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The Lusignans in England, 1247-1258

Harold S. Snellgrove

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IN
ENGLAND,
1247-1258

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THE LUSIGNANS IN ENGLAND, 1247-1258

By

Harold S. Snellgrove

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of contents omitted. Page 19 omitted in numbering

MAPS

ILLUSTRATIONS

PREFACE

This essay had its inception in the summer of 1941. At that time I was about to begin work toward the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of North Carolina. Since I was already working in the Duke University Library that summer and had at my disposal an excellent collection of sources for the history of medieval England, I asked Professor Josiah Cox Russell, then of the University of North Carolina, to suggest a topic upon which I could begin working. Professor Russell pointed out that a study of the family of Henry III might be worth my efforts. During that summer and the succeeding academic year, I combed the Calendars of the Rolls for references to the various members of Henry III's family. But in June, 1942, my work was temporarily at an end: I was summoned for service in the United States Army.

After a four years' absence, I returned to discover that two factors were likely to prevent the completion of this study. Several scholars had become interested in certain phases of my subject, and Professor Russell had left the University of North Carolina to head the Department of History at the University of New Mexico. I was, however, fortunate:

the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico allowed me to follow Professor Russell and resume my work where I had left off; and those scholars who had been actively engaged in research on Henry III and his family had neglected one phase in which I was most interested,--the half-brothers of the house of Lusignan. Thus a work which began as The Family of Henry III became The Lusignans in England: 1247-1258.

I do not claim to have collected and incorporated in this essay every available scrap of evidence which relates to Henry III and his half-brothers. Indeed, in the beginning the purpose of this study proposed to be nothing more than a picture, --a picture of the methods by which a feudal prince rewarded his subjects. As time went on, certain constitutional issues arose. I have tried to point out wherein Henry III violated the charters in rewarding his brothers, but I have not attempted to give a lengthy discussion of this phase of the story. I have, however, reached the conclusion that the monastic chroniclers were not entirely wrong when they attributed the cause of the Barons' War to hatred of the aliens, and more especially, to hatred of the king's brothers. On the other hand, I do not dispute entirely Professor Powicke's opposing point of view. Certainly, there were a number of contributing causes, but the part the aliens played cannot be denied. Indeed, it is rather amazing that the barons waited as long as they did before revolting.

At first glance, it may appear unusual that the works of

many of the outstanding authorities for the period do not appear in the bibliography. An examination of those works will reveal few facts concerning the Lusignan brothers of Henry III; the information which they do include is repetitious. For the most part, this work has been written from primary sources. Since this is the case, several interpretations which I have put on the sources may be subject to criticism and even to re-interpretation by me at a later date.

My debts of gratitude are many. I wish to thank particularly Dr. Dorothy Mackay Quynn, formerly of Duke University and now of Goucher College, who guided my first efforts in graduate work. Her profound knowledge of the Middle Ages and her sympathetic guidance led me into the field of medieval history. I am indebted to the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico for allowing me to complete my graduate work at that institution. Dean France V. Scholes of the Graduate School of the University of New Mexico displayed an interest in this undertaking which exceeded that normally offered by one of his position. I am most happy to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Josiah Cox Russell, one of the most generous and scholarly men I have ever known. If his interest in me or in this study has ever lagged, it has never been evident. I am grateful to the librarians of Duke University, the University of North Carolina, the University of New Mexico, and the Library of Congress. My work was made more pleasant by the courtesy shown me in these institutions. Finally, I wish to acknowledge the

aid of the following, who are my colleagues at Mississippi State College: Professor Mary E. Fontaine, who prepared the maps and Professors Glover Moore, John K. Bettersworth, and Sara K. Woodward, who read the first draft and offered suggestions.

State College, Mississippi H. S. S.
8 January 1948

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.H.R.--American Historical Review.

Ann. de Burton--"Annales de Burton," in volume I of Annales Monastici, ed. by H. R. Luard. London, 1864. (Rolls Series).

Ann. de Theokesberia--"Annales de Theokesberia," in volume I of Annales Monastici, ed. by H. R. Luard. London, 1864. (Rolls Series).

Ann. Monasterii de Oseneia et Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomae Wykes--"Annales Monasterii de Oseneia et Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomae Wykes," in volume IV of Annales Monastici, ed. by H. R. Luard. London, 1869. (Rolls Series).

Ann. de Waverleia--"Annales Monasterii de Waverleia," in volume II of Annales Monastici, ed. by H. R. Luard. London, 1865. (Rolls Series).

Ann. de Wintonia--"Annales Monasterii de Wintonia," in volume II of Annales Monastici, ed. by H. R. Luard. London, 1865. (Rolls Series).

Ann. de Dunstaplia--"Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia," in volume III of Annales Monastici, ed. by H. R. Luard. London, 1866. (Rolls Series).

Ann. de Wigornia--"Annales Prioratus de Wigornia," in volume IV of Annales Monastici, edited by H. R. Luard. London, 1869. (Rolls Series).

B. E. C.--Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes.

Bliss, Papal Letters--Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, ed. by W. H. Bliss and J. A. Twemlow. London, 1893-1902.

C.M.H.--Cambridge Mediaeval History.

C.P.R.--Calendar of the Patent Rolls.

Cal. Inquisitions post Mortem--Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analagous Documents.

Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III--Calendar of the Liberate Rolls.

Charter Rolls--Calendar of the Charter Rolls.

Close Rolls--Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III.

D.N.B.--Dictionary of National Biography.

E.H.R.--English Historical Review.

M.G.H.--Monumenta Germaniae Historica.

Rolls, Ireland--Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland.

Rolls, Scotland--Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland.

T.R.H.S.--Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.

V.C.H.--Victoria County History.

THE LUSIGNANS IN ENGLAND, 1247-1258

CHAPTER I

JEZEBEL

Multi enim Francorum necnon Pictavensium eam inexoribili odio persequebantur, asserentes eam potius impissimam Zezabel quam Ysabel debere nominari....[1]

Now there was not such another as Achab, who was sold to do evil in the sight of the Lord: for his wife Jezabel set him on.[2]

The rumor that King John of England intended to marry a princess of Portugal proved false;[3] for he married instead Isabella of Angoulême, who, even at the time of the ceremony was betrothed to Hugh de Lusignan, Count of La Marche, one of

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[1]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, edited by H. R. Luard, 7 volumes (London, 1872-1883), IV, 253. (Rolls Series) "For many French and Poitevins followed her with inexorable hatred, asserting that she ought to be called Jezebel rather than Isabella."

[2]3 Kings, 22:25 (Douai Version)

[3]William Stubbs, editor, The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London, 2 volumes (London, 1876), II, 170. (Rolls Series) Ralph de Diceto claimed that John was so impressed by the reputation of the Portuguese princess that he sent William, bishop of Lisieux, William de l'Etang, Raoul d'Ardenne, and Hubert de Burgh to demand her hand in marriage. Kate Norgate, John Lackland (London, 1902), pp. 76-77 is of the opinion that John's gestures toward the Portuguese court were merely a hoax.

TABLE I

THE FAMILY OF KING JOHN AND ISABELLA OF ANGOULEME**

John
b. 24 Dec. 1167
d. 18/19 Oct. 1216

m. 1. Isabella of Gloucester, 29 Aug. 1189
2. Isabella of Angouleme, 24 Aug. 1200

Henry III	Richard	Joan	Isabella	Eleanor
b. 1 Oct. 1207 d. 16 Nov. 1272 acc. 28 Oct. 1216 m. Eleanor of Provence, Jan., 1236	b. 6 Jan. 1209 d. 2 Apr. 1272 d. Earl of Cornwall, 13 Feb. 1225 c. King of Romans, Jan., 1257 m. Isabella of Gloucester, 1231 m. Sanchia of Provence, 1243	b. 22 July 1210 d. 4 Mar. 1238 m. Alexander II of Scotland, 19 June 1221	b. 1214 d. 1 Dec. 1241 m. Emp. Frederick II, 1235	b. 1215 d. May, 1275 m. 1. William Marshal, the Younger, 1224 m. 2. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, 1239.

**F.M. Powicke, Ch. Johnson, and W. J. Harte, Handbook of British Chronology (London, 1939), pp. 36-37.

John's vassals.[4] John reaped the fruits of his treachery, for the powerful Lusignan family formed with Philip Augustus an alliance which culminated in John's loss of both possessions and prestige on the continent.[5]

Contemporary writers depict both John and Isabella in the most unfavorable light.[6] Strangely enough the children of this union did not exhibit the characteristics which made their parents so unpopular with their contemporaries. Even though the children can scarcely be said to have been outstanding characters, on the whole they "were respectable and

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[4]This Hugh, "who was the ninth of that name, came into possession of the county of La Marche before 1190. But in 1200 he declared himself against King John who had kidnapped his fiancee. He left for Damietta in 1218 and died there in 1219." For these skeleton facts, see L. Delisle, "Mémoire sur une lettre inédité addresée à la reine Blanche par un habitant de la Rochelle," B.E.C., 4th Series, II(1856), 539. See also Roger de Hoveden, Chronica, edited by William Stubbs, 4 volumes (London, 1871), IV, 120 (Rolls Series) and H. G. Richardson, "The Marriage and Coronation of Isabella of Angoulême," E.H.R., LXI(1946), 296 who states: "It is of some importance to establish that it was the elder Hugh le Brun, styled Count of La Marche and not his son of the same name, who was affianced." Cf. also footnotes 15 and 17.

[5]Kate Norgate, John Lackland, pp. 73-117.

[6]Despite the denunciations of the medieval annalists compare J. C. Russell and J. P. Heironimus, The Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches Relating to England (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), p. 59 (The Mediaeval Academy of America: Studies and Documents). This work includes a rather interesting poem in which appears the amusing suggestion that although the royal couple have been separated here on earth (after John's death), one day they will meet in heaven. 'tu patre, tu matre felix es. Dissociavit/ hos fers mors, sed eos ‹rursus› Deus associabit.'

goodnatured."[7] These children, who appear from time to time in this story, were five in number: Henry, Richard, Joan, Isabella, and Eleanor.[8] Henry, whom the poet Dante described as being "of simple life and plain", [9] became king after John's death; Richard, earl of Cornwall and later King of the Romans, was the wealthiest man in England; Joan married Alexander II of Scotland; and Eleanor was first married to William Marshal, the younger, and, after his death, to Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. Isabella became the wife of Emperor Frederick II.[10]

After John's death on October 19, 1216, it is apparent that Isabella's position in England was none too happy; for in February, 1217, Pope Honorius III ordered the bishops of Chichester, Bath, and Exeter "to restrain those who molest the widow of the late king as to her goods."[11] Perhaps this situation helped influence the widowed queen in the decision to desert her children and return to her ancestral home at Angoulême; but it is no doubt true, as Professor Powicke points out, that neither Isabella herself nor anybody else could imagine her as the advisor of her son and the colleague of men like the great justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, and the distinguished cardinal and

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[7]F. G. Bagshawe, The History of the Royal Family, 2 volumes (London, n. d.), I, 91.

[8]See Table I, p. 2.

[9]Dante Aligheri, The Divine Comedy and The New Life, edited with introduction and notes by Oscar Kuhns (New York, 1925), Purgatory, VII:131.

[10]See Table I, p. 2.

[11]Bliss, Papal Letters, I, 44.

archbishop, Stephen Langton.[12] Whatever may have been the cause for her abandoning England, on July 24, 1217, Henry III wrote to his Poitevin subjects that because of the great desire which his mother expressed to see her native land again he would not prevent her return. And he requested that they receive her with the honor due her rank and that they allow her to enjoy her dowry in their parts.[13] Tradition has it that she was received with great joy in Angoulême.[14]

In 1214 King John had seen an opportunity of appeasing the Lusignan family for his earlier treachery by giving his daughter, Joan, in marriage to Hugh de Lusignan, the son of the man whom he had betrayed.[15] Accordingly, the young girl was dispatched to Lusignan, where she was to remain under the surveillance of the Lusignan family until she was of marriageable age.[16]

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[12] F. W. Powicke, King Henry III and the Lord Edward, the Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century, 2 volumes (Oxford, 1947), I, 172. Hereafter cited Powicke, Henry III.

[13] C.P.R., 1216-1225, p. 113. 'Cum autem sit summum et precipuum domine regine, matri nostre, desiderium, natale solum hactenus ab ea non visitatum vel respicere, nec possimus vel velimus quod moleste ferimus propositum et affectum in partes suas se transferendi impedire, vel voluntate sue indecenter obviare, cui in omnibus ad honorem suum et nostrum parati sumus et erimus, recessusque suus a nobis fastidium nobis pariat et dolorem;...'

[14] J.-H. Michon, editor, Histoire de l'Angoumois par Vigier de la Pele (Paris, 1846), Introduction, p. xxvi and p. 28.

[15] L. Delisle and H. G. Richardson (as cited in footnote 4 above) are of this opinion. See also my references in footnote 17 infra.

[16] G. R. Stephens, "The Early Life of Joan Makepeace," Speculum, XX(1945), 304.

From
S. R. Gardiner, A Student's History of England, From the Earliest Times to the Death of King Edward VII, new edition, (London, 1910)

From
Pere d'Orleans, Histoire des Revolutions d'Angleterre, 3 vols. (Haye, 1719)

But fate intervened and prevented the marriage. After Isabella returned to Angoulême, Hugh shifted his interest from Joan to her mother; and in 1220 he and Isabella were married.[17] Following the ceremony, Isabella wrote Henry III, giving reasons

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[17]Whether Isabella married her former fiancé or his son has been an issue among generations of scholars. J.-H. Michon, op. cit., p. xxvi; D.N.B., X, 500; T. F. Tout, The History of England from the Accession of Henry III to the Death of Edward III (1216-1377) (London, 1905), 35; F. M. Powicke, "England: Richard and John," C.M.H., VI, 251 and such recent writers as G. R. Stephens in Speculum, XX(1945), 304 and Frank R. Lewis, "William de Valence (c. 1230-1296)," Aberystwyth Studies, XIII (1934), 11 believe that Isabella returned to France and married her former fiancé. L. Delisle in B.E.C., 4th Series, II(1856), 539 claims that "Hugh IX prit possession du comité de la Marche avant 1190,... Il se déclara en 1200, contre Jean sans Terre, qui lui avait enlevé Isabelle d'Angoulême, sa fiancée. Après avoir servi Philippe-Auguste pendant quatorze années environ, il se réconcillia, le 25 mai 1214 avec le roi d'Angleterre, dont la fille, nomée Jeanne, fut fiancée à Hugue son fils. Il partit pour Damiette en 1218, et y mourut en 1219. Il avait épousé Mathilde, fille de Vulgrin, comte d'Angoulême, laquelle vivait encore au mois d'août 1233.... Il fut père de Hugue X." H. G. Richardson (See footnote 4 above.) is of the same opinion. But both historians have overlooked what seems to me to be the most conclusive evidence: a letter of Gregory IX, dated June 1235, in which he commanded "the archbishop of Tours, the bishop of Chartres, and Master Peter de Columpton, canon of Chartres, to inquire and clarify the pope touching a reported marriage of the Count of La Marche with queen Isabella, notwithstanding a contract of marriage made by his father with the said queen, and a contract of marriage by him with her daughter." This letter is given by Bliss, Papal Letters, I, 146 as being in Regesta, Vol. XVIII, 9 Gregory IX. See also "Fragmenta," in M. Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, XVIII, 799 which reads: '...mortuo Hugone lo Bru apud Damiatam, Hugo lo Bru junior, filius ejusdem, fit Comes de la Marcha et Engolismensis, sumpta in conjugio Regina Anglorum quae vocabatur Helizabeth, et repudiata filia ipsius (Joanna), quam nunquam cognoverat. Civitas Engolismensis comitem non habuerat ab anno MCII, quo Ademarus Comes obiit apud Lemovicam..., qui praecedente anno dederat filiam suam in conjugio Johanni Regi Anglorum, et tulerat eam Hugoni lo Bru, qui postea obiit a Damiata.'

for this action.[18] After the deaths of the counts of Angoulême and La Marche, Hugh de Lusignan remained alone and without heirs. His friends would not permit his marrying Joan because of her tender years. Indeed, they not only advised him to marry one who could give him heirs but also recommended that he take a French wife. Fearing that such a marriage would cause Henry loss of lands in Poitou and Gascony, Isabella herself had married Hugh. She further excused herself by exclaiming: "God knows that I did this more for your own good than for mine!" After asking Henry to show consideration to his stepfather, Isabella begged him to hand over to her husband his right to Niort, the castles of Exeter and Rockingham, and the 3,500 marks which King John had left to her. She ended by advising her son to send for his sister, Joan, whenever he wished. In reply to this announcement, Henry congratulated his mother and asked that Joan be returned.[19] But much wrangling ensued before Joan was sent back to England.

Since Isabella had remarried without consulting the king or his council, her jointure was withheld.[20] As a result, when Joldewin de Doe and Ralph Gernon were sent to La Rochelle to fetch Joan, they found that her parents had no intention of

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[18] M. Champollion-Figeac, editor, Lettres des Rois, Reines et Autres Personnages des cours de France et d'Angleterre depuis Louis VII jusqu'à Henri IV, 2 volumes (Paris, 1839), I, 27-28.

[19] T. Rymer, editor, Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, new edition, 4 volumes in 7 (London, 1816-1869), I, i, 160. See also G. R. Stephens in Speculum, XX(1945), 305.

[20] G. R. Stephens in Speculum, XX(1945), 305. Jointure is an estate settled on a wife in lieu of dowry.

giving her up until Isabella's properties were restored.[21] This action caused consternation in England, and strenuous efforts were taken to force Isabella and Hugh to return the child: she was needed for a marriage alliance with the troublesome Alexander II of Scotland.[22] After Henry could get no results from his own correspondence with his mother and step-father, on June 20, 1220, he explained the situation to Pope Honorius III and asked that the bishops of Saintonge and Limoges and the dean of Bordeaux be allowed to intercede and, if necessary, use the spiritual sword against Hugh. Duplicates of this letter were sent to the cardinals and to other prelates of the Roman church.[23]

Honorius complied with this request: on September 25, 1220, he advised the Count of La Marche that the bishops of Saintonge and Limoges and the dean of Bordeaux were in receipt of his letters, giving them authority to use excommunication and the interdict if Joan, the city of Saintes, and the island

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[21] C.P.R., 1216-1225, p. 233 and Rymer, Foedera, I, i, 160.

[22] D.N.B., X, 500 and Rolls, Scotland, I, 134,138,139,142.

[23] "Epistolarum Honorii Papae III Lib. IV," in M. Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, XIX, 697. '...quatenus scribere velitis domino Xanctoniensi et domino Lemovicensi episcopis, et decano Burdegalensi, ut, monitione praemissa, nisi condescenderit ad restituendam nobis dictam sororem nostram, spirituali gladio Hugonem compellant.' The version in C.P.R., 1216-1225, dated June 20, 1220, reads slightly differently, but the meaning is the same: 'Et rogamus vos ut scribatur super hoc Xanctoniensi et Limovicensi episcopis, et decano Burdegalensi ut nisi, monicione premissa, illam nobis curaverit resistuere ad id per censuram ecclesiasticam rite compellatur.'

of Oléron, and other lands and possessions were not returned to the King of England.[24] And on the same day the pope admonished Isabella, expressing his astonishment that she had imprisoned Henry's steward and was holding him and other hostages for ransom.[25]

Obviously the altercation had reached its climax in October; for on the fifth of that month Henry ordered the castle of Berkhamsted with its appurtenances and all of the lands that were of his mother's dowry to be handed over to Hugh de Nazia, the knight of Hugh de Lusignan.[26] On the following day, Henry urged his step-father to accompany Joan to England. If this were impossible, Hugh was to deliver her to John Russell, Ralph Gernon, and Geoffrey de Craucumb, or two of them if the three could not meet at the same time.[27] The next month Hugh delivered Joan to Henry's messengers, whom he met near La Rochelle. In a letter telling Henry of this event, Hugh explained that illness prevented his accompanying Joan to England.

