospital of Jerusalem[3] and the earl of Gloucester went to those parts with the barons of England. Rhys was put to flight. His followers were scattered. And his castles were levelled to the ground,[4] although in the collapse of one wall of those castles Sir William de [339] Mountchesney and some others of our men were flattened.[5]

In the same year in the cathedral church at Hereford God did very great miracles through Thomas Cantilupe, the bishop of Hereford. To obtain absolution from a sentence fastened on him by the archbishop,[6] Thomas went to the Roman curia. He had been absolved and was on his way back when he died in foreign parts. It is said that when the bishop saw his death was near, he told his chamberlains to remove the shirt woven from thick, rough horse hair which he always wore and to burn it in the fire which they had made ready at his bidding. They took the bloodstained shirt from his flesh with great difficulty, but, when they put it on the fire, the shirt did not burn. Even when the bishop himself put it on the fire, it still did not burn. The shirt remains to this day undamaged and in one piece.[7]

In the same year came the death of Stephen, bishop of Chichester, a man of great merit in the eyes of the Lord. He had been the chaplain of the canonised Richard, his immediate predecessor at Chichester. God worked many miracles through him.[8]

1 The floods at Yarmouth are also referred to by the annals of Worcester, p. 495, and Osney, pp. 309, 311, 313–14.

2 With David's death, there were no more Welsh 'kings', but Rhys became one of the most prominent lords.

3 William of Henley (1280–1288).

4 In particular his castle at Dryslwyn.

5 Rhys's uprising is given in further detail by the Osney annalist, pp. 309–10; for a full account, see Walker, *Medieval Wales*, pp. 152–4.

6 His great rival John Peckham.

7 Thomas was eventually made a saint in 1320. For full details of the process, see H. Webster, 'Mediating Memory: Recalling and Recording the Miracles of St Thomas Cantilupe', *Journal of Medieval History*, 41 (2015), 292–308.

8 This is referring to Richard Wich who was bishop of Chichester from 1246 to 1253, and canonised in 1262. He was not Stephen's immediate predecessor – that was John Climping, see p. 130 above.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year died master Henry Brandeston, bishop of Salisbury, who had been installed in that very year.

In the same year Thomas Perchesoyl, the prior's reeve in the town of Dunstable, gave satisfaction by paying to the prior's exchequer the eleven pounds, eighteen shillings and one penny, which he had received in fines and payments from the men of Dunstable who had been fined by the itinerant justices of the lord king when they were sitting at Dunstable in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Edward on Ash Wednesday [19 February]. Despite this Thomas remained in debt to the prior for ten shillings and seven pence, received by him in the same way, which he still has to pay.

In the same year we paid to Hugh Blund, sheriff of Hertfordshire, one mark for very many defaults concerning the Jewish community. We have a receipt for this. Indeed we paid this [340] mark long ago to Robert Hormead, who was then bailiff of Upper and Lower Dean.

In the same year Sir Walter Studham paid scutage for Wales to the executors of William Marshal, his liege lord. At that time Sir Walter released from rent all our tenements which we held in his fief at Studham, according to the wording of the charter of his father John.

In the same year Matthew, prior of Caldwell, put his resignation in the hands of Oliver, bishop of Lincoln, who was then visiting that house. On the same day John de Ypres, a canon of Caldwell, was confirmed as prior by an election of the canons and installed. The business was done in such a hurry because of some who unjustly claimed the advowsons to this priory.

In the same year some of the woodwork in the very fine tower at Barnwell priory was burnt when the tower was struck by lightning.

In the same year, when some of the nobles of France proposed to make an attack on Peter of Aragon the younger on the pretext that the apostolic see was vacant, they were captured at sea by the vassals of Peter. Some were killed, and some were blinded by having their eyes gouged out. A few were ransomed and set free. Guy de Montfort was one of the captives. He was put in close confinement.[1]

In the same year on 1 March Oliver, bishop of Lincoln, made a personal visitation of our priory at Dunstable, looking at the head and the limbs.[2] But he did not accept expenses.

1288

On just about the first day of the year of grace 1288 came the death of William le Breton, our prior at Ruxox, where he had spent the last seven years. As he had been a prior, he was buried with full honours in the chapter house at Dunstable.

[1] There is an error here: these events relate to James of Aragon, not Peter the younger, and refer to 'The Battle of the Counts'. Guy was commanding one of the vessels, and rumour of his capture reached Worcester and is recorded under 1287, p. 494. However, the fullest account of these events is offered by the Waverley annalist, pp. 406–7.

[2] This is a commonly used medieval metaphor, referring to the manner in which a religious community is one 'body' despite its many members. The head is the prior, and the limbs the brothers.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year, [341] in the fifteen days of Easter [from 28 March], the prior appealed to the exchequer of the lord king concerning the *Quo warranto* affair. The case was postponed for the whole of the following year.[1]

In the same year we brought a suit against Millicent Montalt before the justices of the king's bench by a writ of trespass for her unjust seizure and keeping of our pigs at Totternhoe. We also brought a writ of dispossession before the justices assigned to St Neots. But in these suits we achieved little, as both sets of justices showed great favour towards Millicent.

In the same year the executors of Nicholas, dean of Lincoln, finished the building of Leighton Buzzard church from the estate of the dead man.

In the same year, the summer was exceptionally dry and hot. Its like had not been seen for many a long year. The consequence was that very many people died. The winter was extremely cold and icy with heavy snow.

In the same year a general chapter of our order was held at Dunstable, the presidents being [Henry] abbot of Cirencester and [Richard] prior of Kenilworth. They passed no new measures, but merely required that the old regulations should be followed.

In the same year died the abbot of Waltham,[2] a very pious man and much loved in the neighbourhood.

In the same year brother Richard Clapwell, who had been brought to book in the previous year for very many heresies,[3] made his appearance in the curia of the lord pope.[4] There he was sentenced to everlasting silence on his views. Later he went to Bologna and renewed the same heresies. But there he fell into such madness and such great misery that he tore out his eyes and ended his life in anguish.[5]

In the same year [342] the abundance of crops continued, and a quarter was sold for the same price as in the preceding year.[6]

In the same year, before the justices assigned to empty the jail, there was a judicial combat at Dunstable between two robbers. The defendant lost, and the accuser was taken to London to bring his case at a different venue.[7]

In the same year Rushton church became vacant through the resignation of Robert Scardebure. His nephew John was admitted to the church on our presentation without any difficulty.

In the same year Ralph, the son of Robert Pyke of Lea a villein of the prior, came before our full court at Segenhoe and acknowledged that he was a villein of the prior and

1 Again, this is an update on the ongoing investigation into the basis for the various rights and privileges claimed by Dunstable priory. They were not alone: the investigation was part of a nationwide attempt to reestablish the full rights of the crown.

2 Reginald of Maidenethe.

3 See pp. 221–3 above.

4 The Franciscan pope was unsympathetic.

5 This is the fullest account of his demise that we have.

6 The abundant harvest is also commented upon by the Waverley annalist, p. 408.

7 This form of justice is also known as 'trial by combat': God was thought to have supported whoever won, thereby making the loser guilty.

Pre-publication copy

asked that the prior would allow him to pay tallage. He paid a fine of twenty shillings because he had been absent from the fief of the prior for so long a time.

In the same year, on Quinquagesima Sunday,[1] Oliver, bishop of Lincoln, made a visitation of our priory to check both head and limbs.

In the same year we spent a lot of money on the timber and the ceiling bays of a new hall and solar at Pulloxhill, and also on the stipends.

In the same year Walter Sewell was not allowed by us to make his profession.[2] He was not well enough educated, was always throwing his arms about, and in many ways a disturber of the peace. But brothers Walter Badlesdene, Richard of St Albans and Roger of Derby, who had appeared with Walter for examination, were allowed to make their profession.

1289

In the year of grace 1289.

Proceedings in the case, which the prior of Dunstable brought against Millicent Montalt and certain others before the justices in the king's bench for trespass made by her at Totternhoe.[3]

In the records of King Edward, son of King Henry, roll 31.[4]

Millicent Montalt, John Castreton and William Abbjoy [343] were summoned to make reply to the prior of Dunstable's accusation and explain why they had seized his animals and unjustly kept them contrary to security and safe pledges. The complaint is that this Millicent on the Thursday before the feast of St Barnabas the apostle [11 June], in the fifteenth year of the reign of the present king, seized, and had the seizing done by John and William, four and forty pigs of the prior of Dunstable in the township of Totternhoe, in a place called Herthendene. She then drove them all the way to the house of William Inge in the same township and kept them there contrary to security and pledges, until they were released by the orders of the lord king. The prior claims damages for a loss amounting to a hundred shillings. And so he brings his suit etc.

Millicent and the others came and made their defence against the alleged force and wrongdoing, when it happened etc. Millicent, replying for herself and the others, said she knew well that she had taken the pigs, and justly so. For the pigs, she said, were from the prior's own feeding ground in Dunstable, and that the town of Dunstable now had rights of commonage with the township of Totternhoe because of some free-hold in Dunstable. And she had found the pigs feeding on her own pasture at Totternhoe and doing damage, and so she had seized the pigs until reparation should be made.

The prior said that he had lands and holdings at Totternhoe, and that he and his predecessors, from time immemorial and before Millicent or her ancestors had owned

[1] Sunday before Ash Wednesday.

[2] In other words, join the order.

[3] The offence was on 16 June 1287, but a jury did not make a decision until Easter 1289. The king sent his final word on the subject 6 May 1289.

[4] These words are found in the margin of the manuscript next to this entry, written in a later hand.

Pre-publication copy

anything at Totternhoe, had had rights of commonage for their pigs at Totternhoe, as belonging as much to his free-hold in Dunstable as his free-hold in Totternhoe. And on this point he laid down that he for his country etc., and Millicent likewise.

And so the sheriff was ordered to get assembled there within fifteen days from the day of the Holy Trinity twelve free and law-abiding men from his ward [344] who could better inquire into the truth of the matter and make it known. For the purpose of this judgment, they were not to be related to the prior or Millicent or to have any connection with them etc. Because in this way etc.

In Hilary term nothing was done on this matter.

Afterwards, within fifteen days of Easter day, the jurymen assembled. They swore on oath that the prior's predecessors, from the time of the foundation of the priory at Dunstable, had the right of commonage of the prior's pigs both on his feeding ground in Dunstable and at Totternhoe, this right belonging to his free-hold in Dunstable. And so it was decided that the prior should recover his losses, which were assessed by the jurymen as being for two shillings. And Millicent and her accomplices remained under sentence for unjustly keeping hold of the pigs, etc. The jurymen were:

Walter Bisley, knight
John Poleyn
Alard Loring
Peter Northwood
Walter Pecchesdene
Ralph Marshall
John Hermer
John Passelewe
Richard Heywood,
Robert Borne of Cranford[1]
Gilbert fitz Walter from the same place
Nicholas Abbot.

The king sends greetings to the sheriff of Bedford. You should know that Robert Chetwood, Richard Gobion, John Passelewe, John Seabrook, Alard Loring, Peter Northwood, John Hermer, William Bernard, Ralph Marshall, Robert Borne from Ampthill, Gilbert fitz Walter, Thomas Bernake, Andrew Manyngho, Hugh Esseby, Simon Bremehanger, John fitz Ralph of Barton, [345] Ralph Waleys, Peter Waleys, Peter Flitte, Walter Pecchesdene, John Tallboys, Nicholas Abbot, Richard Heywood, Richard Hunt and John Thorold were in our court before our justices at Westminster within fifteen days from Easter day in a jury deciding between the prior of Dunstable, the plaintiff, and Millicent Montalt. It was in a case of trespass, by a distraint which you had put upon them by our order. And on that issue we now order you to remove completely that distraint and without delay to make sure that these same people recover all the revenues which you in your ward on that occasion had taken from their lands and goods. Given with Thomas Weyland as witness on 6 May in the seventeenth year.

[1] The manuscript here reads 'Crancforda', which is probably Cranford, near Kettering.

Pre-publication copy

[11 March 1290]

The assize, first summoned before Richard Boyland and his fellows assigned as justices, and afterwards held before John de Mettingham and Elias Bekingham at Biggleswade on the Saturday before the feast of St Gregory [12 March] *in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Edward.*

Houghton Regis

An assize came to decide if Millicent Montalt, John Castreton, Daniel Messer, Ralph Oky, Ralph Bercher, Gregory Attehale, Hugo Becket, Robert Phelps and Matthew Spongebolle unjustly etc. deprived the prior of Dunstable [William] of rights of commonage on his pasturage at Houghton Regis, on the grounds that this commonage belonged to his free-hold in Houghton Regis and Dunstable after the first, etc.; and so the charge is that they deprived him of commonage pasture over two hundred acres of land which should have been commonage for all his animals, in every first year after the removal of crops, and in every second year for the whole year etc.

Millicent came to court in the person of a certain John Castreton, her bailiff, and, as the tenant, replied [346] on behalf of herself and all the others. She said that she had done nothing wrong. The facts were these. The prior [so he said] possessed rights of commonage with all his animals on the common pasture at Houghton Regis in the same township of Houghton Regis. But he could not claim commonage in the township of Houghton Regis on the grounds that it belonged to his free-hold in Dunstable, because the towns of Houghton Regis and Dunstable were in different baronies. The town of Houghton Regis belonged of old to the demesne of the crown of the lord king, where no writ ran except the small writ rightly enclosed. She asked the court if she ought therefore to reply to this writ.

The prior said that King Henry [I], son of the conqueror and predecessor of the present lord king, gave to a prior of Dunstable his predecessor and to the priory there the whole town of Dunstable with all its appurtenances by a charter of the same lord King Henry, which he produced and which testified to this very fact. And so he said that all his predecessors and he himself always up to that point had had the right of commonage with all their animals from Dunstable in this town of Houghton Regis, and that such animals had been driven from the town of Dunstable as far as the commonage at Houghton Regis just as the prior himself and his predecessors had wished, until Millicent and her friends had unjustly etc. deprived him of this right. And he asked that an inquiry should be made into this at an assize. A day was appointed, though not until the first Saturday after the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross [17 September], and on this day the prior and Millicent appeared before the court.

The prior said that the manor of Houghton Regis had been for some time in possession of the kings of England. But after this manor had passed outside their control, the tenants of that manor had brought suits by common writs. Then the nature of the tenure had changed to that of a free fief. He asked that the assize should make inquiry that this was so.

Millicent said [347] that the fact that some tenants by some means or other had brought suits by common writs should not be prejudicial to her case, seeing that the whole of the manor of Houghton Regis had always remained from of old and right up to the present moment in the demesne of the crown of the lord king. So, seeing that the prior

Pre-publication copy

[William] could not contradict this fact or produce any evidence before the court to show that the nature of the tenure had been changed by the ancestors of the king of England from an ancient demesne to a free fief, she asked the court for an assize to be held to judge between them.

A day was appointed for Millicent to produce the record of Domesday, namely the first Wednesday after the feast of St Hilary [20 January]. On this day the justices did not appear. And so the sheriff of Bedford was commanded to arrange for this case together with others to be held in the court at Bedford on the first Friday after the feast of St Michael [30 September]. On this day the prior and Millicent, and all her friends made their appearance. Millicent produced the Domesday record under the seal of the lord king from the exchequer. It stated that the town of Houghton Regis was an ancient demesne of the crown of the lord king. When the prior was then asked if he had any grounds for claiming that the town of Houghton Regis had changed the nature of its tenure from being the ancient demesne of the crown, etc., he said that King Henry, the son of the conqueror and the founder of his church at Dunstable, had given to God and his church of St Peter at Dunstable and to each predecessor of his and his successors the whole town of Dunstable and the commonage in Houghton wood and in Houghton Regis, at a time when this same town of Houghton Regis was in the possession of the lord King Henry, as was testified by the charter of the same lord King Henry which he produced. And so he said that all his predecessors and he himself, from the time the church was founded, had themselves possessed the rights of commonage on the common land at Houghton Regis, on the ground that these rights belonged to his free-hold in Dunstable [348]. These rights of his church had lasted until three years ago, when Millicent and the others had unjustly etc. deprived him of his rights. And so he asked that the assize should consider the matter, etc.

Millicent said, as before, that the town of Houghton Regis was an ancient demesne of the crown, etc., as was clear from the Domesday record, and that free-holds or any of their appurtenances existing inside the manor could not be brought in a suit unless by means of a small, closed writ. And so she asked for a judgment, inasmuch as the prior was intending to recover the commonage at Houghton Regis, belonging to his free-hold at Dunstable, by means of that writ of his, but commonage could not be brought as part of a suit by that writ. And so she asked if the assize should not therefore proceed to make its judgment between them.

But the justices thought that they could not continue to hold the assize for the following reasons. The towns of Houghton Regis and Dunstable were in different baronies. Also it was established by the record in Domesday that the town of Houghton Regis was an ancient demesne of the crown, etc., and that the prior could not produce any evidence to show that the common land at Houghton Regis should belong to his free-hold in Dunstable. Also Millicent claimed that she held it in a barony from the lord king, whereas the prior claimed that the common land at Houghton Regis had been a free and perpetual gift to him as belonging to his free-hold in Dunstable.

And so a day was appointed for them to appear before the lord king at his first parliament at Westminster in the octave of St Hilary etc., in the eighteenth year of his reign.

At this parliament the prior and Millicent came before the presence of the lord king and his council. The prior made his accusation. The Domesday record and the proceedings of the assize held before Richard Boyland and his fellow judges were inspected. And

Pre-publication copy

then the king himself and his council agreed that there should be a further assize, because the nature of the tenure had been changed by the charter of King Henry, and that John [349] Mettingham and Elias Bekingham should be sent to hold that assize in the place of Richard Boyland and his fellow justices.

So later on, on the nearest Saturday before the feast of St Gregory [27 August] in the said year, the parties, namely the prior and Millicent and her friends, came to Biggleswade. And there was a similar assize.

Millicent said that the writ of the lord king saying that the sheriff should come to ensure that the assize came before the presence of John and Elias did not have or contain in itself the requirement that she herself should be required, summoned or warned to come on some day; nor did any original writ remain in the sheriff's possession with this requirement. And so she asked that, if the sheriff had done something without warrant, this fact should not create prejudice against her. It seemed to her that according to the laws and customs of the kingdom of the lord king she should not be required, summoned or warned to reply to anyone concerning her free-hold or anything belonging to her free-hold just by some writ of a justiciar without a writ of the lord king previously sent to the sheriff. And if this did not suffice, she would make other points. In the writ of the lord king saying that the sheriff should come, it was stated that Richard Boyland and his fellow justices could not be free for a holding the assize of novel disseisin of property which the prior of Dunstable had caused to be held in their presence against Millicent Montalt and the others contained in the original writ concerning the commonage of his pasture at Houghton Regis which belonged to his free-hold in Houghton Regis and Dunstable, and so the king had appointed John de Mettingham and Elias Bekingham to hold that assize in the place of Richard and his fellow justices. And on this matter the lord king commanded the sheriff of Bedford by his writ to make sure that that assize came before John and Elias at the appointed time and place which he would be told about by John and Elias.

Millicent and all the others, through the writ of John and Elias sent to the sheriff about that assize being held here on this day, had been given a sufficient summons, as the sheriff had testified. It did not seem that it would have been necessary for any writ of the lord king to have been sent to the sheriff in this case, if the justices had not been changed. And so if the first justices had been able to be free to hold that assize by their own writ, they could have got that assize held before them on a fixed time and place and given warning to the parties concerned. But their power in this matter had passed to John and Elias. And for the same reason Millicent herself and all the others were present here in the court. They had come for this reason. It had been told to Millicent that she should say something else, especially as that assize was an assize of novel disseisin etc.

Millicent said that the assize should not have taken place. She claimed that, after very many accusations and replies about that same commonage before Richard Boyland and his fellows, the justices previously assigned to this case, the parties through common friends at the Old Temple in London had made a definite agreement, confirmed in writing between them, on many issues. One of these was that Millicent herself made the concession on behalf of herself and her heirs that the prior and his successors should be able to have commonage on the lands of Houghton Regis and Totternhoe for their own animals from Dunstable priory apart from goats.

Pre-publication draft copy

She further claimed that the prior had withdrawn all his accusations against Millicent and her people. And she said that later, on the first Monday after the last fifteen days of St Michael, the parties had come before Robert, the bishop of Bath and Wells and chancellor of the lord king, in the bishop's chapel, and that in the presence of the parties that agreement had been read out and fully confirmed by the parties there and then. And so she asked if it was legal and right for this assize between them to proceed, after this peaceful agreement had been made, recognised and granted in the presence of the chancellor of the lord king. And she was prepared to show evidence that such an agreement [351] had been made between them from the records of the chancery. And if this was not sufficient, she would make other points etc.

When the prior was asked if this agreement had been made between them, he said that common friends had begun to have talks and preliminary discussion about a formal peace agreement between them, but that it had never come to anything.

He also pointed out that, after the Monday in the octave of the Purification of the blessed Mary [from 2 February] which Millicent was talking about, Millicent in her own person and the prior himself had come before the lord king himself and his council. When the prior had complained about the long delay in the holding of this assize, the records of the proceedings of the assize held before Richard Boyland and his fellows were read out and examined. And so on that occasion in the presence of the parties it had been agreed by the king and the council that the assize should proceed, and Millicent herself had then made no allegations about any peace agreement. And so he had asked that the assize should proceed.

When Millicent was asked if the parties had asked for the agreement, which had been read out before the chancellor in his chapel, to be entered on the rolls of the chancery as a perpetual memory for cases which could happen over the course of time, she said that she was not certain whether it had been entered or not, but that, as a note about the agreement had been put in the hand of the chancellor, she rather thought that it had been. Because Millicent herself did not say for certain that the agreement had been entered on the rolls, but only that a note had been read out before the chancellor in his chapel, which had not yet been put on to a written document verified by the seals of the parties, the justices decided that a recitation outside a court before the chancellor in the manner described was not valid unless it had happened before a common friend. Also, when the parties were before the lord king and his council to receive judgment, concerning the objection made before Richard Boyland and his fellows, [352] they had not made mention of any agreement, and so it was clear that the parties on both sides, by keeping quiet about the benefits of an agreement, had renounced such an agreement. And similarly before the king himself it had been agreed in the presence of the parties that the assize should proceed. And Millicent was told to make any other point, which she thought expedient etc.

Millicent said on behalf of herself and all the others that the prior had never had any commonage on the aforesaid lands except by permission or by her gift, and neither had any of his predecessors. There was clear evidence for this from the fact that while George Cantilupe [her brother], of whom she herself was one of the heirs, was under age and a ward of the lord king for twelve years or more, the bailiffs of the king at Houghton Regis had leased the commonage to the predecessors of the prior, at one time for ten shillings, at another for one mark, just as either could get the better of

Pre-publication copy

the bargain. And so she said that the prior had never been in proper possession of the aforesaid common lands as belonging to his free-hold etc. And on this she submitted herself to the verdict of the court.

The jurymen said under oath that the prior and his predecessors had been in possession of the common land in question, as it belonged to their free-hold in the towns of Houghton Regis and Dunstable, up until the time that Millicent and all the others had unjustly etc. dispossessed him of it, as the writ said. And so their judgment was that the prior should recover his possession of the common land for the acknowledgement of the neighbourhood. Millicent and all the others were under sentence for dispossession. The damages were forty shillings.

John Pabenham, sheriff of Bedford, gives greeting to the bailiff of the hundred of Manshead. You should know that the prior of Dunstable before John Mettingham and his fellow justices at Biggleswade has recovered in the case against Millicent Montalt his possession of the two hundred acres of pasture at Houghton Regis belonging to his free-hold [353] in Houghton Regis and Dunstable: this is to be for commonage for his animals of every kind, in the first year after the crops have been harvested, and in the second year for the whole year. This has been decided in an assize of novel disseisin held before the above mentioned justices in the above mentioned place. And so we order you to ensure that the prior has full possession of this common land, as has been decided by the public verdict of this assize. There must be no forgetfulness on this matter.

The jurymen were:

John Gatesden, knight
John Conquest, knight
Hugh Esseby
Robert Borne, Ampthill
Thomas Brickhill
Richard Kersey of Houghton Regis
William Robert of Cranfield
Nigel Loring
John Middlethorpe
Simon Bahuse
Almeric Laundres
William Mott

In the same year the English church was greatly harmed by the decision of Pope Nicholas to make provision for Roman clerks in its prebends, churches, and small vicarages. Also Pope Nicholas, who for a long time had been a Franciscan, was present in person at a general chapter of the Franciscans held at Reate.[1]

In the same year there was a boy who did not eat for two years. It was later discovered that this was caused by the appearance of demons in nightmares.

In the same year Alexander Bantere of Dunstable was murderously attacked in Kensworth field and died once he had been carried inside the liberty of the town. The guilty parties, John Ems, John Garland and John Elliott, disappeared and the prior took

[1] No place given in the manuscript: Luard takes the name from 'Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, p. 210'.

Pre-Publication Copy

possession of their goods. Later the first two were acquitted in a court at Hertford by the appointed justices. They recovered their lands and holdings but none of their goods because of their flight.

In the same year we took on the obligation of finding maintenance for the clerk John Baddlesdon. We received twenty marks from him.

In the same year, on the feast of St Michael [29 September], John Cook the younger of Newbottle took possession of the fief which his father had held from us and had rented to Richard Etherington in the year of grace 1284. At that time there were many arrears of rent owing to us from that holding.

In the month of October in the same year a tournament was held at Dunstable, and in the following January the Dunstable tournament was abandoned.

In the same year our prior was summoned before the king's bench to make reply to [William] the prior of the hospital of Jerusalem in England concerning the annual pension of four marks on the church at North Marston, and fifty years' worth of arrears. But the said prior did not proceed against our prior.

In the same year a certain burgess of Berkhamsted sued our Dunstable bailiffs before the justices because, so he said, they had taken a toll from him in the Dunstable market place contrary to the liberties of Berkhamsted. He also brought similar writs against the bailiffs of Luton and Aylesbury. All these bailiffs said that they could not make a reply without their masters being present. And so nothing happened.

In the same year on the feast of the Assumption of the blessed Mary [15 August] King Edward and his wife the queen returned to England after spending three years in foreign parts.[1] While abroad the lord king had ransomed and rescued his cousin, Prince Charles of Morea,[2] [355] from the prison of Peter of Aragon.[3] In all his doings King Edward behaved so sensibly and courteously that his fame went out unto all lands. If we had kept silent about it, the very stones would have shouted it aloud. On his return the king at once made holy pilgrimages to the shrines of the martyrs, blessed Thomas and St Edmund, and to the shrines of very many other saints throughout England. He then celebrated the following Christmas at London.

In the meantime the cries of victims came to his ears, complaining that the justices and other ministers, whom he had put in charge of his kingdom, had been bribed by gifts and subverted justice, that they had become famous on the substance of others, and that they had sided with murderers and knowingly received them in their homes. The lord king made careful enquiry into these complaints. Twelve jurymen said under oath that Thomas Weyland, chief justice of the king's bench, had arranged for a murder to be committed by his esquires and had afterwards harboured the very murderers.[4]

1 Their return is documented by the Osney annalist who gives the date as 27 May; Waverley says it was in August, p. 408; while Worcester agrees with the latter, p. 498.

2 The principality of Achaea or Morea was one of the vassal states belonging to the Latin Empire which had been founded following the capture of Constantinople on the Fourth Crusade.

3 Again, this should be James of Aragon, rather than Peter. The Worcester annalist gives a much fuller version on the ransoming, pp. 497–8.

4 While Thomas did harbour his servants, it is more likely that the murder was committed during a drunken brawl at a village fair and was not planned by him.