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[24] Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, XIX, 709-710 and A. Potthast, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, 2 volumes (Berlin, 1874), I, 556.

[25] Bliss, Papal Letters, I, 77 and Potthast, Regesta, I, 556.

[26] C.P.R., 1216-1225, p. 254.

[27] Ibid., p. 255. '...veniat ad dominum regem in Angliam, et adducat secum sororem domini regis, et si eam secum ducere non poterit, tunc liberet eam in villa Rupelle Johanni Russell, Radulfo Gernum, et Godefrido de Craucumb, vel duobus ex illis, si ipsi tres simul esse non possunt.'

Indeed, he regretted that because of ill-health he had not, with the permission of Henry's agents, been able to take her first by the court of Louis IX, king of France. In closing, he promised to honor whatever seneschal Henry should send to Poitou.[28]

Difficulties with his mother and step-father troubled the young king for several years.[29] Finally, however, a truce was concluded between them in the year 1226.[30] For their "homage and faithful service," Henry conceded to Hugh, Isabella, and their heirs Saintonge and the city of Saintes, Pons, as much of the forest of Baconeys as belonged to him, the city of Angoulême and the county of Angoumois, the castles of Merpins and Cognac, and the fief held by Ichier de Maynac at Montmorillon. He also conceded that Hugh's money of Angoulême and La Marche should have an equal exchange with the king's Poitevin money, if it was of equal value and price. In addition, he gave Hugh the privilege of acquiring lands and fiefs in Poitou, provided he did so legally.[31]

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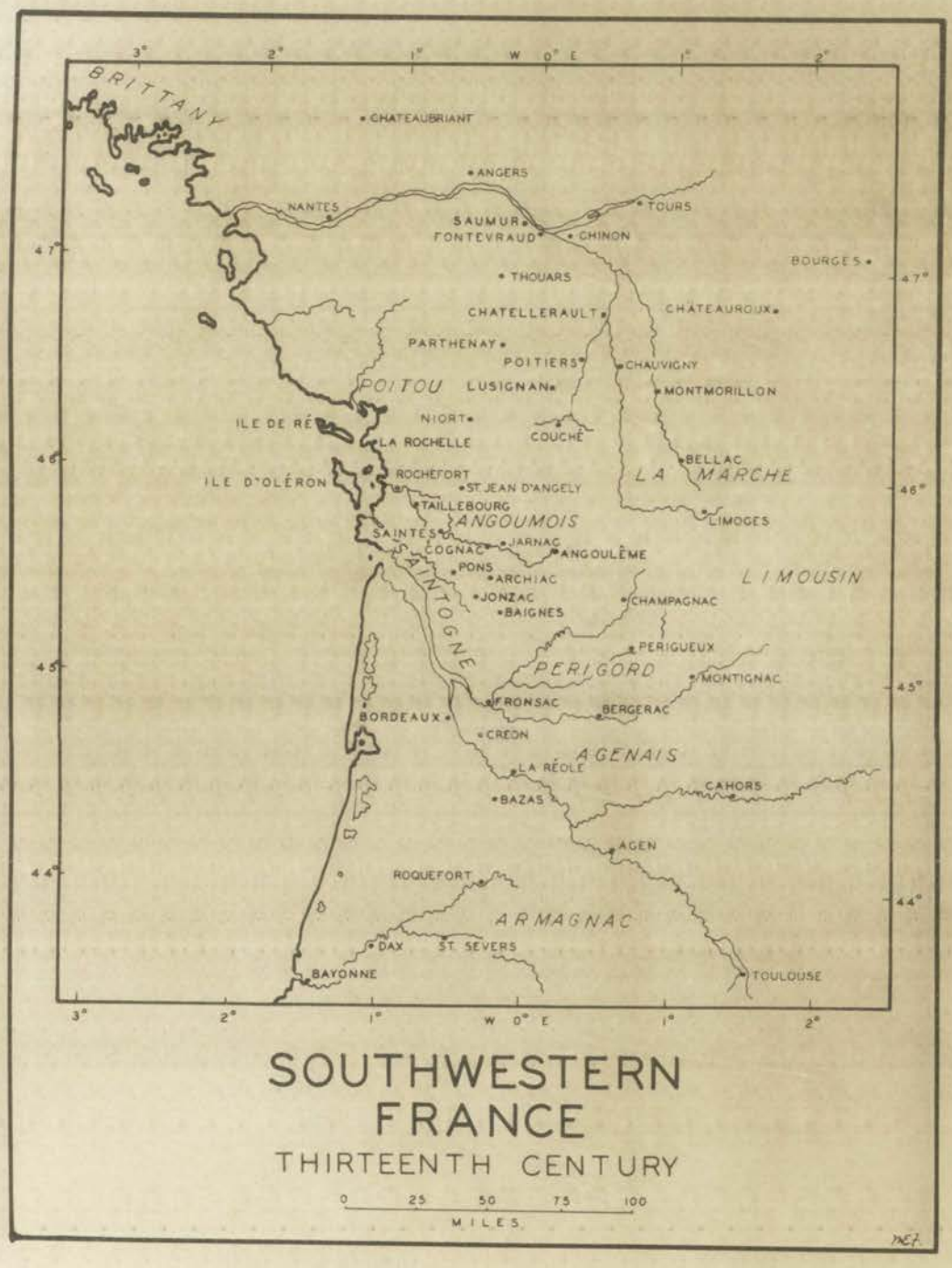
[28]W. W. Shirley, Royal and other Historical Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III, 2 volumes (London, 1862-1866), I, 158. (Rolls Series). Hereafter cited Shirley, Royal Letters.

[29]See the letter of Honorius to Hugh and Isabella, dated June 25, 1222 in Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, XIX, 726; the letter of Honorius to William, archbishop of Poitou, dated July 5, 1222 in Ibid., pp. 727-728; and the letter of Honorius to the bishops of Saintes and Limoges, dated August 2, 1224 in Ibid., p. 757.

[30]The fact that Henry III was now beginning to assume the authority in his kingdom may be partially responsible for this truce.

[31]Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, XIX, 769.



SOUTHWESTERN FRANCE

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Despite the marks of generosity which Henry III bestowed upon the Count and Countess of La Marche, they never hesitated to desert him during a crisis. A detailed study of the fluctuation of their loyalty between Henry III and Louis IX is scarcely essential here in view of Professor Powicke's recent treatment of Henry III and Poitou.[32] It suffices to point out one of their outstanding treacheries toward their son,--that of the Poitevin campaign of 1242-1243.

The events leading up to this undertaking are interesting and throw much light on the character of Henry's mother, who was never able to forget that she had been a queen. At Saumur on June 24, 1241, Louis IX knighted his brother Alphonse and in the following month invested him with the county of Poitou.[33] Disgruntled though the Count of La Marche was, he swore fealty to the newly-created count and later received Louis IX and Alphonse at his ancestral castle of Lusignan. These two acts enraged the Countess-Queen Isabella.[34]

Shortly thereafter, the French court was advised that the powerful lords of Poitou, under the leadership of the Count of La Marche, were conspiring against the new count.[35] The one

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[32]Powicke, Henry III, I, 156-206.

[33]Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III, already held the title of Count of Poitou from the King of England. See N. Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall (Oxford, 1947), p. 184. For Alphonse's investiture see Powicke, Henry III, I, 156-206.

[34]Powicke, Henry III, I, 188 and M. Guizot, Saint Louis and Calvin, English translation (London, 1879), p. 28.

[35]L. Delisle in B.E.C., 4th Series, II(1856), 513-555.

most responsible for this conspiracy was Isabella, who, enraged at her husband's display of weakness, had packed her belongings at Lusignan and set out for Angoulême. Two days later, Hugh followed her, but Isabella would not see him. For three days he ate and slept in a building in front of the castle. When at last Isabella admitted him to her presence, she is reported to have upbraided her husband as follows:

> "Meanest of every living soul! Did you not see what happened at Poitiers, where I waited for three days to satisfy your king and queen? When I entered their chamber, the king was sitting on one side of the bed and the queen with the Countess of Chartres and her sister, the Abbess, on the other. They didn't even speak to me or ask me to sit with them. And they did it on purpose, just to shame me in front of all those people.... Neither at my arrival nor at my departure did they rise, putting me to shame, as you must have seen. I can scarcely speak of it; I shall die of it. It is even worse than the loss of our lands, which they have taken from us. But so help me God, they shall repent for this. Either they shall be made to suffer, or they shall forfeit their own lands. If I lose everything I have, I shall die in this attempt."
>
> The Count, seeing her in tears, replied: "Madam, tell me what to do. I shall do all I can; you know that."
>
> "If you do not," she said, "you shall never sleep in my bed again, nor will I ever lay eyes on you again."[36]

The Count of La Marche kept his promise. At Christmas he brought his plot into the open by declaring himself against Alphonse. The next several months were spent in making preparations for the forthcoming campaign and in persuading

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[36] L. Delisle in B.E.C., 4th Series, II(1856), 513-555. The above account is based on a letter from a citizen of Bordeaux to Queen Blanche.

Henry III to join the Poitevin coalition. According to the agreement which they reached, Henry would furnish the money; Gascony and Poitou would supply the soldiers. On May 9 Henry sailed from Portsmouth, accompanied by his brother, Richard, several earls, and 300 knights.[37]

Between April and July Louis succeeded in capturing all of Poitou. In July he "advanced to the Charente and occupied Taillebourg,"[38] and on the 21st of that month the Anglo-Gascon army moved up to prevent Louis' crossing the river. According to Matthew Paris, Henry's soldiers were thrown into confusion by the apparent strength of their opponents.[39] It is also reported that Henry himself was startled and inquired of the Count of La Marche:

> "Father, where is your promise now? While we were in England, your messengers promised us that you were prepared to furnish us with as many troops as were necessary. You further promised that we could easily overcome the French king and that we were asked for nothing but money."
> The Count: "I never did that."
> Richard: "Indeed! I have right now in this army your letter-patent concerning this."
> The Count: "Neither did I write or sign it."
> Henry: "What's that you say, father? Didn't you often send to me, urging me to come and chiding me for delaying?"
> The Count, with a violent oath: "Never did I do that. Your mother is the one who is responsible." And swearing again, he said: "God is my witness, she plotted all those things."[40]

When Richard learned of the trickery which his mother had employed to get aid from Henry, he threw down his arms and

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[37] Tout, History of England, 1216-1377, pp. 62-63.

[38] Ibid., p. 63.

[39] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, IV, 211. Cf. Henry's letter to Emperor Frederick II in Close Rolls, 1237-1242, pp. 530-32.

[40] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, IV, 211.

made his way over to the French camp in hopes of securing a truce. His request was granted by Louis IX, who received him cordially.[41] The brief truce allowed Henry time to reach Saintes. On the day following Henry's arrival, Louis moved against the town, and the two armies engaged in battle. Although the Anglo-Gascons fought bravely, they were no match for the French. And Henry, deserted by the Count of La Marche and the other Poitevin allies, fled toward Bordeaux. The battle was over.[42]

Three of the sons of the Count of La Marche accompanied their father in this campaign: Hugh, Guy, and Geoffrey. After the battle of Saintes, the younger Hugh presented himself to Louis IX to treat for peace. He agreed to the provision that all of the lands conquered from the Count of La Marche, his wife, and children would remain in the custody of the French king. Young Hugh was then held as a hostage until the next day, when the Count of La Marche came to ratify the agreement. The count, accompanied by his wife, Guy, and Geoffrey, knelt before Louis and cried: "Pardon us, calm your wrath and resentment; have pity on us. We realize that we have acted with malice and pride." Moved by pity, Louis had the group rise and pardoned them. Then the count and his family swore their loyalty and promised to do the services which accompanied their fiefs.[43]

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[41]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, IV, 211.

[42]Close Rolls, 1237-1242, pp. 532-33. See also Tout, History of England, 1216-1377, pp. 63-64.

[43]Johannis Longi Chronica S. Bertini," M.G.H., Scriptores, XXV, 838-839 and "Vincentii Bellovacensis Memoriale Omnium Temporum," M.G.H., Scriptores, XXIV, 162.

If an account by Guillaume de Nangis be true, Louis' forgiveness of the Lusignans makes him worthy of the title of saint. At some time during the campaign, Isabella, convinced that her husband would never triumph, is said to have attempted a perfidious stratagem of her own: she had two of her male serfs brought before her and promised them rich rewards if they would poison the king of France. Indeed, she vouched that she would make them knights in case of success. After they agreed to undertake this infamous mission, the countess gave them a vial of poison which they were to use for contaminating the French king's food.[44]

The two serfs, disguised as mendicants, departed. When they reached the French army, they approached the kitchens and remained there so long that the cooks became suspicious. Finally, the suspects were surprised in the act of pouring poison into a plate destined for the royal table. They were seized and carried before the king. On being asked what should be done with the culprits, the king declared that they should receive the same present that they had brought him. Forthwith they were put to death. When the Countess of La Marche learned this, she was infuriated. She seized a dagger, so the story goes, and would have killed herself had she not been prevented. Indeed, her wrath was of such violence that she fell ill.[45]

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[44] G. de Nangis, Vie et Vertus de Saint Louis, edited by René de Lespinasse (Paris, 1877), 58-59.

[45] Loc. cit.

It has already been pointed out that Henry fled to Bordeaux after the battle of Saintes. One of his outstanding acts of generosity to his mother and her husband was accomplished before he left the continent. Despite the fact that they had betrayed him so abominably in the recent campaign, on September 8 Henry, with the consent of his brother, Richard, and his sisters, Isabella and Eleanor, handed over to his mother, his step-father, and their children certain French possessions. Included in this donation were his rights in the city and county of Angoulême; in the castles and lordships of Jarnac, Cognac, and Merpins; in the castle and commune of Saintes; in the castle of Canne; in the great fief of Aunis; in the island of Oléron; and in La Marche, Mosterolio, and Bouny. He confirmed whatever the count and countess held in the archbishoprics of Bourges, Limoges, Périgord, Angoulême, Saintonge, and in the diocese of Poitou. All of these they could hold as long as they held them peacefully and rendered homage to him and his successors.[46]

In 1243 the Count of La Marche, deserted by the King of England and despised by the King of France, was publicly accused of certain crimes by one of the knights of Louis IX. When the Count denied his guilt, the French knight challenged him to a duel. The result would prove whether he was innocent or not. The eldest son of the count was greatly disturbed when he learned of this and asked to be allowed to defend the honor of

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[46]Champollion-Figeac, op. cit., I, 63-64.

his father. "It would," he is said to have exclaimed, "be inhuman for one of such authority and age to engage in a duel." But the Count of Poitou objected. Thus, after the day and place had been set, all departed.[47]

When the story of the duel had spread, many of the more sensible Frenchmen realized the implications involved. If the Count of La Marche succumbed in a duel, it would be at the hands of the French; and his sons would not rest until his death had been avenged. Fearful of the blood and strife that would follow, they succeeded in calming the troubled waters.[48]

In the meanwhile, informed of the proposed duel and hounded by a critical public opinion, Isabella retired to the convent at Fontevraud, where she died three years later.[49] "As penance for her sins, she desired to be buried humbly in a common cemetery at Fontevraud." Some years later, Henry III had her body placed alongside those of her ancestors.[50]

The enmity of the Count of La Marche and Saint Louis seems to have "disappeared after the death of Isabella," for the count and his eldest son were members of Louis' crusade which left France in 1246.[51] At Damietta in 1249, Hugh de Lusignan, Count of La Marche and Angoulême, fell, fighting alongside his

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[47]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, IV, 252-254.

[48]Loc. cit. [49]Loc. cit.

[50]Agnes Strickland, Lives of the Queens of England, revised edition, 6 volumes (London, 1910-1911), I, 243.

[51]Loc. cit.

former enemy, Alphonse, Count of Poitou.[52]

Although it would be difficult to authenticate with several contemporary sources many of the crimes and misdeeds attributed to Isabella of Angoulême, one fact stands out in bold relief: public opinion was against her. Certainly, all of the reports which tend to prove that she was a termagant cannot be malicious lies. Matthew Paris claims that the French and the Poitevins called her Jezebel. The citizen of Bordeaux described her to Queen Blanche of France as being a shrew, a blasphemer, and an inciter of rebellion. Guillaume de Nangis accused her of being guilty of attempted murder. Pope Honorius III expressed surprise that she should treat her own son in the manner in which she did. And the letters which she herself wrote to Henry III depict her as greedy, selfish, and arrogant. Isabella has been called the Helen of the Middle Ages;[53] it seems that she was also the Jezebel. Several factors may have contributed to Isabella's mental attitude: she was apparently unhappy in her marital relations with King John; she was persecuted by the English; she could not forget the fact that she had been queen of England; and she was no doubt fearful of the future for her Lusignan brood of children. It seems likely that the grasping, termagantish character of the mother greatly influenced the Lusignan children who descended upon England in 1247.

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[52] Flores Historiarum, II, 363; Jean de Joinville, Histoire de Saint Louis, edited by Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1874), p. 62; Gui A. Lobineau, Histoire de Bretagne, 2 volumes (Paris, 1707), I, 248-249.

[53] G. R. Stephens in Speculum, XX(1945), 304, n. 8.

CHAPTER II

THE ROYAL WELCOME

Applicuerunt etiam temporis tres fratres domini regis uterini in Anglia in eodem portu, scilicet apud Doveram, Guido de Lezinnum, miles, et Willelmus de Valencia, non adhuc miles factus, et Aelmarus clericus, ex mandato domini regis vocati; et praeter hos Aelesia soror eorum, videlicet soror ejusdem domini regis uterina, puella nondum maritata;..[1]

In addition to the five children which she bore by King John, Isabella of Angouleme had nine children by Hugh de Lusignan, Count of La Marche,--Hugh le Brun, Guy de Lusignan, Geoffrey de Lusignan, William de Valence, Aymer de Valence, Isabella, Margaret, Agatha, and Alice. Although an estimated date of birth for several of these children could be given, in most cases such an effort would be mere speculation. It is interesting to note, however, that the intervals between their birthdays could scarcely have exceeded a year if we are to believe that Aymer was barely twenty-three at the time of his election to the bishopric of Winchester in 1250.[2]

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[1] Flores Historiarum, II, 338. "At that time three uterine brothers of the king arrived in England at the same port; that is, at Dover: Guy de Lusignan, a knight, and William de Valence, not yet made a knight, and Aymer, a clerk, summoned by an order of the lord king; and besides these Alice, their sister, evidently uterine sister of the same lord king, a girl not yet married;..."

[2] Ann. de Waverleia, p. 344. On July 30, 1255 Alexander IV "permitted Aymer to defer his consecration on the plea that he was not yet thirty years of age,..."(F.A. Gasquet, Henry III and the Church (London, 1910), p. 324, citing Registres d'Alexandre IV, i, no. 686. See the same in Bliss, Papal Letters, I, 321.) See Table II, p. 18.

TABLE II

THE FAMILY OF HUGH DE LUSIGNAN AND ISABELLA D'ANGOULEME

Hugh de Lusignan m. 1220 Isabella d'Angouleme

Hugh, Count of Angoulême and La Marche m. Yolande, daughter of Peter of Dreux, Duke of Brittany	Guy, Lord of Cognac	Geoffrey, Lord of Ste-Hermine and Jarnac m. Joan, daughter of John, viscount of Châtellerault	William de Valence m. Joan de Muntchenesy, co-heiress of the Pembroke lands	Aymer, bishop-elect of Winchester, d. 1261	Isabella m. (1) Geoffrey de Rancon, Lord of Taillebourg (2) Maurice de Craon (Croun)	Margaret m. (1) Raymond VII of Toulouse (annuled in 1245) (2) Aimeric, viscount of Thouars (3) Geoffrey de Châteaubriand	Alice m. 1247 John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey. d. 1256	Agatha m. William de Chaveney. lord of Châteauroux

The ever-present realization that these nine children had to be provided for evidently caused Hugh and Isabella much worry and was obviously a contributing factor to the evil disposition of the latter. Even before Isabella entered the convent of Fontevraud, she and Hugh had made their will. Hugh, the first-born son, was to inherit the counties of Angoumois and La Marche, the monies of those counties, and the rest of their lands not assigned to the other children. Guy, the second son, was to have Cognac, Merpins, Archiac, and Libourne (Leborleriam). To Geoffrey should go the castles of Jarnac and Sainte-Hermine, the woods of Pinerelli, and all lordship and all homage from Baignes to the woods of Pinerelli. William de Valence was to inherit Montignac, Bellac, Rancon, and Champagnac; and Aymer, the youngest boy, should have Cohet. Hugh, the future count, was bound by the will to pay Isabella and Margaret a yearly income of 200 livres Tours and to Agatha 100 livres. Alice, the youngest daughter, seems to have been overlooked.[3]

Of this brood, six seem to have been married in France before 1247. In 1238 Hugh was married to Yolande, daughter of Peter of Dreux, Duke of Brittany.[4] On June 30, 1242, Henry III announced to Raymond VII, count of Toulouse, that he would try to bring about a marriage between him and his sister, Margaret.[5]

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[3]Michon, op. cit., Introduction, p. xxix and Champollion-Figeac, op. cit., I, 70-71.

[4]"Chronicon Hanoniense," M.G.H., Scriptores, XXV, 436.

[5]C.P.R., 1232-1247, p. 310.

Although the marriage was celebrated, it was annuled by the pope in 1243 on the grounds of consanguinity.[6] Her second and third husbands were Aimeric, viscount of Thouars, and Geoffrey, lord of Chateaubriand.[7] Isabella was married first to Geoffrey de Rancon, lord of Taillebourg, and after his death to Maurice de Craon.[8] Agatha was the wife of William de Chaveney, lord of Chateauroux.[9] Geoffrey, the third son, received as his bride Joan, daughter of John, viscount of Chatellerault.[10] And although it is obvious that Guy was married during this same period, the name of his wife is not known.[11] Of the three who remained unmarried, William and Alice were destined for brilliant marriages in England; and Aymer, a mere youth, was to follow a career in the church.

Although Hugh, Margaret, Isabella, and Agatha were fairly adequately provided for in France, Guy, Geoffrey, William, Aymer, and Alice had little to hope for in view of the

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[6]Dom C. Devic and Dom J. Vaissete, Histoire Generale de Languedoc, 15 volumes (Toulouse, 1872-1892), VIII, 1176-1177.

[7]Delisle in B.E.C., 4th Series, II(1856), 541.

[8]Roles Gascons, edited by F. Michel and C. Bemont, 3 volumes, and supplement (Paris, 1885-1906), I, 140. Collection de Documents in edits.

[9]C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 283 and Champollion-Figeac, op. cit., I, 71.

[10]Michon, op. cit., Introduction, p. xxxii. Joan was alive in 1275, for a patent reads: 'Grant to Joan, lady of Jarnac, late the wife of Geoffrey de Leziniaco, the king's (Edward I) uncle....' (C.P.R., 1272-1281, p. 99)

[11]Had Guy not been married in 1247, I feel sure that Henry would have found for him a wealthy heiress, as he did in the case of William.

increasing weight of French supremacy which resulted from the rebellion of the Count of La Marche in 1242-1243. Thus, after their mother died in 1246 and after their father decided to accompany Saint Louis on a crusade to the Holy Land, four of the latter group eagerly accepted the invitation of their brother, Henry III, to come to England. Geoffrey, the other member of this group, was to follow later.

When Guy, William, Aymer, and Alice landed at Dover in 1247, Henry showered them with kisses and embraces and promised them riches.[12] One of Henry's greatest cares was to find suitable marriages for William de Valence and Alice. In this respect he was fortunate, for at that time two important marriages were available. In August, 1247, William was married to Joan de Muntchenesy, the great-grand-daughter of William Marshal, earl of Pembroke.[13] Alice became the wife of John de Warenne, heir to the earldom of Surrey.[14] At one stroke the penniless brother and sister took their places among the most important nobles of the kingdom. No wonder many Englishmen

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[12]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, IV, 627-628; Flores Historiarum, II, 338; De Antiquis Legibus Liber, Chronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum, edited by Thomas Stapleton (London, 1859), p. 38. The Camden Society; and Lewis in Aberystwyth Studies, XIII(1934), 17.

[13]Flores Historiarum, II, 339; Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, IV, 628-629; and Lewis in Aberystwyth Studies, XIII (1934), 17.

[14]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, IV, 628-629 and Close Rolls, 1242-1247, p. 529.

who had held hopes of increasing their own prestige or that of their houses were sorely grieved.[15]

The aesthetic Henry was at his best in arranging magnificent spectacles. Since William was not a knight, the early part of October, 1247 was passed in making preparation for his knighting on the Feast of Saint Edward. The king advised his treasurer, Peter Chacepore, to furnish all things necessary for William and for those of William's companions who would be knighted along with him.[16] In addition, Henry gave to William forty-two dishes and twelve saucers of silver which were to be used at the banquet following the ceremony.[17] Further evidence of the importance which Henry attached to the occasion are the letters which he sent to all of his nobles, summoning them to be present for the event.[18]

When the day arrived, the great chronicler, Matthew Paris, was present and was ordered by the king to write up the ceremony. Henry, it appears, was lavishly attired in clothes made of cloth of gold. Westminster Abbey, the scene of the event, was no

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[15]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 5-7 claims that in the Parliament of February 9, 1248 Henry was rebuked for marrying the nobles of the kingdom to foreigners of low birth, "thereby despising and putting aside his natural-born subjects."

[16]Close Rolls, 1242-1247, pp. 539-540.

[17]Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 147.

[18]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, IV, 640.

less spectacular. From his throne, Henry ordered William and the other young men to come forward. All were adorned with the trappings of knighthood, and all were dubbed knights. Following the ceremony, both lay and clerical nobles, as well as others, enjoyed the sumptuous banquet which was served in the refectory of the monastery.[19]

Such pageantry was revolting to the English barony, who, from the very beginning, displayed a spirit of hostility to the king's beggarly brothers. Indeed, so unpopular had William and Guy become by the latter part of 1247 that important nobles attempted to engage them in tournaments. But Henry, afraid that they might be massacred because of their unpopularity, forbade the tournaments.[20] For like reasons, he put a stop to similar encounters in 1248 and in 1249.[21]

Although Geoffrey had not accompanied his brothers and sister when they came to England, he must have arrived prior to December 16, 1247; for on that date Henry III ordered William Hardel and William de Plessitis to supply Geoffrey and Geoffrey's four knights and twelve attendants with new robes.[22] And Matthew Paris claims that Henry literally showered riches upon Geoffrey when he arrived.[23]

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[19] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, IV, 640, 644-645 and Flores Historiarum, II, 344.

[20] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, IV, 649 and 633. See also V.C.H., Bedford, II, 29.

[21] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 17-18, 54-55, and 83.

[22] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 17.

[23] Matthew Paris, Historia Anglorum, sive ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor, edited by F. Madden, 3 volumes (London, 1866-1869), III, 26 (Rolls Series).

Henry did not forget Aymer and Guy. To Aymer he gave so many ecclesiastical appointments that, according to Matthew Paris, the boy appeared to be wealthier than bishops and archbishops.[24] Later events seem to prove that from the beginning Henry had in mind the highest ecclesiastical appointments for Aymer. To prepare him for these positions, Henry enrolled him in the schools at Oxford. By May 8, 1247, Aymer was already a student [25] under the tutelage of Master Vincent of Tours.[26] Obviously the master was satisfactory, for on several occasions the king ordered the sheriff of Oxford to grant money to Master Vincent out of the issues of the county.[27]

Despite the fact that Aymer was provided amply with benefices, on February 6, 1248, Henry ordered the sheriff of Essex to pay his brother two hundred marks "out of the amercements of the eyre in that county to maintain himself in the schools."[28] Evidently the two hundred marks did not go very far, or Aymer was banking his money; for two months later Henry gave to Aymer's landlord ten pounds for rent which Aymer owed.[29] From time to

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[24]Matthew Paris, Historia Anglorum, III, 26 and Chronica Majora, IV, 650.

[25]Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 121.

[26]C.P.R., 1232-1247, p. 503 and Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 121.

[27]Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 151.

[28]Ibid., p. 167.

[29]Ibid., p. 174. For a further discussion of this landlord and Aymer's dwelling see Chapter V infra.

time, Aymer also received gifts of firewood and wine.[30]

No doubt Henry's generosity to his brother proved very trying to the citizens of Oxford as well as to the students. On several occasions the king advised the sheriff of Oxford to take over the city "on account of the transgression which the men of the city made against Aymer."[31] Indeed, it appears that the king would tolerate no insult, or reported insult, either to his brother or to any of his brother's servants. Thus one may feel reasonably sure that the inhabitants of the city, the students, and the university officials were delighted when the king's brother left their midst.

As has been pointed out, Guy de Lusignan was probably already married when he came to England in 1247. It seems that one of the main reasons for his coming was to make arrangements for his crusade to the Holy Land. On January 5, 1247, Henry sent a gift of money to Herbert de Gwaret, who was to accompany Guy.[32] This grant initiated a series of monetary gifts and loans which will be analyzed more completely in a discussion of the financial relations between Henry and his half-brothers.[33]

Prior to September, 1247, either through Guy's urging or of his own accord, Henry asked Pope Innocent IV to allow the

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[30] Ibid., pp. 158, 170, 172, 275 and Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 23. See also Chapter VI infra.

[31] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, pp. 4, 25-26, 294.

[32] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, p. 326.

[33] See Chapter III infra.

crusaders of England to depart a year after those of France and to permit his brother, Guy de Lusignan, "son of the count of La Marche, who is subject of the king of France, ... (to) lead them, though he is bound by oath to sail with the French." In reply, the pope advised Henry that he could not do this but that he had asked Louis IX, king of France, to allow the English to sail separately under Guy's jurisdiction.[34] It would appear, however, that Louis refused and that Guy sailed with the French in August, 1248; for during the early months of 1248, he seems to have been dashing back and forth between France and England, making his preparations.[35]

Whereas William, Aymer, and Alice took up residence in England, "Guy and Geoffrey vibrated between England and the continent, departing loaded with gifts and returning empty for more."[36] Several examples are rather interesting. At some time in 1247, Matthew Paris claims that when Guy left England, "his saddle bags were so heavily laden with new money that he had to increase the number of his horses."[37] On May 3, 1247, William de Whitsand was paid "9 1/2 marks to find transport for Guy... to the king in England."[38] In January of the following year, the sheriff of Kent was ordered "to find all things needful for Guy de Lezinan ..., so long as he... (was) at the

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[34] Bliss, Papal Letters, I, 248.

[35] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 159, 166, 167.

[36] O. H. Richardson, The National Movement in the Reign of Henry III and its Culmination in the Barons' War (New York, 1897), p. 78.

[37] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, IV, 650.

[38] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 126.

port of Dover in order to cross the sea homewards, and likewise to pay his passage."[39] One month later, the same sheriff was advised to furnish "27£, 4 shillings, and 10 pence...for the expenses and passage homewards of Guy de Lezinan..., and 6£ 10 shillings for the passage of Geoffrey de Lezinan...when coming to England."[40]

After Guy returned from the Holy Land, he again made his way to England. On January 9, 1251, Henry ordered the sheriff of Kent to pay William de Whitsand twenty marks out of the issues of his county "in recompense of the honours which he lately showed to the king's brother Guy ... at his arrival at Whitsand on his way to England."[41] Guy must have left England in January, for four days after the above liberate was issued the sheriff of Kent was ordered to provide passage homewards for Guy and his family.[42] I am unable to say whether this is the trip to which Matthew Paris refers when he says that after returning from the Holy Land, Guy came into England penniless, borrowed horses from the Abbot of Faversham, and repaid the abbot's kindness by not returning the horses,[43] but it is entirely possible that it was. At any rate, Guy evidently filled his pockets and returned to Poitou somewhere about that time,

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[39] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 159.

[40] Ibid., p. 167.

[41] Ibid., p. 326.

[42] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 399.

[43] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 204-205.

for again in 1251 he sailed from Whitsand in the company of Simon de Montfort and Eleanor, his brother-in-law and half-sister. When Henry learned of their arrival at Dover, he hastened to meet Guy and smothered him with affection. Simon and Eleanor, it seems, were scarcely noticed. Again, says the chronicler, Guy was laden with money.[44]

No doubt the transportation of the king's brothers proved as lucrative to William de Whitsand and other officials of the French ports as it proved burdensome to the English. It is small wonder, then, that Simon de Montfort "was welcomed by the knights of Kent and the men of the Cinque Ports" on July 9, 1263.[45]

Despite the fact that Henry made William de Valence one of the greatest and wealthiest nobles in England, the latter seems to have given his brother considerable trouble between November, 1251, and February, 1252; for the constables of Dover, Gravesend, and other ports were ordered to guard their ports so that William and his family could not cross into France.[46] Or could it be that Henry was afraid of losing the one brother who delighted him more than the others?

There can be no doubt that Henry III loved his family dearly. The Rolls abound in letters and orders which prove that he showered favors not only on his brother and sisters

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[44]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 204-205.

[45]Powicke, Henry III, II, 439.

[46]Close Rolls, 1251-1253, p. 191 '...quod taliter custodiant portus predictos quod W. de Valencia frater regis et sua familia nullo modo possint transfretari.'

but upon his half-brothers and sisters as well. Richard, Joan, Isabella, and Eleanor appear, for the most part, not to have taken undue advantage of their brother's generous nature. Those of the Poitevin brood, however, who made their way to England in 1247, seem to have goaded him beyond measure. Strangely enough, he did not lose his patience with them and continued to lavish upon them money, lands, wardships, marriages, and other emoluments until his own treasury was empty and the spirits of his English nobility had been strained to the breaking point. A study of the extent of these awards will tend to show that the English nobles were justified in their hatred of the king's Poitevin relatives.

CHAPTER III

FINANCIAL AFFAIRS[1]

Dominus rex fratres suos uterinos egregie ditavit.[2]

Although it would be virtually impossible to follow in detail the tortuous course of Henry III's financial relations with his half-brothers, a study of the nature of his pecuniary donations to them not only shows the methods employed by a feudal prince in rewarding his subjects but also gives an indication as to why his treasury was so frequently empty.[3]

Between Easter 1247 and Easter 1258, the king's income was about £365,281. The highest annual income during these years is considered to have been around £22,694; the lowest, £21,825.

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[1]The monetary designations employed in this chapter are pounds and marks. The mark was equivalent to two-thirds of a pound; and the pound, in thirteenth century England, was equivalent to about 250 American dollars today.

[2]John de Oxenedes, Chronica, edited by H. Ellis (London, 1859). (Rolls Series). "The lord king enriched his uterine brothers lavishly."

[3]The reading of this chapter should bear witness to this fact.

Thus the yearly average would be around £36,500.[4] Because of the many different methods employed in rewarding the Lusignans, it would be difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy the percentage of the king's income which found its way into their hands. The yearly fees which William, Guy, and Geoffrey received at the Exchequer totaled £1,400.[5] In addition to this amount, the innumerable miscellaneous gifts in money, which the king bestowed upon all four brothers, certainly must have raised the sum total much higher. The references in the Rolls could probably be utilized in making some sort of statistical analysis; but such references as "Henry literally showered riches upon Geoffrey" and "the king filled Guy's saddle bags with money" would leave the computation far from accurate. Thus it seems more practicable to point out the nature of the awards and to indicate the difficulties which beset Henry in carrying them out.

Five years prior to the arrival of the half-brothers in

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[4]These figures are based on J. H. Ramsay, The Revenues of the Kings of England, 2 volumes (Oxford, 1925), I, 363, Table XII. Cf. R. Fawtier, "L'Histoire Financière d'Angleterre au Moyen Age (A Propos de Quelques Travaux Récents)," Le Moyen-Age, Series II, XXIX(1928), 63 and R. J. Whitwell, "The Revenue and Expenditure of England under Henry III," E.H.R., XVIII(1903), 710-711. See also Powicke, Henry III, I, 304-305. Although Professor Powicke's observation that "the solid normal basis of the king's finances before 1258 was sound" (p.305) may be fundamentally correct, a study of the Rolls will certainly give the impression that Henry III was frequently hard-pressed and unable to meet his financial obligations on time.

[5]See footnotes 6, 7, and 8 infra.

England, Henry provided two of them with yearly incomes.[6] At Tonnay on June 28, 1242, he knighted Guy and Geoffrey and then granted to each of them and their lawful heirs 300 marks (£200) yearly to be paid at the Exchequer in England or at the king's wardrobe, if the king should be overseas. The payments were to be of 130 marks (£100) twice yearly.[7] In both cases the fees were to be paid until the king provided for the brothers in wardships, escheats, or other land to the value of the grants.

But after the disgraceful Poitevin campaign of 1242-1243, Henry returned to England and promptly neglected his obligations. Thus when Guy and Geoffrey came to England five years later, their grants had to be renewed: Guy's by a patent of May 26, 1247, and Geoffrey's by one of December of the same year.[8] To William de Valence Henry was more liberal than he was to either of the other two brothers: on July 31, 1247, William was assigned £500 a year to be held "by the service of two knights' fees" and another £500 to be held until he was provided "in an equivalent of land."[9] After William's marriage, these grants were

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[6]On July 4, 1242, Henry provided a third brother, Hugh, with 400 marks yearly (C.P.R., 1232-1247, p. 311); and this grant was renewed on January 5, 1249 (C.P.R., 1247-1258, p.35). Here, however, it suffices to consider those of the Poitevin brothers who came to England in 1247.

[7]C.P.R., 1232-1247, p. 309 and Rôles Gascons, I, 42.

[8]C.P.R., 1232-1247, p. 502 and C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 3.