Proof Uncorrected Copy

He was captured and held by the king's men on these counts, but secretly escaped from their hands. He made for the Franciscan house at Bury St Edmunds, and there he was admitted to their order. When he had stayed there for forty days and was still unwilling to leave, all kinds of food were taken away from the brothers by the hands of laymen. Indeed the brothers there, who were now wasting away from hunger and thirst, left the monastery and were unable to return. Just three or four ancient brothers, so the story goes, stayed with Thomas. The lord king summoned the president general of the Franciscans and asked why he had dared to admit one of his kingdom's criminals as a Franciscan. But when it became clear that this had happened without the president's knowledge, the king ceased from his anger against the Franciscans. Thomas soon realised that he could not be protected by the church or by the Franciscan order, especially [356] as he had no food. So he put back on the clothes of a layman and under the custody of Sir Robert Malet, who had been given charge of him at that time, he was placed in the Tower of London. Finally he was brought before the council of the lord king and, as a result of his crimes mentioned above and other acts of treachery to his king and kingdom, he was given three choices. He could stand in judgment before his peers, or be kept in prison for life, or renounce for life the kingdom of England and the lands of the lord king. Driven into a corner, he renounced the kingdom of the lord king.[1] He was allowed to sail from Dover. So, walking barefoot, with uncovered head and carrying in his hand the cross of our Lord, he came to the port of Dover and sailed across the sea. All his goods, moveable and immoveable, were confiscated.[2]

This very Thomas Weyland had actually passed a law saying that any arrested and imprisoned malefactor who escaped from the hands of his custodians should be regarded as a prison breaker and given suitable punishment. He had even passed a law that food supplies should be removed by the secular arm from any malefactor who had fled for refuge to the protection of a church, if, after forty days, the malefactor had refused to leave as the law of the land required. So subsequently Thomas himself, following the famous dictum of Cato, 'Suffer the law which you yourself have passed,' was heavily punished according to his own laws. Thomas had been a subdeacon and a married man and very rich. He had risen from the bottom to the heights. And then, when he was old and feeble, this fate, or rather misfortune came upon him.

William Brompton, Roger Leicester and John Lovetot, who were companions of Thomas and justices at the king's bench, together with Robert Littlebury, a clerk and keeper of the rolls, were similarly accused of false judgments and other acts of treachery. They were thrust into the Tower of London, and only just saved in the long run by the heaviest of payments. Robert the clerk, who was fined the smallest amount, paid a thousand marks to save his skin, and the others paid sums of money beyond counting.

Also Salomon de Roffa, [357] master Thomas Sudington, Richard Boyland and Walter Hopton, itinerant justices, were punished for the same offences, and similarly ransomed.

Sir Ralph Hengham, another justice, who looked after the affairs of the kingdom while the king was overseas, was accused before the king of various transgressions. He too

[1] In other words, he accepted exile.

[2] Again, this is one of the fullest accounts we have of Edward's activities on his return. His dealings with some of the judges are given by the Osney annalist, pp. 319–22.

Pre-publication copy

was imprisoned in the tower, but threw money at his imprisonment and bought his peace with the king. Men say that the price of his freedom was exceptionally heavy.

A baron of the exchequer called Adam Stratton, who had become very rich by ecclesiastical benefices and lay fiefs, was convicted of acts of homicide, treachery and sorcery and shut in the Tower of London. In the end the judgment on him was the loss of all his lay fiefs. The lord king confiscated the forty-three thousand marks which he was then said to have in his treasury, together with his stock and precious jewels. The many splendid manors, which had been craftily stolen by Adam from the monks of Bermondsey [priory], were restored by the king to the monks, and his other lands were given as a gift to the queen. On another occasion Adam had been convicted of forgeries, but his own money had saved him then. It was because of this former offence that a harsher judgment was passed on him now.

Master Henry Bray, escheator and justiciar of the Jews, was said to have committed crimes quite out of the ordinary, but he made his peace with the king by paying for it.[1]

It was commonly said of the other justices and ministers of the king that, 'They all together went downhill and were useless, and there was not one who did good things,' except John de Mettingham and Elias Bekingham.[2]

Because the king heard that there was a great outcry among the people at the crimes committed in his kingdom, he appointed [Henry de Lacy] earl of Lincoln and [Robert] bishop of Bath and various others to hear the complaints of individuals, so that, when the complaints had been assessed, those individuals might obtain what justice demanded. It was then that our prior [William] [358] informed the lord king and his council of the great delay caused by the justice Richard Boyland in the case heard in his court by a writ of novel disseisin brought against Millicent Montalt. The king at his pleasure had examined the record of the proceedings and in Millicent's presence and against her wishes he had assigned new justices to the prior, namely John de Mettingham and Elias Bekingham. And they had proceeded with the case during Lent [27 February–10 April]. I wrote about this earlier.[3]

In the same year for this suit we granted a special annual sum of twenty shillings to Roger Hecham, also twenty shillings to Henry Spigurnel and also twenty shillings to Walter Aylesbury, just so that they might look after our interests in the business, as stated in our agreements with them.

In the same year we granted our manor at Stoke Hammond to Henry Spigurnel, but with the period which the clerks Robert and Walter had in this manor being reserved. Later these same clerks gave their period to Henry Spigurnel.

In the same year the parishioners of Dunstable built two pinnacles on the north front of the church. They also repaired the stone roof of the south porch, which was all falling to pieces. John Durant the elder paid half of the expenses for all this. And in this very

[1] See the Osney annals, p. 321 for more details.

[2] Prestwich argues that the corruption claimed by the chroniclers such as this is not actually borne out in other forms of records which survive. *Edward I*, p. 340. For a full analysis of their crimes and punishment, see P. A. Brand, 'Edward I and the Judges: the "State Trials" of 1289–93', in *Thirteenth Century England I*, ed. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 31–40.

[3] See pp. 236–38 above.

Pre-publication copy

same year his wife died.[1] The funeral he gave her was of a magnificence unheard of in Dunstable up to that time.

1290

At the beginning of the year of grace 1290 came the death of John Kirkby, bishop of Ely and the treasurer of the lord king at the exchequer. He may have been a non-stop talker and quarrelsome individual, but he was just and true.[2] He was succeeded as bishop by master William Louth[3] and in his office of treasurer by William March.[4]

On the last day of April in the same year King Edward gave Joanna, his second-born daughter, in marriage to Gilbert, the earl of Gloucester.[5] [359] This marriage needed a dispensation from the lord pope, as the earl of Gloucester had formerly been married to Alice, the daughter of the uncle of the king.[6]

On 9 July in the same year the king gave Margaret, his third-born daughter, in marriage to the son of the duke of Brabant [John II], the duke himself being present at the ceremony. Both marriages were celebrated in London with all the pomp and trappings of the age and never had such impressive marriages taken place there since the day the city was founded. A third marriage, arranged and granted between Edward, son of the lord king, and the daughter of the king of Norway who was herself heir to the king of Scotland, came to nothing when the princess herself died.

In the same year Millicent Montalt brought this writ against the prior of Dunstable.

> *John Pabenham, sheriff of Bedford, sends greetings to the bailiff of the hundred of Manshead. We order you to make the prior of Dunstable informed by two free men that he is to present himself before the lord king in the fifteen days of the Holy Trinity, wherever the king then is in England, so that he may receive sentence and do whatever the laws and customs of the kingdom of England says he should do concerning the record of the proceedings of the assize of novel disseisin, which was lately brought to court and heard before John Mettingham and Elias Bekingham at Biggleswade, the case being between the prior of Dunstable and Millicent Montalt concerning the commonage of pasture at Houghton Regis belonging to the free-hold of the prior himself at Houghton Regis and Dunstable.*

On the day required the prior appeared before the justices at London, and the hearing was completed right up to the announcement [360] of the verdict, which was expected to be given in favour of the prior. Because of this Millicent managed to get the suit postponed until up to the next feast of St Michael [29 September]. On this day the prior appeared

1 Avelina: Luard takes the name from 'Roberts's Calendarium Genealogicum, i. p. 402'.

2 This suggests a personal relationship with the man by at least one individual at Dunstable priory. A fuller account is given by the Osney annalist, p. 323.

3 William of Louth (bishop 1290–1298).

4 He was later made bishop of Bath.

5 Again, the Osney annalist gives a full account of their marriage, pp. 323–4. It is also touched upon by the Worcester and Waverley annalists, pp. 503 and 409 respectively.

6 Alice was daughter of Guy, count of Angoulême.

Pre-publication copy

before the king, in the person of an attorney, at Clifton near Nottingham, and there, at the request of both parties, the suit was put off until after the following Easter.

In the same year and at the same time particular justices were appointed by the lord king to bring to an end that practice of asking *Quo warranto*, which over a long period had caused the kingdom of England so much trouble and distress. For, after the prior's case Robert fitz Walter of Coventry and Sir Henry Grey of Newbottle had appeared before the same justices, claiming certain liberties, which they and their ancestors had always enjoyed up to that point. But since they had no warrant but only antiquity of possession,[1] they had been immediately sentenced to lose these liberties. Meanwhile there was a lot of complaining about this among the people, for the matter affected the great men of the kingdom. The lord king realised this and, as he was a lover of peace, he changed the decree to read as follows:

The king sends greetings to the barons of the exchequer. In our last parliament held at Westminster after Easter, in the eighteenth year of our reign, of our special favour we made a grant to archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons and others of our kingdom who claimed to have their own amercements or those of their people because they had charters from us or from the kings of England who were our ancestors. And we also granted that all charters and liberties of this kind, which had been set up in the eighteenth year of the reign of the lord king Henry our father, and also all charters of our ancestors as kings of England which had similarly been set up in the time before that, should in the future be placed in our exchequer. And also that charters about acquisitions made from that time should be shown to you at the exchequer under pain of forfeit of the acquisitions, and that they should be inspected there. So that if in those charters there is no special clause by grant of the lord king Henry our father or of ourselves, through which those who claim to have such a liberty ought to have it, we ourselves should have the amercements on those acquisitions, just as we were [361] accustomed to have before those acquisitions were made. We command you that in the future you should ensure that all charters and liberties of this kind, which were assigned from the eighteenth year of the reign of lord king Henry our father, and also all charters of our ancestors as kings from an earlier time are kept in your possession.

And similarly for our part you should give strict instructions that all those, who claim to have such liberty about acquisitions made from the eighteenth year of lord king Henry our father through charters of lord king Henry himself or from ourselves, should show these charters to you at the treasury under pain of forfeit of these same acquisitions, and that the charters should be inspected there. So that if in these charters there is no special clause, through which they ought to have such a liberty, we ourselves should have the amercements on those acquisitions, just as we were accustomed to have before those acquisitions were made, as was said above. Given with myself as witness at Westminster on 27 May in the eighteenth year of our reign.

The king immediately decreed on the third day of Pentecost [23 May] that all who said that they had undisturbed and uninterrupted possession of liberties before the times of King Richard and afterwards and were able to show this at a proper enquiry,

[1] In other words, they had no written proof.

Proof Uncorrected Copy

should rejoice in such possessions. He himself would give titular confirmation to any possession successfully sought. Whereas those who had ancient charters should be judged according to the form and wording of the charters. And those who had lost a liberty after the last Easter should, by means of the writ given above in the form previously used among the people, receive restitution of their lost acquisitions through the same writ. They should go to law again, this time according to the tenor of the present constitution.

In the same year and at the same time Roger, bishop of Coventry, by giving a huge sum of money to the king, recovered his forest called Le Cant, which he had lost through the judgment that he did not have a warrant for it. The clergy of the archdeaconry of Derby helped by contributing three shillings for every mark, while the rest of the episcopate gave twelve pence for every mark.

In the same year and at the same time, because of the blasphemies which the Jews frequently uttered against the Christian faith, the king decided that all Jews [362] with their seed and their belongings should be expelled from England before the feast of All Souls [2 November]. Otherwise, they would be beheaded. The king granted them safe passage. But on their journey very many were forcibly drowned by the treacherous sailors, and indeed some of the sailors were hung for this offence.[1] And because the expulsion of the Jews was particularly pleasing to the English church and people, the clergy granted to the king a tenth on their spiritual possessions, according to the assessment of [Ralph] bishop of Norwich. The barons and the clergy gave a fifteenth of their temporal goods, which was to be assessed and fixed by lawyers according to true value of the goods, and paid between 1 August and the feast of St Michael [29 September].[2]

In the same year that citizen of Berkhamsted, who had brought a case concerning the taking of tolls against the priors of Dunstable and Grovebury and against the lord of Aylesbury before the king at Clifton near Nottingham, decided not to proceed with the matter.

In the same year Percival [of Lavinia], a Roman, who was archdeacon of Buckingham and a prebendary of Aylesbury, died in the papal curia. The bishop of Lincoln gave the archdeaconry to master Richard of St Frideswide. As for the prebend of Aylesbury, the bishop installed a former rector [Richard of Hederington], assigning a certain part to him, and giving the remainder for the use of the chapter at Lincoln.

On 5 December in the same year came the death of Eleanor, queen of England and the consort of the king. She was Spanish by birth, and as queen had come into possession of many exceptionally fine manors. Her body came through Dunstable on its journey and rested one night with us. We were given two rich cloths of brocade. We had

[1] Rumours spread that a shipmaster whose vessel was anchored in the Thames persuaded the Jewish passengers to walk on the sands, then hurried back to the ship without them, leaving them to drown in the rising tide. Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 346.

[2] All our annalists seem to have a slightly different take on these events. The Waverley annalist states that the expulsion of the Jews was in large part down to the influence of the dowager queen Eleanor, p. 409. The Osney annalist gives these events in even greater detail, adding that the people of the Cinque Ports treated the Jews badly, under the year 1290, pp. 326–7; under the same year, the Worcester annalist gives a more detailed account of the blaspheming which led to their expulsion, recording how a certain Jew insulted the sacraments around Easter time. He was burnt for this, and all other Jews banished; p. 503.

Pre-publication copy

twenty-four pounds and more of wax. Finally her body was buried at Westminster on 17 December in the tomb of King Henry. While her body was passing through Dunstable, the bier halted in the middle of the market place, until the chancellor of the king and [363] the magnates who were with him had decided on a suitable spot where later at the king's expense a great, marvellous cross could be erected.[1] Our prior was present while the procession halted and sprinkled the bier with holy water.

In the same year two Dominicans of Dunstable were celebrating Christmas day in Hertford castle with William de Valence. They went to bed hale and hearty, but on St Stephen's day [26 December] were found dead in their beds. Their death, it was believed, was sudden. They were buried at Dunstable.

In the same year, on the feast of All Saints [1 November], died Roger, the abbot of St Albans. He had been a man of strength in matters spiritual and temporal. The king took the wardship of the abbey and sent officials there who caused trouble for the monks and their abbey.

In the same year the king celebrated Christmas at Ashridge [priory], and stayed there for five whole weeks. The town of Dunstable had the great burden of carrying food supplies there for him. The steward and the marshal of the lord king came inside the liberty of Dunstable to make inquiry about a treasure found at Goldenlowe in the reign of King Henry [III]. Twelve townspeople said under oath that Matthew Tyler of Dunstable had found the treasure there, and that, after his death, the residue of the treasure not spent by Matthew remained in the hands of his wife, Emma, who had later married Adam Rouse of Dunstable, thus making him a rich man. And so Adam and his goods passed into the disposal of the lord king, the goods being worth thirty pounds. But later the king allowed Adam a better inquiry, as the first had been made out of spite. Twenty-four townspeople said under oath everything the same as before. Even twelve non-Dunstable law-abiding men said under oath exactly the same as the townspeople, and put their seals to the inquiry. Finally Adam paid the lord king a fine of ten pounds, and his other goods [364] were given back to him.

The bakers and brewers of Dunstable paid a fine of five marks to the marshal for false weights and measures. The prior and his bailiffs paid nothing.

In the same year Roger Wotton, the receiver, received an account of forty shillings received in the hand of William Blake, the reeve, which William had levied by the green wax of the exchequer on the freemen of Dunstable as follows: from Stephen Babb, eleven shillings and ten pence; from John Ely, half a mark; from Richard Ballard, half a mark; from Thomas Luton, twenty pence; from Thomas Berslow, two shillings and six pence; from Geoffrey Winter, forty pence; from Joanna, widow of Robert Sewell, twenty pence; from John Pirton, fifteen pence; and from Richard Madard, two shillings.

In the same year we paid to John Pabenham, then sheriff of Bedford, a hundred shillings for various defaults, by means of the green wax.

[1] Edward built a series of twelve memorial crosses along the route Eleanor's body was taken on its way to be buried, between 1291 and 1294. Three still survive, at Geddington, Northampton and Waltham. There is now a modern statue in Dunstable's Eleanor's Cross shopping precinct in her honour.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year we paid to William de Turville, sheriff of Bedford,[1] two marks for the fines of men of Dunstable, who had been fined in the court of John Waus and his fellow justices itinerant at Dunstable. We previously had paid forty shillings to sheriff William on the same matter. We have two receipts from him.

In the same year we paid to William Holcot, the clerk of the chancellor, ten pounds which we had borrowed from the money of [Robert] bishop of Bath, when he was then chancellor. In the same year Ralph Hingham forgave us all our debts to him and for which we had not received quittance in return for us paying him twenty-four marks yearly.

In the same year brother Stephen, the curate of the church at Flitwick, died at Ruxox. He was also buried there, as he could not be taken anywhere because of the stench. Two other canons were buried at Ruxox for the same reason.

In the same year [365] died John Pattishall. His son, Simon, mortgaged the forty-six shillings of feudal relief payable to the prior, and did homage for the lands at Grimscote and Pattishall.

In the same year died Adam Bradevin, a villein of the prior. His land was transferred to Edmund, a clerk, for twenty shillings at entry, on condition that he should have the care of one little girl, who was Adam's next of kin, according to ancient customs.

In the same year we presented John Maydenbury to the church at Bradbourne and Geoffrey Merston, both canons, to the church at Flitwick.

In the same year we received brother John Faldo as a canon.

In the same year, when Pope Nicholas IV had taken in the news that the English church was suffering unduly from the excessively large-scale prohibitions imposed by the king, he sent the bishop of Grosseto to the king himself carrying a letter from the pope admonishing him to refrain from such impositions in the future. The bishop approached the king, stood his ground firmly and expounded *viva voce*[2] the contents of the letter. I only wish that the church of England was improved in this fashion on other occasions.

In the same year Richard Youngman, lord of Humberstone, gave us his meadow adjoining our own meadow in Flitwick. In return for this, he himself and his subtenants at Humberstone and their heirs were released from paying tolls in our market place, as contained in our charter, except for the market tolls on the day of St Peter ad Vincula [1 August].

1291

In the year of grace 1291 almost the whole town of Lichfield including the house of the Franciscans had the misfortune to be burnt to the ground, although the canons' close was saved. Also the whole manor of the bishop of Lincoln at Buckden with its granges and various outbuildings was burnt down.

[1] Sheriff 1291 to 1292. This was William's second term on office, having also been sheriff from 1288 to 1289.

[2] Orally, face-to-face.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year [366] the men of Houghton Regis brought a suit against us concerning contributing with them to the *Quare non venerunt*[1] and extortions of this kind, in which men of religion have no part. They said that on other occasions we had contributed with them in this and similar cases, and they asked for the verdict of the country on this. But they dropped the case.

In the same year, within fifteen days from Easter day [22 April], our charter of liberties was put on the rolls at the exchequer of the lord king.[2]

In the same year died Eleanor, the dowager queen of England, the mother of the king and a nun at Amesbury. Her body was buried where she died, but her heart was buried in London at the house of the Franciscans with the greatest solemnity and in proper style. And then the anniversary of the death of Queen Eleanor, the wife of the king, was celebrated with some festivity. Very many of the bishops and senior prelates of England and the king himself were present on that occasion.

In the same year came definite reports that the sultan of Babylon[3] had captured the town of Acre. He had levelled the town to the ground and had killed its people, with no sparing of the men of religion, except for a few who had escaped by boat to the island of Cyprus. It was said that this sorrowful disaster had happened because of discord between the Templars and the Hospitallers. And it was particularly because of the sin of luxury which reigned there that God had delivered them up to confusion and death. Pope Nicholas IV was greatly disturbed by this misfortune and sent high-ranking messengers to the church worldwide asking these questions. How could the town of Acre itself be retaken? How could it be guarded when recaptured? What should be the subsidies and who should pay them? For how long should those subsidies or contributions continue?[4]

Then the English church held a great meeting of its prelates and made the same reply to these demands as it heard had been made by the French church, namely that the lord pope should establish again a firm peace between the kings and the leading churchmen [367] and that he should appoint a Roman emperor and assign to him the revenues and honours of empire as before, so that by the these means and with the grace of God the church might be kept safe.[5] To act further along these lines, the English church sent two high-ranking envoys to the Roman curia.

In the same year the pope granted to Edward, king of England, crusader, a tenth of all the revenues of the churches of his kingdom for six years according to their true value, for his expedition to the Holy Land. Oliver, bishop of Lincoln, and John, bishop of

1 Literally, 'why did they not come' – a writ concerning attending court when summoned. The canons of Dunstable priory claim here they are exempt from this.

2 This is the final conclusion to the inquiry into the ownership of lands and rights which had been going on for several years and was now officially recorded by the king's administration.

3 Al-Ashraf Khalil was the eighth Mamluk sultan of Egypt from 1290 until his assassination in December 1293.

4 The loss of Acre represented the loss of the last crusader stronghold in the Holy Land. It is also lamented by the Waverley annalist, p. 410, the Osney annalist, p. 331, and the Worcester annalist, who also comments on the disunity between the military orders, p. 505.

5 There was a great fear at this time that the rise of Islam in the east represented the beginning of the end of the world, and that Christendom itself would soon be overcome.

Pre-publication copy

Winchester, and other prelates were appointed to supervise this collection. When their agents came to us, our churches received the following new taxation value:

The church at Dunstable is valued at nineteen marks.
The church at Studham is valued at fifteen marks.
The church at Totternhoe is valued at [..] marks.
The church at Chalgrave is valued at [..] marks.
The church at Husborne Crawley is valued at [..] marks.
The church at Segenhoe is valued at [..] marks.
The church at Flitwick is valued at [..] marks.
The church at Pulloxhill is valued at [..] marks.
The church at Newbottle is valued at [..] marks [and] a half.
Half of the church at Pattishall is valued at [..] marks.
Half of the church at Cold Higham is valued at [..] marks.
And the church at Bradbourne with its chapels was taxed by other assessors at the value of [..] marks.[1]

You will find details of the payment of the tenth and the taxing of temporalities in my account of the next year.

In the same year came the death of [James] king of Aragon, who had taken in marriage Eleanor, the first-born daughter of the king of England. He was succeeded by his brother,[2] who married the sister of the king of Spain.[3] Both of them formed a mighty conspiracy against [368] the king of France, but their enmity was quietened down by a truce.

In the same year there was no king in Scotland, because the royal seed had died out when Margaret, daughter of the king of Norway, who had been the legitimate heir of Scotland, and was the great niece of the king of England by his sister,[4] had died without leaving an heir of her body.[5] And then the kingdom was thrown into a great disturbance by nine nobles of the land, who each claimed that kingdom by hereditary right. So Edward, king of England, went to those parts in person to stop this quarrelling, and by his hard work and goodness of character he settled the dispute as follows.

To all who will see or hear this present letter greetings in God from Florence count of Holland, Robert Bruce lord of the Anandale, John Balliol lord of Galloway, John Hastings lord of Abergavenny, John Comyn lord of Badenoch, Patrick Dunbar count of the March, John Vescy on behalf of his father, Nicholas Soules and William Ross. As we consider that we have rights to the kingdom of Scotland, and intend to demonstrate, claim and prove these rights before him who has the most power, jurisdiction and cause to test our rights; and as the noble prince lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, has informed us by good and sufficient reasons that the sovereign lordship of the

[1] The values have been left blank in the manuscript, presumably the intention had been to fill them in at a later date.

[2] Frederick.

[3] Frederick actually married Eleanor of Anjou, the daughter of Charles II of Naples, as part of the peace agreement made in 1302 that marked the end of the Sicilian Vespers.

[4] Margaret, wife of Alexander III, King of Scotland.

[5] This was the young child referred to above, daughter of the King of Norway, p. 244.

Pre-publication copy

aforesaid kingdom of Scotland belongs, as it should belong, to him, with the jurisdiction of hearing, examining and determining our right; we of our own will, without any kind of force or constraint, do will, agree and grant that we will accept the law in his presence as sovereign lord of the land. Moreover we do will and promise that we will hold and keep firm his decision, and that the one, to whom he in his own presence gives the right, will take the kingdom. In witness of this, we have set our seals on this document. Made and given at Norham [Northumberland], the first Tuesday after the Ascension, in the year of grace 1291.

To all [369] those who will see or hear this present letter, greetings in God from Floris [v] *count of Holland and the others afore named. We have agreed and granted of our good will and by common consent, without any constraint, to the noble prince lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, that he as sovereign lord of the land of Scotland may hear, examine and determine our claims and our demands, which we intend to show and prove for our right to the kingdom of Scotland, and establish the right before him as sovereign lord of the land. Moreover we promise that we will hold and keep his decision firm and stable, and that he, to whom he give the right in his presence, will take the kingdom. But the aforesaid king of England cannot make a judgment of this kind without jurisdiction, and there can be no jurisdiction without executive power, and he cannot duly exercise executive power without the possession and legal right to the land itself and the castles. Therefore we do will, agree and grant that he as sovereign lord, in order to complete the matters aforementioned, should have the seisin of all the land and castles of Scotland, until the right has been done and performed for the candidates. But it must be in such a way that, before he takes the aforementioned seisin, he should give good and sufficient surety to the candidates and to the guardians and to the community of the kingdom of Scotland, that he will make reversion of the kingdom itself and of its castles, with all the kingship, title, lordship, freedoms, customs, rights, laws and usages, and possessions, and every kind of appurtenance, in the same condition as it was when the seisin was given and delivered to him, to the one who wins the sworn right of the kingship: saving the homage of the future king to the king of England. And that the reversion shall be made within two months after the day on which the right is tried and settled. And that the revenues from the same land received in the meantime shall be safely deposited and well guarded by the hand of the current chamberlain of Scotland, and by the man who will be assigned to him by the king of England, and under their seals: excepting reasonable upkeep of the land, and of the castles, and of the ministries of the kingdom. In witness to these things aforesaid we have set our seals to this document. Made and given at Norham, the Wednesday after the Ascension, in the year of grace 1291.*

When he had brought peace to Scotland in this way, King Edward returned to London, and was present at the burial of the heart of his mother, which I mentioned earlier.[1]

In the same [370] year and at the same time the king discovered from the witness of twenty-four legally appointed jurymen under oath that the people of the earl of

[1] Edward's dealing with affairs in Scotland is commented upon by the annals of Osney, p. 329, Worcester, p. 505, and Waverley, pp. 410–411, though none in as much detail as is given here.

Pre-publication copy

Gloucester and the people of the earl of Hereford, despite the king's prohibition on the earls themselves, had made attacks on each other over a castle which the earl of Gloucester by force of arms had built in the Marches to do harm to the earl of Hereford.[1] Both sides looted and killed during these attacks. The judgment from the king's mouth was as follows:

Because you, earl of Gloucester, have built a castle contrary to our ban and have committed murders contrary to our peace, you are fined ten thousand pounds by us. Also your liberties at Walchere in those parts with their rights are to be in our possession during the whole of your lifetime, but are all to revert to your heirs after your death. Then you, earl of Hereford, for the robberies and murders committed by you, are fined one thousand marks by us. As for your rights and liberties in those parts, the same applies to you as to the earl of Gloucester.

Both earls were delivered from prison.[2]

In the same year the summer was very dry, the autumn rainy and the winter extremely cold with a severe scarcity of hay and fodder. For both reasons the price of corn broke all records.

In the same year brother John Faldo made his profession, and John Chetundon and William Wederore took the novice's habit on the day of the Ascension of the Lord, and brother John Dunstable did so on the day of the Annunciation of the Lord [25 March], as another year began.

In the same year on the feast of the Magdalen, some estate tithes at Brassington and Atlow, which for thirteen years had been rented out to William Hamilton for two hundred marks, came back into our possession.

In the same year Thomas, our head porter, died. We had two anniversaries celebrated by the canons in his memory. In return [371] for that task we acquired Thomas' sheep at Buckleshore. In the same year we paid William Turville, sheriff of Bedford, half a mark for this Thomas our porter by the hand of his wife Sybil and Walter of the Peak. This was for a fine imposed on him in the king's court as the result of a deed instituted between him and Peter Pakeman and his wife Christina concerning the tenements of Robert Francis at Dunstable.

In the same year John Hook, archdeacon of Bedford, died and was succeeded by master Roger Rothwell.

In the same year we granted to William Catesby and his wife Alice our manor at Catesby for the lifetime of both of them. At that time William had a term of five years on that manor.

In the same year Thomas Painter of Houghton Regis died. Lady de la Horne received his best beast by right of heriot because she was his heir. We received his second best beast, for one hide of land at Sewell which he had held from us through the assignment of Hugo Gornay. And the wife of Thomas had the fodder belonging to the actual heir.

[1] The castle in question was Morlais. Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 348.

[2] For further explanation of Edward's action in the Marches at this time, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 348–52.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year William Newbond died at Flitwick. We received five shillings of feudal relief from his heir. Also Simon Perot of Pulloxhill died and Roger the carter from the same village. We received feudal relief from the heirs of both of them.

In the same year we received only two and a half sacks of good wool from Bradbourne, where John Maybury was then in charge. This caused a huge amount of trouble to our merchants.

In the same year we bought from John de la The the annual delivery of eight cartloads of wood in every year when there was a full supply of wood there.

1292

In the year [372] of grace 1292 on the day of the Annunciation to our Lady [25 March] John Dunstable was admitted as a canon.

In the same year, in the period of the passion of our Lord, Pope Nicholas V died.[1] He was succeeded by Pope Celestinus V, although for a long time because of dissension among the cardinals the see was vacant, as will become clear in the second folio following this.[2]

In the same year we paid to [Roger] the abbot of Osney, who was collecting the tithe for the Holy Land, the whole tithe for our spiritual goods, according to the assessment made in the previous year. Also our temporal goods were assessed, and then we paid to the same abbot the necessary tithe from our properties, except for Thame, for which we paid nothing.

In the same year Nicholas of Warwick by letter of the lord king came from the exchequer to Dunstable, and fined those who had been involved in suits in London before the justices at the exchequer. The prior of Dunstable was then fined forty pence for several defaults with regard to [Peter] the prior of the hospital of St John of Jerusalem. He was also fined forty pence because he did not appear in court. Also Robert Hunt and Richard Sprot were fined twenty pence because […] the prior of Dunstable. Also the prior of Dunstable was fined forty pence for several defaults with regard to the prior of the hospital of St John.

In the same year we paid twelve marks twice to Ralph Hengham, according to the terms of the instalment which was then due.

In the same year we brought a suit by document against the knight, David of Flitwick, before the appointed judges concerning the supply of the tithe of hay from the village of Flitwick. David appealed from these judges to the protection of the court of the archbishop of Canterbury and through the fraudulent behaviour of our proctor he gained protection on its first day before the dean of the Arches.

In the same year [373] came the death of Robert Burnell, the bishop of Bath and the chancellor of the lord king, whom the king himself had raised up high from his humble beginnings. He was affable in his replies to the people, but was said to be uncommonly licentious. Using his great wealth he married off his cousins, not to say his daughters, to the nobles of England. He got his hands on many estates and

[1] This is an error – it should be Nicholas IV.

[2] There was a two-year vacancy with no elected pope. Celestine V was then pope from July to December 1294.

Pre-publication copy

manors which he left to his nephews or daughters. He was succeeded as chancellor by John Langton, who was then a simple clerk at the same chancery, and as bishop by master William of March.

In the same year in the month of December died brother John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury. He had been ill for a long time before his death, and left little or almost nothing in the treasuries at Canterbury.

In the same year on Ash Wednesday [19 February] a hard-fought tournament was held at Dunstable, at which no groom or anyone else on foot carried anything in his hand except a small shield to defend against the raging of the horses.[1]

In the same year the lord king brought a suit against [John] the abbot of St Albans concerning the advowson of Tynemouth priory, but the abbot retained it.

In the same year Geoffrey Burgilun brought a suit against the prior before the tithe collectors at Lichfield concerning his retention of his annual pension. By a trick he managed to get the prior excommunicated, for the prior was not advised about the suit or called to the courts. But all this was completely revoked by [Roger] the lord bishop of Lichfield.

In the same year we took a tithe on sheaves of wheat and beans which had been sown within an enclosure of some burgesses of Dunstable, when, in the presence of the burgesses, an official of [Roger] the archdeacon of Bedford announced this requirement.

In the same year [374] we enclosed at Shortgrave about four acres of land. Inside the enclosure we sowed oak and beech and we planted other very small trees all around it.

In the same year our prior in person and helped by his servants quite often went ferreting for rabbits in Bocwode wood, regarding it as common land, and, because of the complaints about this by the boys of the lady of Eaton Bray [Millicent Montalt], he did not stop doing it.

In the same year John Duraunt the elder bought the rent for a fief from […][2] Wyville at Houghton Regis, for eleven marks a year.

In the same year there arose a very fierce quarrel between the Cinque Ports of England and the Normans. This was because the Normans had actually killed a noble of Bayonne, who paid homage to the king of England. This incident led to countless people being killed on both sides. (But more of this below.)[3]

In the same year Rhys ap Meredith, a very high born Welshman, was hanged for treachery against the king of England and the kingdom.[4]

In the same year the lord king stayed in Scottish lands for a long time. He listened to the arguments and the rights of those who claimed the inheritance of the kingdom of Scotland, and had lord John Balliol crowned king there. Having received homage from the new king of Scotland, the king of England travelled through the western parts of his land.[5]

1 Presumably, this was to defend themselves against the horses in the mêlée.

2 Blank in manuscript.

3 This was the start of a feud between Edward's sailors and those of Philip IV of France who hailed from Normandy which was to escalate the following year. See below p. 256.

4 For examples of this treachery, see p. 231 above.

5 The decision-making process is given in greater detail by the Osney annalist, pp. 334, and 337–8 in particular.

Pre-publication copy

1293

In the year of grace 1292 and in the twenty-first year of the reign of King Edward, in the octave of St John [from 24 June], the following words were written in the great roll of the exchequer concerning the financial statement of William de Turville, sheriff of Bedford.

From the twentieth year of King Edward, thirty-two shillings and a farthing were allocated to sheriff William; for [William] the prior of Dunstable holding part of the tenements which belonged to Godfrey Lyneholt and Milo Bray, for the portion [375] concerning the prior of the forty-three pounds and one mark owed to the lord king from a legal decision, namely in the suit of the abbot of Wardon, who claimed that the prior was a principal debtor to the treasury.

In the twentieth roll of King Edward in the financial statement of William de Turville, sheriff of Bedford, forty shillings were allowed to the prior of Dunstable from his profits made externally, totalling seventeen pounds and twelve pence from the revenues of various people whose names had a letter T put before them in the rolls of the exchequer about fines and external revenues in the Michaelmas term at the beginning of the nineteenth year.

In the same account there were put down to the sheriff eighty pence from the prior of Dunstable, which he had received from the prior for several defaults concerning the hospital of St John of Jerusalem, for which the prior had been fined before Nicholas of Warwick. This was at the exchequer for the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth years of the reign of King Edward.

In the same year of grace we paid to William de Turville, sheriff of Bedford, with four receipts, twenty-two shillings which we received from the profits of the outside lands of John Sone of Dunstable, Richard Charlton, Geoffrey le Cu and Stephen Stabulo of Dunstable. This took place in an inquiry between Thomas Page the plaintiff and Robert Wiley and others named in the writ in the presence of the king within fifteen days from the day of the Holy Trinity in the nineteenth year of the reign of King Edward. The amounts received were half a mark from John Sone, forty pence from Richard Charlton, two shillings from Geoffrey le Cu and half a mark from Stephen Stabulo. Those payees have receipts from the sheriff.

In the same year on the second Tuesday after Easter [31 March] the marshals of the lord king made their enquiries at Dunstable concerning measures. The town was fined for false measures and for the bad meat sold by its butchers. It also paid the prior's bailiffs for the hospitality for the marshals.

In the same year we paid five marks to John, the parson of All Saints at Bedford and the executor of master Thomas, an official of [the archdeacon of] Bedford. And we received from him [376] our pledge by which we were bound to pay twenty marks for the Holy Land for master Peter Aldenham.

In the same year on the second Tuesday after Easter [7 April] we paid to Ralph Hengham the instalment of twenty-four marks that was due.

In the same year in the month of April a tournament was held at Dunstable, in which a very famous squire was killed. He was buried in Dunstable.

In the same year and at the same time, after Easter, the lord king held his parliament in London. He summoned to it [John] archbishop of York, who in contempt of the king and to the confusion of the kingdom of England had exiled his subject, [Anthony]

Pre-publication copy

bishop of Durham,[1] without giving warning to the king beforehand. But the archbishop made his peace with the king. The lord king also took into his own hands the liberty of the people of London, because they had failed to capture in the previous year the killers of Roger de Drayton, a clerk of the earl of Cornwall, and also had not raised a hue and cry after felons. The king also appointed new bailiffs in London, and the citizens in the capital itself, and at Dunstable and elsewhere, paid tolls on their merchandise. Finally the king restored their liberty without payment, on condition that in the future they did raise the hue and cry and do the other things that were required by the crown. And on that occasion the prior of Dunstable [William] and the townspeople made a concession and decided that the hue and cry should be raised within the liberty of Dunstable, although that had not been the practice there.

In the same year we heard definite rumours that the people of the Cinque Ports of England with eighty-four ships had captured two hundred and forty Norman ships and killed all the men in them.[2]

In the same year and at the same time Eleanor, the first-born daughter of the king of England, married [Henry] the count of Bar at Bristol.

In the same year [377] the justices itinerant at York behaved with extreme severity. A nobleman called Simon Constable had been arrested for several felonies, and, because he refused to accept his country's verdict, he was made by them to do the statutory penance. He died in prison.

In the same year [Gerard] the archdeacon of Richmond in one of his manors near Exeter was robbed of a great sum of money and some other goods. Because of this several nobles were captured and kept in prison, on the information of three priests who were in fact the guilty ones. Some knights and nobles were hung, while some, choosing the penalty according to the statute, failed miserably.

In the same year a merchant called Hugh of Houghton was fined by the prior for non-payment of the toll on corn and other goods in the market place at Dunstable, despite the fact that men of Houghton Regis are free from the toll at the market.

In the same year Roger Rothwell, archdeacon of Bedford, ordered the parishioners of the church of Totternhoe to find the banners, cross, candles and missal belonging to that church. The rector there did so.

In the same year, with the agreement of Peter Loring, the lord of Chalgrave, a new enclosure called [ ][3] was made in Chalgrave field. We had great profit from this by reason of the tithe and also of the estates.

In the same year we brought a suit before the commissioners of the bishop of Lincoln against the parson of Cheddington for despoiling a tithe of some fields in his parish which had belonged to us of old.

[1] Anthony Bek (1284–1310).

[2] The promise given above for greater detail was not delivered. At what seems to have been a pre-agreed time and place, the two sides met, and after a hard-fought battle, the English won. They took much booty, though Edward refused to receive any in case it appeared to the king of France that he had been behind it. Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 377.

[3] Blank in the manuscript.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year, at the expense of John Burgess of Dunstable, the great cross in the church and the statues of Mary and John were newly painted. Also several statues of the saints in the church were similarly repainted.

In the same year [378] [William] the prior of Dunstable, before the justices appointed to hear and decide writs of novel disseisin, laid claim to two parcels of land at Wadlow, of which he had been robbed. The assize met to decide if Richard Mansel, John Jeffrey, John Clark, Walter Hare, Robert Matthew, John Brown, John Flighe, William Warin, Walter Hervey, Richard Swan, John fitz Laurence, Laurence fitz Juetta, Nicholas Thyme, John West, John Hereward, Geoffrey Hildeward and Richard Petit had unjustly etc. dispossessed the prior of Dunstable of his free tenement at Toddington after the first etc. It was on this account that the prior made his accusation that they had dispossessed him of a plot of land nine perches long, and in one place five and a half perches wide and in another place five perches wide and in another three perches wide. Also he claimed they had robbed him of another plot of land, five and a half perches long, and in another place four perches and nine feet long, and in another one perch and six feet long etc.

Richard and the others appeared before the justices. Richard Mansel, John Jeffrey and John Clark and the other free tenants said that the assize should not have been held. For they said that a certain John Peyvere, Gilbert Parker and Nicholas the parson of Toddington etc. were the owners of the aforesaid holdings, which the prior in his view regarded as indivisible, together with the same Richard, John, John, Walter etc., but were not named in the writ by which they were seeking judgment by writ.

Also Robert Matthew and others named in the writ, who were villeins of John Peyvere, said that they themselves owned nothing in those plots except as being villeins of John Peyvere. And so they asked for justice, etc. [379] and, if they had a share in it etc., then Richard and all the others named in the writ etc. They said that the prior had unjustly brought that assize against them. For they said that the holdings, which the prior said were plough-land, were in fact a meadow for mowing. They also said that the manor of Toddington had been at one time under the wardship of the lord king, because John Peyvere was a minor in age at the time. In fact the lord king had then given the wardship of it to lady Eleanor, queen of England, his former wife, to be held until John Peyvere came to the right age for ownership. And they said that while that manor was in the wardship of Eleanor, a certain Richard Grusset, the bailiff of the manor, while Richard Mansel and all the others named in the writ were below age, had granted the same meadow to Simon, then prior of Dunstable, the predecessor of the existing prior, to be held by him only up to the lawful age of John Peyvere. And they said that they themselves had mowed the meadow, once John Peyvere had reached the lawful age, just as their ancestors in times past had been wont to do, and without committing any act of dispossession etc. This was their submission to the court.

The prior said for his part that the plots of land in question had at one time been in possession of the men of the township of Toddington. But they, with unanimous agreement and assent, had given them as a fief to Simon, his predecessor as prior, to be held by him and his successors in perpetuity. Indeed Prior Simon then died still in possession of them etc. After his death, William, the predecessor of the present prior, succeeded Simon as prior etc., and then died still in possession of them. After his death the present prior then took possession of the plots as a right of his church.

Pre-publication copy

And he was in possession [380] of the plots, as his free-hold until Richard Mansel and the others then unjustly etc. dispossessed him of it. So he asked that an inquiry should be made at the assize. Richard Mansel and the others also asked for this. And so the assize was to proceed.

The jurymen said under oath that the aforesaid John Peyvere, Gilbert Parker, Robert Reeve, Laurence Cowhurst, John Swan, Peter Laurence and Nicholas Hecham had no share in the plots on the day the writ was presented, that is 24 July in the now twenty-first year of the reign of the king. They said that the holdings in question had at one time been in the possession of the men of the township of Toddington, but that all those who had a share in those two plots of ground had gathered together in one place for a court held at Toddington and with unanimous agreement had granted those two plots of ground with their appurtenances to Simon, once prior of Dunstable and the predecessor of the present prior. The plots were to be held by him and his successors in perpetuity, and for this they were to pay an annual rent of six pence to the men of Toddington and their heirs at the times of the mowing of the meadow.

The jurymen added that Simon, once prior, etc., had been in peaceful possession of these two plots of ground during the whole of his time. He had paid the men of Toddington the agreed rent of six pence and had died still in possession of them. After his death, the prior of Dunstable who was the immediate predecessor of the present prior had been in possession of the plots for several years and had paid the rent mentioned above. Similarly the present prior, who succeeded immediately as prior after the death of the preceding prior, was in possession of the plots as his free-hold when Richard Mansel and all the others named in the writ unjustly etc. drove off the prior from those lands by force of arms.

And so the verdict was that the prior should recover his possession of the two plots with an inspection that this verdict [381] had been acknowledged, and that he should also recover what had been given by him as the rent appointed by the townspeople up to two shillings. And that Richard and the others should be sent to prison because of the force of arms they had used. Afterwards Richard Mansel paid a fine of ten shillings on the plea of John Clerk, John Laurence and Nicholas Tyme. And John Clerk, John Laurence and Nicholas Tyme paid a fine of twenty shillings on the plea of Hugo Hammond and Hugo Bruthun of Harlington. And John Jeffrey and all the others named in the writ paid a fine of one mark, on the plea of John Clerk, John Laurence, Nicholas Tyme and Richard Mansel. And I must tell you that the fine was so small because of their extreme poverty etc.

The justices at Bedford were Sir Gilbert Kirkby and John de Insula.

The names of the jurymen

1. Robert Burne of Ampthill.
2. Philip Wroxhull.
3. Alard Loring.
4. John Agate of Eaton Bray.
5. William Bernard of Wotton.
6. William Ambrose.
7. William Robert of Cranfield.
8. Roger Chelton.

Pre-publication copy

9. Henry Scapelory.
10. Richard Heywood.
11. Ralph Savage of Pottesgrave.
12. Nicholas Blaunfront of Pottesgrave.

In the same year the lepers of Dunstable set up outside the path around their house a rather big bell on two posts. When the prior noticed the bell, he had it brought inside our courtyard. Later he gave it back to them, on the condition that they should never use [382] that or any other bells to summon our parishioners or men from elsewhere.[1]

In the same year Oliver [Sutton], bishop of Lincoln, heard that some benefices in his diocese were well below their true taxation value while others had been taxed notably excessively. And so he proceeded in person to provide a new taxation of his churches' revenues. But all our own particular benefices remained under the assessment made by the bishop's commissioners in the preceding year.

1294

In the year of grace 1294 Pope Celestine V [resigned]. He had led a hermit's life and was elected pope on 5 July and consecrated. Also in the same year on St Lucy's day [13 December] he came into the presence of the cardinals in the consistory clad in his papal vestments and said, 'Brothers, you chose me as pope. I know that I have done some things well and some things less well. I wish to revoke them, as I do not know how to decide which were done well and which not. But this I leave to my successor.'

Then he drew out from under his mantle a document and read it aloud. Among other things it contained the words, 'I, Pope Celestine V, consider that in all justice I am not capable of bearing this burden. I am an old man with a failing body. My wish is to have time for that contemplative life, which was my custom and which I cannot follow while holding this office. So I resign the papacy, the burden and the honour.' And immediately he came down from his papal throne, took the crown from his head and put it on the ground. Then to the amazement of the stupefied cardinals, he next laid beside it his mantle, his ring and everything else right down to his white cassock. Then he went alone into his room, and put on the habit of his order, and returned alone back into the consistory. There he sat on the lowest step of his throne and said to the brothers with tears in his eyes, 'My brothers, you see that I have resigned this burden and honour. I adjure you by the blood of Jesus Christ and by his mother to speedily [383] make provision of a good man who can be for the good of the church, for Christendom and especially for the Holy Land.' With this he went into his room. The cardinals indeed asked him not to leave Rome until they had made provision of a pastor for the church, and this he promised.[2]

On the Thursday before Christmas the cardinals chose Benedict as pope. He is now known as Pope Boniface VIII. This Boniface on St John's day [24 June] revoked all the

[1] It would seem he was worried that parishioners might hear the bell and answer its summons, risking infection from the leper community.

[2] This is the fullest account of the resignation offered by contemporaries. It was highly unusual for a pope to resign; the next one to do so was Benedict XVI in 2013.

Pre-publication copy

provisions made in the time of Celestine and Nicholas his predecessors, and even those made by Geronimus of Parmania in France. The only exceptions were the positions which had been fully granted before 14 December. He even suspended all archbishops, bishops and other officers, if they had received their positions from Pope Celestine without his consulting the cardinals or if they had received them outside the customary place of the consistory. He also suspended the whole household and chaplains of Pope Celestine, and his chamberlain and chancellor as well. He also suspended all the tradesmen used by the papal apartments. He merely restored three fraternities, the Spumae, the Mores and the Clarentes. He also revoked all the commissions in cases made for writers, sergeants, couriers and notaries by Pope Celestine. He wrote nothing for certain unless he had consulted Bartholomew of Capua.[1] He decided that the curia should go to Rome, and on 23 January he was crowned the lord pope at Rome. Before this time no bull from his hand had issued from his curia, because he had decided that no half bull should be issued from the curia. He also wrote to the kings of France, England, Germany, Aragon and Spain and other great foreign magnates with instructions that none of them should fight a war against one of the others or even attempt it, and that they should appear before him through competent proctors having a full mandate. But no day was mentioned [384] for this. Pope Boniface also begged them urgently to speed up their crusade to the Holy Land, as he was willing in his own person to sail across the seas.[2]

But the reason why Pope Celestine resigned the papacy was because he discovered that some of his own brothers, having an evil conscience, were deceiving him day by day. And indeed several blank bulls were found without writing.[3]

In the same year Edward, king of England, in the twenty-second year of his reign, proposed to marry Blanche,[4] the sister of the king of France, against the wills of almost his whole baronage of England. This was because the king of England had enfeoffed the king of France with the whole of Gascony and the city of Bordeaux and its dependencies, but so that he himself and the French king's sister and any heirs produced by her should be re-enfeoffed with this same Gascony, when he had been in possession of it for forty days. But this marriage never took place.[5]

And the king of France, breaking his agreement with the king of England, held on to Gascony and refused to hand it back, although he was asked several times by English noblemen to do so. But the king of England, thinking that he had been deceived, hired help from the kings of Germany,[6] Aragon[7] and Spain[8] and from dukes, counts and

1 A renowned scholar and lawyer.

2 Pope Boniface VIII was a marked contrast to his predecessor, making great strides in strengthening the power and authority of the Church.

3 A modern equivalent might be the issuing of blank, but signed, cheques.

4 Blank in the manuscript.

5 The Worcester annalist says that Edward was consumed with immoderate love for Blanche and that this was the reason for his wanting to marry her.

6 Adolph of Nassau (1292–1298).

7 James II (1291–1327).

8 Ferdinand IV (1295–1312).

Pre-publication copy

kinsmen, so that he might recover by force of arms that which he had seemingly lost by trickery. And now the kingdoms of England and France were at war, so that there were killings, burnings, plundering and evils in many shapes without pity or limit. Even the men of the Cinque Ports, because of the discord between the kingdoms and because in the previous year they had killed Normans, now drowned any men they found of the French or their allies on sea or land, or put them to fire or the sword, while taking very great spoils. And the French, vice versa, tried their tricks on the English, causing [385] trouble to them and their friends when and as often as they could. Their leading captain in this was Charles,[1] the brother of the king of France. It was this Charles who pursued the English with inveterate hatred, as his own brother the king was apparently unwilling to do so. But in order to avoid prolixity, I pass over here the traps and evils which Charles tried on the English.[2]

In the meantime Edward, king of England, assembled a great army of Englishmen and others at Portsmouth so that he might join that mercenary army of the aforesaid kings and different princes and by the grace of God conquer his enemies. But he was delayed at Portsmouth for eight weeks or more because the winds and the skies were so against him that he could not set sail in safety.

But in the meantime the Welsh heard that the king was about to sail to foreign parts, and, believing that he would not be able to come back, they with one accord abandoned their homage and service to the lord king.[3] They killed without pity those set over them by the lord king of England, and betook themselves and their possessions to their safe retreats on Snowdon and Anglesey, fortifying them with arms and food in the Welsh way.[4] When Edward, king of England, heard of the rebellion of the Welsh, he gave up his own expedition against the king of France. But he sent some knights out of his nobles in England to Gascony and the adjacent lands. They were joined, so it is said, by many barons from Gascony, and, when they had also been joined by a large army from Aragon and Spain, these Englishmen subjugated to the lord king those cities that were rebelling against the king of England. And next these knights of the lord king of England went to an island called Oléron, which of old belongs to the kings of England, in order that they might pay to the king of Aragon the thousand pounds which Edward had promised to him for supplying help. They were safe in the island itself, but they were frequently prevented from leaving it by the enemy.

Lord Edward, [386] king of England, held his parliament at London with his magnates, and asked for a subsidy from people and clergy against the enemies of his kingdom. The people granted him a tenth of all their goods, except for certain small pieces of jewellery. The clergy granted him a half of all their goods without qualification: the grant was based on the assessment recently carried out by the bishops of Lincoln

1 Charles, count of Valois.

2 Charles had an especial hatred for Edward, as he considered the English king's interference prevented him from taking the Aragonese throne following the Sicilian Vespers. Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 378.

3 In truth, Edward had raised many troops for his French campaign by taking them from their postings in Wales, easing the way for the Welsh rebellion led by Madog ap Llywelyn. Walker, *Medieval Wales*, p. 154.

4 This Welsh massacre of the English is detailed in the Worcester annals, p. 517.

Pre-publication copy

and Winchester for the tenth for the Holy Land, and the payment of this half was to last for one year.

Later King Edward, having settled the affairs of his kingdom of England, invaded Wales with a great army just before the feast of All Saints [1 November]. When he found his castles destroyed by the Welsh and saw their contempt of the English and the trouble they had caused, he moved his forces against them, and in the ensuing conflict countless men were killed on both sides, though in every attack the Welsh came off the worse. But very many of the English perished as well through lack of food in the cold of winter, and the king himself sometimes had dry bread and a little water for his supper. The king also, making use of cross-bows and bolts of an unheard of weight and size, expelled with a strong hand those Welsh nobles who had fled for refuge to the isle of Anglesey. The king's army indeed pursued these men and their allies as far as their other safer hideouts on Snowdon, and the English would very rapidly have killed them, had not the king been moved by pity and given orders for them to be spared.[1]

Finally all the Welsh nobles and the common people of both sexes from highest to lowest made their submission of life and limb to the will of the lord king of England. The king received as hostages from the nobler class as many particular hostages as he wanted, and dispatched them to the sure safety of his own castles in England, granting their lands to his own heirs. All this was on condition that the Welsh from then on remained loyal to the kings and their heirs, looked to them on all matters, and that they made the compensation desired by the king for the damage [387] and losses which they had inflicted on the lord king during that rebellion. The king with an oath threatened that he would not leave one man pissing against the wall, if they rebelled against him in future.

At the same time the whole of the Welsh people ruled by the duke of Gloucester rebelled as one man against him.[2] They drove him beyond the boundaries of Wales, together with his wife, who was a king's daughter, and their children. The duke just escaped with his life. Later the duke attacked the Welsh with a large army, but achieved little, because the older and more powerful had all left his service and done homage to the king of England for themselves and their heirs. Indeed for full security they had surrendered themselves as hostages to the lord king himself, and declared strongly that in the future they would do minimal service to the duke of Gloucester. But some of the less important people, the count's own tenants, stuck by him as they had done before, as I have heard. Also I shall pass over the courage of the Welshmen themselves and their bravery in battle, as that would be too long a story. Also no man but only God knows how many were killed on both sides.

The king left behind him as custodians in Wales John Havering and some others, and himself returned to London on 1 August. He then held his parliament there. Meanwhile a certain Madog, whom the Welsh had made their leader and who with a few others had continued the resistance to the king, was brought to London by John Havering to

[1] For a more detailed account of Edward's three-pronged attack on the Welsh, see Walker, *Medieval Wales*, pp. 154–6.

[2] They were led by Morgan ap Maredudd who had a personal grudge against Gilbert, earl of Gloucester. Walker, *Medieval Wales*, p. 154.