[9]C.P.R., 1232-1247, pp. 505-506.

confirmed to include his heirs; and Henry further stipulated that he would "give no land to any other person until the said William or his heirs ... [had been] satisfied of the £500 saving his covenants with his brother R[ichard] earl of Cornwall."[10] As lands were granted, deductions were to be made from this second grant of £500.[11]

The annual stipends which Henry settled on his Lusignan brothers caused him many difficulties. Frequently he was unable to meet the payments at Michaelmas and Easter, and the fees were constantly in arrears.[12] Back payments were made from time to time in piece-meal fashion.[13] Occasionally, however, a lump sum was given at the Exchequer to cover the present period and some back term.[14] When the debts were settled, a notation was sometimes entered on the liberate to the effect that nothing remained "due ... for past terms."[15] On occasion, the king would borrow from one brother to pay another.[16] And despite

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[10] C.P.R., 1232-1247, pp. 508-509.

[11] Loc. cit.

[12] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 165,181,331,365,369, 357,378,208,227,256-257,347; C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp. 530,301, 576,100,98,552; Rolls, Ireland, II, 476; and Rôles Gascons, I, 465.

[13] Consult almost any of the citations in footnote 12 above.

[14] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 165,181,208,227,283, 307,378.

[15] Ibid., pp. 209,256-257,287.

[16] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 40.

the fact that the yearly fee was to have been paid at the Exchequer, except when the king was overseas, the method was not always followed: on June 28, 1251, Robert de Sicklinghall, treasurer of the New Temple, London, was ordered to pay Geoffrey de Lusignan for the arrears of his yearly fee the 300 marks which the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk had delivered;[17] and in August, 1257, the sheriff of Lincoln was advised to pay 220 marks, 6 shillings, and 8 pence "out of the issues of his county, or out of the amercements of the justices last in eyre in ... [those] parts, to William de Valencia, the king's brother, ... for arrears of his yearly fee...."[18] But "this procedure of getting money from the sheriffs simply prevented money from coming into the Exchequer and merely postponed the king's financial troubles."[19]

As has been indicated above, when Henry III settled upon Guy and Geoffrey their yearly incomes, he specified that they would receive their payments in money until he provided them with wardships, escheats, or other lands of equal value. William de Valence's grant differed from the other two in that

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[17] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 100; Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 460.

[18] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 576. For the financial duties of the medieval English sheriff, see William A. Morris, The Medieval English Sheriff to 1300 (Manchester, 1927); Mabel H. Mills, "Adventure Vice-comitum, 1258-1272," E.H.R., XXXVI(1921), 481-496; and Chalfant Robinson, editor, The Memoranda Roll of the King's Remembrancer For Michaelmas 1230--Trinity 1231 (Princeton, 1933), Introduction, pp. xv-xix. (Pipe Roll Society).

[19] I am indebted to Professor J. C. Russell for this observation.

he was to receive yearly an out-and-out gift of £500 in addition to the £500 grant which was to be handled in a manner similar to the grants of Guy and Geoffrey.[20] Deductions from the cash payments were to be made for the wardships, escheats, and lands which were granted.[21]

In all three cases, Henry followed the procedure which he had outlined. On January 8, 1251, he granted to Guy, in lieu of his fee, "the manors of Gerdele, Blowenham, Limminge, and Lydgate with wards, escheats, and advowsons of churches if any [should] fall [vacant] ... by reason of the king's wardship of the land and heir of Henry de Hastinges ... to hold during the minority of the heir."[22] Three years later, when the ward was approaching his majority, Henry III assigned Guy and his heirs "£300 yearly of the waste lands of Ireland, if Edward the King's son, to whom the king ... [had] granted the land of Ireland, ... [would] grant it,..."[23] If, however, Edward would not carry out his father's wishes, Guy was to receive at the Exchequer his £200 with an increment of £100 a year.[24]

On January 25, 1251, other manors of the same wardship were added to pay Geoffrey's yearly stipend.[25] The grant was confirmed by June of the following year.[26] Much more

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[20]See footnotes 8 and 9 above.

[21]Loc. cit.

[22]C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 83.

[23]Ibid., p. 282.

[24]Loc. cit.

[25]Ibid., p. 86.

[26]C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 140.

complicated, however, was the case of William de Valence. Considering the facts that Henry was continuously behind in his payments and that a number of small and large deductions had to be made for manors and wardships, William's receipts nearly always ran into complicated figures.[27]

Despite the fact that the payment of his brothers appears to have been a terrible burden for Henry, it seems that sooner or later they got what was owed to them; and in all probability it mattered little to them that the king had to beg and borrow[28] to keep up his payments.

Since Aymer had received numerous benefices in England, he was not provided with a yearly stipend as were the other brothers. All, however, were the recipients of outright gifts of money from the king. Such awards ranged from small amounts up to 500 marks,[29] or more; and the moneys came from the issues of bishoprics,[30] bailiwicks,[31] and counties,[32] and the royal Exchequer,[33]

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[27] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 247,283,256-57,307,378.

[28] Ibid., p. 369.

[29] Ibid., pp. 135,160,165,181,184,203; Rolls, Ireland, I, 437,438,472; C.P.R., 1247-1258, 16,176,197,339,457; Close Rolls, 1247-1251, pp. 91,92,42.

[30] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 135. [31] Ibid., p. 160.

[32] Ibid., p. 184; Close Rolls, 1256-1259, p. 29; C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 535.

[33] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, pp. 41,91; C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp. 16, 197, 457; and Close Rolls, 1256-1259, p. 209.

from the Exchequer of Ireland,[34] from the funds of the New Temple, London,[35] and from the wardrobe.[36]

From time to time money given to the brothers was granted for a specific purpose. On May 14, 1248, John Fitz Geoffrey, Justiciar of Ireland, was ordered to hand over to William de Valence 200 marks "of the king's gift" to deliver his lands in Poitou which were being invaded.[37] In the following month, William was given twenty marks to enclose his park of Saxthorp.[38] On January 16, 1250, John Fitz Geoffrey was advised to pay William 270 marks which remained of the 500 marks that had been given to William by the king to stock his lands in Ireland.[39] Evidently Henry had some difficulty in carrying out this order, for it was reissued in January, 1251,[40] and again in August of the same year.[41]

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[34] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 181 and Rolls, Ireland, I, 437, 438, 473.

[35] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 184.

[36] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 176. "The wardrobe...was supplied partly by sums transferred from the Exchequer, partly by sums paid directly by the county,..." (Ramsay, Revenues, I, 262.)

[37] Rolls, Ireland, I, 438 and Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 181.

[38] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 172.

[39] Rolls, Ireland, I, 461.

[40] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 401. 'Mandatum est J. filio Galfridi, justiciario Hibernie, quod habere faciat Willelmo de Valencia, fratri regis, cc. et lxx. marcas que ei restant solvende de d. marcis quas ei dedit rex ad terras suas quas habet in Hibernia instaurandas.'

[41] Rolls, Ireland, I, 472.

When Guy was preparing for his crusade in 1247 and 1248, Henry granted him, among other things,[42] £500 of Tours to buy chargers.[43] This crusade appears to have been a rather expensive venture. A patent of January 5, 1248, gave Guy permission to accept a loan of £1,000, using his yearly fee as security.[44] It is obvious that Guy managed to borrow the money,[45] but it was Henry who paid. In January, 1251, the king arranged for the payment of £1,000 which he had granted Guy before the latter started for the Holy Land.[46] The debt was to be met in five installments,[47] and the first one was certainly paid.[48]

As has been indicated above, Guy and Geoffrey shuttled between England and the continent; and Henry seems to have financed most of the trips.[49] Traveling expenses, however,

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[42]See Chapter II above.

[43]C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 4 and Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, p. 264.

[44]C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 5.

[45]Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 400. 'Mandavit regi Guido de Lezignan', frater ejus, quod Clar', mercator transmarinus, mutabit ei la libras l. libras de arreragiis mille librarum, unde rex dedit ei litteras suas de mutuo contrahendo in partibus transmarinis, ita quod pecunia illa eidem mercatori solvatur in Pascha.'

[46]C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 84. I base this assumption on Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 328.

[47]C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 84.

[48]Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 328.

[49]See Chapter II above; also C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 463 and Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 166, 211.

were not restricted to these two brothers. On October 13, 1249, the sheriff of Kent was ordered to pay William de Whitsand "14 marks out of the issues of the county" for "transporting Aymer de Lezignan the king's brother at Dover."[50] Not only did Henry finance the travel of his brothers, but he also paid the traveling expenses of their messengers and servants.[51]

During the Gascon campaign of 1253 and 1254, Henry III rewarded his brothers with money payments for their services to him. On November 16, 1253, he ordered Peter Chaceporc to give Guy £30 sterling for his upkeep while in the service of the king;[52] and in the following year he commanded the same Peter to hand over to Geoffrey 200 marks for his services and twenty-seven marks for the loss of two horses which had belonged to two of Geoffrey's knights.[53]

Between the years 1247 and 1258 the Jews were organized "as part of the royal domain" and were, therefore, "at the service of the crown."[54] Although Henry could not do without the Jews (since they proved to be one of his most important sources of revenue), he accepted them with many misgivings.[55] At every

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[50] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 263.

[51] Ibid., p. 240 and Close Rolls, 1253-1254, p. 221.

[52] Rôles Gascons, I, 369.

[53] Rôles Gascons, I, 385.

[54] F. M. Powicke, Henry III, I, 310-311.

[55] Ibid., pp. 311-313.

opportunity, he fleeced them; and in this fleecing the Poitevin brothers played a part. Several methods employed are worthy of notice.

On October 22, 1248, Henry gave to William de Valence and his heirs all of the debts which William de Lancaster owed in the Jewry.[56] The heirs of William de Lancaster were licensed to settle the obligations by selling or assigning "in perpetuity or for a term their lands or part of them to the king's said brother, or ... [by making] fine with him or his heirs."[57] Henry promised to ratify their decision.[58]

At some time prior to June 30, 1256, Henry granted to Guy de Lusignan 550 marks "due by William de Gynnay" to two Jews who had been hanged.[59] Some difficulty arose, however, and Henry was unable to carry out this decision. Instead, after Richard, earl of Cornwall, had been satisfied, he hoped to pay Guy out of the residue of the debts of the late Aaron, son of Abraham, a Jew of London.[60] Again Henry was blocked; for two

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[56] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 29. With the exception of the omission of the words "owed in the Jewry throughout England", a patent of January 5, 1248, is very similar to that of October 22.

[57] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 29.

[58] Ibid., p. 41; Close Rolls, 1247-1251, pp. 93,123; Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 274. 100 marks a year were paid to William de Valence by the heirs. (See C.P.R., 1258-1266, p. 126.)

[59] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 485.

[60] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 485.

days later he advised "Philip Lovel, his treasurer, and his justiciars assigned to the custody of the Jews" to secure elsewhere 550 marks for Guy.[61] Charters for the next several months have to do with this transaction.[62]

On December 28, 1256, Henry III gave to William de Valence and his heirs fifty marks of yearly rent, for which Peter, son of Matthew, had been bound forever by contract for himself and his heirs to Aaron, son of Abraham, Jew of London, and his heirs. The contract had fallen into Henry's hands for certain debts; and since the agreement between the two Jews had specifically stated that the rents should continue forever, Henry ordered that if ever the rents were not paid, William or his heirs would "make distraints in all or any of the ... lands, whoever holds them."[63]

Prior to March 6, 1250, the bishops of Lincoln and Worcester, papal "executors of the business of the Cross" in England, promised, on the recommendation of the pope, 2,200 marks to William de Valence, who had taken the crusading vow.[64] Although Henry was not directly connected with this grant, he became deeply interested in the transaction because of the

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[61] Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 327.

[62] Ibid., pp. 357 and 361 and Close Rolls, 1256-1259, pp. 7-8,113,128.

[63] Charter Rolls, I, 455.

[64] Rôles Gascons, I, no. 3014. See Also William E. Lunt, Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327 (Studies in Anglo-Papal Relations During the Middle Ages, I) (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), p. 437. Hereafter cited Lunt, Financial Relations.

difficulties involved in collecting it. By March 6, 1250, only £900 had been paid,[65] and the residue still remained unpaid on June 15, 1254.[66] Even during the Gascon campaign of 1253-1254, Henry found time to concern himself with this business. On November 12, 1253, he wrote his brother, Richard, earl of Cornwall, who was joint-regent with the queen, to do what he could about the collection.[67] A like letter was written on February 25, 1254.[68] Evidently Richard was unable to accomplish the king's wishes; for on June 15 of the same year Henry carried the problem to the bishops of Norwich and Chester and the abbot of Westminster, collectors of the crusading money in England.[69] Ultimately, "an additional sum of £472 3 s. 4 1/2 d., which was granted in the first place," was assigned to William de Valence.[70] The assignment was ratified by the king on May 18, 1255.[71]

Another expensive financial venture in which Henry became involved through two of his half-brothers was the marriage of Alice de Lusignan, their niece. On Saturday, January 13, 1252,

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[65] Lunt, Financial Relations, p. 437.

[66] Rôles Gascons, I, 449.

[67] Ibid., I, 440-441 and Close Rolls, 1253-1254, p. 292.

[68] Rôles Gascons, I, 338 and Close Rolls, 1253-1254, p. 217.

[69] Rôles Gascons, I, 449 and Close Rolls, 1253-1254, pp. 303-304.

[70] Lunt, Financial Relations, pp. 437-438 and C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 411.

[71] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 411.

an agreement was reached between William and Aymer on the one part and Richard de Clare, earl of Hertford and Gloucester, on the other part, by which Earl Richard agreed, according to Matthew Paris, to sell his son, Gilbert, in marriage to Alice de Lusignan for 5,000 marks.[72] The conditions of this contract are set forth in a brilliantly executed charter, dated 5 February 1255, in which Henry III "inspected and confirmed" the terms of the agreement between the two parties.[73]

At sometime in the early part of 1253, William de Valence and Earl Richard crossed into Poitou, obviously to make arrangements with the Count of La Marche and Angoulême for the marriage.[74] The betrothal ceremony was to take place at Easter, 1253, immediately upon the arrival of Alice in England; and the marriage ceremony was to be solemnized before Michaelmas, 1255.[75] It occurred in 1253.[76]

The question of sureties for the money undoubtedly caused some trouble; for Matthew Paris claims that the king brought pressure to bear on the abbots of St. Albans, Reading, and

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[72]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 362-364 and Charter Rolls, I, 438. Matthew Paris confuses Hugh le Brun with Guy de Lusignan in relating this event. He claims that Alice was Guy's daughter.

[73]Charter Rolls, I, 438-439. See Appendix A for the terms of the contract.

[74]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 366-367.

[75]See Appendix A.

[76]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 367.

Waltham to force them to go bail for his brothers.[77] If certain clerks and a merchant of Cahors had ever expressed a willingness to stand as surety for the 1,000-mark payment on Easter, 1253,[78] they evidently changed their minds; for on February 2, 1253, Henry III agreed to make the payment himself, provided the brothers repaid him.[79]

Of the miscellaneous grants which Henry gave to his brothers, two are rather interesting. On July 2, 1251, he freed William de Valence and Joan, his wife, of their yearly £400 to their sister, Eleanor, wife of Simon de Montfort, for her dowry out of the lands of the earldom of Pembroke in Ireland which had come to her through her first marriage with Walter Marshal.[80] Similar grants appear for the years 1256[81] and 1257.[82] Because of the absence of additional data, however, it would be difficult to determine whether this gift was a permanent one or whether it was granted as the king saw fit.

On April 28, 1255, Henry gave Isabella, wife of the late Ralph de Haya, the privilege for a fine of 200 marks of marrying

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[77]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 364. But the letters patent to the abbots of Reading and St. Albans merely read: "request to the abbot and convent...." (C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp. 174-175.)

[78]See Appendix A. For the status of the merchants of Cahors as money lenders and traders in England at the time see the very interesting article by N. Denholm-Young, "The Merchants of Cahors", Medievalia et Humanistica, IV(1946), pp. 37-44.

[79]C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 175.

[80]Rolls, Ireland, I, 470. [81]Ibid., II, 87.

[82]Close Rolls, 1256-1259, p. 34.

whomever she should choose. The money was given to Geoffrey de Lusignan in installments.[83]

An attempt to show statistically the amount of hard cash Henry III gave his brothers annually could hardly hope for validity. It is obvious, however, from the nature and frequency of the grants, that the brothers became very wealthy. Indeed they accumulated so much capital that they were called upon to make loans to the king himself. In addition to several smaller loans,[84] which were requested from time to time, on September 29, 1254, Henry III pressed by his campaign in Gascony, asked Aymer to make a loan of £1,000 to their sister, Margaret, and her husband, Emery, viscount of Thouars, "to acquit their land of Thalomund to the count of Poitou."[85] Henry promised that he himself would stand as guarantor.[86] And on November 2, 1257, a bond was given to William de Valence for 1,100 marks which Henry had "received from him as a loan to be paid to the pope."[87]

When the king's Lusignan brothers left England in 1258, they were not allowed to take with them all of their money.[88]

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[83] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 407.

[84] Ibid., pp. 15,310,532 and Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 210, 214.

[85] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 358. [86] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 358.

[87] Ibid., p. 603. [88] See Chapter VII infra.

Matthew Paris asserts that at the time of their exile the brothers left large sums of money at the New Temple in London.[89] Monasteries were also used as depositories for their funds. Aymer had money on deposit at the monasteries of Waverley,[90] Hyde,[91] Beaulieu,[92] and Saint Albans.[93] Some of William's money was kept at Waltham.[94] As soon as the brothers departed, the king and council commenced drawing on these funds.[95] It is interesting to note, however, that the withdrawals were not considered confiscations but loans,[96] to be repaid on a more propitious occasion.

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[89]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 704. See also Eleanor Ferris, "The Financial Relations of Knights Templars to the English Crown," A.H.R., VIII(1902), 3.

[90]C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 640.

[91]Ibid., p. 644.

[92]Ibid., p. 643; Close Rolls, 1256-1258; and Close Rolls, 1256-1259, p. 255.

[93]Close Rolls, 1256-1259, p. 318.

[94]C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 641.

[95]C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp. 643-644; C.P.R., 1258-1266, p. 33; Close Rolls, 1256-1259, pp. 341-343,317,225,318,253.

[96]Almost any of the citations in footnote 95 will bear witness to this point.

CHAPTER IV

WARDSHIPS, ESCHEATS, AND OTHER LANDS

And he [Edward] is to command his bailiff to cause the said amount of land to be extended by the same extent as the king has caused to be made to others in Ireland, for it is not just or fitting that the king's brother should be of worse condition than any other but rather of a better.[1]

Although William de Valence was the only one of Henry III's half-brothers to become firmly established in England, all four reaped their share of the vacant wardships, escheats, and other lands. Indeed, so successful were they in placing themselves among the principal nobles that the English baronage felt beaten down and cheated of those things, "by which they used to grow."[2] A study of Henry's grants of wardships, escheats, and other lands to his brothers not only proves that the barons were entirely justified in their complaints against the king but also sheds much interesting light on English feudalism in the thirteenth century.

Since William de Valence received many more grants than either of the other brothers, attention is first given to him.

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[1] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 384.