Pre-publication copy

make his peace with the king. Madog was led by Havering into this same parliament and handed over to the king for him to do what he liked with Madog in all things. In this way Wales became quiet.[1]

In the same year, in order to make our monastery's contribution to the king's war, we entered into negotiations and leased our tithes at Newbottle for five years at fifteen marks per annum. Of this sum we received forty-five marks in advance. We also sold for the same reason the corrody of one free tenant to William Marston. This brought in twenty-four marks. [388] We also sold to William Cobilington for the same purpose several annual corrodies and a great solar and a small stable in the almonry. From him we received sixty marks. The terms of the corrodies are contained in the document given to him. Also for the same purpose, on the feast of St Michael [29 September] we agreed that the following reductions should be made and maintained until we thought that with the ceasing of the contributions to the king they could safely be given up, provided that by this time our monastery had recovered. We took twenty shillings-worth of weight from our small loaf. For each monastery dish of every kind we decided that one piece of bread should be placed before two brothers. You can find written down in the old book of benefactors the details of the other reductions then made, namely those in the number of dishes in the monastery, in alms giving, in the receiving of guests and in the keeping of servants.

In the summer of the same year the hay barn in our yard at Dunstable was burnt down with the destruction of the hay, the timbers and the other things stored in it. Also in the same year we enlarged our courtyard by building a new wall outside the old one. This was extremely expensive. The convent helped by giving forty shillings from its own resources. But because of the bad weather that summer, the new wall immediately collapsed the following winter. In this same year we also suffered from the collapse of several other walls, namely those around the priory's garden and its herbarium and others elsewhere, both inside the precinct and outside it. All these broken walls were hard to repair.

In the same year a nuncio[2] of Pope Celestine passed through Dunstable on his way to the lord king in Wales. We gave him twenty shillings for one day's food and lodging. We also gave him free use of the cellarer's saddle-horse for his journey. Otherwise he would have placed an interdict upon our monastery. For the same reason he also received twenty shillings from us on his return journey.

In the same year the duke of Brabant, a man of great renown, held a tournament in the form of a round table at his home in Bar. Countless knights from England, France [389] and other countries came to it. The duke himself in his first onset was run through by the lance of a French knight and died that very day.[3]

[1] The account of the Welsh uprising is again among the fullest which survives.

[2] A papal ambassador.

[3] The annalist seems to be conflating two of Edward's sons-in-law here – the future count of Bar (married to Eleanor) and the duke of Brabant (married to Margaret). Neither lord died at that tournament though the elder count of Bar, Eleanor's father-in-law, did.

Pre-publication copy

Also Bogo de Clare, the brother of the earl of Gloucester, died suddenly. His death left the episcopal see of Llandaff vacant for many years.[1]

Also William de Montfort, dean of St Paul's in London, died suddenly, intestate, in the rooms of the lord king. It is said that he strongly supported the king, when the king asked for a subsidy from the clergy.

Also [John de Sanford], archbishop of Dublin, who had likewise always supported the king, died on his return from the king of Aragon. He had been sent there on the business of the king of England.

Also a celebrated merchant, Laurence Ludlow, was drowned at sea.[2] He had persuaded the merchants of England to grant the king forty shillings from each sack of wool, both from sacks drowned at sea as well as from sacks that came through safely. And because he had sinned against the wool merchants, he was swallowed up in the waves in a ship loaded with sacks of wool.[3] A clerk of the lord king and a very rich merchant perished with him, but by the grace of God all the others in that ship were saved. One of them was Robert Frude of Dunstable.

In the same year, because of the robberies and killings carried out at sea which I mentioned earlier, the passage of merchant ships was forbidden. So supplies of wine ran out. The sorts of spices sold by weight and other foreign goods were not imported as usual. Also wool was so cheap that scarcely anybody wanted to buy it. We ourselves in that year got sixteen marks for four sacks of wool in the Peak.

In the same year [390] some English merchants, who should have been led by Laurence Ludlow and the clerk of the lord king I have mentioned, obtained permission from the king to cross the seas with their wool, and with a safe-conduct from the pirates they were successful in selling it. Indeed the lord king borrowed money from them for use with the king of Aragon.

In the June of the same year on the orders of some men close to the lord king a search was made throughout the whole of England into the money and treasure laid up in monasteries, cathedral churches and other smaller churches, in fact wherever it was believed that money had been laid up. Some clerks were specially selected for this enterprise. They marked the treasures found in individual places but left them where they were until the treasurers of the lord king in London should discuss the matter. Indeed they searched the church of St Paul's in London, where, so it is said, about two thousand pounds deposited there by the bishop of Chichester[4] were found and borrowed for the needs of the king. Even Dunstable priory was searched by Nicholas, rector of Toddington, and his layman allies. They received the keys of all the offices from the bailiffs and rummaged through all our secrets but found nothing except forty

[1] Bogo was chancellor of Llandaff not bishop, although his interference in the election of John of Monmouth arguably resulted in the see being vacant for such a long time. See W. Greenway, 'The Election of John of Monmouth, Bishop of Llandaff, 1287–97', *Morgannwg. Transactions of the Glamorgan Local History Society*, 5 (1961), 3–22.

[2] Laurence's drowning is also referred to by the Worcester annalist, p. 518.

[3] The annalist is clearly thinking of the priory's own interest in the taxes imposed on wool as a producer in its own right.

[4] Gilbert of St Leofard (bishop 1288–1305).

Proof publication copy

pounds deposited in our church by Walter Rudham. This they marked and left, but later they released it to Walter by a writ from the treasury of the lord king. The church of England was mightily displeased by these actions, as such a search had never been heard of before. But it is said that the lord king was innocent of any part in the matter.[1]

In the same year our general chapter was held at Huntingdon, presided over by [Roger] abbot of Osney and the prior of Dunstable. The place of the next chapter was to be at Newenham. [391] The presidents there would be [William] the abbot of Leicester and the prior of Llanthony.[2]

On the feast of St Michael [29 September] in the same year Oliver, bishop of Lincoln, held a general ordination at Dunstable.

In the same year master Robert Winchelsea, who had been consecrated archbishop of Canterbury by Pope Celestine, returned from the Roman curia with the pall and was restored to his barony by the lord king on the feast of the Purification of the blessed Mary. On the archbishop's return from Wales after taking up his barony, he was given hospitality in our priory. He promised us his grateful support in all things.

In the same year there was a general extreme shortage of corn throughout England. It was so bad that a quarter of corn at the Peak was sold for twenty-one shillings, and at Dunstable for sixteen shillings and eight pence, and elsewhere at a bigger price. Also a quart of salt was sold for sixteen shillings. Because of the bad weather the autumn and the time of the hay harvest were late in coming. In the following year there was great despair among the people.

In the same year Richard Northwood the subdeacon took over our vicarage at Chalgrave at our presentation, by special favour of the lord bishop. Also Robert, the parson of Catesby, died on Palm Sunday, and we presented to this church William Catesby, his nephew by his sister, to whom we were bound to pay one mark of pension per annum.

In the same year we made no payments of our debt to Ralph Hengham in the fifteen days after Easter [from 18 April], according to the agreed payment by instalments of our great debt to him. But Ralph himself in his turn let us off.

In the same year we recalled to Dunstable brother John Maybury, who had been appointed to the care of Bradbourne by the bishop, and on our presentation brother Peter [392] Aldenham was admitted to the care of the same church by the same bishop.

In the same year we paid to [Roger] abbot of Osney a half of all our spiritual and temporal goods granted to the lord king, at the amounts noted below:

On St Hugh's day in December[3]

	£	s	d
To spiritual goods	12	16	3½
And to temporal goods	8	11	6¾
Sum total	21	7	10

[1] The crown still needed funds, especially given the renewed rebellion in Wales. For full details of this hugely unpopular attempt at raising revenue, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 404–5.

[2] Thomas of Gloucester, who took over from the outlawed Nicholas. See 'Monastic Wales', http://www.monasticwales.org/person/165 for more details.

[3] 17 December.

Pre-publication copy

Also for the discharge sixpence and for expenses three shillings.

Also on the second Tuesday after Easter [3 May] we paid [Roger] abbot of Osney the same amounts for our same goods, and the amounts for discharge and expenses were as before. But nothing was paid then out for our goods at Catesby. Also on the feast of St John in the following year our payments and expenses were the same.

In the same year Sir John Peyvere confirmed our right to the two parcels of land at Wadlow, to which we had been given entry by the people of Toddington. We gave him forty-six shillings and eight pence for the confirmation. And by the procuration of the people of Toddington we also gave him six pence each year on the feast of St John.

In the same year Dunstable market and the other markets and the country roundabout were greatly harmed by the long stay which Edward, the son of the king, was making at St Albans and Langley. Two hundred platters a day were not enough to satisfy his kitchen, and whatever was consumed by him and his men, he took without paying a price. His servants grabbed all the food-stocks coming to the market, even cheese and eggs, and anything that was for sale, or even what was hidden away in the houses of the burgesses [393] and was not for sale. Hardly anyone was left a receipt by them. They even took bread and beer from the bakers and the brewers, and forced those who did not have bread and beer to make it for them.

1295

In the year of grace 1295 and in the twenty-third year of the reign of King Edward, Pope Boniface VIII revoked all the provisions and dispensations and indulgences which Pope Celestine his predecessor had somewhat rashly granted to various people. He also revoked the favour which he had granted to the king of England of having the revenues of vacant churches in the whole of England, that was in the first year of the vacancy and lasting up to the third year. This revocation also meant that the monastery of Dunstable was released from making provision for a clerk from Liscumbe, who, with a letter from Pope Celestine himself, had asked the canons for the first church of those vacant which he thought worth accepting.[1]

A suit between us and the Hospitallers concerning Marston church and the payment of a rent-charge

The writ.

Edward, by the grace of God king of England, etc., sends greetings to the sheriff of Buckingham. You are to give orders to the prior of Dunstable [William] *that he should justly and immediately pay to the prior of the hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England the two hundred and ten marks in arrears of the annual payment of four marks which he owes to him, as is claimed. If he fails to do this and the prior of the hospital makes you sure about the pursuit of his claim, then you are to summon the prior of Dunstable by reliable summoners to appear before our justices at Westminster in the octave of St Michael* [from 29 September], *to explain why he has not done so. And you should*

[1] The fact of the revocation is a repeat of information on pp. 259–60 above, but it is clear that the effects of Boniface's policy were now taking effect.

Pre-publication copy

have on that occasion the names of the summoners and this writ. Given with myself as witness on the first day of July in the twenty-first year of my reign.

On the day [394] appointed [William] the prior did not appear. His excuse was accepted, and a day in the next octave of St Hilary [from 13 January] was appointed. Again the prior of Dunstable failed to turn up, and the following writ of the lord king was issued:

Edward by the grace of God etc. sends greetings to the sheriff of Bedford. We give orders to you, as on other occasions, etc., that you are to appoint safe men as bail for the prior of Dunstable and as pledges that he will appear before our justices at Westminster in the day after All Souls to make reply to the prior of the hospital, etc., and to explain why, after his excuse for non-appearance had been accepted, he did not then keep the day appointed for him to appear before the justices at Westminster in the octave of St Hilary, etc.

The affair was later made up between the parties at Westminster before the following justices of the lord king: John de Mettingham, Elias Bekingham, William Bereford and Peter Malure. This happened within the fifteen days after Easter day [after 3 April] in the twenty-third year of the reign of King Edward. The agreement is contained in the forty-third roll of the same term, and begins *The prior of Dunstable at the exchequer.*[1]

The prior of Dunstable was fined for several defaults and then pardoned by Peter Malure at the insistence of William Inge.

The prior was then summoned to reply to [Peter] prior of the hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England who was suing him for the payment of two hundred and ten marks, which were in arrears for the annual charge of four marks which he owed to the hospital, etc. The prior attended in the person of his attorney and the parties were permitted to come to an agreement. The prior of Dunstable gave one mark for this permission. The agreement was that the prior acknowledged for himself and his successors that he owed to the prior of the hospital, etc., and his successors the aforementioned rent of four marks per annum. This rent was to be paid to the prior of the hospital, etc., and his successors from the church at Marston, and it was to be paid annually at the two terms, half in the octave of St Michael [week following 29 September] and half at Easter.[2] In return for this, etc., the prior of the hospital forgave the prior for his losses [395] and all the arrears except for twelve marks. Of these the prior of Dunstable was to pay four marks in the fifteen days from the next feast of St John the Baptist [24 June], four marks in the fifteen days from the next feast of St Michael, and four marks in the fifteen days from the next feast of St Hilary [13 January]. The prior agreed that, if he failed to do this, the sheriff could distrain on his lands and goods etc.

And later on during the agreed fifteen days of St John the Baptist [from 24 June] the prior came in the person of his attorney and paid to the attorney of the prior of the hospital, etc., the agreed four marks for that term. And so the prior of Dunstable was

[1] Using the opening words of a formal act was the standard way of referencing them.

[2] As Easter is in spring and Michaelmas in autumn, this is essentially a way of saying the payment is due in half-yearly installments. For the spring term, the Feast of Annunciation was also widely used, being fixed on 25 March, unlike the movable feast of Easter.

Pre-publication copy

given quittance for those four marks, etc. Later, during the agreed fifteen days of St Michael, the prior of Dunstable paid to the attorney of the prior of the hospital, etc., four marks. And so on, etc.

In the same year and on the same day we established at the exchequer of the lord king, in the presence of Nicholas Turville then sheriff of Bedford, our right to fines on certain men in our liberty of Dunstable through our charter of liberties.

In the same year we granted food from the almonry to Walter of the Peak in his life time. He in return let us off his stipends for very many years together with several other debts which we owed him, and at his death he will give us a half of all his goods.

In the same year we granted to Luke Bodyn nine white loaves and seven gallons of beer from the cellar for every week of his life. For this we received twenty marks to carry on the business of our house.

In the same year on the day of SS Processus and Martinianus [2 June] two robbers escaped from our prison at Dunstable, of whom one was an accuser who had accused very many people. We had in fact got surety for their release. This unlucky [396] incident was put down to the carelessness of Bartholomew Broc, our porter, who at that time was the prison guard. This Bartholomew immediately fled into the church and kept himself there for three weeks, thus showing that he was to blame. Afterwards he returned to his former position. It was always said about him that he provided security for us by keeping us from harm in that area.

But at that very time we were rebuilding our main jail from its foundations with stone and cement. In the meantime the robbers themselves were in a safe place, and the prior had appointed Bartholomew as the sole custodian of them.

In the same year there was still the great shortage of corn which there had been in the preceding year and the price of bread was raised to damagingly high levels by almost all the bakers of Dunstable. When the prior found out about this from the clamour of the people, he immediately had the situation remedied by his bailiffs with the assent of the community of the burgesses, and punished the bakers very severely according to the usual customs of the town.

In the same year we cancelled the feast which we usually gave to the burgesses at Christmas.[1]

In the same year the lord pope sent two cardinals[2] to renew the peace between our king of England and the king of France and to bring to an end the war started between them over Gascony. Our king of England met the cardinals at London on 1 August. When the cardinals found that our king was quite persuadable on this matter, they returned to the king and barons of France. The French king himself refused to make a reply to them without consultation, but he fixed a day after the feast of All Saints [1 November] for giving them an answer at Cambray. The king of England sent high-ranking envoys there to hear the French reply. When the cardinals and our envoys heard the French reply, they returned to their homes and revealed [397] nothing of the reply to any man except to the king of England. There was now no hope of peace between the two countries. The king of France at once sent several of his nobles with a strong force to destroy all who in those parts or neighbourhood had given protection or support

1 Perhaps this was due to the food shortage that year.

2 Beraidus, cardinal bishop of Albano, and Simon, cardinal bishop of Palestrina.

Pre-publication copy

to the English. Hearing this, the king of England decided to go there in person. He immediately sent out a summons, asking his whole kingdom, English, Welsh, Irish, and all the Scots, to be ready at a fixed time and place to travel with him to crush the arrogance and injustice of the French. But the king of Scotland and almost his whole kingdom ignored the homage which they had formerly paid to the king of England, refused to give him help, and instead gave their homage (so it is said) to the king of France. Our king decided to wreak vengeance on the Scots, and this he did, but it will be dealt with more fully in the first chapter of the next year's history.[1]

Meanwhile the king of England sent his brother lord Edmund, Henry earl of Lincoln and many of his nobles with a large force of armed men into the territory of Gascony, to bring an end to the war with the French and give help to the people and castles, particularly the town of Bayonne, which had stuck by the English king.[2] It was in those parts that hard battles had been fought many times between the French and English armies. Large numbers of men on both sides had fallen there, though in every conflict it had gone worse for the French, thanks be to God! However, many knights banneret[3] of our people were then held up in the defence of a certain city, which the French besieged and captured. They then took away from the city the English knights and all their own men in chains. This misfortune happened because our men were short of food and had no hope of getting help from elsewhere.

Later, the English earls [398] with their army and other mercenary armies and friends laid siege to the city of Bordeaux. But the citizens of Bordeaux, becoming weary of being besieged, pretended they wished to surrender the city to the English earls in the name of the king of England, their lord from of old. But, traitors that they were, they broke their promise and their word and made an attack on our army. Our soldiers charged against them, killed many thousands and drove the rest back into the city. As for the other battles fought by our men in those parts, of which some then gave fabulous accounts, I shall say no more about them here.

And now a sea crossing was expressly forbidden to merchants carrying wine and almost all other merchandise, except to the merchants of Brabant. They were allowed to import freely wool bought in England, because their duke[4] had married the daughter of the king of England.[5]

In the same year the king held his parliament in London on 1 August in the presence of the pope's envoys. And suddenly, in the middle of the day, the French with a large fleet assaulted the town of Dover and burnt part of it, as the townspeople had not been on the watch. The French plundered the town itself and took away its more high-ranking women as prisoners. But immediately the people round about joined with the townspeople, and together they pursued the French as far as their ships and killed a very great number of them. Some of the enemy, who in their panic had scattered over the countryside, were similarly killed. It is said that at this time the son of

[1] See pp. 272–4 below.

[2] For more details of the 1294 campaign in France, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 381–4.

[3] A certain caste of knight who was entitled to use a larger banner rather than the more usual small pennon.

[4] John II (1294–1312).

[5] Margaret (1275–1333); she married John II, duke of Brabant, in 1290.

Pre-Publication Copy

the count of Artois[1] was killed, because he refused to surrender to any Englishman. Very few English died in this conflict.

The French fleet made attacks on the English in several other places, but were driven back by the local communities, both men and women. Any Frenchmen who reached the shore, after a long delay perished miserably in the sea. The king of England wished [399] to put a stop to these attacks, and so had all ports and places, where the enemy were accustomed to make an entrance, put under safe guard. The English counties keeping guard suffered great harm from this.

At the same time Sir Thomas Turberville was captured[2] and imprisoned in Paris, together with soldiers of ours in France. He was set free from prison by the French king, and returned to England with the intention of betraying the king and kingdom of England and putting the kingdom under the sway of the French. He had the lord king informed that he had actually escaped from prison. And this same Thomas also without delay sowed a mixture of the seeds of discord between the English king and the Welsh and the Scots. But, thanks be to God, his treachery was discovered from secret letters which he had had dispatched to the king of France. Later he turned to flight, but was captured and sentenced to be drawn through London by horses and hanged. Unhappy fellow, to come by so awful a death just for a hundred acres of land, which the French king had promised to him, for his life only![3]

In the same year the lord king celebrated Christmas at St Albans, and stayed there for many days. He took nothing from the goods of the monastery except what was freely offered to him. The king took a generous view of this. But the king's marshals had discovered false measure in the liberties of the abbot and took his whole liberty into the king's hands. The liberty was only later restored to the abbot after difficulty and the payment of a large sum.[4]

In the same year the same marshals turned aside to Dunstable and found false measures there, for which the town paid a fine. Our bailiffs paid for the hospitality of the marshals. Also the town brought before the marshals the accusation that we had received a fine from Robert the baker for remitting his sentence to the pillory. We made our peace on this issue, as we wished to avoid expense and greater dangers. The town had brought this accusation out of hatred of us, which was the opposite of the usual relations between us and the townsmen.

In the same year [William March] the bishop of Bath, the treasurer of the king at the exchequer, who had rigidly obeyed the letter of the law towards everybody, was removed from his office by word [400] of the king. The anger aroused in the lord king by an offence of the bishop was only just appeased by the gift of a large sum of money. He was succeeded by Walter Langton, treasurer of the wardrobe, who showed moderation towards the people in everything at all hours.

In the same year Roger, bishop of Coventry, died. He had confirmed to us the church at Bradbourne with its chapels, and had had this confirmed by both his chapters. He

1 Philip of Artois (1269–1298) was the son of Robert II of Artois.

2 At Rheims.

3 For more discussion of Thomas' treachery, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 383.

4 This conflict with the French is given in some detail here; see the annals of Worcester, p. 522 and 530, for comparison.

Pre-Publication Copy

was succeeded by Walter Langton, the treasurer of the lord king's wardrobe, who was confirmed by the archbishop and admitted by the king. He was then consecrated in lands across the seas by the cardinals of the lord pope, with whom he stayed for some time in an attempt to renew the peace between the kings of the English and the French, but with the rights of the archbishop of Canterbury always being preserved.

In the summer of the same year on the day etc., Robert was enthroned as archbishop of Canterbury. The king of England was present there, and would have been taken prisoner at dinner by the concealed intervention of the king of France on the information of Thomas Turbeville, if the letter of the traitor had not been intercepted.

In the same year died Bogo of Clare. He was very rich in ecclesiastical benefices, but poor in goodness. He died suddenly, as he had done too little goodness that was obvious.[1]

In the same year came the death of Bogo's brother, the earl of Gloucester, who had married the king's daughter.[2] His massive inheritance passed down to his wife and their children.

There also died William de Valence, the uncle of the lord king. He had been loyal enough to the kingdom of England, after he had been exiled at the Battle of Lewes and later returned.[3]

There also died John Wodulle, who for a long time had been our patron at Pattishall, [Cold] Higham, Grimscote and Segenhoe.

There also [401] died Simon Pattishall the younger, who was not yet a knight. The lord king had the wardship of his heir and lands, because of the eighteen geese which the lord king habitually took in serjeanty from any land held by Simon and his predecessors. The prior of Dunstable also claimed his right and received his rent which Simon owed him for Grimscote and Pattishall. In the end Simon's mother[4] became the owner of Pattishall with its appurtenances and rent-charges because of her dower.

In the same year we took back under our own control our land at Cold Higham which we had rented out to Richard Ekington. This was because the written agreement between us had not made any mention of heirs or appointees, and particularly because Richard's heir, who had pushed his way into ownership of the holding, had made a vast waste of it.

In the same year Walter de la Haye committed crimes in Ireland. He killed the son of his brother and afterwards himself. But he had heirs in those parts for lands which he owned at Pulloxhill through his wife, Matilda, who was one of the heirs of Faldho. But because those heirs did not come to claim their rights, other heirs of Faldho forced their way on to those lands.[5]

In the same year three canons, John Faldho, William Wederore and John Chetendon, were ordained priests.

In the same year Walter Wutton, our clerk, was made archdeacon of Huntingdon without losing the benefices he had previously obtained.

1 Bogo de Clare was blamed by the Dunstable annalist for the long vacancy in the see of Llandaff: see p. 264 above.

2 Joan of Acre, married to Gilbert de Clare.

3 He had been exiled for being one of the hated Lusignan faction in the court of Henry III.

4 Isabella of Stangreve; from 'Roberts's Calendarium Genealogicum, ii. p. 504'.

5 While this was indeed a grievous crime for the deputy governor of Ireland to kill his nephew and then himself, the reason for its inclusion is clearly the impact this has on the priory's landholdings.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year because of the poverty at Bradbourne we granted to the brothers there our wool supplies and all our revenues from the place apart from the tithes of Brassington for that year. These tithes brought in seventeen marks for the priory's clothing.

In the same year [402] John Sewell the younger, in the name of his father, before the justices at the exchequer in London brought a claim against Millicent Montalt for his right to hunt with his hounds at all hours in the common wood of Bocwode. At the court John immediately received this right and the country with it. It is said that Millicent has the right of perpetual free warren there by a writ of the lord king.

In the same year brother John Carpenter made a new mill of a new type not seen before, and vowed that it could be operated by just one horse. But when his mill was finished and was faced with the task of actually milling, four strong horses could barely move it. And so it was taken down and the old mill equivalent restored.[1]

1296

In the year of grace 1296, right at its beginning came the death in Gascony of Edmund, the brother of Edward the king of England. He had been the leader of the king's army there against the French king in the fight for the land of Gascony which the French king had unjustly occupied. Edmund's body was embalmed with spices and placed for the time being in the house of the Franciscans at Bayonne, to be transferred to England when the king should wish it.[2]

In the same year died Hugh Vyenne, Edmund's chamberlain. During his lifetime he had spent an absolute fortune on building a stone causeway at Cordy's Bridge over the Trent.[3]

In the same year died Sir Thomas Bray, another of the earl's chamberlains. He had always been loyal to us and our house and a true friend.

In the same year lord Edward, king of England, invaded Scotland with his army and an English fleet, in order to fight a war against its king and kingdom because of their rebellion against him. At the beginning of the month of March he arrived at Berwick. But his fleet dropped anchor too near the town, and as the tide ebbed his ships remained fast on dry land and mud. Then out came the townspeople and attacked those ships. They set fire [403] to some of them and killed very many sailors.[4]

When the king saw this, he at once hurried to the scene in person and with his manly strength freed his men from danger of death and thrust the foe back into the town. The king indeed broke through the bolts and locks barring his path, pursued the enemy on

1 Wind and water mills were still the most common form of mill in the Middle Ages.

2 Edmund had been ill the previous year, preventing the commencement of a fresh campaign in France that year. He died at the Siege of Bayonne which was failing due to a lack of funding. Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 384–5.

3 The bridge was originally named after the local landowner Cordy, and was of interest to the canons as it was on the king's highway and lay on their route to their lands in Derbyshire. The site is now known as Swarkestone Bridge and is still the longest stone bridge in England.

4 Prestwich bases his version of events on Walter of Guisborough, who says that the ships mistook activity ashore for attack, unfurled their sails and made for the shore. The first ship ran aground and was burnt by locals, but the crews escaped from the next two, though they too ran aground and caught fire. Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 470–1.

Pre-publication copy

foot and caused the death of many thousands of the townspeople. Some of the citizens of their own accord drowned themselves in the river. Also foreign merchants staying in Berwick defended themselves in a strong building, but were killed by the English.[1]

On our side no nobleman or any man of great value was killed there, so it is said, except for only lord Richard, brother of Edmund earl of Cornwall. He was struck by a bolt which pierced his brain. On the same day the town's well-fortified castle was surrendered to the king, with the safety of the life and limb of the constable and his friends being guaranteed. No one knew how much wealth and what treasures the king found in the town and castle. This victory happened on the first day of his campaign. Once the king had gained possession of the town, he fortified it with a strong wall and ditch. He drove out all the Scots from the town, and populated it with Englishmen.

In the meantime the Scottish nobles were joined by Sir Richard Siward, who for a long time in Wales had held the bridle of the king of England. They invaded England and got as far as the gates of Carlisle, laying waste and burning everything in their path. When our king heard of this, he sent a large army against them, and the Scots soon fled from before the face of it. On their return home most of the Scots together with Richard Siward took possession of Dunbar castle, which was at that time held by Earl Patrick.[2] On hearing of this, the English king sent a huge force of armed men to take them prisoner or lay siege to the castle. When they were under siege there, a countless host of Scots arrived to help them. Our men left behind there a sufficiently strong guard and pursued the fleeing Scots all the way to their widest river, killing them as they went.[3] Also a countless army of Welsh and Irish arrived to help us, and at once they charged with the English against the enemy [404] and dispatched the wretches to death. Then the Welsh and Irish dispersed themselves through the mountains and secret places of Scotland and did great slaughter of the people, taking no notice of rank or sex.

When our army returned to Dunbar castle, Richard Siward and those under siege with him came out peacefully and submitted themselves to the will of the lord king of England. Then, as prisoners now, they were transferred to England under safe conduct on the lord king's orders. They were placed under close guard, some in the Tower of London, some at Bristol and some elsewhere. But our king stayed on in Scotland. He pursued the Scottish king and his accomplices and forced all of them into surrender. Indeed the king of the land,[4] who was conscious of the evil he had done, made peace with the king, as it were of his own accord, and was afterwards taken to the Tower of London. His son also, who had been taken prisoner with him, was sent to the tower with him. Then the other nobles of Scotland, one by one as the days went by, made

[1] Other contemporary accounts confirm that the king's anger was terrible, resulting in a bloodbath. Prestwich estimates that 11,600 people were killed. *Edward I*, p. 471.

[2] Patrick was a supporter of Edward, and with him at the time; it is thought his wife or brother let the Scots into the castle. Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 471.

[3] A truce was called in the siege while a message was sent to John Balliol to ask what he wanted those inside Dunbar to do. A relief force was sent, but while the English earl of Warenne was preparing to fight, the Scots mistook the activity for flight, and attacked too soon. Breaking formation like this allowed the English to rout them. Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 471.

[4] John Balliol.

Pre-publication copy

peace with the lord king, and the English sent into miserable exile men who did not like to leave their home land. Finally, the lord king, having made his arrangements for the kingdom of Scotland, left [John] the earl of Warenne there as guardian in chief and himself returned victoriously to England.

After this the lord king held his parliament at Bury St Edmunds, in order to ask people and clergy for a subsidy for the war which he was about to fight against the French king for possession of Gascony. Both classes considered this matter right up to the Epiphany following [6 January].

Also, in this same parliament at Bury St Edmunds, John, son of the count of Holland, married the daughter of the king of England.[1] John went back to his own country, but his bride remained under the control of her father as before.[2] But her sister,[3] who some time ago had married the duke of Brabant, was honourably sent to her husband.

After this, at the feast of the Epiphany of the Lord, the archbishop of Canterbury with his suffragans and clergy, and [Henry] the elected and confirmed archbishop of York, similarly [405] with his, held a synod at the church of St Paul in London, to discuss how with a good conscience they could help the lord king and make the contribution for which he asked. The whole congregation was split up into four orders or divisions: bishops and their proctors in one place; cathedral deans and archdeacons in another; abbots, priors and other prelates in another, and proctors of the body of the clergy in a fourth. Many arguments for and against were put forward. As individuals they thought that the contribution to the king should not be made. And then a bull of Pope Boniface was brought into the middle and intervened in the debate. For by this bull it was expressly forbidden on pain of anathema for contributions or subsidies of this kind to be demanded of any persons clerical or lay or to be given by them on demand. Further, the bull said that persons guilty on this issue could be absolved by no one except the lord pope, except of course the clause about death. Finally the answer of the four orders or divisions was put in writing under the seal of the archbishop of Canterbury and dispatched to the lord king by high-ranking envoys.[4] The king did not accept the answer.

A few days passed and the king, having consulted his barons at Salisbury, published a cruel edict against the clergy, with no exceptions made of rank or of clergy not covered by the edict. For then by the king's edict their lands and holdings, revenues and possessions and all their goods, moveable and immovable, which were found outside their churches and their churchyards, were seized, confiscated and taken possession of by the sheriffs of England and put in the hands of the king. Under this edict ministers of the church were not legally able to lay a hand on their own property. Also livestock and individual goods of the clergy were taxed, and the value of their estates and the number of their acres were put down in writing. The net result would be that immediately after the first following feast of Easter everything would be under the control of the king. But in the meantime the clergy had a period for quiet thought in which they

1 Elizabeth of Rhuddlan.

2 She was around fifteen years of age and may have been considered too young. Edward was definitely concerned about sending his daughters to their husbands at too young an age.

3 Margaret, duchess of Brabant.

4 The full text of the bull is given by the Worcester annalist, pp. 528–9.

Pre-publication copy

could consider how they might free their goods and lands from the hand of the lord king and pay a fine for them.

Then the archbishop [406] elect of York, seeing the trouble the church was in and the contempt in which it was held, paid a fine for himself and his suffragans and clergy. He squared his conscience on this issue by arguing that it was for peace and the removal of trouble. And in this way he won back the protection of the king. Indeed very many bishops from the province of Canterbury similarly squared their conscience and also paid a fine and made their peace with the king. Those who had not paid a fine were deemed to be outlawed and guilty of lèse-majesté. They were now denied a remedy or a writ from the king's court for any injury, damage or abuse done to their persons or their estates, even for the removal of one of their horses by a layman, which often happened then. Men regarded the clergy as a disgrace and the common people despised them.

On the following Lent, on the Sunday on which *Sitientes* is sung,[1] the archbishop of Canterbury held a synod of all the clergy of his province at London. The clergy were divided into four groups as before and discussed among themselves whether they were still able, in view of the apostolic bull, to make the contribution to the lord king, for which he asked. Because the clergy were truly not able to do this,[2] the king sent important envoys with his orders for them. He cared nothing about the subsidy asked of them, but he did demand with threats compensation concerning the contempt shown to him in their refusal to give him help for the defence of the land and the defence of holy church against its enemies. The archbishop and the clergy indeed were waiting for some help from the lord pope in their predicament. But when messengers did not arrive at the appointed hour, almost all the clergy apart from a few came to terms with the lord king and made an offering of money, so that they might buy peace with the king for themselves and obtain a royal letter of protection for a fixed period.

And on the day after Palm Sunday [19 March], when the date of Easter with its time limit for being granted peace by the king was approaching, [William] the prior of Dunstable, seeing his goods being distrained and wishing [407] to avoid the greater danger overhanging himself and his monastery, paid a fine through secular proctors for his possessions and estates in various places, and in return received royal protection for himself and his individual places.[3] The amount of the fine was seventeen pounds to be paid on the next feast of the Sunday after Easter [1 April], and seventeen pounds to be paid on the next feast of Pentecost [13 May]. Almost all the bishops and ecclesiastical persons paid their fine to the king before the appointed feast of the Sunday after Easter. But the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Lincoln still held out. They did not seek protection themselves or by using proctors, and so their goods, both moveable and immoveable, were confiscated. But further details about the attacks on the English church and its officers, which were made by lay people on clergy in this current year, will be given by me not at this point, but in my annal for the subsequent year.

1 Translates as 'Ye that thirst', sung on 10 March.

2 The bull issued by Boniface, *Clericus Laicos*, banned national churches from giving money to their monarchs without the permission of the papacy.

3 This was directly contravening Boniface's bull.

Pre-publication copy

In the same year a subsidy was granted and given by the people to the lord king from the laity, namely, from cities and towns an eighth penny on all goods without exception, and from other places a twelfth part of their goods.

In the same year our Dunstable bailiffs had a cart stopped in the market to pay its toll or price. But after the stoppage, a fish was replaced in the cart which had been bought at Dunstable for [Edmund] earl of Cornwall's dinner at Berkhamsted. The earl could not have been more annoyed with us and our bailiffs when he got to know about it, and made it so that we could not come on to his fief without meeting with great trouble or contempt. Indeed he took seventeen of our pigs which were feeding on our commons at Chalton and kept them for bail and security. The townspeople put the blame for the contempt shown to the earl down to the prior and his bailiffs, but the earl would not allow them to be entirely absolved from a part in this matter.

In the same year Joan, the countess of Gloucester and the daughter of the lord king, took over the guardianship of all the lands of her dead husband. And because of her own volition she married a certain knight[1] without the king's consent, the king received [408] into his own hand all those lands and put Joan herself into a certain castle,[2] where she was maintained by him as was proper.

In the same year in the Chilterns there was a greater abundance of beech-mast than had ever been heard of in times past. That year we had all our pigs at Shortgrave feeding freely at Dodeuinishay[3] without payment for their food right up to the following Easter, until the beech-mast there began to give out. But about forty of our pigs were taken to remain and feed in Kensworth wood without our knowledge. As a result our bailiff, who had done this, paid for their food out of his own pocket.

In the same year William Bodrugan, the archdeacon of Cornwall, stayed with us for some time. He showed us many kindnesses as he ate his food with us in the refectory, and we admitted him as a brother of our chapter.

In the same year Sir David Flitwick the third died, and was succeeded as heir by his son by Lucy. We received the dead David's saddle-horse and armour as the death-duty or principal owing to the church. In the same year Sir John Morteyn died. His son and heir had married the daughter of Richard Rothwell, while his father was still alive.

1297

In the year of grace 1297 and in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Edward, [William] the prior of Dunstable paid one mark to Simon Bradenham, sheriff of Bedford, as was permitted by the agreement made with [William], prior of the hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England, at the exchequer in the Easter term in the twenty-third year of the king's reign. He was given a receipt. The prior also paid to the sheriff six shillings and eight pence for several defaults vis-à-vis John, the son of Hugh Becket of Houghton, in the Hilary term in the twenty-fourth year of the king's reign.

[1] Ralph of Monthermer, a squire at the time whom she married in secret, but her father made him a knight to try and lessen the disgrace on the family.

[2] Probably Clare castle, where she later died, probably in childbirth.

[3] This could be Dunton, Bedfordshire.

Pre-publication copy

Glossary

Altar-offerings – also known as 'altarages', refer to offerings made upon an altar or to a church; the honorarium received by a priest for services at the altar; or endowments for masses for deceased persons. See R. A. R Hartridge, *A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 37.

Apostate – one who renounces a religious belief, in this case, the Roman Catholic faith, though it also refers at times to political dissidents.

Assart – a piece of land converted from forest to arable use.

Black monks – members of the Benedictine Order.

Cartulary – a manuscript containing copies of original documents, usually relating to the grants and privileges of a religious house.

Chantry – a chapel endowed by a founder so that the priests will pray for his or her soul.

Composition – in English ecclesiastical law, when an agreement is made between the owner of lands and the incumbent of a benefice, with the consent of the ordinary and the patron, that the lands shall, for the future, be discharged from payment of tithes, by reason of some land or other real recompense given in lieu and satisfaction thereof.

Corrody – a pension or maintenance payment made by religious houses.

Distraint – the seizure of someone's property in order to obtain payment of money owed, especially rent.

Eyre – circuit court held by a judge travelling from county to county.

Falling sickness – medieval term for epilepsy

Final concord – legal agreement referring to the acquisition of land through payment of a 'fine'.

Frank-pledge – inhabitants of a district would join together in a system of mutual security so that any crime or injury committed by one member was the responsibility of the whole.

General chapter – annual meetings held by religious orders where representatives from all the houses would meet to discuss important issues.

Hundred – a subdivision of a county or shire with its own court.

Itinerant justices – judges acting on the king's behalf who travelled the country on a circuit holding courts in the localities.

Manor – a unit of land, originally a feudal lordship, consisting of a lord's demesne and lands rented to tenants.

Mort d'ancestor – an action brought against a defendant by a plaintiff claiming the former had entered the estate of a deceased relative.

Novel disseisin – an action to recover lands of which the plaintiff had been dispossessed.

Octave – a period of eight days following a church feast day.

Pallium – a wide strip of cloth worn by ecclesiastics across the shoulders with the long end hanging down.

Pre-publication copy

Presentation – the right to present one's own nominee for a vacant position in a church.
Pyx – small container used to carry the consecrated host to the sick.
Quare vi et armis – opening words of a writ of tresspass, alleging the defendant forcibly dispossessed the plaintiff of the disputed property.
Quit-claim – formal document renouncing or relinquishing a claim.
Quittance – release or discharge from a debt or obligation.
Roll – official documents were written on sheets of parchment which were sewn together, end to end, and rolled up for storage.
Scutage – money paid in lieu of knightly service by a vassal to his lord.
Serjeanty – a form of feudal tenure conditional on rendering some specified personal service to the monarch.
Suffragans – bishops within a particular metropolitan see; i.e. subordinate to the archbishop of Canterbury or York respectively.
Thirteenth – a form of taxation amounting to one shilling from every mark, which equates to a thirteenth of it, hence the term.
Thurible – an incense burner swung on a chain during religious ceremonies.
Tithing – group of ten householders collectively responsible for each other's behaviour.
Translation – the movement of holy objects, usually saints' relics, from one location to another.
Visitation – formal inspection, usually made by the bishop or senior member of the clergy, of religious institutions within his diocese.
Wapentake – equivalent of a hundred, more common in northern England.
White monks – members of the Cistercian Order.
Writ – a form of written command, usually from the king, to act, or abstain from acting, in a particular way.
Writ of dower – a widow's share of her husband's estate, held for life.

Pre-publication copy

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries, ed. M. Sharp (Bristol, 1982).

'Annales de Burton', ed. H. R. Luard, in *Annales Monastici*, I (London, 1864).

'Annales Monasterii de Oseneia', in *Annales Monastici*, IV, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1869).

'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', in *Annales Monastici*, II, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1865).

'Annales Monasterii de Wigornia', in *Annales Monastici*, IV, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1869).

'Annales Monasterii de Wintonia', in *Annales Monastici*, II, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1865).

'Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia', in *Annales Monastici*, III, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1866).

Calendarium Genealogicum, Henry III and Edward I, ed. Charles Roberts, 2 vols (London, 1865).

Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church: pt. 1. 871–1066, vol. 1, ed. Martin Brett, Sir Frederick Maurice Powicke, Christopher Robert Cheney, Dorothy Whitelock, Christopher Nugent Lawrence Brooke (Oxford, 1981).

Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291, ed. Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters and James M. Powell (Philadelphia, 2014).

Dugdale, W., *Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Friaries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches with their dependencies in England and Wales* (London, 1846).

Fowler, G. Herbert (ed.), *A Digest of the Charters Preserved in the Cartulary of Dunstable Priory*, *Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, 10 (Apsley Guise, 1926).

Fowler, G. Herbert (trans.), 'Roll of the Justices in Eyre at Bedford, 1227', *The Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, 3 (Aspley Guise, 1916), pp. 1–207.

Gervase of Canterbury, *Gesta Regum*, in *Gervase of Canterbury, Historical Works, the Chronicle of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, by Gervase, the Monk of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (London, 1879–1880).

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty First Year of the Reign of King Henry I, Michaelmas 1130, ed. Judith A. Green (London, 2012).

Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum. The History of the English People, ed. and trans. Diana Greenway, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1996).

Paris, Matthew, *Chronica Majora*, III, IV, V, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1876–88).

Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge, 1998).

Prester John: The Legend and its Sources, ed. and trans. Keagan Brewer (Farnham, 2015).

Pre-publication copy

Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson (London, 1875).
Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154: II. Regesta Henrici Primi 1100–1135, ed. G. Johnson and H. A. Cronne (Oxford, 1956).
Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS, London, 1871).
Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History: The History of England*, ed. J. A. Giles, 2 vols. (London, 1849).
Shirley, W. W. (ed.), *Royal and Historical Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III from the Originals in the Public Record Office*, vol. I (1216–1235) (Cambridge, 1862).
The Song of the Cathar Wars, trans. J. Shirley (Aldershot, 1996).
Snape, M. G., ed., *English Episcopal Acta: Durham, 1153–1195* (Oxford, 2002).
Thomas of Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatam Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, 3 vols (London, 1867–69).
Thomas Wykes, 'Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomae Wykes (AD 1066–1289)', in *Annales Monastici*, IV, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1869).
Walter of Coventry, *The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry*, ed. W. Stubbs, II, (London, 1872–73).
William of Malmesbury, *The Historia Novella*, trans. K. R. Potter, (London, 1955).

Secondary Sources

Abulafia, David, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (Oxford, 1988).
Alessio, G., M. De Lucia, G. Gaudiosi, R. Nappi, and S. Porfido, paper delivered at the GNGTS 2016, 'Towards New Insights into Seismic Hazard of the Salento Peninsula (Puglia, Southern Italy) from the Analysis of Far and Near Field Seismicity' http://www3.ogs.trieste.it/gngts/files/2016/S11/Riassunti/Alessio.pdf (accessed 2 August 2017).
Allen Brown, R., H. M. Colvin and A. J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works: II. The Middle Ages* (London, 1963).
Aston, Trevor Henry, *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1984).
Barratt, Nick, 'Crisis Management: Baronial Reform at the Exchequer', in *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England, 1258–1267*, ed. Adrian Jobson (Woodbridge, 2016).
Bazeley, M., 'The Extent of the English Forest in the Thirteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4 (1921), 140–59.
Beresford, Maurice, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (Gloucester, 1988).
Brand, P. A., 'Edward I and the Judges: the "State Trials" of 1289–93', in *Thirteenth Century England I*, ed. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 31–40.
Brentano, Robert, *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA, 1988).
Brown, Daniel, *Hugh de Lacy, First Earl of Ulster: Rising and Falling in Angevin Ireland* (Woodbridge, 2016).
Burke, J., *A General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerages of England, Ireland, and Scotland* (London, 1846).
Carpenter, D. A., 'The Fall of Hubert de Burgh', *Journal of British Studies*, 19 (1980), 1–17 (repr. in *The Reign of Henry III*, pp. 45–60).
Carpenter, D. A., 'King Henry III's Statute against Aliens: July 1263', *English Historical Review*, 107 (1992), 925–44 (repr. in *The Reign of Henry III*, pp. 261–80).

Pre-publication copy

Carpenter, D. A., *The Minority of Henry III* (London, 1990).
Carpenter, D. A., *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996).
Carpenter, D. A., 'Simon de Montfort and the Mise of Lewes', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 58, no. 137 (1985), 1–11 (repr. in *The Reign of Henry III*, pp. 281–92).
'A Catalogue of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts II', *The Critical Review: or Annals of Literature*, vol. 7 (London, 1759), pp. 185–96.
Cheney, C. R., 'Cardinal John of Ferentino, Papal Legate in England in 1206', *English Historical Review*, 76 (1961), 654–60.
Cheney, C. R., *Episcopal Visitation of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century* (Manchester, 1983).
Cheney, C. R., '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.
Clanchy, M. T., *England and Its Rulers: 1066–1307* (Oxford; Malden, MA, 2006).
Constable, Giles, *Monastic Tithes: From their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 2008).
Coss, Peter, 'Law and Political Culture in Thirteenth-Century England: The Treason Trial of 1225', in *Soldiers, Nobles, and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. Peter Coss and Christopher Tyerman (Woodbridge, 2009), 261–78.
Costain, T. B., *The Conquering Family: A History of the Plantagenets* (New York, 1949).
Cox, David, *The Church and Vale of Evesham, 700–1215: Lordship, Landscape and Prayer* (Woodbridge, 2015).
Crump, J. J., *The Itinerary of King John Project* <http://purl.org/neography/JohnItinerary> [accessed 23 March 2016].
Dickinson, J. C., *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950).
Dugdale, William, *The Baronage of England after the Norman Conquest* (London, 1977).
Farrer, William, *An Outline Itinerary of Henry I* (Oxford, 1920).
Geary, Patrick J., *Furta Sacra: Relic Theft in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ, 1991).
Garand, M.-C., 'Auteurs latins et autographes des XIe et XIIe siècles', *Scrittura e civiltà*, vol. 5 (1981), 77–107.
Gough, Henry, *Itinerary of Edward the First throughout his reign* (Paisley, 1900).
Grandcolas, L., *L'ancien sacramentaire de l'église* (Paris, 1649).
Gransden, A., *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974).
Gransden, A., 'Realistic Observation in Twelfth-Century England', *Speculum*, 47 (1972), 29–51.
Greenway, W., 'The Election of John of Monmouth, Bishop of Llandaff, 1287–97', *Morgannwg. Transactions of the Glamorgan Local History Society*, 5 (1961), 3–22.
Grehan, John, and Martin Mace, *Battleground Sussex: A Military History of Sussex*, (Barnsley, 2012).
Hallam, Elizabeth M. and Judith Everard, *Capetian France, 987–1328* (New York, 2001).
Hartridge, R. A. R., *A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1930).
Hendrix, John, *Architecture as Cosmology: Lincoln Cathedral and English Gothic Architecture* (New York, 2011).
Howell, Margaret, 'The Resources of Eleanor of Provence as Queen Consort', *English Historical Review*, 102 (1987), 372–93.

Pre-publication copy

Jobson, Adrian, *The First English Revolution: Simon de Montfort, Henry III and the Barons' War* (London, 2012).
Jones, Robert W., *Bloodied Banners: Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield*, (Woodbridge, 2010).
Julius, Anthony, *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-Semitism in England* (Oxford, 2012).
Kenyon, John, *The Medieval Castles of Wales* (Cardiff, 2010).
Knowles, C. H., 'Provision for the Families of the Montfortians Disinherited after the Battle of Evesham', *Thirteenth Century England I* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 124–37.
Knowles, D., C. N. L. Brooke and Vera C. M. London (eds), *The Heads of Religious Houses. England and Wales, I, 940–1216*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2009).
Larsen, Andrew E. *The School of Heretics: Academic Condemnation at the University of Oxford: 1277–1409* (Leiden, 2011).
Lerner, Robert E., *The Powers of Prophecy: The Cedar of Lebanon Vision from the Mongol Onslaught to the Dawn of the Enlightenment* (Ithaca, NY, 2008).
Lower, Michael, *The Barons' Crusade: A Call to Arms and its Consequences* (Philadelphia, 2005).
Lucas, A., 'The Social and Economic Foundations of English Monasticism, c.600–1450', in *Ecclesiastical Lordship, Seigneurial Power and the Commercialization of Milling in Medieval England* (Farnham, 2014).
Lyon, B. D., *A Constitutional and Legal History of Medieval England* (London, 1960).
Maddicott, J. R., 'The Mise of Lewes, 1264', *English Historical Review*, 98 (1983), 508–603.
Mant, R. *History of the Church of Ireland* (London, 1840).
Mayr-Harting, Henry, *Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1066–1272* (Harlow, 2011).
Meisel, Janet, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier: The Corbet, Pantulf, and Fitz Warin Families 1066–1272* (Lincoln, NE, 1980).
Michel, F. (ed.), *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre* (Paris, 1840).
Morris, Marc, *King John: Treachery, Tyranny and the Road to Magna Carta* (London, 2015).
Mundill, Robin R., *The King's Jews: Money, Massacre and Exodus in Medieval England* (London, 2010).
Olesen, Jens E., 'A Danish "Empire" in the Baltic (1168–1227)?', in *The Norwegian Domination and the Norse World, c.1100–c.1400*, ed. Steinar Imsen (Trondheim, 2010), pp. 263–87.
Page, William (ed.), 'Parishes: Dunstable', *A History of the County of Bedford: Volume 3* (1912), pp. 349–68.
Prestwich, Michael, *Edward I* (Berkeley, CA, 1988),
Prestwich, Michael, *Plantagenet England 1225–1360* (Oxford, 2005).
Pryce, Huw (ed.) *The Acts of Welsh Rulers: 1120–1283* (Cardiff, 2005).
Ridgeway, H. W., 'What Happened in 1261?', in *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England, 1258–1267* ed. Adrian Jobson (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 89–108.
Riley-Smith, J., *The Crusades: A History* (Yale, 2005).
Robson, Michael, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006).
Runciman, Steven, *The Sicilian Vespers* (Cambridge, 1953).
Russell, J. C., *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England* (London, 1936).
Sharpe, R., *A Handlist of Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997).

Proof publication copy

Smith, David M. (ed.) *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, III. 1377–1540* (Cambridge, 2008).
Smith, David M., and Vera C. M. London (eds), *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, II. 1216–1377* (Cambridge, 2004).
Stacey, Robert C., 'The English Jews under Henry III: Historical, Literary and Archaeological Perspectives', in *Jews in Medieval Britain*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 41–54.
Stanton, Charles D., *Medieval Maritime Warfare* (Barnsley, 2015).
Stephenson, David, *The Last Prince of Wales: Llywelyn and King Edward: The End of the Welsh Dream, 1282–3* (Buckingham, 1983).
Strickland, Matthew, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy 1066–1217* (Cambridge, 1996).
Sumption, Jonathan, *The Albigensian Crusade* (London, 2011).
Thompson, A., *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth Century Italy: The Great Devotion* (Oxford, 1992).
Thompson, K., *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France: The County of the Perche, 1000–1226* (London and Woodbridge, 2002).
Veach, Colin, *Lordship in Four Realms: The Lacy Family 1066–1241* (Manchester, 2014).
Walker, David, *Medieval Wales* (Cambridge, 1999).
Warren, W. L., *King John* (New Haven, 1997).
Webster, Harriett, 'Mediating Memory: Recalling and Recording the Miracles of St Thomas Cantilupe', *Journal of Medieval History*, 41 (2015), 292–308.
Wei, Ian P., *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University, c.1100–1330* (Cambridge, 2012).
Wolff, Robert Lee, 'Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death, and Resurrection, 1172–1225', *Speculum*, 27 (1952), 281–322.
Wood, Juliette, 'The Old Man of the Mountain and Medieval Folklore', *Folklore*, 99 (1988), 78–87.
Wormald, C. E., 'The Rood of Bromholm', *The Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 1 (1937) 31–45.