[2] Thomas Wright, ed. and trans., The Political Songs of England from the Reign of John to that of Edward II (London, 1839), pp. 86-87 (The Camden Society).

On July 30, 1247, he was endowed with that part of the land which John de Muntchensy had formerly held in the manor of Inkberrow.[3] On the following day, he became constable of Goodrich castle;[4] and in August, constable of the castle of Pembroke.[5]

In the latter part of 1247, Henry III granted to William the keeperships of the manors of Bayford and Essendon[6] and the castle and town of Hertford.[7] Four years later, these properties were given to William for life, although the king reserved for himself the right to fill vacancies as they appeared in the churches.[8]

Many properties, both in England and Ireland, accrued to William through his marriage with Joan de Muntchensy, great-grand-daughter of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. William's largest holding on the island of Britain was the castle of Pembroke and lands in southwest Wales.[9] Other properties of

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[3] Close Rolls, 1242-1247, p. 527.

[4] C.P.R., 1232-1247, pp. 505-506.

[5] Ibid., p. 506.

[6] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 1 and V.C.H., Hertford, III, 420.

[7] C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp. 1,2. Given incorrectly as Hereford on p. 2.

[8] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 403 and Charter Rolls, I, 351.

[9] C.P.R., 1232-1247, p. 506. August 7, 1247: "Mandate to Robert Waleraund to deliver to William de Valence, or his messengers bearing the king's letters, the castle of Pembroke and the lands assigned to him of the lands late of W. Marshal..."

the inheritance, however, were scattered over England,[10] in the shires of Oxford, Bedford, Gloucester, Berks, and Buckingham.[11] On January 4, 1248, Henry advised the sheriffs of the above-mentioned counties to pay homage to William de Valence and Joan;[12] and in 1250 Mereduc,[13] son of Res, Philip de Stakepol,[14] Gilbert de Valle,[15] and others[16] were commanded to be intendant for the service of their lands to William and Joan, his wife, one of the heirs of the Earl of Pembroke.

No sooner had William and Joan been married than Henry commanded John Fitz Geoffrey, justiciar of Ireland, to cause them "to have seisin" of certain of the Pembroke lands in Ireland.[17] These lands made up the liberty of Wexford, which was a fifth part of the Marshal holding of Leinster.[18]

It is uncertain just what the relations between Henry and William de Valence were on November 28, 1249. On that date

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[10] For the names of some of these properties see V.C.H., Bedford, II, 223; Buckinghamshire, IV, 3,23,82,512; Berkshire, IV, 532; and Hertford, III, 235,368. Cf. Cal. Inquisitions post mortem, V, 21-22.

[11] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, pp. 102-103.

[12] Loc. cit.

[13] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 63.

[14] Ibid., p. 69.

[15] Ibid., p. 81.

[16] Close Rolls, 1242-1247, p. 529.

[17] Rolls, Ireland, I, 433 and Close Rolls, 1242-1247, p. 529.

[18] Frank R. Lewis, "William de Valence," Aberystwyth Studies, XIII(1935), 18-19.

Henry III ordered John Fitz Geoffrey to confiscate "all of the lands of William de Valence in Ireland; to cause the corn, ploughs, and every thing therein to be sold; and to cause Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester to have the proceeds to fortify his lands of Gascony."[19] If there were a contention between the two brothers at this time, the duration cannot be determined: the sources are silent on this point.

In 1252 Margaret, Countess of Lincoln, widow of the late Walter Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, sought Irish lands which had been assigned to her in dowry and which were being held at the time by the Mohun family.[20] William de Valence promised to indemnify the Mohuns for their losses, and in October the latter agreed to hand over to William their manors of Fernes and Oddo with their fees.[21] Evidently some difficulty arose in the transaction, for on May 7, 1253, Henry III commanded the justiciar of Ireland to assign to William de Valence lands of Reginald and Isabella de Mohun valued at £19 7s 2 1/2 d. unless the king's former mandate "touching an assignment out of the manor of Fernes" had been executed.[22]

Ultimately, on May 18, 1255, Henry commanded John Fitz Geoffrey, justiciar of Ireland, or his lieutenant, "to maintain

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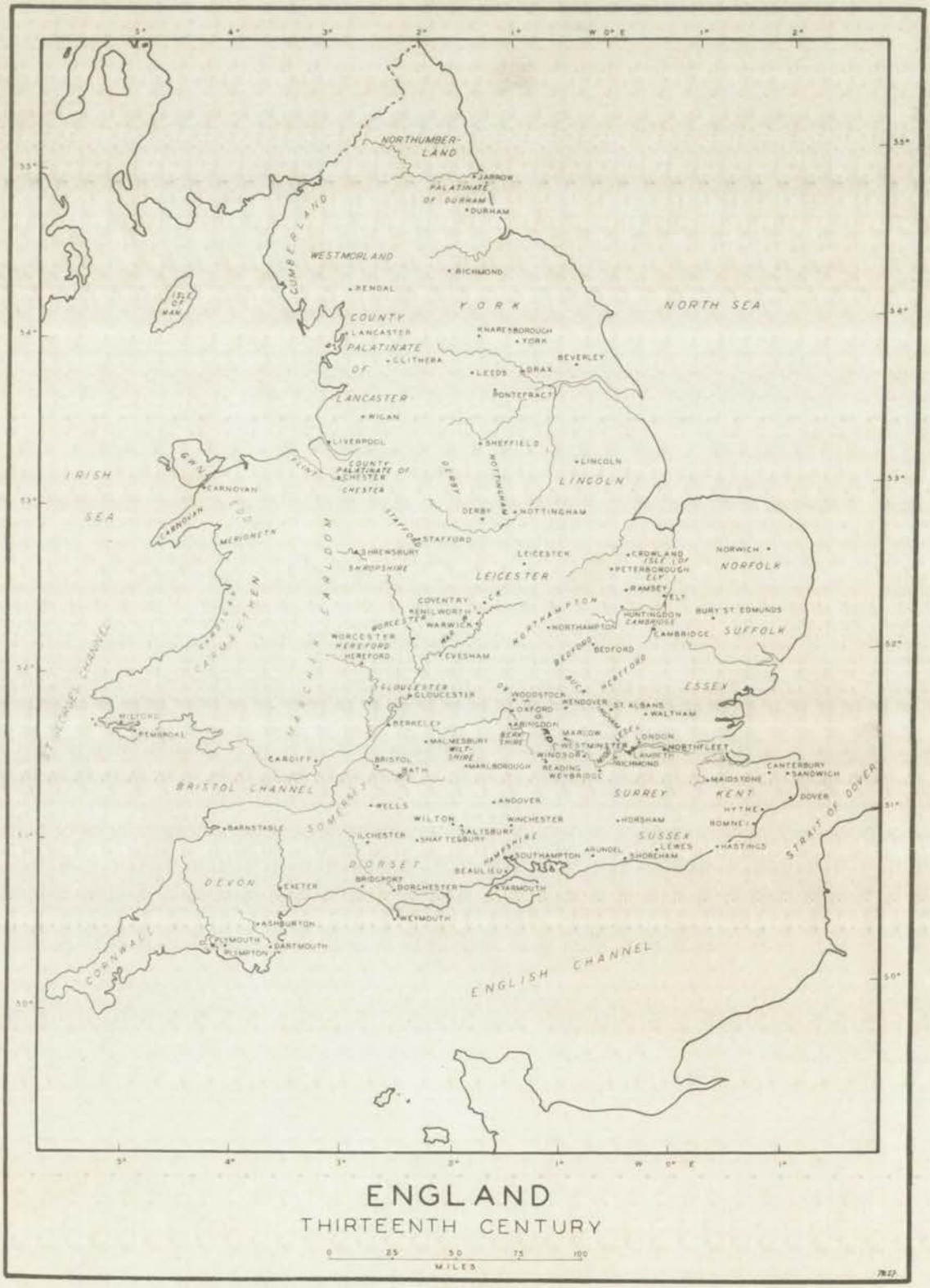
[19] Rolls, Ireland, I, 451.

[20] Rolls, Ireland, II, 5.

[21] Ibid., p. 15.

[22] Loc. cit.



ENGLAND

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

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MILES

and defend the liberties and rights of William de Valence and Joan in the county of Wexford" in the same manner that the late Earl of Pembroke had enjoyed them "in his lands and counties in Ireland."[23]

After the lands of England and Normandy were separated, the confiscated lands of the Normans[24] served as a rich source from which Henry III could draw escheats and other lands for his brother, William. On some of these grants, an interesting stipulation appears: "if the lands of England and Normandy become one, or the king shall restore the said manors to the right heirs, he shall not disseise the said William, his heirs or assigns, until he have made them a reasonable exchange in escheats or other lands."[25] Among these escheats and other lands which Henry gave to William were the manors of Saxthorpe and Stiffkey in the county of Norfolk[26] and Flete and Horthale in the county of Kent,[27] certain holdings in the county of Suffolk,[28] all the land in Northumberland which had formerly belonged to Walerand de Horton, a Norman,[29] a portion of land in the county

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[23] Rolls, Ireland, II, 15.

[24] E.F. Jacob, "The Reign of Henry III," T.R.H.S., 4th Series, X(1927), 30-31. Jacob claims that the first seizures took place in 1244. See also F. M. Powicke, Henry III, I, 105, footnote 1.

[25] Charter Rolls, I, 329,476. [26] Ibid., p. 329.

[27] Loc. cit.

[28] Rôles Gascons, I, 413; Close Rolls, 1253-1254, p. 253; and Charter Rolls, I, 469-470.

[29] Charter Rolls, I, 476.

of Wiltshire,[30] and "what pertains to the king of a moiety of the lands late of John de Sancto Amando and Roger de Ros, Normans, ... because their two sisters and heirs ... are Normans and dwell beyond seas without the king's fealty."[31]

In most cases William de Valence seems to have been second only to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in the receipt of lands which escheated to the crown either through lack of an heir or through felony.[32] In some cases the escheats were given to William against the £500 yearly grant which Henry III made to him in 1247. Some of the manors assigned for this purpose were Kentwell,[33] Benham,[34] Bampton,[35] Corbridge,[36] Gainsborough,[37]

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[30] Charter Rolls, II, 7.

[31] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 625.

[32] Close Rolls, 1253-1254, pp. 214-215; Charter Rolls, I, 470; Rôles Gascons, I, 386-387. For a brief, but to-the-point, definition of escheat, see F. W. Maitland, The Constitutional History of England, (Cambridge, c. 1908), pp. 29-30.

[33] Charter Rolls, I, 352. On June 28, 1256, Henry III advised his barons of the Exchequer that William de Valence was not responsible for the debts of the manor of Kentwell which had been contracted before he took it over.

[34] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 483; Charter Rolls, I, 365; and William Farrer, Honors and Knights' Fees, 2 vols., (London, 1923), I, 58-59.

[35] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 283; Close Rolls, 1256-1259, pp. 28; Close Rolls, 1251-1253, p. 138; Close Rolls, 1247-1251, pp. 277,133; C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 35; and Charter Rolls, I, 339.

[36] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 283.

[37] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 283; C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 545; Charter Rolls, II, 1; and C. W. Foster, ed., Final Concords of the County of Lincoln from the Feet of Fines Preserved in the Public Records Office, 2 vols., (Lincoln, 1920), II, 152 (Lincoln Record Society).

Offington,[38] and Dunham.[39] Others, which seem to have been outright gifts, were Andover[40] and Wykham.[41]

Although the grant to William de Valence of all the lands of the late Robert de Pont de l'Arche in Hedrewent in the county of Monmouth began as a grant of custody,[42] on August 23, 1253, William de Pont de l'Arche, brother and heir of Robert, sold to William de Valence all his rights "in the inheritance of his brother, that is the manors of Swindon, Newton, Shopwurth and Morton and the hamlet of Wolstrop, the manors of Stanlegh, Lawars and Cumpton and the hamlet of Hauekesle, and the manor of Whaddon ... with all their appurtenances" for 1,000 marks.[43]

After purchasing the inheritance of Robert de Pont de l'Arche, William de Valence seems to have assumed a high and mighty attitude; for on September 23, 1252, Adam de Nutstede, sheriff of Gloucester, was advised to "enquire before the quinzaine of Michaelmas what liberties ... [had] been usurped by William de Valence and his bailiffs." After the inquisition had been made, it was found that William was not following many of the customs established during the time of Robert de Pont de

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[38] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 545.

[39] Charter Rolls, II, 2. See also C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 609.

[40] Rôles Gascons, I, 414.

[41] Close Rolls, 1253-1254, p. 86.

[42] Close Rolls, 1242-1247, p. 524.

[43] Charter Rolls, I, 402.

l'Arche.[44] Among other things, William was refusing to "execute summonses of the exchequer or to carry out any other business of the king..."; "his free and customary" tenants were not appearing before the several hundreds; and his free tenants were not serving on assizes and juries.[45]

In one case (and there were probably similar instances), the king allowed William de Valence to exchange certain lands for others. In May, 1256, the Abbot of Hyde was permitted by the king to trade some of his lands which could be utilized by William in extending his park of La Frithe for fifteen acres of William's arable demesne land which bordered upon the demesne lands of the Convent of Hyde.[46]

As in the case of money, an attempt to list the individual holdings of William de Valence could not hope for completeness. Suffice it to say, however, in addition to the county of Pembroke in Wales and the liberty of Wexford in Ireland, William held estates in the counties of Worcester, Hereford, Wilts, Northampton, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Gloucester, Oxford, Berks, Kent, Buckingham, Bedford, Nottingham, Essex, Lincoln, York, Southampton, Hertford, Northumberland, and Lancaster.[47]

Henry III's attempts to endow Geoffrey de Lusignan with

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[44]Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery), (London, 1916), I, 49.

[45]Loc. cit. [46]Charter Rolls, I, pp. 465-466.

[47]Close Rolls, 1256-1259, p. 472. Cf. Cal. Inquisitions post mortem, III, 220-223,254, for list of William's holdings at his death.

lands led to many tedious transactions and much bickering. On November 6, 1253, while Henry was in Poitou, he promised Geoffrey that he would not assign lands or escheats in Ireland to any one until he had provided for him.[48] And in the following February, Henry ordered John Fitz Geoffrey, justiciar of Ireland, to hand over to Geoffrey de Lusignan five hundred librates in the waste lands of Ireland with the manor of Any in Munster. These lands, which had formerly belonged to Geoffrey de Marisco, were to be held by the service of three knights.[49] Three days later the king granted to Edward, his son and heir, all of Ireland, except "the cities and counties of Dublin and Limerick, and the vill of Athlone retained in the king's hand, 500 librates of land which the king... [owed] to Geoffrey de Lezignan, ..., and 40 librates ... which the king promised to Robert Waleraund."[50]

But John Fitz Geoffrey and Richard de la Rochelle, Edward's bailiff in Ireland, refused to comply with the king's request, claiming that Ireland had been assigned to Edward before the king made his grant to Geoffrey.[51] In the meantime, Geoffrey, having discovered that the manor of Any was in the king's demesne and had been in dowry to the queen, surrendered it.[52]

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[48] Rolls, Ireland, II, 45.

[49] Rôles Gascons, I, 310-311,314.

[50] Rolls, Ireland, II, 50-51 and C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 270.

[51] Rolls, Ireland, II, 56. [52] Loc. cit.

Consequently, Henry commanded the justiciar and Richard to allot to his brother four and one half cantreds of land in Connaught, "to be assigned ... by reasonable extent in place of the 500 librates." If, however, by extent these cantreds were "worth more than 500 librates, the overplus" was to remain to Edward. If they were less, the deficiency was to be supplied in a cantred and a half in Thomond.[53] On July 5, 1254, both Henry III and the lord Edward ordered these provisions to be carried out.[54] Five days later the king let it be known that if this grant was not executed within a year from the date of the gift, he was bound to pay Geoffrey £300 sterling;[55] on July 15th he reissued his order.[56]

In December Geoffrey still had not received his land, and Henry wrote to Edward, reminding him that "his uncle Geoffrey... [had] laboured much for the king and him both in Gascony and elsewhere, for which Edward ought with the king to affect [sic] his welfare,..." He further requested that Edward "command his bailiff to cause the said amount of land to be extended as the king... [had] caused to be made to others in Ireland," since it was not "just or fitting that the king's brother should be of worse condition than any other but rather of a better."[57]

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[53] Rolls, Ireland, II, 56-57 and C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp. 309-310.

[54] Rolls, Ireland, II, 56-57 [55] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 310.

[56] Ibid., p. 308.

[57] Ibid.,p. 384.

From January through April, 1255, both Henry and Edward were busy issuing orders and confirming charters. Finally the 500 librates were extended, but they were "so trifling and poor" that Geoffrey refused to have them.[58] As a result, Henry advised Edward to take the best cantred of land in Connaught and give Geoffrey the two next best.[59] Troubles with Phelim O'Connor, however, prevented the execution of this order;[60] and in July Henry indicated that he was bound to Geoffrey for 300 marks "for the various delays, expenses, and journeys" which the latter had "incurred in seeking for the land given to him ... in Ireland."[61] At length, on August 28, 1255, the king, probably exhausted from the wrangle, granted Geoffrey £300 annually at the exchequer until the £500 of land in Ireland should be yielded.[62]

Finally on November 8, 1256, the difficulties were settled. Henry confirmed a charter, in which Edward gave his uncle, in lieu of the £500 of land in Ireland, £160 of land in England and £140 of land in Ireland. The possessions in England included

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[58] Rolls, Ireland, II, 67,69,70; Charter Rolls, I, 442; and Rôles Gascons, Supplement, pp. 7, 8.

[59] Rolls, Ireland, II, 71-72; Close Rolls, 1254-1256, pp. 204-205; and C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 414.

[60] Rolls, Ireland, II, 73-74.

[61] Ibid., p. 73.

[62] Ibid., p. 76.

the manor of Wytton, with the hundred in the county of Norfolk; Paunton, with all its members, in the county of Lincoln; and Lacton Imorthing, in the county of York. Those of Ireland contained the manor of Lowethe and Castrum Fraunc. In addition, Edward gave his uncle £200 yearly until he should make up for the remainder of the £500 of land.[63]

From the latter part of 1256 until Geoffrey's expulsion, the king was burdened with trying to make up by monetary payments the inconveniences which Geoffrey had undergone in securing the lands that had been granted to him in 1253.[64]

Although Henry III granted to Guy several lucrative wardships in England, he did not endow him with broad estates as he had done in the case of William de Valence.[65] Nor did he promise Guy as much land as he promised to Geoffrey. In the first place, Henry had contributed generously to Guy's crusade to the Holy Land. But perhaps of more importance is the fact that on April 27, 1252, Henry gave to Guy "that part

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[63] Charter Rolls, I, 453-454.

[64] Rolls, Ireland, II, 86-87,90; Close Rolls, 1256-1259, pp. 74-75,99; and C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 621.

[65] On November 22, 1251, Henry granted Guy "of all right which the king has in the lands late of Eustace de Cantilupe, said to be the king's escheat, if the king's brothers, Richard earl of Cornwall and William de Valence, give their assent hereto; or of any fine which William de Cantilupe or any other shall make with the king for the said land." (C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 119); and on July 8, 1253, he confirmed a "quitclaim which Gaucher de Chastillun made to the king's brother, Guy de Lezinan, of the manor of Derteford." (Ibid., p. 210) These are the only references that I have been able to find which might indicate that Guy held lands in his own right in England.

of the land late of the count of Angoulême, lord of Cognac, in the island of Oléron with its services, ..., excepting the feoffments made from the said land to others by the king and his predecessors...." Guy was to hold this land until the lord Edward, to whom the king had given Gascony, should have full seisin of those lands.[66] On the following day, Guy acknowledged the gift,[67] and in May of the next year Henry confirmed the grant and advised Peter of Bordeaux, who had succeeded Simon de Montfort as seneschal of Gascony, to give Guy full seisin in the event that Edward should agree.[68]

Guy not only continued to hold that part of the island which Henry had granted to him but also, in time, persuaded Edward to turn over to him the whole island. Thus when the Poitevin brothers were forced to leave England in 1258, the situation was rather embarrassing; and Henry advised the mayor and inhabitants of Oléron "not to be intendant to the said Guy in any way, but to defend it against him...."[69] Edward came to his father's rescue by revoking the grant on November 4, 1258.[70]

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[66] Charter Rolls, I, 386.

[67] Shirley, Royal Letters, II, 85-86.

[68] Close Rolls, 1251-1253, p. 350.

[69] Rymer, Foedera, I, ii, 33 gives the date of this mandate October 26, 1257; Close Rolls, 1256-1258, p. 319 carries the date July 22, 1258, to a similar order; C.P.R., 1258-1266, p. 1 gives the year 1258, but not the month and day. The reading of this order is quite similar to that of Rymer. I am thus led to believe that the order appeared in 1258 instead of 1257, as Rymer gives it.

[70] Rymer, Foedera, I, ii, 43.

Despite the fact that Aymer probably held most of his lands through his position as bishop-elect of Winchester, it would appear that he held some grants in his own right. In 1261 Henry III gave to others certain lands which had escheated to him on Aymer's death.[71] But just how far Henry went in allotting directly escheats and other lands to Aymer is uncertain. It is significant, however, that the king allowed him to build up the properties of the bishopric of Winchester. On May 8, 1252, Henry gave "power to the abbot and convent of St. Jean d'Angely to sell to Aymer, ..., their lands and rents and all their possessions in Mottingham and Woolwich" in the county of Kent.[72] And on January 1, 1256, Henry permitted Aymer to pay the prior and convent of St. Swithun's at Winchester 2,000 marks for the "whole manor of Portland, and the manor of Wyk near Portland, with the town of Wymuth, and all the land of Hellewelle, ..."[73]

An interesting feudal custom which Henry III utilized to supplement the lands and incomes of his brothers was the right of wardship. Under feudal law, if a male vassal were under the age of twenty-one and if a female vassal were under the age of fourteen, the lord was entitled to wardship, both of the person and the lands of the vassal. During the period of the wardship, the lord was responsible for the support of the

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[71] Charter Rolls, II, 35 and Close Rolls, 1259-1261, p. 347.

[72] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 138.

[73] Charter Rolls, II, p. 9. This was really the payment of a 2,000 mark debt which the convent of St. Swithun's had contracted with the merchants of Cahors to carry on their struggle with Aymer. (See infra, Chapter V, note 80.)

child; he could "enjoy the lands for his own profit." He should not, however, "commit waste."[74] The right of marriage frequently dovetailed with that of right of wardship. The lord could "dispose of the ward's marriage," but he should not marry his ward to one of lower rank.[75]

On July 20, 1247, Henry endowed William de Valence with two important wardships: the lands of the late Robert de Pont de l'Arche[76] and the lands and heir of the late William de Lindsey.[77] On August 30 Henry confirmed the grants and promised William de Valence that the lands would be assigned to him in fee if the king could get them in his hands.[78] There seems to have been some delay in turning over the custody of these lands to the king's brother; for on December 28 Henry ordered that they be handed over "without delay."[79]

Among the other wardships which William held were the heir

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[74]Maitland, Constitutional History of England, p. 28; William Holdsworth, A History of English Law, 4th edition, 12 volumes (London, 1935), III, 61-66. Cf. Magna Charta, Articles III-V in William Stubbs, Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History, (Oxford, 1890), 42-43. Hereafter cited Select Charters.

[75]Maitland, Constitutional History of England, p. 28; Holdsworth, History of English Law, III, 61-66, Cf. Magna Charta, Article VI in Select Charters, p. 43.

[76]Close Rolls, 1242-1247, p. 524.

[77]Loc. cit.

[78]C.P.R., 1232-1247, p. 509.

[79]Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 20.

of William Paynal, with the manor of Drax;[80] the heir of Robert de Vendeval, with lands in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent;[81] the heir of Roger Fitz-John de Bailliol, with lands in the counties of Northumberland, Hertford, and Essex;[82] the heir of Gerard de Prendegast, with lands in the county of Wexford;[83] the heir of John de Hodobevill, with lands;[84] the heir of David Cumyn, with lands;[85] and the heir of Warin de Muntchensy, with lands.[86]

Although it is possible that William held many more rights of marriage, only those of the heirs of Robert Fitz-John de Bailliol[87] and William Paynal[88] and those of the widows of David

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[80] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 38.

[81] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 11.

[82] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, pp. 191,193,486; C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 46; and Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 92.

[83] Rolls, Ireland, I, 478-479.

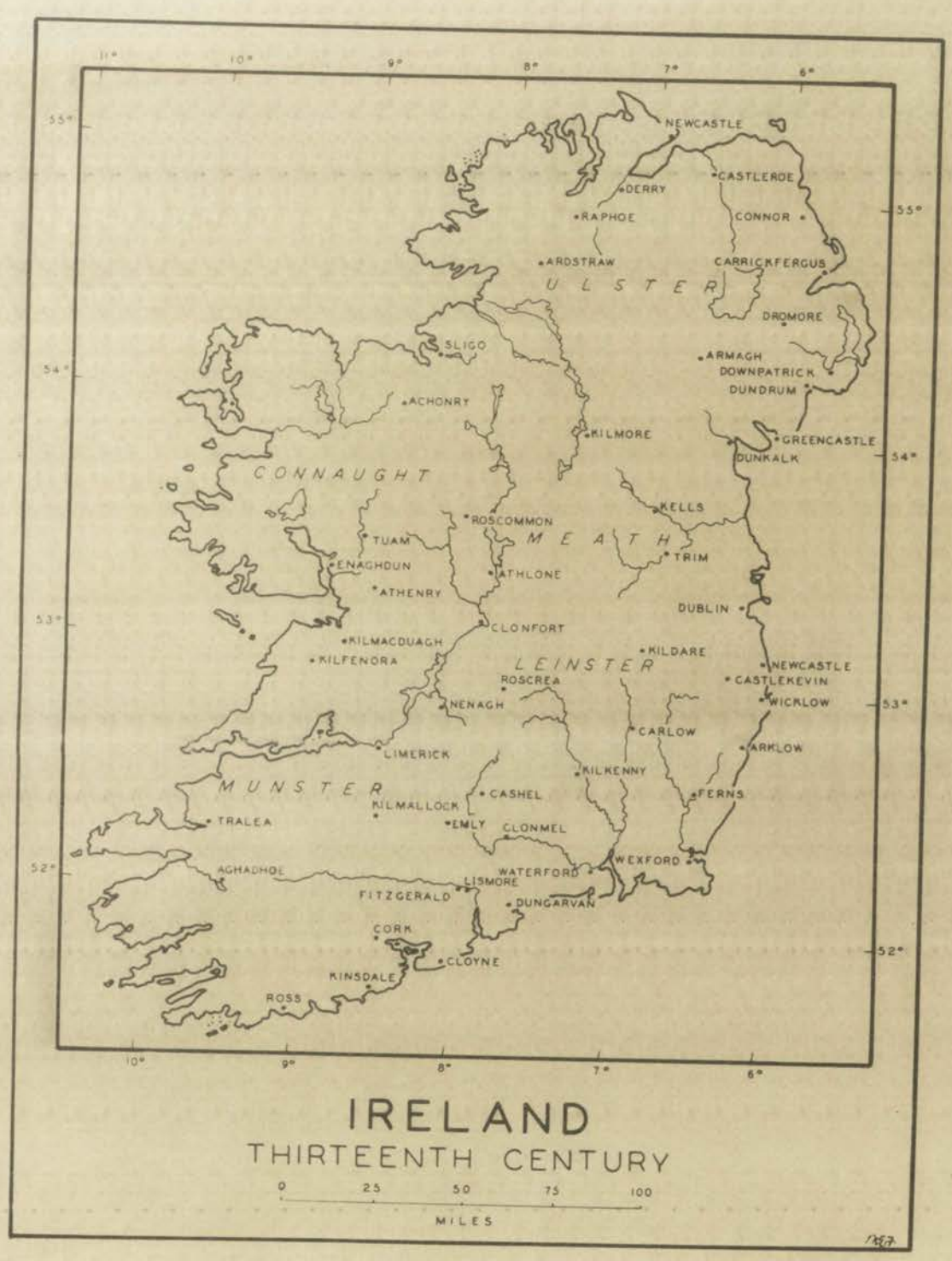
[84] Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 2.

[85] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 276.

[86] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 420; Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 121; George Lipscomb, The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham, 2 vols., (London, 1847), II, 136. "Warine de Munchensi died in 1255 leaving Dionysia, his widow, surviving, and William, his son and heir, whose wardship the King had granted to William de Valence, his half-brother; the heir being then near his full age. William de Valence had married Joan, daughter of the aforesaid Warine ... by Joan Marshall:..."

[87] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 46.

[88] Ibid., p. 38.



IRELAND

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

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MILES

Cumyn[89] and Robert Fitz-John de Bailliol[90] seem to be indicated in the Rolls.

According to Matthew Paris, Geoffrey de Lusignan was given the wardship of one of the best baronies in England,--that of Hastings.[91] But this was not the case; he was granted only a part of the large holdings which the king had under his jurisdiction.[92] Among these were the manors of Brampton in Huntingdon, Fillongleg and Allesley in Warwick, Burbach and Barwell in Leicester,[93] and Warefeud (Wurefeud).[94] In the first five manors, Geoffrey held the right to distribute escheats and advowsons.[95] On May 10, 1256, the lands were returned to young Henry de Hastings, who had come of age.[96] After several months, the young lord complained to the king that his woods had been laid waste during the wardship.[97]

On August 14, 1252, Geoffrey de Lusignan received the wardship of all the lands of Geoffrey de Lucy in Surrey, Northumberland, and Kent.[98] On March 5, 1258, these lands were returned

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[89] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 276. [90] Ibid., p. 46.

[91] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 205.

[92] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 83.

[93] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 406; C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 86.

[94] Close Rolls, 1251-1253, p. 133; C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 103.

[95] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 406.

[96] Close Rolls, 1254-1256, pp. 303-304.

[97] Close Rolls, 1256-1259, p. 20.

[98] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 149.

to the heir for a fine of £240.[99] Five months after receiving the wardship of young Geoffrey de Lucy, Geoffrey de Lusignan was given the wardship of the heirs of Maurice de Croun along with the manors of Walton, Ewell, and Ham.[100] It appears that Geoffrey de Lusignan also held in custody the manors of Byfleet, Waybridge, and Bisley; but there seems to be no reference as to how he received them.[101]

Although Geoffrey de Lusignan held a number of advowsons,[102] it appears that he was less fortunate in receiving the right of marriage.[103] But, of course, the lack of evidence does not necessarily mean that this was true.

As has been pointed out, Geoffrey did not receive the entire wardship of the barony of Hastings. Guy de Lusignan was endowed with the manors of Gerdele, Blunham, Lymage, Lidgate, with wards, escheats, and advowsons "to hold during the minority of the heir."[104] And from this wardship, Guy received the whole soke of Oswaldebeck in Clay in the county of Nottingham.[105]

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[99] Close Rolls, 1256-1259, p. 298.

[100] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 167 and Close Rolls, 1251-1253, p. 296, 400.

[101] Rôles Gascons, I, 407.

[102] See footnote 95 above and C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 167.

[103] I have been able to locate only one reference to the right of marriage,--that of Maud, widow of the late William Longespee. (C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp. 536, 537.)

[104] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 83.

[105] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 129.

What seems to be of even more significance, however, is the fact that Guy was granted the marriage of Henry de Hastings, provided it was carried out with the king's "counsel and consent."[106] On May 10, 1256, Henry de Hastings, who had paid homage to the king, made his fine with Guy and received his lands.[107] Guy, too, had laid waste the woods on some of the lands he held; and young Henry placed his complaint before the king.[108]

In addition to the wardship of part of the lands of Henry de Hastings, Guy was given the wardship of the lands and heirs of Ralph de Vernun,[109] William Harvey,[110] and Henry the Chamberlain.[111] Along with the wardship of the lands and heirs of Ralph and William, Guy received the rights of marriage of their heirs.[112]

As in the case of money and lands, Henry III did not endow Aymer with wardships to any great extent. On September 3, 1249, Aymer was given, for a fine of 200 marks, "the wardship during the minority" of the heir and lands of Thurston le Despenser.[113]

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[106] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 119.

[107] Close Rolls, 1254-1256, pp. 303-304.

[108] Close Rolls, 1256-1259, p. 20.

[109] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 121.

[110] Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 255.

[111] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 474.

[112] Close Rolls, 1251-1253, p. 34; Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 255.

[113] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 49; Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 206.

These lands were located in the counties of Wilts, Surrey, Gloucester, Oxford,[114] and Lincoln.[115] And on February 4, 1261, Henry granted to "Imbert de Muntferaunt of the manor of Hilchehull, which Aymer, sometime elect of Winchester, ..., lately deceased, held for a term not yet expired;..."[116]

Henry III's grants of wardships, escheats, and other lands to his Poitevin brothers brought forth the bitterest complaints from the nobility. The barons felt that these grants belonged to them by right; they also resented the fact that the brothers were outstripping them in wealth and were taking their places among the greatest nobles of the kingdom.

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[114] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 49.

[115] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 213.

[116] C.P.R., 1258-1266, p. 140.

CHAPTER V

THE YOUNG BISHOP-ELECT

Postularent igitur voce communi, sed non corde unanimi, in episcopum et animarum suarum pastorem spiritualem Aethelmarum, fratrem regis uterinum,...,licet aetate, scientia, et ordine insufficientem,..., monachi Wintonienses regis victi importunitate, et de Papae adjutorio desperantes.[1]

Aymer de Valence, the youngest son of Isabella and Hugh de Lusignan, was already in orders in 1242; for on July 19 of that year Henry III gave him "letters of presentation to the vacant church of Norflete."[2] Perhaps the fact that the youth had been designated for a career in the church explains why his parents seem to have been less generous to him in their will than they were to their other sons.[3]

Aymer was presented to the church of Tisbury on June 25, 1246,[4] and to that of Kirkham on January 29, 1247.[5] These

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[1]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 183. "Therefore, the monks of Winchester, overcome by the audacity of the king and despairing of aid from the pope, assented with a common voice, but not with a unanimous heart, to the election of Aymer, uterine brother of the king, to the bishopric and to the spiritual care of their souls, although he was lacking in age, learning, and the proper orders."

[2]Rôles Gascons, I, 46.

[3]See Chapter II supra.

[4]C.P.R., 1232-1247, p. 483.

[5]Ibid., p. 496.

early appointments served only as a prelude to the career in the church which Henry intended for his youngest brother.

After Aymer arrived in England, Henry evidently realized his brother's lack of learning and hoped to amend the situation; for by May 8, 1247, the lad was studying at Oxford.[6] Certainly, Henry did everything possible to make Aymer's life comfortable. Among other things, Henry provided him with wine, firewood, and charcoal.[7] With the grants of money and benefices which Henry heaped upon him at this time, Aymer no doubt surrounded himself with a large retinue of servants. And if Aymer failed to take advantage of the opportunities which were offered him, it was his own fault: Henry was indulgent.

While Aymer was at Oxford, he lived in a house belonging to Geoffrey de Stockwell.[8] The house may have been a part or the whole of a court called Beaufront which Geoffrey owned.[9] This court, which was on the west side of Brasenose Lane, was converted into schools which were sold to masters who eventually let them get into the hands of Balliol College.[10] It is likely that Aymer's tutor, Master Vincent of Tours, as well as

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[6] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 121. Cf. Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 374.

[7] See Chapter VI infra.

[8] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 174.

[9] S.R. Wigram, The Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford (Oxford, 1895), I, 447.

[10] H.E. Salter, The Oxford Deeds of Balliol College (Oxford, 1923), pp. 129, 140.

his servants, lived in the same house.[11]

As has been pointed out above, Aymer could hardly have been popular with the citizens of Oxford, for on several occasions the king was forced to intervene in disputes that arose between his brother and servants on the one hand and the citizens of the town on the other.[12] Although it would be difficult to prove that Aymer was entirely responsible for the disorders, it is possible that his influence with the king gave him a feeling of superiority which not only antagonized the citizens but also presented various causes for contention.

While Aymer was a student, Henry III set about to secure for the youth as many ecclesiastical sinecures as possible. Among the early grants were the churches of Farendon,[13] Dadinton,[14] and Wearmouth,[15] a canonry at Saint Paul's, London,[16] and the wealthy church of Saint Helen at Abingdon.[17]

Aymer's investment with the church of Saint Helen caused the abbot of Abingdon much grief.[18] Before the vacancy occurred,

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[11] That Aymer's tutor was Vincent of Tours, see Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 151, 221.

[12] See Chapter II supra.

[13] Close Rolls, 1242-1247, p. 514.

[14] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 116.

[15] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 91 and C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp. 42, 177.

[16] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 116.

[17] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 38-40.

[18] The following affair is based upon Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 38-40. The quotations are from W. F. Hutton's translation in The Misrule of Henry III, 123-124.

the abbot was already in receipt of a mandate from the pope urging him to make provision for a certain Roman prelate. The latter, however, would have none of the lesser appointments and bided his time until a wealthy benefice should become available. When, however, the church of Saint Helen fell vacant, the abbot found himself "crushed as it were between two revolving millstones." The king determined that he would have the appointment for Aymer and promised to protect the abbot against the pope. After consultation with his monks, the abbot, deciding that the pope's wrath would be less harmful than that of the king, bestowed the church upon the king's brother. The Roman prelate, in great wrath, carried his complaint to the pope, who summoned the abbot to Rome. Henry did not fulfill his promise; and after much trouble and great expense, the abbot was ordered by the papal curia to pay the Roman "fifty marks a year from his chamber...."[19]

In several cases which are somewhat analagous, Henry was not always so successful. Although he wanted the church of Dereham for Aymer, the bishop of Norwich bestowed it instead on Robert Passelew. Suffice it to say, the king was enraged.[20] The more interesting example, however, concerns the vacant

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[19] Loc. Cit.

[20] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 85 and Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, p. 306.

bishopric of Durham.[21] In 1248 Henry sent his messengers "to counsel, entreat, and command" the convent of Durham to elect his brother to the vacancy. The convent refused on the ground that Aymer was "incompetent by his age and learning to undertake the burden of so important a spiritual office." Even though the king threatened to keep the bishopric vacant for ten or more years, the convent remained adamant. Evidently Henry forgot his chagrin; for in November, 1249, Walter of Kirkham was consecrated bishop.[22]

When Henry III learned of the death of William de Raleigh, bishop of Winchester, at Tours in September, 1250,[23] he immediately sent John Mansel and Peter Chacepore to Winchester to pave the way for the election of Aymer.[24] Soon thereafter, Henry followed them, assembled the monks of St. Swithun's together, and preached them a sermon, taking for his text: "Peace

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[21] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 55. See also Hutton, The Misrule of Henry III, pp. 125-126. The vacancy was caused by the resignation of Nicholas, bishop of Durham. (D.N.B., I, 758). The quotations are from Hutton.