Pre-publication copy

Pre-publication copy

Index

d. = died
el. = elected
res. = resigned

Abingdon 188
Acre 74, 84, 174
  fall of xxi, xlvi, 249
Acton Burnell 207
Adam Luton, abbot of Woburn [?1241–1248] 121
Adam of Lathbury, abbot of Reading [1226–1238] 90
Adam, abbot of Chertsey [1210–1223] 8
Adam, abbot of Eynsham [1213/14–1228] 70
Adam, abbot of Melrose, bishop of Caithness [1213–1222] 47
Adam, dean of Salisbury [d.1220] 34
Adolph of Nassau, king of Germany [1292–1298] 260
Adrian V, pope [1276] 166, 184
  See also Ottobuono, papal legate
Aimery VII, viscount of Thouars [1173–1226] 53
Al Kamil, Ayyubid sultan of Egypt [1218–1227] 36, 44, 45, 77, 85
Alan la Zouche, baron of Ashby [1205–1270] 168
Alan of Beccles, archdeacon of Sudbury [1225–1240] 102
Alan, lord of Galloway [1175–1234] 96
Albigensian crusade 16 n. 3, 16 n. 4, 29, 34, 45, 46, 57, 64–5, 74, 249
Aldgate, Holy Trinity x, xi, 12
ale *see under* beer
Alexander II, king of Scotland [1214–1249] 32, 40, 47, 96, 99, 113
  death of 123
Alexander IV, pope [1254–1261] 131, 132
Alexander Nequam, abbot of Cirencester [1213–1216] 17
Alexander of Elstow, archdeacon of Bedford [1206–1218] 28
Alexander of Holderness, abbot of Peterborough [1222–1226] 64
Alexander Stavenby, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield [1224–1238] 57, 97, 101
Alexander, abbot of St Augustine at Canterbury [el. 1212; d. 1220] 17, 34
Alexander, prior of Caldwell [1212–1229] 16, 75
Alfonso VIII, king of Castile [b.1155–d.1214] 3
Alfonso X, king of Castile [1252–d.1284] 130, 133
Alfonso, count of Poitiers and Toulouse, brother of the king of France [1220–1271] 74, 108
Alice of Angoulême, daughter of the count of La Marche, wife of the earl of Gloucester [d.1290] 170, 244
Alice, daughter of Gilbert Segrave, wife of William Beauchamp [c. 1232–?] 159
Almeric of Buckden, archdeacon of Bedford [1231–1246] 85
alms 117, 177, 194, 198, 263
Alton wood 167
Amaury de Montfort the younger [1242/3–1301] 179, 190, 199
Amaury VI de Montfort [1195–1241] 34
Amesbury 223, 249
Ampthill (Bedfordshire) 235, 240, 258
Andrew II, king of Hungary [1205–1235] 29, 49
Angers 76
Anglesey xxi-ii, 189, 190, 201, 261, 262
Anjou x, 64
Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham [1284–1311] 205, 209
  exiled 255–6
Antichrist 11
antipope 49
Apostolic see 15, 39, 40, 50, 57, 67, 76, 83, 90, 125, 136, 161, 162, 164

Pre-publication copy

legate of 5, 22, 36, 39, 64, 74, 99, 161
vacant 232
Apulia 49, 69, 77, 105, 136, 138
Aquitaine 3, 64, 163
archbishop of York controversy 31, 35, 45, 47
Ardres 91
Artaud de St Romain, keeper of the king's wardrobe [1255–1257] 134
Ashbourne (Derbyshire) 128, 148
Ashby priory 110
Ashridge priory 210, 223, 247
Atlow 230, 252
Auvergne 65
Aveline de Forz [1259–1274] 173
Avignon 65
Axholme, Isle of 166
Aylesbury 241
Aymer of Valence, bishop elect of Winchester [May–December 1260] 118, 143, 148

Baldas 39
Baldwin de Insula or de Redevers, earl of Devon [1236–1262] 151, 154 n. 2, 173 n.1
Baldwin de Vehr 30, 34
bailiff 15, 69, 78–9, 80, 86, 94, 107, 110, 119, 120, 129, 135, 137, 138, 144, 149, 156, 163, 164, 174, 182, 187, 216, 220, 224, 226, 232, 236, 240, 241, 257, 264, 268, 276
king appoints new ones 256
Ballidon (Derbyshire) 49, 111, 121, 127, 230
chapel 66
Banbury, prison 46
Banelond 123
Barking abbey 18, 19
Barnwell priory 232
Barons' Crusade 96, 102, 104
Barons' War, First xv, 21–7
Barons' War, Second xv, 143 n.4, 152–8, 162–71
Battle of Evesham 166
peace 170–1
Barwith, chapel 145
Barworth 134, 230
chapel 98, 134
Bay of Biscay 109
Bayonne 63, 254, 269, 272
Bazzano castle 77
Beatrice, cousin of John Kirkby 209
Beaulieu 19, 85, 160
Bedford 29, 31, 45, 98, 106, 121, 133, 137, 143, 145, 146, 150, 193, 208, 223, 224, 228, 229
bridge 197
castle xvi–vii, 27
seige of 54–6
church of St Cuthbert 128, 199
church of St Mary 27, 73
church of St Peter 27, 182, 216, 220
court 114, 116, 123, 125, 186, 210, 213, 236
prison 68
Bedfordshire 17, 88, 108, 185, 187, 208
beer xii, xxxv, 119, 120, 143, 151, 181, 182, 185, 187, 194, 195, 197, 200, 221, 266, 268
bells 49, 188, 191, 212, 259
Benedict of Sawston, precentor of London, then Bishop of Rochester [1215–1227] 20, 66
Benedictine order 89
benefice 11, 17, 26, 30, 59, 63, 99, 100, 105, 115, 122, 124, 134, 135, 182, 185, 219, 243, 259, 271
Benevento 105
Bennington castle 13
Berkhamsted 240
castle 23, 111, 132, 276
Bermondsey 134, 243
Berwick 272–3
Beverley priory (Yorkshire) 113
Biggleswade 238, 240, 244
black monks *see under* Benedictine Order
Blanche of Castile, queen of France [1188–1252] 25, 75–6, 104
marriage 3
Bocwode (nr Eaton Bray) 229, 254, 272
Bogo de Clare, chancellor of Llandaff [1248–1294] 264, 271
Bologna 77, 91, 233
Bolsover castle 25
Boniface of Savoy, archbishop of Canterbury [1244–1270] 107, 113, 125, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 140, 144, 147
death 175
Boniface VIII, pope [1294–1303] 259, 266, 271, 274
Bordeaux 109, 111, 127, 129, 260, 269
Boulogne 155, 162
Bouvines, Battle of xxvii, 12 n.5; 13 n.6, 15 n.2, 18
Brackley, tournament 87
Bradbourne (Derbyshire), church xiii, 5, 46, 100, 101, 111, 159, 173, 192, 194, 199, 204, 230, 248, 250, 265, 270, 272
manor 252
stable 128
Brademore 152
Bradewine 123
Brassington 192, 252, 272
bread 7, 79, 119, 121, 122, 143, 151, 181, 187, 194, 195, 197, 198, 200, 216, 221–2, 262, 263, 266, 268
Brescia 49
Brian de Insula 28, 33, 52, 54, 94
bribe 40, 66, 80, 161, 172, 241

Pre-publication copy

Brickhill 171
church 139, 196
Bridgenorth 174
castle 162
Bristol 11, 22, 23, 134, 216, 256, 273
castle 37
Brittany 64, 83
Brogborough (Bedfordshire) 118
Bromholm 62
Buckden 129, 248
Buckingham 29, 133, 185
Buckleshore 32, 121, 200, 252
wood 141, 199
building work 7, 35, 38, 46, 64, 103, 106, 113, 118, 121, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 141, 142, 149, 174, 175, 178, 184, 190, 193, 194, 203, 206, 220, 233, 234, 243, 263, 268, 272
Builth castle 76
Bulgaria 49
bull, papal 199 n.4, 260, 274, 275
Burcot (Oxfordshire) 101
Burgundy 29, 105, 108
Burton abbey 109
Bury St Edmunds x, 25, 90, 169, 170, 242
abbey 130
parliament 274
tower 10
Bushy common 88
Bytham castle 37

Caddington (Bedfordshire), church 197
common 109, 110
farm 110, 112, 116
pasture 123
wood 139
Cadeby (Leicestershire) 106, 119, 129, 191, 215
Caernarfon 214
Caesarea 72
Caithness, diocese of 47
Caldecote (Bedfordshire) 122, 181
Caldwell priory 47, 123, 131
Cambray 268
canonisation 31,75, 231
Canterbury 13, 21, 22, 53, 63, 90, 93, 111, 133, 134, 151, 161, 170, 196, 254
Canterbury Christ Church 6, 14, 16, 175
council 8
see 91, 101, 110, 131, 275
Carcassonne 45, 49 n.3, 65
Carlisle 273
Carmelite order 180
Castile 133
Castle Bytham (Lincolnshire) 37
Catesby xiii, 107, 157, 252, 265, 266
Cathars 16 n.5, 29 n.3
Cedar of Lebanon 103
Celestinus V, pope [1294–1296] 253, 265, 266
resignation 259–60
Chalgrave (Befordshire) 12, 226, 256
chantry 178
church 31, 32, 108, 190, 225, 250
vicarage 128, 180, 265
Chalton (Bedfordshire) 61, 94, 101, 105, 107
common 276
Chalus castle 3
chantry 96, 98, 178, 225
Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily [1226–1285] xxix, 179, 206, 216, 217
Charlton cum Newbottle (Northamptonshire) 124, 136, 138, 139, 216, 219
Charter of the Forest xxii, 8 n.9, 130, 135, 164
charter xxxvii, 34, 68, 69, 70–1, 73, 80, 82, 94, 106, 109, 111, 119, 124, 127, 137, 142, 144, 150, 152, 164, 165, 182, 187, 200, 205, 207, 221, 224, 226–7 236, 237, 238, 248
inspection 245
confirmation 246
of King Richard 226–7
of King John 227
Chateau Gaillard 5 n.4
Chelmorton 124
Chelmsford 134
Chesham, church 45
Chester 116, 134, 140, 162
Chesterfield, Battle of 167
Chichester 10, 20
Chilterns 167, 210, 276
Chipping Warden (Northamptonshire) 219
Christiana, wife of William de Mandeville 66, 210–14
Christina of Valognes, abbess of Barking [1202–1213] 18
Christmas 52, 84, 112, 127, 133, 139, 151, 190, 216, 247, 259, 268, 270
Chronicon Anglicanum 3 n.1, n.2, 4, 13 n.1, 19 n.7, 21 n.1, 22 n.1, 37 n.3
Cinque Ports 7, 12, 22, 59, 163, 189, 201 n.1, 254, 256, 261
Cistercian order 6, 7, 10, 11, 39, 72, 83, 85, 103, 112, 114, 123, 198 n.1
Clement IV, pope [1265–1268] 169
Clifton, Nottingham 244, 246
clock 204
coinage 10, 121, 192, 193, 203
Cold Higham (Northamptonshire) 271
church 110, 250
comet 47
Compiegne 50
confiscation of property 7, 10, 11, 74, 144, 146, 153, 155, 158, 166, 167, 225, 227, 242, 274

Pre-publication copy

returned 14, 15, 20, 58, 71
Conrad of Hohenstadt, archbishop of Cologne [1238 to 1261] 139
Conrad, abbot of Prémontré [1220–1233] 91
Constantinople 89, 102, 115
Cordy's Bridge 272
Corfe castle 22, 40, 45 n.5
corn 69, 86, 88, 94, 113, 128, 130, 132, 136, 138, 141, 144, 152, 175, 183, 184, 194, 206, 224, 230, 231, 254, 256
shortage 137, 141, 142, 143, 145, 265, 268
Cornwall 91
corrody 36, 94, 98, 99, 122, 145, 191, 192, 195, 196, 200, 205, 219, 230, 263
Council, Lateran 4, 20, 27, 46
of Lyons 115, 132 n.3, 180, 183, 214
of Verona 49
of Westminster 4
Coventry 169
Coventry/Lichfield controversy 56, 67, 73, 194
cow xxi, 39, 47 n.4, 71, 116, 141
Cranford 211
Crawley 122, 123, 124, 126, 130, 137, 173, 185
manor 148
pigeon house 126
crusade 3 n.3, 27, 28, 29, 36, 37, 50, 69, 72, 86, 96, 98, 114, 118, 122, 260
Cwmhir abbey (Powys) 201
Cyprus 122, 249

Damascus 77
Damietta 29, 36, 40, 45, 50, 124
capture of 30, 36
seige of 29
Damme, (nr Flanders) 13
Darley abbey (Derbyshire) 204
David ap Gruffydd [?1238–1283] 162, 189, 190, 200, 201, 202, 205
David, king 39, 40–4, 92
David, son of Llywelyn [1212–1246] 104, 116
debt 40, 94, 143, 152, 178, 182, 183, 189, 195, 196, 203, 206–7, 208, 209, 214, 230, 232, 240, 248, 255, 263, 267, 268
dedication 6, 30, 84
deed 38, 53, 59, 70, 81, 94, 100, 107, 128, 142, 163, 192, 196, 206, 212, 219, 230, 252
Denmark 61
Derby 137, 141, 197, 230
Devizes castle 87, 93
Dieppe 13
Dilewick (nr Bedford) 211
dispossession 60, 181, 186, 192, 194, 224, 225, 233, 240, 257
ditch 8, 12, 138, 172–3, 185, 201, 206, 208, 215
document 4, 14, 32, 38, 39, 64, 82, 100, 110, 117, 124, 124, 136, 148, 155, 188, 191, 205, 223, 224, 225, 228, 230, 239, 251, 253, 259, 263
Doduinishay (Clare) castle 276
Domesday survey ix, xiii n. 28, 24 n.2, 237
Dominican order 72, 91, 101, 117, 146, 175, 179 n.2, 180, 184, 191, 199, 221–2, 230, 247
donations 36, 68, 94, 95, 96, 98, 101, 105, 106, 119, 121, 122, 125, 145, 177, 182, 189, 191, 196, 199, 215, 224, 237, 248, 252, 253, 276
royal 5, 135, 184, 207
Dover 9, 14, 134, 151, 154, 156, 242, 269
castle 22, 23, 24, 25, 154, 155, 156, 161, 179
hospital 70
dowry 33, 66, 96, 97, 98, 99, 126, 134 n.1, 139, 142, 148, 173, 175, 178, 186, 230, 271
Dublin 53, 57
duel 21, 220
Dunbar castle 273
Dunstable 23, 24, 27, 30, 31, 37, 45, 46, 47, 55, 56, 59, 68, 70, 71, 73, 78–9, 80, 82, 88, 105, 106, 110, 119, 120, 124, 127, 130, 132, 133, 143, 144, 145, 146, 156, 159, 160, 161, 165, 166, 167, 170, 171, 174, 175, 183, 185, 187,188, 189, 194, 196, 204, 208, 210, 220, 223–4, 226, 227, 229, 232, 233, 235, 236, 238, 240, 246, 247, 248, 252, 253, 256, 265, 266, 270
church 16, 19, 20, 30, 46, 81, 82, 83, 122, 177, 178, 186, 219, 225, 226, 236, 243, 250
jail 152, 183, 184, 191, 219, 220, 229, 233, 268
presbytery 46
priory 16, 31, 32, 34, 68, 72, 107, 123, 125, 136, 142, 146, 151, 156, 188, 196, 207, 208, 213, 214, 215, 225, 232, 233, 234, 235, 238, 248, 264, 266
tournament 87, 193, 195, 196, 241, 254, 255
Durazzo 89
Durham 35, 39

earthquake 49, 184
Eaton Bray xii, 138, 178, 179, 204, 254
castle 38
eclipse 7
Edlesborough church 121, 149
Edensbury castle 136
Edesuthe gallows 181
Edgcote (Northamptonshire) 219
Edmund, earl of Cornwall [1249–?1300] 175, 198, 210, 223, 256, 273
Edmund, son of Henry III xxix, 114 (birth), 136–8, 142 n.2, 168, 173, 269
death 272
Edmund, the treasurer of Salisbury, archbishop of Canterbury [1234–1240] 91, 101, 102, 103
death 107
Edward I, king of England [1272–1307] ix, 101, 119, 127, 130, 132, 133–4, 137, 147–8, 149, 151,

Pre-publication copy

153, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 171, 174, 176, 180, 193, 217, 231, 238, 244, 249, 250, 260, 261, 269
and Wales 138, 262
and Scotland 272
on crusade 178
coronation 182
Edward II, king of England [1284–1327] 214, 244, 250–1
Egypt 36, 45, 249
Eleanor de Montfort [1252–1282] xxii, 184, 190
Eleanor of Aquitaine, queen of England [c.1122–1204] 3 n.1, 5
Eleanor of England, countess of Pembroke, Leicester, and daughter of King John [1215–1275] 88, 179, 183
Eleanor of Provence, queen of England [1236–1272] 99, 109, 114, 128, 131, 132, 134, 139, 140, 146, 148, 150, 154, 155, 157, 161, 166, 167, 209, 223, 251
death of 249
elections, quashed *see under* quashed
Elias Scotus, prior of St Frideswide [1228–1235/6] 73, 97
Elias, abbot of Reading [1200–1212] 15
Ely, castle 23
isle of 23, 169, 170, 171, 174
see of 131
Englebert II of Berg [1216–1225] 61
Essex 8, 13, 23, 93
Eudo la Zouche [1244–1278] 178, 179, 181, 182, 197
Eudo, prior of Caldwell [1244/5–1249] 114, 123
Eustace de Vesci, lord of Alnwick castle [1169–1216] 12, 23
Eustace of Fauconberg, bishop of London [1221–1228] 50, 73
death 75
Eustace the Monk [c. 1170–24 August 1217] 12, 22, 25
Eustace, bishop of Ely [1198–1215] 9, 14
death 20
exiled 7
Eustace, prior of Newenham [d. 1225] 49, 59, 73
Eversholt (Bedfordshire) 186, 208
Evesham 10, 166, 169
abbey 90
Battle of xlv, 166
exchequer xxxix, 31, 32, 58, 59, 82, 95, 178, 191, 200, 206–7, 210, 216, 221, 225, 227, 228, 229, 232, 233, 237, 243, 245, 249, 253, 254, 268, 272, 276
excommunication xviii, 9, 17, 20, 21, 26, 28, 33, 37, 49, 51, 55, 58, 66, 69, 71, 72, 74, 75, 80, 90, 96, 101, 102, 107, 110, 115, 129, 161, 164, 165, 206, 223, 254
execution 1 n. 9, 35 n.2, 46, 48, 55, 60, 60–1, 62, 83, 109, 152, 174, 183, 192, 202, 207, 215, 219, 220, 229, 270
exemption (immune) 7, 9, 10, 11, 17, 34, 35, 54, 83, 88, 89, 90, 100, 114, 180, 181, 225, 226, 227, 249
Exeter 23, 256
exile 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 103, 132, 255, 274

Falkes de Bréauté [d. 1226] 23, 24–5, 27, 37, 45, 52, 54, 56, 58
Farthinghoe (Bedfordshire) 219
Fécamp 13, 56
Ferdinand IV, king of Spain [1295–1312] 260
Ferdinand of Portugal, count of Flanders [1212–1233] 14, 16, 18
death 91
ferreting 254
fine 15, 48, 78, 79, 87, 88, 95, 97, 98, 126, 133, 137, 138, 146, 169, 180, 181, 183, 185, 186, 187, 192, 193, 200, 207, 211, 213, 216, 220, 225, 227, 229, 232, 234, 240, 247, 248, 252, 253, 255, 268, 270, 275
fire 13, 18, 24, 25, 34, 36, 47, 55, 82, 92, 118, 122, 128, 142, 151, 157, 159, 159, 170, 194, 200, 201, 202, 231, 232, 248, 263
fishing 32, 206
Flanders 6, 13, 14, 16, 60, 93
Fleet, river 154
Flint castle 190, 201
Flitte 70, 183
Flitton church 196, 248, 250
Flitwick, hundred 88, 186, 209, 253
marsh 70, 88
meadow 248
mill 106, 225
parish xiii, 88, 172, 177, 224
village 173, 198, 226, 253
wood 152
Fontevraud abbey 3
foot and mouth 134
foreigners 20, 26, 105, 112, 126, 148, 153, 154, 155, 161, 170, 192, 214
forest 15, 21, 58, 104, 173, 190, 207, 246
for Forest Charter *see under* Charter of the Forest
foresters 8, 196
forgeries 38, 137, 243, 260
Fotheringhay castle xvi, 36, 37
Fountains abbey 37
France xxvi-xxviii, 4, 6, 9, 25, 26, 50, 69, 74, 76, 108, 134, 147, 157, 229
Franciscan order 90, 101, 106, 107, 192, 199, 214, 221, 229, 240, 242, 248, 249, 272

Pre-publication copy

frank-pledge xxxv, 79, 119, 120, 181, 187, 225–7
Frederick II, king of Sicily and Holy Roman Emperor [1194–1250] 13, 28, 69, 74, 77, 83, 84, 89, 96, 101, 104–5, 106, 111, 115, 124, 136
  crowned emperor 36
  marriage 49–50
  excommunicated 72
  death 125
Fulk Bassett, bishop of London [el. 1241, cons. 1244, d. 1259] 125, 128
  death 144
Fulk, fitz Warin de Bassingbourne 51

gallows 39, 48, 181, 182, 226
Gannoch castle (Deganwy) 116, 140
Gascony ix, 59, 63, 64, 67, 111, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133–4, 135, 178, 229 n.1, 260, 261, 268–9, 272,274
Gaston de Béarn, seventh viscount of Béarn [1220–1290] 130, 179, 180
general chapter meetings 73, 91, 100, 106, 123, 145, 180, 233, 240, 265
Geoffrey Crowcombe, king's steward [1225–1236] 73
Geoffrey de Burgh, archdeacon of Norwich, bishop of Ely [1225–1228] 11, 59
  death, 75
Geoffrey de Lucy, warden of Guernsey [1206–1207], warden of the Isles [1224–1226] 22, 30, 153, 160
Geoffrey fitz Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex [c.1191–d.1216] 21
Geoffrey fitz Peter, earl of Essex, justiciar [1198–1213] 10, 15
Geoffrey Holme, abbot of Thornton Curtis [1231/2–1236] 97
Geoffrey Langley, knight xxi, 138, 139, 153
Geoffrey of Barton, prior of Dunstable [1242–1262] 108, 110, 112, 116, 119–20, 121, 123, 133, 139, 151, 152 , 219
Geoffrey of Hecton, prior of Canons Ashby [1226–c.1253] 64
Geoffrey of Marisco, justiciar of Ireland [d. 1245] 92
Geoffrey of Muschamp, bishop of Coventry [1198–1208] 8
Geoffrey, archbishop of York [1191–1212] 7, 8 n.4
George Cantilupe [1252–1273] 178, 179, 239
Gerard of Vuippens, archdeacon of Richmond [1290–1301] 256
Germany xxviii, 139–40
  see also Frederick II, Holy Roman Empire
Gervase of Canterbury 6 n.7 &8, 7 n.3 & 6, 9 n.2 & 5
gift *see under* donations
Gikewell 101
Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester [1180–1230] 83
Gilbert de Clare, sixth earl of Hertford, seventh earl of Gloucester [1243–1295] 152, 153, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 165, 166, 168, 170, 175, 231, 244, 252, 262
  death 271
Gilbert Glanville, bishop of Rochester [1185–1214] 8, 18
Gilbert Marshal 97, 103
  death 107
Gilbert of St Leofard, bishop of Chichester [1288–1305] 264
Gilbert Preston, justice itinerant at Nottingham 119, 121, 127, 128, 134, 145, 186
Giles Bridport, bishop of Salisbury [1256–1262] 137, 141
Giles de Braose, bishop of Hereford [1200–1215] 3, 8, 26
Giles of Burne, prior of Merton [1222–1231] 46, 85
Girona 217
Gladley (nr Heath and Reach) xiii, 116, 197
Gloucester 8, 31 n.3, 157, 158
  castle 157, 162
Godfrey de Lucy, bishop of Winchester [1189–1204] 5
Godfrey of Banbury, prior of Lanthony [?1240–1257] 124
Grantham 134
Great Brickhill (Buckinghamshire) church 5
Greenfield mill 70, 94
Gregory IX, pope, previously bishop of Ostia [1227–1241] 66, 67, 72, 74, 75, 76, 83, 86, 87, 89, 96, 101, 105, 106, 114
Gregory X, pope [1271–1276] 175, 180
  death 184
grey monks 11, 198
Grimscote (Northamptonshire) xiii, 111, 180, 248, 271
Grosmont 92
Guala Bicchieri, papal legate [1216–1218] 22, 23, 25, 26, 27 n.4, 28, 102
Guarin, dean of Berkhamsted 46
Guilford 14
Guy de Lusignan, son of Hugh X of Lusignan and Isabella of Angoulême 118
Guy de Montfort [1244–1291] 179, 232

Hailes abbey 175
Haren 228
Harlington (Bedfordshire) 176
  church xiii, 49, 53, 150, 177–8, 189, 196

Pre-publication copy

harvest 88, 137, 219, 230, 240, 265
Hastings 22
Helen, daughter of Llywelyn the Great and Joan (daughter of King John) 99
Henry Brandeston, bishop of Salisbury [1287–1288] 232
Henry Braybrooke, justiciar 25, 54, 56, 59
Henry de Basinges, prior of Merton [1231–1238] 85, 101
Henry de Lacy, third earl of Lincoln [1251–1311] 243, 269
Henry de Longchamp, abbot of Crowland [1190–1236] 98
Henry de Montfort [1238–1265] 158, 165
Henry fitz Count, earl of Cornwall [c. 1175–1222] 33
Henry Hastings, first baron of Hastings [c. 1235–
c. 1269] 153, 160, 167, 178
Henry I, duke of Brabant [1183/4–1235] 16
Henry I, king of England [1068–1135] ix, xi, 68
Henry II, count of Bar [1102–1239] 102
Henry II, king of England [1133–1189] 3 n.1, 5 n.3, 102, 226
Henry III, count of Bar [1291–1302] 256
Henry III, king of England [1216–1272] ix, 22 n.4, 23, 27, 40, 50, 51, 52, 58, 64, 69, 73, 78, 83, 85, 91, 94, 99, 101, 109, 111, 128, 130, 133–4, 136, 137, 139, 140, 146, 147, 150
  birth 6
  coronation 31
  death 176
  illness 46, 174
  tomb 247
Henry IV, count of Limburg [1226–1247] 72
Henry Lexington, bishop of Lincoln [1254–d. 1258]
  131, 132
  death 145
Henry Marshal, archdeacon of Stafford, bishop of Exeter [1194–1206] 6, 9
Henry of Almain, son of Richard, king of Germany [d.1271] 154, 156, 158, 160, 161, 163, 167, 168, 179
Henry of Fratta, bishop of Bologna [1213–1240] 77
Henry of Hamptonet, abbot of Cirencester [1281–?1307] 233
Henry of Kedleston, abbot of Darley [1275–1287] 196, 204–5
Henry of London, archbishop of Dublin [1213–1228], justiciar of Ireland [1213–1215] 17, 53, 58, 75
Henry of Newark, archbishop of York [1298–1299] 274, 275
Henry of Repton, abbot of Darley [1214–1233] 91, 94
Henry of Rothley, abbot of St Mary de Pratis (Leicester) [1247–1270] 123
Henry of Rushbrooke, prior of Bury St Edmunds [1233–1248] 91
Henry of Sandwich, bishop of London [1262–1272] 154, 162, 167, 171
  death 178
Henry Sandford, archdeacon of Canterbury, bishop of Rochester [1227–1238] 66, 73
  death 95
Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony [1129–1195] 9 n.1
Henry Wingham, chancellor, bishop of London [1259–1262] 146, 151
Herbert Poore, bishop of Salisbury [1194–1217] 8, 20
Hereford 23, 165
heresy 49, 64, 221–3, 233
  (*see also* Cathars)
Hertford 23, 134, 192, 229, 241
Hertfordshire 17, 208
Hervé IV of Donzy, count of Nevers [1173–1223] 22, 34
Hervey, prior of Osney, prior of Newenham [1225–?1244] 59
Higham Ferrers (Northamptonshire) 136
Hipwell mill 70
Hocfield 145
Hockcliffe 137, 205, 211, 225
Holy Land xxix-xxxi, 27, 28, 33, 39, 50, 55, 57, 69, 89, 102, 114, 115, 122, 174, 176, 178, 180, 184, 189, 195, 203, 214, 249, 253, 255, 260, 262
Holy Roman Empire 69, 74, 77 n.1, 105, 115, 249
homage 16, 20, 53, 56, 61, 66, 74, 99, 108, 127, 130, 139, 152, 156, 164, 178 n.6, 180, 189, 201, 248, 254,261, 269
homicide *see under* murder
Honorius III, pope [1216–1227] 29, 35, 39, 65
  death 66
Honorius IV, pope [1285–1287] 217
  death 229
Honorius, archdeacon of Richmond [1202–1208] 8
Hospital of St John of Jerusalem 179, 255
Hospitallers 6, 50, 72, 74, 85, 95, 104, 114, 124, 179, 180, 205, 249, 266
hostages 21, 40, 48, 58, 59, 160, 161, 162, 163, 202, 262
Hougham (Bedfordshire) 95
Houghton Regis ix, xiii, 4, 5, 15, 61, 64, 97, 123, 137, 138, 178, 179, 181, 204, 214, 224, 226, 234, 236–40, 244, 249, 252, 254, 256