[22] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 55 and Hutton, The Misrule of Henry III, pp. 125-126.

[23] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 179; V.C.H., Hampshire, II, 18; Ann. de Theokesberia, 143; W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, 6 vols. in 8 parts (London, 1849), I, 196; Flores Historiarum, II, 367; and Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, p. 302. From this point my chapter seems to follow rather closely Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, pp. 302-319. Gasquet's work, however, is based almost entirely on Matthew Paris.

[24] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 179.

and Justice have Kissed."[25] The purport of the exhortation was that Henry would forgive the monks for refusing his previous request to elect his wife's uncle, William de Valence, if they would choose his half-brother, Aymer, as their bishop.[26] He concluded his discourse with "threats of his vengeance," if the monks did not comply with his solicitation.[27]

With heavy hearts the monks retired and considered their situation.[28] Although they realized that Aymer, an acolyte of about twenty-three years of age at the time, was lacking in years, learning, and proper orders,[29] they were mindful of the persecution which they had been forced to undergo as a result of their refusing to elect the queen's uncle.[30] But in addition to their fears for the future, the monks were further influenced by the fact that should they refuse the pope could not be counted on to back them up in a decision contrary to the

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[25] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 180.

[26] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 180-181; John Milner, The History... of Winchester, 2 volumes (Winchester, n.d.), I, 245-246; and V.C.H., Hampshire, II, 18.

[27] Milner, History of Winchester, I, 246. See also Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 181.

[28] Milner, History of Winchester, I, 246 and Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 181.

[29] The Ann. de Waverleia, 344 state that Aymer was an acolyte at the time. 'Aymerus frater domini regis Henrici IV. [sic] juvenis fere xxiii. annorum, et adhuc existens acolytus, ..." See also Bartholomaeus de Cotton, Historia Anglicana, ed. by H. R. Luard, (London, 1859), p. 128 (Rolls Series) and John de Oxenedes, Chronica, ed. by H. Ellis, (London,1859), p. 165 (Rolls Series).

[30] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 182.

wishes of the king.[31] Thus, with assenting voices, but repugnant hearts,[32] they cast their votes in favor of the king's brother on November 4, 1250.[33] Six days later, Henry rewarded Robert of London for bringing him the news.[34]

Henry immediately dispatched messengers to the pope to secure the confirmation of the Winchester election.[35] Among those who promoted Aymer's cause with the pope was Aymer's tutor, Master Vincent of Tours.[36] At Lyons on January 14, 1251, Pope Innocent IV confirmed the election of Aymer as bishop-elect of Winchester,[37] but the youth's age prevented his consecration. In the following month, the pope advised the king, the archbishop of Canterbury, Aymer, the prior and chapter of Winchester, and the clergy of the diocese of his decision.[38] Significantly enough, Aymer was allowed to retain most of his benefices,[39] the revenues of which are said to have exceeded 1,000 marks yearly.[40] Shortly after receiving the pope's

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[31] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 182,183.

[32] Loc. cit.

[33] D.N.B., I, 758.

[34] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 376.

[35] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 184.

[36] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 375.

[37] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 184.

[38] Bliss, Papal Letters, I, 266.

[39] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 104.

[40] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 241.

letter, Henry ordered Gerard de la Grue, guardian of the bishopric of Winchester, to turn over to his brother the issues from the bishopric.[41]

Returning from France "with the documents necessary for his confirmation,"[42] Aymer landed at Dover on June 24, 1251, accompanied by a host of foreigners.[43] By July 23 Aymer reached Winchester, where a banquet was given in his honor.[44] To the indignation of the English nobility, most of those present were the Poitevin friends of the king and his half-brothers.[45]

On April 11, of the year prior to Aymer's becoming bishop-elect of Winchester, the pope granted to Henry III for three years a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of England and his other dominions toward defraying the expenses of a proposed crusade to the Holy Land.[46] On October 13, 1252, the English prelates were called together in London to hear the pope's orders.[47] Among those present were Aymer and Robert Grosseteste,

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[41] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 413 and C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 91.

[42] Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, p. 307.

[43] Ann. de Wintonia, 92-93 and Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, p. 307.

[44] Ann. de Theokesberia, p. 145.

[45] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 241.

[46] Papal letter of April 11, 1250. See William Stubbs, The Constitutional History of England, 4th edition, 3 vols. (Oxford, c. 1896), II, 67-68. Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, p. 308.

[47] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 324 and Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, p. 308.

the learned bishop of Lincoln. To Bishop Grosseteste's objection to the tenth, Aymer pointed out that the French bishops had agreed to a like demand; and he "urged the need of compliance with orders which came from the pope and king."[48] It would appear, however, that Aymer was speaking at the insistence of the king; for ultimately he, too, refused to sanction the king's wishes.[49] Thus, when he came to leave London and commended Henry "to the Lord God," Henry, infuriated, replied:

> "And I commend you to the living devil. Even if the whole world were against me, you who are my half-brother, ought to stand for me. It was I who promoted you against the will of God and His Saints as well as of Rome, to whom of right the choice belonged, and I have advanced you to such dignity that in riches you are second to none in England."[50]

To this rebuke, the youthful bishop-elect replied:

> "My Lord, I am young in years; did you think because you made me a bishop I should be a child in my actions? God forbid that I should withdraw from the judgment of all those who love God and your own honor."[51]

During the latter half of the year 1252 Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, was on the continent.[52] During his

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[48] D.N.B., I, 759 and Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, p. 308.

[49] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 325 and Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, 308.

[50] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 332-333. Gasquet's translation, as cited above, is in Henry III and the Church, p. 311.

[51] Loc. Cit.

[52] Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, p. 311.

absence from England, the bishop-elect of Winchester had appointed a certain priest as prior of the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr at Southwark.[53] Despite the fact that the hospital was located in the bishopric of Winchester, the archbishop of Canterbury claimed the right of presentation.[54] For this reason, Master Eustace de Len, the archbishop's official, advised the prior to resign. The latter refused and was excommunicated. For forty days the prior withstood the sentence. At length, goaded beyond measure by the prior's arrogance and pride, Eustace had him kidnapped and carried to the archbishop's manor of Maidstone.[55]

When Aymer learned of this, he was enraged and sought the advice of his brothers. Encouraged by their counsel, he collected a band of armed knights and sent them in search of the prior. Unsuccessful at Maidstone, they burned the place and continued to Lambeth, where they seized the archbishop's official and took him to Farnham. On their arrival, the bishop-elect evidently did not know what to do with the captive, for Eustace was set free and driven away.[56]

When reports of these events reached the ears of Boniface, who had just returned from the continent on November 18, 1252, he set out for London, accompanied by the bishops of Chester

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[53] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 349.

[54] Ann. de Theokesberia, p. 151.

[55] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 349.

[56] Loc. cit. and Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, p. 312.

and Hereford. There in the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, he excommunicated every one who had been connected with the crime. He further advised his suffragan bishops by letter "to publish the sentence in every church in their dioceses on Sundays and holy days."[57] The bishop-elect retaliated by declaring the decree null and void in Southwark and other places under his jurisdiction.[58]

Public opinion was divided: the king and the Poitevins favored the bishop-elect; the queen and the Provencals, the archbishop, the queen's uncle. The archbishop was fortunate in that he managed to secure the backing of the University of Oxford, where on December 7, 1252, at a solemn congregation of the whole University he renewed the sentence of excommunication and published the names of all those who had so openly and publicly offended against the dignity and rights of his archiepiscopal office.[59]

The case was finally settled in the papal court. The bishops of Winchester were given the right of appointment for a small fee which should be paid to the archbishops of Canterbury in recognition of their former right.[60] Ultimately, the king and queen brought about a reconciliation between Boniface

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[57]Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, p. 312 and Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 349.

[58]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 349.

[59]Ibid., pp. 351-352.

[60]Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, pp. 312-313.

and Aymer. "On January 13, 1253, the elect of Winchester met the archbishop and received absolution and the kiss of peace."[61]

Aymer was among those who assembled at London in April, 1253, to consider granting the financial aid which had been denied the king in October, 1252;[62] and he was a member of a committee, composed of the archbishop, the bishops of Carlisle and Salisbury, and the elect of Winchester, who called upon the king and sought freedom of ecclesiastical elections in return for financial aid. The king, infuriated at their audacity, pointed out to the committee that each was holding his office through the king's intercession. To his brother, Aymer, he said:

> "...it is well known that when the monks were unwilling, I corrupted them by my words or my threats, and so raised you to the high pedestal of the church of Winchester, when by age and learning you were still in need of a pedagogue."[63]

When the king called upon the recalcitrant churchmen to resign, they replied that they were not discussing the past but the future.[64] After much discussion, the assembly agreed to the king's request "on his promise to observe for the future" the

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[61] Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, pp. 312-313 and Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 358-359.

[62] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 374 and Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, p. 314.

[63] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 374. The translation is taken from Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, p. 315.

[64] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 374.

articles of Magna Charta.[65] On May 13, 1253, the king gave his promise before a solemn assembly of his nobles and clerks in the great hall of Westminister, and on September 28 of the same year Innocent IV confirmed what had been done.[66]

In the meanwhile the monks of St. Swithun's "paid dearly for yielding to the pressure exercised by the Crown in the matter of the election of Aymer to the bishopric"[67] of Winchester. According to Matthew Paris, the story of their sufferings and persecutions would bring forth tears of compassion.[68] On one occasion, Aymer kept the monks locked up for three or more days in the church. Some of them never recovered from the hunger and mental sufferings that they had been forced to undergo.[69]

At length the monks escaped from Winchester and took shelter in the monasteries of Saint Albans, Reading, Abingdon, and other houses of the Black Friars. Despite the fact that the king reprimanded his brother for his actions, Aymer remained recalcitrant and filled the vacancies with low-born, uneducated, and unworthy monks, to the scandal of the monastic order and of religion.[70] In the place of William de Taunton, the lawful prior, Aymer appointed a certain Andrew of London.[71]

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[65] Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, p. 314-315.

[66] Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, p. 317, citing Rymer, Foedera, I, 293.

[67] V.C.H., Hampshire, II, 109.

[68] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 468.

[69] Loc. cit.

[70] Loc. cit.

[71] Ann. de Oseneia et Chronicon Thomas Wykes, pp. 104-106.

William de Taunton carried his appeal to the pope, but Aymer's vast resources perverted papal justice. Andrew of London was confirmed by the Curia, and William de Taunton had to remain content with one ecclesiastical manor[72] and the spiritual symbols of the office of prior.[73]

Even so, William de Taunton and the expelled monks did not remain quiet. They evidently realized that if they were to receive justice, they must have money. Henry III tried to counteract any success which they might have by forbidding any one from making a loan to William de Taunton, "who justly removed, ... still bears himself as prior."[74] The pope, however, was more generous and in early August, 1255, granted William de Taunton permission "to contract a loan of 2,000 marks to meet expenses incurred in prosecuting the business of himself and his convent."[75] Since William is addressed as prior of St. Swithun's in this grant, it would appear that the pope had already restored him to his former position. Shortly thereafter, William de Taunton evidently attempted to regain his rights; for later in the month the king advised Aymer against moving in any ecclesiastical court or before any one except the king

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[72] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 591.

[73] Ann. de Wintonia, 95 and Gasquet, Henry III and the Church, p. 319.

[74] C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp. 396-397.

[75] Bliss, Papal Letters, I, 305. Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 576 claims that the pope's revenues were increased by gifts from William de Taunton.

concerning the manor of Taunton and certain other manors held directly from the king.[76] But the struggle was drawing to an end: in October the pope granted the prior, the convent, and their adherents protection "in their goings and coming to Rome during the cause between them and the bishop elect of Winchester."[77] In the same month Alexander IV, in the first year of his pontificate, appointed the eminent Franciscan, Adam Marsh, to hear the case and settle it. Thus at a colloquium at Winchester, it was agreed that the convent would withdraw its charges and that the bishop-elect would restore any property of the convent that he held. The king approved the truce on June 26, 1256.[78]

Even though Aymer was engaged in the struggle with the monks of St. Swithun's and even though he had not even been consecrated bishop of Winchester, in 1255 Henry sought for him the second highest ecclesiastical position in England. According to Thomas Wykes, Walter de Grey, archbishop of York, died around Easter, 1255. Sewal de Bovill, a man eminently qualified for the position, was elected to the archbishopric. Henry III, however, refused his assent, hoping, instead, to have Aymer chosen. But the archbishop-elect frustrated the king's attempts by dispatching immediately messengers to the pope, requesting that he be consecrated in England. The pope agreed to the

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[76] C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp. 440-441.

[77] Ibid., p. 522.

[78] Loc. cit. William de Taunton was elected abbot of Milton by December 7, 1256. (C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 533.)

proposal and sent the spiritual symbols of the office to York, where Sewal was consecrated on Sunday, after the feast of Saint Mary Magdalene.[79]

In 1256 both the pope and the king confirmed a transaction by which Aymer, in return for his payment of debts contracted by the prior and monks of St. Swithun's while engaged in the feud with him, secured the island of Portland, with Waymue, Wyk, and Elwell, for the bishopric of Winchester.[80] And in the following year, the king, in the presence of witnesses, granted Aymer permission "to strengthen the island of Portland, with stone and lime and to crenellate it like a castle,..."[81]

The reputation of Aymer de Valence, bishop-elect of Winchester, received the severest strictures from the pens of his contemporaries. The monastic chroniclers all seem to be in agreement on certain facts: Aymer was proud, haughty, belligerent, uneducated, and thoroughly unsuited for a career in the church. On the other hand, he seems to have had several rather outstanding characteristics: he was an excellent business manager; he was keen in his judgment of men; and he was a generous lord.[82] According to Robo, Aymer probably suspected that something might happen to him, and he "undertook to provide against

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[79] Ann. de Oseneia et Chronicon Thomae Wykes, pp. 107-110.

[80] Ann. de Wintonia, p. 96.

[81] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 607.

[82] Etienne Robo, Medieval Farnham (Farnham, 1939), pp. 87, 89. See also Charter Rolls, II, 324.

that day."[83] He took every opportunity to turn the issues of his bishopric into hard cash. In this he was successful. At the time of his expulsion in 1258, Aymer had money on deposit in a number of monasteries throughout England and in the New Temple, London. The words which Matthew Paris put into the mouth of Henry III were probably correct: "in riches you are second to none of the clerks in England."

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[83]Robo, Medieval Farnham, p. 87.

CHAPTER VI

MISCELLANEOUS GIFTS AND OTHER MARKS OF AFFECTION

The sums he (Henry III) spent annually on gifts of wood, venison, robes, pensions would have been the despair of a modern committee of ways and means.[1]

In addition to grants of yearly fees, outright gifts of money, wardships, escheats, and other lands, the marks of Henry's generosity to his half-brothers covered many other phases of feudal life. There were deer and wood from the royal forests, robes from the king's wardrobe, and wine from the king's storehouses. Besides these, there were, among other things, gifts of palfreys, cattle, sheep, and silver dishes.

"The royal forests, with their rich, if incalculable resources in wood and venison" were "an object of intense practical concern both to the king and his subjects."[2] The royal forests were subject "to a special code of laws administered by local as well as central ministers."[3] Of the vast resources of

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[1]Powicke, Henry III, I, 303.

[2]Ibid., p. 30.

[3]John Charles Cox, The Royal Forests of England (London, 1905), p. 1 and Arthur Lyon Cross, Eighteenth Century Documents Relating to the Royal Forests, the Sheriffs, and Smuggling... (New York, 1928), p. 4. E. C. Wright, "Common Law in the Thirteenth Century English Royal Forest," Speculum, XIII, (1938), 166-191. Nellie Neilson, "The Forests" in The English Government at Work, ed. J. F. Willard and W. A. Morris (Cambridge, 1940), 394-467.

the forests, Henry III made ample use in rewarding his brothers.

In most of the royal forests, there were one or two parks. "A park was an enclosure, fenced off by pales or a wall."[4] There were, however, many parks throughout England which were held by subjects "under crown license" but which were outside of the forests.[5]

Henry's Lusignan brothers evidently held parks both within and without the royal forests. Only a few of the parks which they held are named. William held Newton,[6] Collingborne,[7] Morton,[8] Swindon,[9] Farnham,[10] Clavering,[11] and Benham;[12] Geoffrey held Byfleet;[13] and Aymer held Witney,[14] Burghclere,[15]

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[4]Cox, The Royal Forests of England, p. 2 and John Manwood, The Forest Laws, ed. by William Nelson, (London,1717), pp. 49-51,201,224-225.

[5]Cox, The Royal Forests of England, p. 2

[6]C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 95.

[7]Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 23.

[8]Loc. cit.

[9]Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 509.

[10]Ibid., p. 324.

[11]Ibid., p. 385.

[12]Close Rolls, 1251-1253, p. 267.

[13]Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 78.

[14]Close Rolls, 1251-1253, p. 33.

[15]Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 306.

and Downton.[16] None belonging to Guy were found listed. Of William's parks, Newton was in the forest of Southamptonshire;[17] Collingborne, in the forest of Chute;[18] and Morton, in the forest of Dean.[19] The latter two parks were made forever "quit of view of foresters, verderers, and all ministers, and all things belonging to the forest...".[20] For one year from Michaelmas, 1256, William was allowed to have a deer-leap at Collingborne.[21]

From time to time the king ordered the custodians of his parks and forests to issue live deer to his brothers for stocking their parks. William was given fifteen does and ten bucks for his parks of Swindon and Sopworth,[22] twenty-five bucks and thirty-five does for his park of Newton,[23] twelve does and three bucks for his park of Claverine,[24] twenty bucks and twenty does for his park of Benham,[25] and five bucks and fifteen does for his park of Collingborne.[26] Geoffrey received ten does for his

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[16] Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 306.

[17] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 95.

[18] Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 23.

[19] Loc. cit.

[20] C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp. 95, 533, and 484.

[21] Ibid., p. 484.

[22] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 249.

[23] Ibid., p. 342.

[24] Ibid., p. 385.

[25] Close Rolls, 1251-1253, p. 267.

[26] Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 55.

park of Byfleet;[27] and Aymer was the recipient of fifteen does and five bucks for his park of Witney[28] and thirty bucks and thirty does for his parks of Burghclere and Downton.[29] Also certain gifts of deer were made without any indication as to what should be done with them.[30] In such cases it is likely that they were given either for food or for stocking some unspecified property.

Deer were not the only animals granted from the forests. On May 29, 1250, Geoffrey de Langel', the justiciar of the forests, was ordered to grant to William 240 cows with their calves;[31] and in the following month the justiciar was advised to allow these cows to pasture in the forest of Wyersdale.[32]

Despite the fact that no one could hunt in the royal forests without special permission, Aymer and his household evidently took whatever animals they wanted whenever and wherever they pleased; for on June 27, 1253, Henry pardoned his brother and his household "for taking beasts in any forests in

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[27] Ibid., p. 78.