Pre-publication copy

Hubert de Burgh, justiciar of England, earl of Kent [1215–1232] 21, 22, 23, 25, 46, 52, 57, 66, 68, 78, 83, 86, 87, 92
Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury [1193–1205] 3, 4, 5, 84
Hugh Balsham, bishop of Ely [el. 1256–d.1286] 140, 223
Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk and Suffolk [c.1182–1225] 51
Hugh Bigod, chief justiciar [1258–1260] 144, 145, 156, 161
Hugh de Albini, son of the earl of Arundel 66
Hugh de Ba 98
Hugh de Balliol, lord of Barnard Castle, County Durham [c. 1177–1229] 23
Hugh de Boves [d. 1215] 20
Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster [d. 1242] 10, 46, 53, 57, 58, 92, 96
Hugh de Mapenore, bishop of Hereford [1216–d. 1219] 26, 30
Hugh de Vere, fourth earl of Oxford [c. 1208–December 1263] 89
Hugh de Vivonia, constable of Bristol, seneschal of Poitou 37
Hugh Despenser, chief justiciar [1223–1265] 144, 153, 166
Hugh Foliot, abbot of Ramsey [1216–1231] 26, 27, 83
Hugh Foliot, bishop of Hereford [1219–d. 1234] 30, 40, 94, 95
Hugh II, Bishop of Lyons 16
Hugh of Cardeville, prior of Beaulieu [1203–?] 70
Hugh of Northwold, abbot of St Edmunds [1229–1254], bishop of Ely [1229–1254] 17, 75, 84, 97, 132
Hugh of Sulgrave, abbot of Ramsey [1254–1268] 149
Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln [el. 1209–1235] 9, 14, 15, 19, 27, 31, 32, 39, 67, 70, 71, 80, 85
  death 95
Hugh Pattishall, king's treasurer, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield [d,1241] 101, 104
  death 108
Hugh Sulebury, abbot of Woburn [1281–?1286] 197
Hugh X de Lusignan, count of La Marche [1183–1249] 32, 53, 65, 66, 108, 109, 118
Hugh, abbot of Beaulieu [1203–1219], bishop of Carlisle [1218–1223] 15, 49
Hugh, abbot of St Augustine at Canterbury [1220–1225] 64
Hugh, archdeacon of Colchester [d. 1238] 101
Hugh, bishop of Lincoln [1186–1200], death 3
  cult of 3 n.2
  canonisation 31
Humberstone 178, 248
Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford [1220–1275] 133, 144, 157, 160, 161, 168
Hungary 49
Huntingdon 17, 146, 190
  priory 265
Husborne Crawley xiii, 33, 70, 73, 122, 123, 126, 173, 178, 186, 203, 209 (vicar), 224, 225, 226, 250
  vicarage 33, 209
Hyde (Bedfordshire) 194, 219

Ickleford 45
Ickwell 94, 114, 121, 122, 125
Ilam 186
indulgence 114, 128
Ingram Balliol [1165–1244] 159
Innocent III, pope [1198–1216] 4, 7 n.3, 9 n.1, 13 n.2, 15 n.3, 20
Innocent IV, pope [1243–d.1254] 111, 113, 114
Innocent V, pope [1276] 184
inquiry 11, 35, 39–40, 80, 116, 136, 188–9, 198, 211, 241, 258
  murder 215, 219
  into church losses 16
  into Dunstable priory's rights 225–7
  into privileges 215
interdict xviii-xix, 4, 7, 17, 19, 90, 112, 199, 215, 263
invasion 84, 108, 138, 273
  Ireland 53
  Poitou 57, 58
  Scotland 84, 272
  Wales 71, 116, 189, 201, 262
  Welsh Marches 34, 50
Iolante, daughter of Peter Mauclerc, count of Brittany 66
Iorwerth, bishop of St David's [1215–1229] 83
Ireland 7, 10, 14, 34, 46, 50, 51, 53, 57, 58, 74, 76, 83, 92, 116, 134, 163, 271
Isabella of Angoulême, queen of England [d.1246] 4, 32, 46, 66
Isabella, countess of Gloucester, wife of Gilbert de Clare, then Richard of Cornwall 4, 21, 102
Isabella, wife of William de Forz, earl of Aumale 154, 173
Isle of Man 84
Isle of Wight 39
Italian clergy xix, 27 n.4, 63, 86, 87, 105, 116, 117, 137, 147, 240, 246
Italy 38, 49
itinerant justices xxxvii-viii, 27, 30, 56, 60, 68, 88, 91, 106, 119, 121, 127, 128, 133, 134, 137, 141, 145, 146, 185, 186, 188, 192, 197, 208, 215, 218, 221, 223, 227, 229, 232, 242, 248, 256

Pre-Publication copy

Jaffa 72, 84
James II, King of Aragon [1291–1327] 250, 260, 261, 264
James Pecoraria, legate of France, cardinal bishop of Palestrina [1231–1244] 105
Jerusalem 29, 36, 37, 40, 72, 74, 75, 77, 84, 102, 104
Jews xviii, 11, 31, 38–9, 46, 113, 128, 137, 159, 183, 184, 193, 200, 232, 243
confiscation of property 9
expulsion from England 246
imprisoned 192
Joan, countess of Toulouse [1249–1271] 74, 134
Jocelin, bishop of Bath [1206–1242] 6, 73
John Balliol, King of Scotland [1292–1296] 96, 137, 161, 167, 168, 250, 254, 269, 273
John Bedford, prior of Newenham [1283–1300] 205
John Bradford, bishop of Rochester [1278–1283] 191, 205
John Chishull, bishop of London [el.1273–d.1280] 178, 194
John Climping, bishop of Chichester [el.1253–d. 1262] 132
John Crakehall, archdeacon of Bedford, treasurer [1258–1260] 121, 136, 144, 147, 176–7
death 149
John de Gray, bishop of Norwich [1200–1214] 3, 6, 7
death 18
John de Lacy, constable of Chester, earl of Lincoln [c.1192–1240] 11 n.4, 28, 33, 89
John de Sanford, archbishop of Dublin [1284–1294] 264
John de Warenne, sixth earl of Surrey [1231–1304] 152, 153, 156, 159, 161, 274
John de Ypres, prior of Cadwell [1287/8–1304] 232
John Derlington, archbishop of Dublin [1279–1284] 214
John du Plessis, earl of Warwick [d. 1263] 144
John Gervase, bishop of Winchester [1262–1268] 151, 167
John Giffard of Brimsfield [1232–1299] 153, 159
John Hook, archdeacon of Bedford [1282–1291] 252
John Houghton, archdeacon of Bedford, archdeacon of Northampton [1218–1231] 38, 54, 56, 72, 73, 80, 85
John I, king of England [1199–1216] ix, xii, 6, 10, 16, 18, 22, 50, 111
coronation 3
death 23
excommunicated 9
loss of Normandy 5 n.4
marriage 4
John II, duke of Brabant [1294–1312] 244, 263
John Kirkby, king's vice-chancellor, treasurer [1284–1290], bishop of Ely [1286–1290] 207, 209, 223, 231
death 244
John Langton, chancellor [1292–1337] 254
John le Romeyn, archbishop of York [el. 1285, cons. 1286, d. 1296] 220, 255
John of Barrow, prior of Hagnaby [1270–1291] 196
John of Berkhamsted, abbot of St Albans [1290–1301] 254
John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem [1155–1237] 29, 39, 49–50, 53, 57, 64, 74, 89, 104
marriage 57
visit to England 53
John of Caux, abbot of Peterborough [1250–1262] 133, 141
death 152
John of Cella, abbot of St Albans [1195–1214] 18
John of Ferentino, cardinal deacon, papal legate, and archdeacon of Norwich [1229–aft. 1238] 5, 6
John of Fountains, abbot of Fountains [1211–1220], bishop of Ely [1220–1225] 30, 35, 39, 59
John of Hertford, prior of Hertford, abbot of St Albans [1235–1263] 95, 107, 138
John of Houton, archdeacon of Bedford [1218–res. 1231] 28, 45
John of Kent, abbot of Fountains [1220–1247] 118
John of Maidstone, dean of Lincoln [1274–1275] 183
John of Pontoise, bishop of Winchester [1282–1304] 194, 249–50
John of Tynemouth, archdeacon of Oxford [d. 1221] 38
John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury [1279–1292] 192, 193, 194, 198, 203, 215, 217, 221–2, 231, 253
death 254
John Peyure 186
John Stafford, abbot of Burton [1260–1281] 148
John the Scot, earl of Chester [1232–1237] 89, 99
John Vaux 153, 156, 218, 223
John XXI, pope [1276–1277] 184
John, abbot of Boxley [?–1236] 89
John, lord of Monmouth [c. 1182–1248] 92, 263 n.1
John, prior of Huntingdon [res. 1215] 59

Pre-publication copy

Joseph De Chauncy prior of St John of Jerusalem in England [1274–1280] 179
jousting 21 n.3, 33, 194 n.1

Kenilworth 156, 157, 158, 168, 169, 171, 194
  castle 166, 167, 169
    siege of 168
Kensworth (Bedfordshire) ix, 109, 123, 197, 208, 240, 276
Kerry castle (nr Montgomery) 71
Kethingges (Bedfordshire) 194
kidnap 61, 184
Kimble 167
Kimbolton castle 36
king's bench 32, 61, 64, 68, 78, 82, 112, 186, 191, 206, 233, 234, 240, 241
king's court 31, 49, 68, 81, 120, 124, 207, 226
Kirkham church 49
kiss of peace 17, 134, 148

La Réole castle 60, 132
La Rochelle 16 n.5, 63
  siege of 53–4, 57
Lambeth 131
  treaty of 26
land acquisition 108, 110, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 129, 139, 141, 142, 146, 200, 214, 230, 248, 252
Langley 266
Lateran Council 4, 20, 27, 46
Laurence of St Edward, abbot of Burton [1229–1260] 148
Laurence Teuren, abbot of Dale (Derbyshire) [1273–1289] 223
lawsuit 38, 72, 88, 93, 95, 96, 106, 107, 109, 112, 118, 119, 121, 123, 124, 125,126, 127, 128, 129, 134, 136, 137, 141, 145, 146, 150, 173, 180, 186, 187, 188, 196, 207, 208, 218, 224, 225, 228, 233, 234, 235–40, 243, 244, 246, 249, 253, 254, 256, 257–8
Le Cant, forest 246
Le Mentel 172
Leagrave (Bedfordshire) 105, 107
Lee (Derbyshire), mill 121
Leicester 52, 85, 124, 127, 145, 215
Leighton Buzzard (Bedfordshire) 106, 233
Leonius, dean of Wells [1213–1216] 17
Leopold VI, duke of Austria [1176–28 July 1230] 29, 104
leper 83, 120, 259
Lewes xxviii, 160, 161, 162, 185, 271
Leyham 139
liberties 15, 20, 25, 57, 59, 68, 69, 73, 82, 88, 89, 94, 102, 130, 135, 146, 181, 184, 186, 187, 188, 193, 216, 217, 223–4, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 240, 241, 245, 247, 249, 252, 256, 268, 270
Lichfield 47, 248, 254
Lidlington (Bedfordshire) 39, 183, 189
  church 177, 182, 190
Lincoln 23, 24, 25, 35, 76, 102, 129, 131, 183, 209
  castle xvi, xxvii, 24
  diocese xviii, xxxii, 6, 16, 73, 124, 131, 144, 147, 190, 215
Lismore-Waterford controversy 38
Llandaff, see 264, 271 n.1
Llywelyn the Great [c. 1173–1240] 10 n.3, 26, 34, 35, 50, 51, 71, 76, 83, 84, 85, 92, 99
  death 104
Llywelyn II, prince of Wales [1258–1282] 138, 152, 179, 184, 189, 190, 200–1, 202
  death 201
loan 128, 137, 248
Lombards 74, 89, 101, 105
London 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 48, 51, 53, 55, 56, 63, 83, 90, 109, 113, 126, 129, 130, 131, 133, 137, 148, 156, 158, 159, 160, 163, 167, 170, 171, 174, 178, 180, 181, 184, 186, 190, 191, 192, 195, 203, 206, 208, 217, 221, 223, 233, 241, 244, 249, 253, 275
  bridge 154, 197
  interdict 199
  meeting 15, 37, 139, 268
  parliament 163, 183, 187, 194, 228, 255, 261, 262, 269
  people of 12, 48, 63, 154, 155, 156, 158, 160, 170, 256
  tower of 12, 21, 22, 31, 38, 52, 62, 87, 93, 149, 153, 154, 156, 160, 161, 167, 185, 199, 201, 202, 242, 243, 273
Louis IX, king of France [1226–1270] 65, 66, 74, 104, 107, 109, 122, 124, 134, 138, 145, 146, 154, 155, 157, 161, 174
Louis VII, king of France [1120–1180] 5 n.3
Louis VIII, king of France [1223–1226] 3, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 34, 57, 58, 64
  death 65
  coronation 50
Lower Catesby (Northamptonshire) 107
Luffield priory 113
Luke, archbishop of Dublin [1230–1255] 75, 78
Lundy island 109
Luton 38, 58, 129, 160, 175, 183, 241
Lynn 25
Lyons xix, 114, 124, 125, 180
  council of 115, 132 n.3, 183, 214
Mabel I, abbess of Elstow [?1197–1213] 18
Magna Carta 8 n.9, 11 n.10, 12 n.8, 12 n.9, 20, 59, 130, 135, 143, 164
Maidstone, church 103
Manshead (Bedfordshire) 73, 186, 228, 240, 244
Marches of Wales 11, 22, 34, 51, 85, 92, 138, 152, 156, 162, 163, 165, 166, 170, 200, 201, 252

Pre-publication copy

Margaret de Burgh, wife of Richard de Clare [?d. 1237] 66
Margaret, daughter of the king of England [1275–1333], duchess of Brabant 127, 244, 269, 274
Margaret, daughter of William the Lion, king of Scotland [1193–1259] 46
Margaret of England, daughter of Henry III, wife of the king of Scotland [1240–1275]
xxiv, 107, 119, 127
death 183
Margaret, the countess of Warwick [c.1215–d. 1253] 144
Marie, duchess of Brabant, daughter of Philip II of France [1198–1224] 16 n.7
Mark I Nicolai, patriarch of Venice [1184–1225] 20
market 5, 15, 59,61, 225, 226, 227, 241, 248, 256, 266, 276
Marlborough 131
castle 40, 162
Marmoutier, convent 70
Marston, church 266, 267
Marsworth (Buckinghamshire) 131
Martin IV, pope [1281–1285] 179, 196
Martin, abbot of Chertsey [1197–1206] 8 n.5
Martin, abbot of Missenden [?1212–1236] 97
Matilda de Braose [c. 1155–d. 1210] 10
Matilda de Say 46
Matilda, countess of Hereford [d. 1236] 98
Matthew of Bedford, prior of Caldwell [1272–1287/8] 232
Matthew of Bray, abbot of Leicester [1229–1235] 97
Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* x, 40 n.2, 98 n.1 & 2, 100 n.1&2, 101 n.2, 103 n.3, 105 n.5, 107 n.3, 108 n.1, 109 n.2 & 3, 115 n.1, 2, 3, 117, n.2, 121 n.1, 122 n.1, 123 n.5, 125 n.6, 127 n.1, 2 & 3, 129 n.2, 130 n.2, 131 n.2, 132 n.2, 134 n.3, 135 n.1, 2, 3, 136 n.1, 137 n.1, 2, 139 n.1, 140 n.2 &3, 144 n.4, 145 n.2, 148 n.3
Matthew, abbot of Bardney [?1218–1223] 49
Mauger, bishop of Worcester [el. 1199–1212] 8, 12, 14
Maulden marshes 88
measures 70, 79, 182, 183, 185, 192, 226, 247, 255, 270
Melford (Essex) 39
Menai Straits 201
merchants 18, 63, 176, 179, 180, 185, 196, 202, 203, 219, 220, 253, 256, 264, 269, 273
Merton 46
Merton Laws 98
Michael of Goldington, prior of Newenham [1272/3–1283] 177, 196
death 205
mill 38, 63, 101, 106, 122, 138, 170, 174, 186
new style 272
Millicent Montault of Eaton Bray [1250–1299] 178, 179, 181, 187, 200, 204–5, 233–44, 254, 272
miracle 16, 34, 60, 63, 91, 107, 160, 217, 231
Missenden 87
Modena 7
Monte Cassino castle 105
Monte Falcone castle 105
Montgomery castle 51
Mouldridge (Derbyshire) 111, 124, 128
Mountsorrel castle 24, 25
murder 13, 47, 73, 91, 98, 113, 146, 147, 179, 184, 187, 188, 205, 207, 210–14, 215, 219, 226, 227, 240, 241, 243, 246, 252
Muret, Battle of 16 n.4

naval activity 12, 13, 22, 24, 63, 109, 134, 140, 154, 157, 161, 189, 201, 256, 261, 269–70, 272
Nazareth 36
New Temple 30, 107 n.3, 114
treasure stolen 153
Newark 24
Newark castle 23, 28, 36
Newbottle (Northamptonshire) xiii, 85, 116, 206, 263
church 218–9, 250
Newcastle upon Tyne 113
Newenham 122, 132, 145, 265
Newgate 174
Newport Pagnell 106, 133, 221
priory 70
Nicholas de Aquila, bishop of Chichester [1209–quas.1214] 9
Nicholas de Romanis, papal legate, bishop of Frascati [d.1218] 15
Nicholas Farnham, bishop of Durham [1241–1249] 107, 114
Nicholas III, pope [1277–1280] 185, 196
Nicholas IV, pope [1281–1292] 229, 240, 248, 249
death 253
Nicholas of Ely, bishop of Worcester [1266–1268], bishop of Winchester [1268–1280] 68, 194
Nicholas of Hegham, dean of Lincoln [1280–1288] 233
Nicholas Segrave, first baron of Segrave [c. 1238–1295] 153, 171
Nicholas, abbot of Medmenham, abbot of Woburn [el. 1247–?1261] 121, 138, 139
Nicholas, prior of Freiston [1228–1238/9] abbot of Eynsham [1228–1238/9] 70

Pre-publication copy

Nile, river 30, 45
Niort castle 53, 57
Norfolk 22, 219
Norham (Northamptonshire) 251
Normandy 3, 50, 64
  lost 5
  relinquished 146
North Marston (Buckinghamshire) 88, 95, 241
Northampton 10 n.3, 19, 40, 52, 54, 119, 143, 156, 158, 159, 162, 165, 169, 177, 182, 218
  parliament 166
Northaw 4
Norwich 23, 137, 229
  assessment 177, 197
  castle 23
  see 131
Nottingham 11, 40, 109, 127, 137, 140, 160
Numericus, Aymeric de St. Maur, master of the Knights of the Temple in England 30

offering *see under* donations

pagans 72, 75, 102
Pandulf Masca, bishop of Norwich [1222–1226] 13, 14, 15 n.3, 20, 28, 31, 33, 36–7, 39, 40, 45, 50, 63, 84
  death 64
papal fiefdom 12, 13–14
Paris 91, 104, 134, 149, 270
  treaty of 75, 76, 146 n. 1
  university of 62–3, 75, 76, 83
parliament 113, 135, 144, 149, 152, 155, 161, 163, 166, 167, 170, 184, 187, 207
  at Bury St Edmunds 274
  at Lincoln 209
  at London 59, 183, 194, 217, 228, 255, 261, 269
  at Reading 156
  at Westminster 237, 245
Parma 90
Passecumbe 160
Pattishall (Northamptonshire) xiii, 27, 64, 66, 122, 124, 136, 250, 271
Paul Peywre, king's steward [1244–1251] 119–20, 123, 126, 128
peace 8, 11, 14, 15, 17, 20, 23, 25, 27, 51, 93, 136, 160, 161, 162, 168, 169, 171, 173, 192, 243
  in Scotland 99, 113, 251
  in France 146, 147, 268
    Gascony 130
    Toulouse 64, 74
  in Wales 64, 202
  Frederick II 83, 89, 105
  in Ireland 58
Peak, the 83, 109, 112, 121, 173, 176, 183, 204, 210, 215, 223, 230, 252, 264, 265
  castle of 25, 134
Pelagius, papal legate, bishop of Albano [1213–1230] 29 n.5, 36, 40
penalty *see under* fine
pension 95, 97, 152, 195, 198, 216, 219, 240, 254, 265
Percival of Lavinia, archdeacon of Buckingham [1269–1290] 171, 172
  death 246
Peter Chaceporc, keeper of the king's wardrobe [1241–1254] 134
Peter d'Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford [1240–1268] 107, 137, 153
Peter de Mauley of Mulgrave Castle, Yorkshire [d. 1241] 40, 45, 54
Peter de Rivallis, treasurer [d.1262] 91, 92, 98
Peter des Roches, justiciar of England, bishop of Winchester [1205–1238] 8, 10, 17, 23, 24, 40, 45, 52, 54, 72, 84, 87, 90, 91, 92, 96
Peter II of Collemarro, archbishop of Rouen [1237–1245] 106
Peter II, king of Aragon [1196–1213] 16, 57
Peter III the Great, king of Aragon [1276–1285] 206, 216, 217
Peter Mauclerc, duke of Brittany [1213–1221] 18, 65, 66, 67, 75, 84, 89, 102
Peter of Hagham, prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem [1291–1293] 253, 266–7
Peter Vitella de Ferentino xix, 122, 125, 136
Peter, prior of Linton, abbot of Bardeney [1214–1228] 17
Pevensey xv, 21, 22, 161
Philip Basset, justiciar of England [1261–1263] 160–1, 168, 171
Philip d'Aubigny 24, 48
Philip de Ulecote, seneschal of Poitou 37
Philip II Augustus, king of France [1180–1223] 3, 5 n.4, 34, 50
Philip III, king of France [1270–1285] 178, 217
Philip IV, king of France [1268–1314] 229, 260, 268
Philip Lovel, treasurer [1252–1258] 128, 132
  death 144
Philip of Poitiers, bishop of Durham [1197–1208] 8
Philip, count of Boulogne [1200–1235] 75, 94
pigs 34, 55, 116, 197, 233, 234–5, 276
pilgrimage 47, 86, 108, 241
pirates 12, 22, 264
plunder 25, 37, 153, 158, 162, 167, 169, 173, 182, 261, 269
Plympton castle 55
Poitevin problem 91–2, 93

Pre-publication copy

Poitou 12, 16, 18, 30, 37, 45, 46, 53, 54, 57, 67, 108
Pontigny 107, 220
Porchester 14
portent 7, 103
  Cedar of Lebanon 103
  cow birthing a human-shaped calf 39
  cross moving in the sky 27
Portsmouth 16 n.5, 129, 261
Pottersbury (Northamptonshire) 108
Premonstratensian order 6
presentation 49, 128, 139, 149, 176, 177, 195, 198, 199, 205, 216, 218, 220, 233, 265
Prester John 39, 41–4
privileges 83, 101, 110, 117, 124, 131, 164, 215
  of Paris university 62
  won in Rome by Langton 45
prophecy 12, 36, 62
  of Merlin 202
Provisions of Oxford 143–4, 149 n.1, 152–3, 154, 155, 157, 158, 162, 163
Pudley 182
Pulloxhill (Bedfordshire) xiii, 123, 124, 141, 142, 186, 187, 221, 223, 224, 234, 253, 271
  church 5, 11, 31, 85, 150, 182, 250
Purston (Bedfordshire) 219

Quarr 39
quashed election, abbot 57, 175
  archbishop 26, 76, 85, 87, 89, 114, 192
  bishop 6, 30, 70, 75, 84, 101, 113, 194
quit-claim 142, 176, 177, 186, 188, 219, 224
Quo warranto xvii, 221, 225, 228 n.1, 230, 233, 245

Radburnstock (Bedfordshire) 73, 228
Radcroft 96
Ralph fitz Nicholas 78, 98, 115
Ralph Hareng, justiciar [in office 1208 and again 1218] 53
Ralph Maidstone, bishop of Hereford [1234–res. 1239] 95, 97, 101, 107
Ralph Nevill, bishop of Chichester [1222–1244]; chancellor [1226–1244] 47, 78, 80, 85, 104
Ralph of Arundel, abbot of Westminster [1200–dep. 1214] 19
Ralph of Coggeshall 3 n.1, 9 n.6
Ralph of Diss xxxiii, xxxvi, xli
Ralph of Irton, prior of Gisborough, bishop of Carlisle [1278–1292] 195
Ralph of Leicester, abbot of Darley [1233–1247] 91, 94
Ralph of Merencourt, patriarch of Jerusalem [1214–1225] 20
Ralph of Wareham, prior of Norwich, bishop of Chichester [1218–1222] 20, 27
  death 47
Ralph Walpole, bishop of Norwich [1288/9–trans. to Ely in 1299] 246
Ralph, prior of Cold Norton [?1212–dep. 1236] 97
Ramsey abbey 216
Randulf, prior of Worcester, abbot of Evesham [1214–1229] 15
Ranulf Brito, chaplain of Hubert de Burgh and king's treasurer [d.1246] 87
ransom 21, 35, 63, 75, 76, 124, 156, 192, 232, 241, 242
Ranulf de Blundeville, earl of Chester [d. 1232] 10, 24, 25, 28, 30, 33, 37, 51, 52, 54, 56, 64, 84, 89
  death 88
Raymond de Burgh [?d.1230] 66, 83
Raymond VI, count of Toulouse [1194–1222] 16, 45
Raymond VII, count of Toulouse [1222–1249] 64, 65, 66, 74–5
Reading 6, 15, 90–1, 112, 156, 183, 215
  abbey x, xi
rebellion 19, 50, 52, 147
  in Wales 163, 200, 261–2
recruitment (to Dunstable priory) 53, 97, 103, 105, 118, 125, 126, 128, 139, 141, 144, 162, 163, 175, 176, 182, 184, 189, 194, 197, 205, 248, 252, 253, 276
Reginald de Braose [1182–1228] 22
Reginald of Maydenethe, abbot of Waltham [1273–1289] 233
Reginald, subprior of Canterbury, archbishop-elect of Canterbury [1205–quas. 1206] 6
relics 19, 105
Renaud of Dammartin, count of Boulogne [c. 1165–1227] 12, 13, 14, 16, 18
rents 15, 45, 46, 59, 88, 93, 94, 95, 97, 100, 101, 105, 106, 107, 111, 121, 122, 129, 138, 141, 142, 176, 181, 186, 188, 190, 191, 196, 214, 224, 241, 258, 265, 267, 271
Rheims 50
Rhuddlan castle 190, 201
Rhys ap Meredith [c. 1250–1292] 231, 254
Richard Clapwell xi, 221–2, 229 n.2, 233
Richard de Carew, bishop of St David's [1256–1280] 135, 168, 195
Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester [1222–1262] 51, 66, 136, 140, 144, 145, 148, 150, 151, 175
Richard de Crokesleye, abbot of Westminster [1246–1258] 132, 135, 137
Richard de Grey [1202–1271] 144, 156
Richard de Insula, prior of St Edmunds, abbot of Burton [1222–1229], abbot of Bury St Edmunds [1229–1233] 46, 75, 87

Pre-publication copy

death 91
Richard de la More, bishop of Winchester [1280–quas. 1282] 194
Richard de Morins, canon of Merton Abbey, prior of Dunstable [1202–1242] xvii-viii, xxxii-iii, 4
made prior 5, 21, 30, 32, 38, 49, 70, 71, 73, 78–80, 81, 90, 103, 107, 108, 208
Richard de Ware, abbot of Westminster [1258–1283], treasurer [1280–1283] 145, 209
Richard Grant, archbishop of Canterbury [1229–1231] 76, 83, 84
Richard Gravesend, archdeacon of Northampton, bishop of Lincoln [1258–1279], bishop of London [1280–1303] 145, 147, 151, 152, 154, 162, 167, 172, 176, 177, 182, 184, 185, 190
death 194
Richard Gravesend, archdeacon of Northampton, bishop of London [1280–1303] 194
Richard I, king of England [1189–1199] 5 n.3, 35, 68, 218, 226–7
death 3
Richard le Gras, prior of Hurley, abbot of Evesham [1236–1242] 98, 104
Richard Marsh, bishop of Durham [1217–1226], chancellor [1214–1226] 17, 35, 39
death 64
Richard of Barking, abbot of Westminster [1222–d.1246] 46, 48
death 118
Richard of Hederington, prebendary of Aylesbury [1290–1309] 171, 246
Richard of St Frideswide, archdeacon of Lincoln [1290–1299] 246
Richard of Tyvelesford, prior of Kenilworth [1279–1292] 233
Richard of Wendover, bishop of Rochester [1238–1250] 110
Richard Poore, bishop of Chichester [1215–1217], bishop of Salisbury [1217–1228], bishop of Durham [1228–1237] 20, 25, 35, 39, 50, 70, 75
death 98
Richard Renger, mayor of London [1222–1226] 48
Richard Siward, mercenary [d. 1248] 273
Richard Swinfield, bishop of Hereford [el.1282, cons.1283–1317] 199
Richard Walida, prior of Wymondley [1247/8–?1252] 121
Richard, abbot of Selby, abbot of Ramsey [1214–1216] 17
Richard, abbot of Woburn [?1208–dep. 1234] 70, 88, 94
Richard, earl of Cornwall, king of Germany [b.1209–d.1272] 59, 60, 63, 67, 92, 103, 104, 111, 114, 118, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 137, 142, 152, 160, 161, 170
birth 8
death 175
elected king of Germany 139
Richard, prior of Bradwell [?1220/5–?dep./res.1236] 97
Richard, prior of Huntingdon [1237–1256] 123
Richard, vicar of Steppingley 33, 122
Richmond 99
riot, Dunstable 188
London 48, 154
Oxford 71, 100
Paris 62–3
robbery 37, 46, 60, 68, 69, 113, 133, 145, 152, 153, 155, 158, 159, 160, 163, 170, 171, 173, 174, 181, 182, 183, 200, 207, 211, 226, 233, 252, 256, 257, 264, 268
Robert Bingham, bishop of Salisbury [el.1228, cons.1229–1246] 70, 75
death 117
Robert Braybrooke, justiciar and sheriff [1168–1210] 11
Robert Burnell, bishop of Bath [1275–1292], chancellor [1274–1292] 192, 199, 239, 243, 248
death 253
Robert de Courçon, Roman cardinal, chancellor of the University of Paris [d. 1219] 29 n.5
Robert de Courcy, ambassador to France 18
Robert de Dreux II, [1154–d.1218] 18
Robert de Dreux III [1185–1234] 94
Robert de Ferrers, earl of Derby [1239–1279] 155
Robert fitz Walter [d. 1235] 4, 12, 30
Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln [1235–1253] 95, 97, 98, 100, 102, 104, 105, 108, 110, 114, 115, 116, 118, 123, 124, 125, 129, 134
Robert II, bishop of Waterford [el. 1210–1223] 38
Robert Kilwardby, archbishop of Canterbury [1273–1278] 175, 182, 185, 190, 191
death 193
Robert Lindsey, abbot of Peterborough [1214–1222] 17, 46
Robert Martivals, prior of Launde, Leic. [1236–1252] 128
Robert of Battle, abbot of St Augustine, Canterbury [1225/6–1253] 83
Robert of Bedford, bishop of Lismore [el.1218–1223] 28, 30, 38
Robert of Hailes, archdeacon of Lincoln [1223–1238] 72, 89, 101
Robert of Hardres, archdeacon of Huntingdon [?1192–?1207] 6

Pre-publication copy

Robert of Hendred, abbot of Abingdon [1221–1234] 94
Robert of Holy Island, bishop of Durham [1274–1283] 205
Robert of Melun, abbot of Malmesbury [1189/90–1205] 8
Robert of Osney, prior of St Gregory, Canterbury [1213–c.1215] 17
Robert of Reading, abbot of Ramsey [1202–1206] 8
Robert of York, bishop of Ely [quas. 1219] 30
Robert Passelewe, bishop of Chichester [el. and quas. 1244], treasurer of the exchequer [d.1252] 56, 69, 91, 92, 98, 113
death 128
Robert Quincy, crusader 99
Robert Walrand, judge [d. 1273] 168
Robert Wickhampton, bishop of Salisbury [1274–d. 1284] 214
Robert Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury [1294–1313] 265, 271, 274, 275
Rochester 131, 159, 227
bridge 197
castle 22, 159
seige of 21, 160
Rockingham castle 33
Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, marshal of England [1245–1269] 18, 89, 115, 144
Roger Black, bishop of London [1229–1241] 75, 82, 87, 90, 93, 103
Roger Clifford [c.1215–1286] 153, 156, 157, 161, 163, 200
Roger de Lacy, baron of Pontefract [1170–1211] 11
Roger de Meyland [Longespee], bishop of Coventry and Lichfield [1258–1295] 139, 192
Roger de Somery, lord of Dudley [c.1190–1273] 168
Roger Leyburne [1215–1271] 153, 156, 157, 159, 161, 162, 163
Roger Mortimer, baron Mortimer [1231–1282] 156, 157, 161, 162, 163, 165, 168, 170, 201
Roger Norreis, abbot of Evesham [c.1190–1213] 8, 15
Roger of Coventry, abbot of Osney [1285–1297] 253, 265, 266
Roger of Fountains, abbot of Woburn [1234–?1241] 95, 107
Roger of Howden 3 n.1
Roger of Rothwell, archdeacon of Bedford [1291–1319] 252, 254, 255, 256
Roger of Saxonhurst, archdeacon of Leicester [1275–1294] 194
Roger of Wendover 5 n.4, 6 n.7 & n.8, 7 n.7, 8 n.1, 9 n.1 & 3, 10 n.1 & 2, 12 n.1, 15 n. 3&4, 16 n.4 &6, 17 n.3, 18 n.6 & 8, 20 n.1 & 2, 21 n.1, 22 n.1, 24 n.5, 25 n.1 & 4, 29 n.1 & 9, 35 n.2, 36 n.2, 37 n.3, 46 n.6, 48 n.1, 52 n.1, 56 n.2, 64 n.1 & 2 & 4, 69 n.2, 71 n.2, 77 n.5, 82 n.1, 83 n. 3&4, 88 n.1 & 5
Roger Parvus, canon of Salisbury, bishop of Bath [1244–1247] 112
Roger Rothwell, archdeacon of Bedford [1291–1319] 252, 256
Roger Turkeby, justice itinerant at Nottingham 119, 120, 127, 128, 141
Roger Weseham, dean of Lincoln, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield [1246–res. 1256] 114, 116, 117, 131, 139
Roger, abbot of Dorchester [?1215–1236] 97
Roger, prior of Sherborne, prior of Burton [1214–1216] 17
Roger, prior of St Neots [?1219–1225] 59
rolls, entry into xxxix, 32, 59, 73, 82, 88, 146, 188, 206, 207, 208, 224, 229, 234, 239, 242, 249, 255
Roman clergy *see under* Italian clergy
Roman curia 135, 137, 140, 143, 167, 171, 191, 192, 195, 196, 199, 220, 231, 233, 249, 265
Romans 72, 96, 105, 147
Rome 4, 6, 17, 21, 35, 36, 39, 45, 49, 50, 56, 58, 67, 70, 71, 73, 74, 87, 90, 96, 105, 106, 107, 112, 132, 141, 260
Rouen 3
round table 194, 214, 263
Runnymede 20
Rustand, papal envoy 136, 137, 138, 141, 147
Ruxox, cell at Flitwick, (Bedfordshire) 5, 11, 121, 124, 137, 141, 172, 173, 195, 206, 224, 225, 232, 248

Sagitta 84
saint 3 n.2, 6, 16, 19, 23, 31, 32, 106, 108, 174, 241
see also pilgrimage
Salisbury 274
cathedral 35
Sandwich 22
saracen 39, 45, 124
Savaric fitz Geldewin, bishop of Bath [1192–1205] 5
Savary de Mauléon, lord of Châtelaillon and Angouleme [1181–1233] 53, 57, 63
Savoyard issues 112–13, 137, 151
school, Dunstable 53
Oxford *see under* Oxford, school
school, Paris 21, 62–3, 83
see also Paris, university
Schykes-Acre windmill 178
Scotland ix, xxiii-xxvi, 8, 74, 83, 84, 250–1, 254, 272–3

Pre-publication copy

scutage 13, 96, 110, 142, 217, 223, 232
seal 27, 47, 62, 70, 125, 164, 165, 198, 251, 274
Second Baron's War 152
Seffrid, bishop of Chichester [1180–1204] 5
Segenhoe (Bedfordshire) xiii, 36, 59, 73, 93, 101, 107, 122, 126, 137, 160, 178, 186, 194, 209, 224, 225, 226, 233, 271
  court 208
  church 33, 108, 250
Seine, river 13
seizure of property *see under* confiscation of property
Selvey castle 33
Sens council 49
settlement (legal) 70, 72, 78, 80, 82, 94, 106, 109, 113, 119, 152, 186
Severn, river 163, 165
Sewell (Bedfordshire) 97, 160, 252
Seyer de Quinci, earl of Winchester [1207–1219] 30, 34
Sharpenhoe (Bedfordshire) 96
sheep xiv, 112, 116, 124, 160, 186, 204, 210, 216, 230, 231, 252
sheriffs 29, 73, 79, 93, 94, 107, 114, 125, 130, 135, 137, 144, 149, 164, 188, 192, 193, 196, 200, 207, 219, 224, 227, 230, 232, 235, 237, 238, 252, 255, 267, 268, 274, 276
  change of 182
  inspection of 12
Shillington 206
shipwreck 20, 64
Shortgrave (Bedfordshire) xiii, 8, 118, 129, 132, 138, 142, 145, 167, 207, 276
  enclosure 181, 187, 254
  woods 181, 229
Shrewsbury xlv, 191, 206, 208
Sicily xxix, 50, 77, 137–8, 216
Sidon 72
Silvester Everdon, bishop of Carlisle [1247–1254] 117, 127, 128
  death 130
Silvester of Evesham, bishop of Worcester [1216–1218] 23
Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester [1240–1271] 'the younger' 158, 159, 166, 179
Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester [c. 1208–1265] 'the Earl' 85, 103, 104, 127, 133, 139, 144, 145, 148, 150, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 165, 166, 171, 173
Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester [c. 1175–1218] 11
  death 16, 28, 34
Simon fitz Robert, bishop of Chichester [1204–1207] 6
Simon Langton, archdeacon of Canterbury [1227–1248] 26, 69
Simon Luton, abbot of Bury St Edmunds [1257–1279] 140, 193
Simon of Apulia, dean of York, bishop of Exeter [1214–d.1223] 18, 23
  death 49, 53
Simon of Eaton, cellarer of Dunstable, prior of Dunstable [1263–1274] xix, 135, 136, 151, 152, 156, 159, 167, 170, 175, 183, 258
Simon the Chamberlain, abbot of Reading [1213–1226] 15, 17
  death 64
Simon Wauton, bishop of Norwich [1258–1266] 140
Simon, prior of St Frideswide [1195–res. 1228] 73
Sleaford castle 3
Snowdon xxii, 116, 189, 190, 201, 202, 214, 261, 262
Snowdonia 10 n.3
South Houghton 187
Southampton 63, 218
Southwark 156
  Great Fire of, 18
Spain 75, 261
St Albans x, 4, 145, 159, 266, 270
St Denis, Paris 50
St James of Compostela 40
St Jean of Angely castle 53, 57
St James de Beuvron castle 89
St Neots 185, 190, 233
St Omer 14
St Paul's, London 19, 22, 32, 38, 82, 100, 105, 118, 147, 154, 155, 199, 264, 274
  cemetery 101
St Peter's church 105
Stamford xii, 87, 124, 134
Stanbridge 73
Stanley abbey 174
Statutes of Westminster 147 n.4, 228
Stephen Bersted, bishop of Chichester [1262–1287] 162, 167
  death 231
Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury [1207–1228] 13, 14, 19, 21, 31, 32, 35, 45, 46, 50, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 69
  consecrated 6
  death 70, 73
  peace negotiations 8
Stephen Lexington, abbot of Stanley [c.1221–1229], abbot of Savigny [1229–1243], abbot of Clairvaux [1243–?1256] 39, 76
Stephen of Vienne, archdeacon of Canterbury [?1248–1269] 131

Pre-publication copy

Stephen Ridel, chancellor of Ireland [1189–?1219] 12
Stephen Segrave, chief justiciar of England [1232–1234] 27, 69, 70, 79, 80, 88, 91, 92, 98, 103
Stephen, prior of Newenham [1254–1264] 132
Stephen, prior of Winchester, abbot of Burton [1214–res. 1214] 15
Steppingley (Bedfordshire) xix, 122, 125, 136, 185, 198
Stocking 172
Stogursey castle 55
Stoke Hammond (Buckinghamshire) xiii, 116, 118, 122, 124, 137, 142, 191, 215, 221, 243
Stopsley (Bedfordshire) 105, 107
storm 21, 46, 157
Stowe 15, 182
Studham (Bedfordshire) xiii, 118, 124, 129, 134, 146, 151, 180, 192, 226, 232
  church 28, 32, 178, 225, 250
    dedication 30
Studley 133
subsidy 129, 261, 264, 274, 276
  (*see also* tax)
suit *see under* lawsuit
Sullington church 149
Sundon (Bedfordshire) 122, 132, 175
  church 106, 113
Sutri 105
Sutton Regis 218
Swanbourne (Buckinghamshire) 128–9
synod 67, 274, 275
Syria 72, 77

taking the cross 33, 36, 37, 40, 72, 74, 127, 156
Tannis 36
tax 6, 9, 11, 14, 23, 32, 39, 59, 61, 74, 78–82, 88, 100, 105, 106, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 121, 122, 129, 135, 180, 184, 185, 187, 197, 202, 203, 206, 207, 208, 221, 224, 246, 250, 259, 264, 274, 275–6
  plough 3, 34, 54
  scutage 13, 96, 110, 142, 217, 223, 232
  shield xxvii, 13, 115
  tenth 83, 130, 131, 135, 161, 169, 173, 177, 180, 183, 184, 185, 189, 195, 203, 246, 249, 250, 261, 262
  twentieth 27, 29, 34, 40, 128, 176, 178, 206
Tebworth (Bedfordshire) 190, 224–5
Templars 6, 18, 36 n.2, 50, 55, 72, 74, 77, 85, 114, 124, 249
Thame 253
Thames, river x, 154
Thanet, isle of 21
Thenford (Bedfordshire) 219
Theobald IV, Count of Champagne [1201–1253] 65, 66, 75, 76, 102
Theobald of Valoines [d.1225] 59
Theodore II Kopas, patriarch of Constantinople [1214–1216] 20
Thomas Bek, bishop of St David's [1280–1293] 195
Thomas Blundeville, bishop of Norwich [1226–1236] 64, 84
  death 98
Thomas Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford [1275–1282] 199, 231
Thomas de Forz, earl of Aumale [1253–?1274] 173
Thomas de Wllst, prior of Merton [1218–1222] 28
Thomas fitz Thomas, mayor of London [1261–1264] 154
Thomas Ingoldsthorpe, dean of St Paul's, bishop of Rochester [1283–d.1291] 173, 205, 215
Thomas of Marlborough, abbot of Evesham [1230–1236] 90, 98
Thomas Pavy, prior of Coventry [1280–1294] 196
Thomas Vipont, bishop of Carlisle [1255–1256] 133
Thomas Wallensis, bishop of St David's [1248–1255] 135
Thomas, abbot of St James at Northampton [1205–1220] 34
Thomas, count of Perche [1195–1217] 24
Thomas, prior of Dunstable [1176–res. 1202] 5
Thorney 100
Thorpe mill (Derbyshire) 109
Tironensian order 11 n.7
Tissington 49, 67
tithe 32, 38, 47, 63, 67, 72, 74, 83, 95, 106, 127, 135, 136, 138, 139, 172, 180, 184, 192, 196, 198, 204, 215, 216, 223, 230, 252, 253, 254, 256, 263, 272
Toddington 88, 94, 257–8, 266
  church 37, 264
toll 5 n., 31, 80, 175, 197, 220, 226, 241, 246, 248, 256, 276
Tonbridge castle 83
Totternhoe (Bedfordshire) ix, xiii, 8 n.8, 33, 108, 142, 178, 200, 225, 226, 233, 234–5, 238, 250, 256
Toulouse 34
tournament xii-xiii, 26, 33, 87, 149, 151, 165, 193, 195, 196, 214, 241, 254, 255, 263
Tours 69
Tower of David 102
traitor 23, 52, 92, 269, 271
translation (of saint) xxxix, 26, 32, 82, 117, 174, 195

Pre-publication copy

treachery 12, 43, 40, 45, 72, 242–3, 254
treason 56, 62
treasure 30, 59, 63, 70, 73, 247, 264
Treaty of Lambeth 12 n.5, 26
Treaty of Paris 146
treaty, peace 3, 17 n.3, 18, 23, 30, 45, 53, 67, 146
see also truce
Trent, river 170, 182, 200, 272
Troyes 56, 69
truce 18, 30, 42, 43, 45, 50. 51, 53, 58, 63, 67, 72, 77, 84, 85, 92, 96, 102, 158, 250
Turin 72, 96
Tutbury castle 140, 159
Tynemouth priory 254

Urban IV, pope [1261–1264] 151

vacancy 8 n.5, 15, 49 n.5, 63, 73, 100, 101, 110, 131, 147, 182, 190, 195, 199, 200, 229, 232, 233, 253, 264, 266
Vaux 65
Venice 49
Verona 49
Vexin 3
Vezelay 227
vision 11, 103
visitation xxxix-xl, 31, 71, 73, 76, 89–90, 97, 100, 103, 104, 110, 116, 118, 123, 125, 128, 128, 129, 131, 183, 184, 190, 194, 195, 214, 215, 232, 233
Viterbo 96, 105, 179

Wadlow (nr Toddington) xiii,88, 94, 101, 110, 111, 113, 122, 124, 150, 188, 214, 224, 257, 266
Wales ix, xx-xxiii, 7, 10, 51, 71, 83, 84, 85, 92, 93, 104, 116, 134, 140, 184, 189–90, 202, 203, 205, 207, 214, 231, 232, 262, 265, 273
conquered 216, 217, 263
Edward I's invasion 262
Statute of Wales 209
Wallingford (Oxfordshire) 20, 161, 188
meeting at 15, 17
Walter Bronescombe, bishop of Exeter [1258–1280] 168
Walter Cadingdon, prior of Caldwell [el. 1249–res. 1272] 123, 176
Walter Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester [1237–1266] 76, 99, 102, 108, 130, 158, 162
Walter de Chauvertune, prior of Newenham [1247–1254] 119, 123
death 132
Walter de Gray, bishop of Worcester [1214–1215], archbishop of York [1216–1255] 9, 15, 18, 26, 31, 35, 37, 67, 109, 132
death 135
Walter de la Wyle, bishop of Salisbury [1263–1271] 162
Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath [c. 1172–1241] 10, 52, 92
Walter de Nismes, marshal of France 24
Walter Giffard, bishop of Bath, chancellor [1265–1266], archbishop of York [1266–1279] 162, 168, 169, 182
death 193
Walter Langton, treasurer of the wardrobe, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield [1296–1321] 270, 271
Walter Loring, abbot of Malmesbury [1208–1222] 47
Walter Mauclerc, bishop of Carlisle [1223–1246] 67, 90, 93, 117
Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen [1184–1207] 8
Walter of Coventry xli, 19 n.5 & 7, 37 n.5, 53 n.3, 56 n.2
Walter of Merton, bishop of Rochester [1274–1277], chancellor [1261–1263] 191
Walter of Wilton, canon of Dunstable, prior of Cold Norton [1236–?1254] 97
Walter Raleigh, bishop of Winchester [1244–1250] 125
Walter Scammel, dean of Salisbury, bishop of Salisbury [1284–1286] 214, 215
Walter Suffield, bishop of Norwich [1245–1257] 125, 132
Walter, prior of Kenilworth [1204–?1232] 7, 17
Walter, prior of Merton [1198–1218] 46
Walter, prior of Newenham [1240–1247] 119
Waltham 52
Wardon abbey 27, 122, 125
Warin de Bassingbourne [d. 1269] 168
Warwick castle 168
Waverley annals 10 n.4 & 5, 46 n. 4&6, 88 n.5, 100 n.1, 101 n.5, 107 n.3, 109 n.3, 153 n.8, 166 n.1, 171 n.2, 175 n.2, 214 n. 1,2&3, 233 n.6, 241 n.1
weather 10, 12, 13, 21, 36, 46, 49, 50, 63, 65, 82, 144, 157, 180, 193, 196, 197, 210, 217, 231, 232, 233, 261, 262, 263, 267
Welsh xx–xxiii, xxv, xxvii, 10, 11, 19, 22, 26 n.3, 35 n.2, 50–3, 116, 138, 140, 155, 158, 170, 179, 200–3, 214, 217, 231, 254, 261–3, 269–70, 273
(Welshmen *see under* Welsh)
West Woburn 39
Westcheap 10, 147, 215
Westminster 3, 4 (council of), 27, 31, 48 (church), 78, 79, 82, 84, 97, 113, 126, 127, 131, 141, 149, 152, 162 (clergy meeting), 165, 174 (abbey, rebuild), 176 (Henry III buried), 182 (Ed I coronation), 198, 206, 207, 220, 227, 228, 234, 237 (parliament), 245, 247 (burial of queen), 266, 267

Pre-publication copy

Westoning (Bedfordshire) 220, 224
Whitchurch 201
white monks *see under* Cistercian order
Wigford 25
William Beauchamp, earl of Warwick [b. 1240–1298] 56, 132, 133, 137, 148, 151, 159
William Bitton I, bishop of Bath [1248–1264] 141
William Bodrugan, the archdeacon of Cornwall [1295–1307] 276
William Brewer, bishop of Exeter [1224–1244] 72, 108
William Cantilupe II, Sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire [d,1251] 125
William Cantilupe III, lord of Abergavenny [d. 1254] 8, 54, 64, 80, 109, 115, 133
death 125, 134
William Cornhill, bishop of Coventry [el. 1214–res. 1223] 20, 46, 48, 53
William d'Aubigny, earl of Arundel [c. 1180–1221] 30, 38
William d'Aubigny, earl of Arundel [c. 1203–1224] 57
William de Braose [d.1230] 83
William de Braose, lord of Bramber [d. 1211] 7
William de Braose, the younger [d. 1210] 10
William de Bréauté [d. 1226] 54
William II de Ferrers, earl of Derby [d.1247] 25, 28
William III de Ferrers, earl of Derby [d.1254] 124–5, 134
William de Forz, count of Aumale [d. 1241] 33, 36–7, 52, 54, 118
William de Humez, prior of Frampton [Dorset]; abbot of Westminster [1214–1222] 17, 19
death 46
William de Joinville, archbishop of Rheims [1219–1226] 32, 65
William de Luteby, archdeacon of Derby [?1238–?1254] 101, 111
William de Mandeville, earl of Essex [?d. 1227] 21, 51
death 66
William de Tothall, prior of the hospital of St John Jerusalem [1297–1318] 276
William de Turville, sheriff of Bedford [1288–1289 and 1291–1292] 218, 248, 252, 255
William de Valence, earl of Pembroke [d. 1296] 118, 144, 158, 161, 247, 271
William Glover, canon of Dunstable, St Frideswide [1236–1249] 97
William I, count of Holland [c. 1167–1222] 12, 14, 18
William II, archbishop of Bordeaux [1207–1227] 59
William III de Ferrers, earl of Derby [c.1192–1254] 25, 28, 46
William Kilkenny, chancellor [1250–1253], bishop of Ely [1255–1256] 132, 139
William le Breton, prior of Dunstable [1274–1280] 181, 182, 183, 186, 187, 188, 189, 191
William London 17, 68, 70, 81, 83
William Longespee, earl of Salisbury [d. 1226] 11, 13, 18, 23, 25, 37, 51, 59, 60
William Lupus, archdeacon of Lincoln [1248–1254] 131
William March, treasurer [1290–1295], bishop of Bath [1293–1302] 244, 253, 270
William Marshal [1146/7–1219] 22, 23, 24, 28
death 30
William Marshal junior [1190–1231] 23, 34, 35, 40, 50, 51, 58, 61, 179
death 83
marriage 57
William Middleton, bishop of Norwich [1278–1288] 206
William of Blois, bishop of Lincoln [1203–1206] 5, 6
William of Godmanchester, abbot of Ramsey [1268–1285] 6 n.6, 185, 216
William of Henley, prior of the hospital of St John of Jerusalem [1280–1288] 231, 241
William of Sainte–Mère–Eglise, bishop of London [cons. 1199–res. 1221] 7, 9, 14, 37
William of Savoy, bishop of Modena [1222–dis. 1233] 77, 112 n.1
William of Spaldwick, abbot of Colchester [1245–1272] 134
William of Trumpington, abbot of St Albans [1214–1235] 19, 95
William of Verney, prior of Grovebury [1256–1260] 146
William of York, bishop Salisbury [1246–1256] 109
William Raleigh, bishop of Norwich [1239–1243], bishop of Winchester [1244–1250] 101, 108, 111–12, 113, 123
William Rous, prior of Newenham, abbot of Newenham [1271–1272/3] 177
William Scot, archdeacon of Worcester [1218–?1226] 67, 70, 102
William Wickwane, archbishop of York [1279–1285] 193, 220
William York, bishop of Salisbury [cons. 1247–d. 1256] 117, 125, 137
William, abbot of Wardon [1223/4–?1234] 88
William, abbot of Welbeck [?1223–?1229] 75
William, archdeacon of Buckingham, bishop of Worcester [1218–1236] 98
William, earl of Warenne [d. 1240] 59

Pre-publication copy

William, king of Scotland [c.1142–1214] 11
William, prior of Caldwell [1229–d.1244] 75, 114
William, prior of Ruislip [1241–1245] 59
William, son of Warin de Bassingbourne 101
Wilsthorpe nr Newark 15
Winchelsea 13, 22
Winchester 22, 84, 112, 144, 145, 198, 229
  Winchester annals 3 n.1, 10 n. 5, 14, 15, 100 n.1, 175 n.2, 179 n.10
Windsor 113, 149, 154, 170
Windsor castle 22, 40, 155, 167
wine 61, 143, 182, 222, 264, 269
Wingfield (Bedfordshire) 101, 122, 124, 130
Wissant 154, 157
Woburn abbey 45, 59, 61, 71, 95, 104, 109, 139, 223
Wodenhale 64
Wolfgar of Ellenbrechtskirchen, patriarch of Aquilegia [1204–1218] 20
wool 110, 112, 132, 134, 152, 176, 179, 189, 204, 215, 253, 264, 269
Worcester 164
  annals of xl-li, 121 n. 1, 151 n.1, 153 n.8, 155 n.2, 166 n.2, 179 n.10, 184 n. 1 & 2, 197 n.2, 198 n.3, 202 n.5, 206 n.4, 232 n.1, 243 n. 1&3, 244 n.5, 246 n.2, 249 n.4, 251 n.1, 260 n.5, 261 n.4, 264 n.2, 270 n.4, 274 n.4
  castle 23
  cathedral 23
Worthing 61, 146
writ xxxvii, 15, 29, 31, 33, 61, 68, 73, 78, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112, 124, 127, 128, 145, 150, 152, 177, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 188, 192, 193, 198, 203, 206, 207, 208, 210, 213, 219, 220, 224, 225, 227, 228, 230, 233, 236, 237, 238, 241, 243, 244, 246, 255, 257, 265, 266, 267, 272, 275
Wycombe 221

Yarmouth 20 n.3, 140, 231
Yolande de Brienne [d. 1228] 49, 104
  death, 72
York 32, 40, 99, 126, 135, 256

Pre-publication copy