[28] Close Rolls, 1251-1253, p. 33.

[29] Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 306.

[30] Close Rolls, 1242-1247, p. 532; Close Rolls, 1247-1251, pp. 80,85,176,201,470,478,488; Close Rolls, 1251-1253, pp. 119, 379; Close Rolls, 1256-1259, pp. 79,231.

[31] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 387.

[32] Ibid., p. 397. For other gifts of cows to William, see Close Rolls, 1256-1259, pp. 339, 342.

England, from his first coming to the realm to Thursday after the octaves of Trinity, 1253."[33] But trespassing continued, and Henry issued a similar pardon on August 22, 1256.[34]

The king's brothers seem to have taken an active interest in building, for the custodians of the forests were continuously besieged with requests from the king to grant his brothers a specified number of trees for timber. Although forty trees appear to have been the largest single grant,[35] there were a number of calls for twenty[36] or less.[37] William and Aymer were the more popular recipients of these grants, but Guy and Geoffrey were not overlooked.

Of the four brothers, Aymer may have been the only one who received large gifts of firewood and charcoal from the forests. Such grants as these were quite numerous while he was a student at Oxford.[38] It appears, however, that the youth never became accustomed to the harsh northern climate; for on May 20, 1258, while the brothers were attending the Parliament at Oxford, the

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[33] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 202.

[34] Ibid., p. 494.

[35] Close Rolls, 1256-1259, p. 219.

[36] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 152; Close Rolls, 1251-1253, p. 29, 373; Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 140; and Close Rolls, 1256-1259, pp. 9, 217.

[37] Close Rolls, 1242-1247, p. 537; Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 16; Close Rolls, 1251-1253, pp. 31, 165, 328, 354; Close Rolls, 1254-1256, pp. 65,95,139,234,239,305,326,351,338; Close Rolls, 1256-1259, pp. 74,215; and Rôles Gascons, I, 388.

[38] Close Rolls, 1242-1247, pp. 525-526; Close Rolls, 1247-1251, pp. 23,33,126,137,200; Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III 160,197,198.

king commanded the custodian of the forest of Bernwood to give to his youngest brother three tree-trunks for his hearth.[39]

From time to time the king gave robes to his brothers and their followers. Such grants were usually made on the occasion of the knighting of one of the brothers' vassals or for the celebration of some feast day.[40] An example of such a gift is interesting: for the feast of Pentecost, 1251, Geoffrey de Lusignan was given a scarlet outfit, consisting of a tunic, a supertunic, a cloak, and a cap.[41] There were also gifts of liveries for servants.[42]

Henry very frequently made donations of wine to his brothers. Each of these gifts usually included one or two casks;[43] however, on occasion, the number of casks was increased considerably.[44] The less frequent gifts included silver cups,[45] palfreys,[46]

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[39] Close Rolls, 1256-1259, p. 222.

[40] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, pp. 14,16,17,90,162,451; Close Rolls, 1251-1253, p. 27,295, Rôles Gascons, I, 404.

[41] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 451.

[42] Ibid., pp. 16, 27.

[43] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, pp. 137, 32-33; Close Rolls, 1242-1247, pp. 539, 541; Close Rolls, 1251-1253, p. 337; Close Rolls, 1254-1256, pp. 67, 362, 307, 289, 299, 342; Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 275.

[44] Close Rolls, 1242-1247, p. 517; Close Rolls, 1247-1251, pp. 7, 20, 21, 32, 33; Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 48; Close Rolls, 1256-1259, p. 172; Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 121, 158, 170.

[45] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, p. 276.

[46] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 453 and Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 129.

war-horses,[47] rabbits,[48] ballistas,[49] cloths,[50] beds,[51] butterflies,[52] and tents.[53]

Certain other marks of Henry's affection caused more unrest among his barons than the distribution of the more tangible presents. Henry gave the brothers permission to hold markets and fairs; he freed their vassals from serving on assizes, juries, or recognitions; he sent them on diplomatic missions; he used them on committees; he placed them above the law; he used them as witnesses for various transactions; and he allowed them to carry on certain business in the king's name.

In addition to smaller fairs which were held annually at several of his manors, Aymer had under his jurisdiction one of the larger fairs of medieval England,--that of St. Giles. The normal length of the fair was sixteen days; but the king generally granted an extension, if it was desired.[54] On the vigil of St. Giles, the fair was proclaimed: "Let no merchant or other for these sixteen days within a circuit of seven leagues

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[47] Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 27.

[48] Cal. Lib. Rolls, Henry III, III, 129.

[49] Close Rolls, 1256-1259, p. 32.

[50] Close Rolls, 1251-1253, p. 24; Close Rolls, 1253-1254, p. 252; Rôles Gascons, I, 412.

[51] Close Rolls, 1251-1253, pp. 153-154.

[52] Rôles Gascons, I, 402.

[53] Loc. cit.

[54] V.C.H., Hampshire, V, 36. See also C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 105.

round the fair, sell, buy or set out for sale any merchandise in any place other than the fair under penalty of forfeiture of goods to the Bishop."[55] During the fair, the mayor and bailiffs of Winchester retired to their homes as private individuals; and "every function of civil government and the regulation of trade was transferred to the episcopal officials."[56]

After Aymer became bishop-elect of Winchester, he no doubt attempted to develop the fair of St. Giles with the same zeal that he displayed in the development of the rest of his bishopric. At the bishop-elect's instance, the king, on June 12 and August 14, 1251, proclaimed that all merchants on both sides of the seas coming to the fair should "be quit of all prises of the king and his bailiffs, vexations and injuries,..."[57]

Despite the fact that the king offered incentives to merchants, the fair of 1251 did not prove successful. The burgesses of Southampton and many merchants did not go to the fair with their goods as they were accustomed to do. Instead, they remained in Southampton, exposed their merchandise for sale, and restrained "the tronage and pesage to the prejudice of the church of Winchester and of A(ymer) (bishop) elect of Winchester."[58] In retaliation, the king not only commanded the

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[55] V.C.H., Hampshire, V, 36.

[56] Ibid., p. 38.

[57] C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp.98, 105.

[58] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 109.

sheriff of Southampton to cause Aymer to have the same "seisin regarding this fair as was enjoyed by" the former bishops of Winchester, but he also advised him to satisfy Aymer for his losses.[59]

The struggle between the bishop-elect and the burgesses of Southampton continued.[60] Finally, on April 24, 1255, the king inspected and confirmed an agreement made by the two parties on Sunday after the Annunciation, 1254. By this agreement the burgesses and their commonalty agreed and promised that "in the future no vendible goods or merchandise coming at any time to the town of Southampton on account of the said fair or remaining in the said town for that reason" should be "sold or bought in the town of Southampton by any merchant whether of that town or not, so long as the fair continues, victuals being always excepted." It was further agreed that if merchants arrived at Southampton with the intention of attending the fair of St. Giles, they should be forced to continue their journey. If, however, they swore that they had not come for that purpose, they might return, continue to the fair, or remain in Southampton. Those who remained, however, could sell none of their merchandise except foodstuffs.[61] Evidently the king and his brother attached much importance to St. Giles' fair, "the net

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[59] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 109.

[60] Close Rolls, 1251-1253, p. 511 and Close Rolls, 1253-1254, p. 16.

[61] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 109.

issues" of which "averaged some £125 per annum."[62]

In addition to the great fair of St. Giles, Henry permitted his brother, Aymer, to hold yearly fairs at his two manors of Sweyneston[63] and Taunton[64] and weekly markets at the manors of Halneldon[65] and Sweyneston.[66] Of the three remaining brothers, William de Valence alone seems to have received similar grants. The king allowed him to hold yearly fairs at the manors of Bampton,[67] Wrydelington,[68] Ixninges,[69] Shrivenham,[70] and Geynesburgh.[71] With the exception of Geynesburgh, these manors also held weekly markets.[72]

Henry III occasionally used his half-brothers as envoys. On January 12, 1257, Aymer was one of a group of three who were sent to Louis IX, the French king, to treat concerning the breaches of a truce between the two kings.[73] If the envoys

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[62] V.C.H., Hampshire, V, 38.

[63] Charter Rolls, I, 444.

[64] Ibid., p. 452.

[65] Ibid., p. 455.

[66] Ibid., p. 444.

[67] Ibid., p. 449.

[68] Charter Rolls, II, 8.

[69] Loc. cit.

[70] Charter Rolls, I, 471.

[71] Charter Rolls, II, 426.

[72] Grants were made for both fairs and markets.

[73] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 537; Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 611.

accomplished anything, Matthew Paris was ignorant of it.[74] Later in the same year, Aymer was a member of another embassy which was sent to the French king to demand English rights. This mission failed.[75]

Three days after the prorogation of the Parliament of London, Henry gave Simon de Montfort, Peter de Sabaudia, Geoffrey and Guy de Lusignan, and Hugh le Bigod the power to make and confirm truces between the kings of England and France. These truces should endure until Whitsunday, 1261.[76] The mission concerned the giving up of those rights of succession which Henry, his brother, Richard, and his sister, Eleanor, held "in the lands which the predecessors of the said Louis, the said Louis or his brothers hold."[77] Henry advised Louis IX that he would labor to get Richard, Eleanor, and their children to renounce all rights which they held and that the envoys had full power and special mandate to carry out his promises.[78]

A visit of September, 1255, gave Henry III an opportunity to indulge his love of pageantry: his daughter, Margaret, and her husband, Alexander III, king of Scotland, made a trip to England. Among those who took a prominent part in the elaborate festivities which Henry provided were two of his half-brothers,

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[74] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 611. 'Quid actum inde fuerit, adhuc non apparuit.'

[75] Ibid., p. 659.

[76] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 628.

[77] Ibid., p. 663.

[78] Loc. cit.

--William de Valence and Geoffrey de Lusignan. On September 2 Henry authorized William and Geoffrey along with Roger Bygod, earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, John de Warenne, William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle, and Edmund de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, to conduct the King and Queen of Scotland and those accompanying them to his presence.[79] Two days later, the welcoming committee advised the king that they had received the Scottish retinue "in their safe custody up to Michaelmas 1255." The committee further advised that it would "permit nothing to be done in prejudice of the Scottish king or his kingdom or its liberties."[80] One may readily imagine the envy and hostility, with which the English nobility viewed the upstart brothers on this occasion.

During his turbulent term as seneschal of Gascony, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, incurred great expense. A committee composed of Walter, bishop of Worcester; Walter, bishop of Norwich; William, bishop of Bath and Wells; Aymer, bishop-elect of Winchester; Richard, earl of Cornwall; the king's brothers, William de Valence and Guy de Lusignan; Richard, earl of Gloucester; Roger, earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England; Peter de Sabaudia; and John Balliol was appointed to investigate Simon's claims. Henry obviously followed the committee's advice, for on January 4, 1252, he issued a bond to Simon

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[79] Rolls, Scotland, I, 384 and C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 424.

[80] Rolls, Scotland, I, 384 and C.P.R. 1247-1258, p. 441.

to satisfy him "for his expenses in the king's service in Gascony."[81]

During the Gascon campaign of 1253-1254, Henry III used one or more of his half-brothers on committees to arbitrate between himself and his treacherous or recalcitrant subjects. On December 2, 1253, Henry ordered Simon de Montfort, Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan, and William de Cantilupe "to receive the award and judgment touching the plaints which the king and his have against Amanieu de la Brett," who had been convicted of treason by the Council.[82] The board of arbitrators advised the king that henceforth Amanieu would serve him faithfully. For security the said Amanieu promised to hand over to the king two of his castles for a period of two years and to have as many of his men as the king wished swear to his keeping good faith. If, however, Amanieu should fail to do so, the men were to ally themselves with the king against their overlord.[83] On December 4, 1253, the king ratified the committee's award.[84]

In May, 1254, William de Valence, William de Cantilupe, and Peter de Montfort announced that they had come to an agreement with Eschivat de Chabbeneys, count of Bigorre, "touching the homage to be done to the king of England by him and his heirs for the county of Bigorre."[85] In the same month Henry

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[81] C.P.R., 1247-1258, 124; Shirley, Royal Letters, II, 68-69.

[82] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 254-255.

[83] Ibid., p. 255.

[84] Loc. cit.

[85] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 350.

sent Geoffrey de Lusignan, William de Valence, Peter de Sabaudia, William de Cantilupe, Peter Chaceporc the treasurer, and Robert Walerand the steward, to negotiate with the "knights, burgesses, and others of the honour of Genzak," who, after the death of Ellis Rudell, lord of Bergerac and Genzak, held out against the king.[86] Four months later the members of the same committee were still treating with the recalcitrant knights, burgesses, and others of Genzak.[87]

The frequency with which the names of Guy, Geoffrey, and William appear as witnesses in the years 1253 and 1254 indicates that they were the king's constant companions during the Gascon campaign.[88] Further evidence of this fact is available: Henry's endless largesse to his brothers during these years proves not only that they were frequently in the king's presence but also that they pressed him incessantly with their demands.[89] When they were on some sort of mission for the king, they are not named in the witness lists.[90]

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[86] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 299; Rôles Gascons, I, 338-339.

[87] C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp. 355-356.

[88] In making this statement, I am in full agreement with F. W. Maitland, "History from the Charter Roll," E.H.R., VIII (1893), 726-733, who was of the opinion that the witnesses were actually present at the attestation. For further information concerning the Charter witness lists consult Josiah Cox Russell, "Charter Witness Lists Again," Speculum, XIV(1939), pp. 108-109, and the footnotes for further bibliography of his own work and that of G. L. Haskins.

[89] Consult C.P.R., 1247-1258; Rôles Gascons, I; Close Rolls, 1253-1254, and Charter Rolls, I. The references are entirely too numerous to record.

[90] See the December, 1253 and the mid-May, 1254 witnesses in C.P.R., 1247-1258.

Henry was wont to settle much of his business and determine many of his policies "in small councils without the assent of his barons."[91] The witness lists for the years 1253-1254 prove beyond a doubt that a limited number of men surrounded the king constantly. Among those who served as witnesses and no doubt gave advice to the king were William de Valence and Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan. The Apulia affair, by which Henry attempted to place Edmund, his younger son, on the throne of Sicily, provides further evidence that the king formulated his policies in small councils and was influenced by his half-brothers.[92] On November 21, 1255, Henry himself stated that following the advice of his Council, of which Aymer, William, and Geoffrey were members, he had placed the seal of England on a group of privileges concerning the Apulia affair.[93]

During the Gascon campaign of 1253-1254, Henry appears to have granted Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan power to transact business for the king. Some of the letters patent for these years were issued in the names of one or both brothers or of one brother and the king.[94] Most of these patents deal with financial rewards to individuals for their homage and faithful service.[95]

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[91] James S. Baldwin, The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1913), p. 29.

[92] Ibid., pp. 29-30. Consult Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 240 and C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 451.

[93] Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 240; C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 451.

[94] C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp. 247,316,317,318, and Rôles Gascons, I nos. 2134,2446,3883,3900,3903,3921.

[95] See footnote 94 supra.

The king's Lusignan brothers were ever on the alert to help each other, a friend, a vassal, or a servant. These grants, which usually read "at the instance of", have to do with every conceivable type of business. Several rather interesting examples follow.

On October 1, 1251, Henry III gave permission to Aymer that "the whole of his free household, as well as those who serve in his inn as other serjeants of his manors throughout England, shall not be put on assizes, juries or recognitions so long as they be in his service."[96] The normal procedure, however, was for these grants to be made "at the instance of" one of the brothers to an individual. At the instance of Guy, Henry freed Robert de Welles, Ralph, son of Simon, Gilbert de Thetford,[97] and Robert de Grimscote[98] from service on assizes, juries, or recognitions. The latter was also freed from "being made sheriff, coroner, escheator, register, regarder, inquisitor, forester, verderer, or other bailiff of the king against his will."[99] Similar exemptions were gained through the efforts of Geoffrey and William for Ralph de Engelby,[100] Robert, son of Nigel,[101] Robert de Cokefeld,[102] and John de Bridgeport.[103]

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[96] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 111.

[97] Ibid., p. 130.

[98] Ibid., p. 462.

[99] Loc. cit.

[100] Ibid., p. 494.

[101] Ibid., p. 381.

[102] Ibid., p. 578.

[103] Ibid., p. 623.

The study's Dominican [illegible] were every one a saint or
hung each day, [illegible], a vessel, or a banner. These
groups, which [illegible] the Dominicans of [illegible], were
with every conceivable type of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

On October 14, 1943, the [illegible] dedication of a [illegible]
that "has made its own [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible]
serve in his [illegible] [illegible] of his [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible], which [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]."[96] [illegible] [illegible]
over, was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible]
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Theorem,[97] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible], or [illegible]. The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]
[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], or [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible].[98] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
or [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].[100] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible],[101] [illegible] [illegible],[102] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].[103]

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[96] [illegible], [illegible], p. [illegible].

[97] [illegible], p. [illegible].

[98] [illegible], p. [illegible].

[99] [illegible], [illegible].

[100] [illegible], p. [illegible].

[101] [illegible], p. [illegible].

[102] [illegible], p. [illegible].

[103] [illegible], p. [illegible].

Through the intercession of the Lusignans, the king was persuaded to pardon their followers and servants for such crimes as rape,[104] debt,[105] counterfeiting,[106] homicide,[107] trespass,[108] and theft.[109] Although all of the brothers probably interfered far more frequently than the records indicate, the references to William's intervention are indeed numerous.

The influence of the king's Lusignan brothers was also felt in the granting of vacant ecclesiastical benefices. Through the efforts of Guy and William, William de Sexthorp was presented to the church of Yerdel.[110] Just before sailing from Portsmouth on July 7, 1253, Henry directed Richard of Cornwall and William de Kilkenny, archdeacon of Coventry, "to provide Master John de Lith', clerk of A(ymer) (bishop) elect of W(inchester) in a benefice of 60 marks."[111]

At Meilhan on March 17, 1254, Henry advised Richard of Cornwall and William de Kilkenny to provide John de Antioch,

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[104] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 510.

[105] Close Rolls, 1256-1259, p. 24; C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 34.

[106] Rôles Gascons, I, 342-343; C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 293.

[107] C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp. 545.

[108] Close Rolls, 1256-1259, p. 229.

[109] Rôles Gascons, I, 326 and Close Rolls, 1256-1259, pp. 168-169.

[110] Rotuli Roberti Grossetesto Episcopi Lincolniensis, necnon Rotulus Henrici de Lexington Episcopi Lincolniensis, A.D. MCCLIV-MCLIX, ed. by F. N. Davis, (Horncastle, 1914), pp. 248-249.

[111] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 234.

clerk of Geoffrey de Lusignan, with a benefice of forty or fifty marks as soon as possible.[112] When Henry returned to England, the benefice had not been presented; and he promised Master John that he would "provide for him in the first ecclesiastical benefice that falls void of the king's gift of the value of not more than 50 marks a year."[113] Finally, on May 13, 1255, Henry ordered the bishop of London to hand over to John the church of Rivenhall "by reason of the king's wardship of the lands of Peter de Rovcestre."[114]

At the instance of Guy de Lusignan, Henry promised to provide for John, son of Denis, coffer of Paris, a benefice to the value of thirty marks a year, as soon as the opportunity came.[115] On October 20, 1255, William de Valence and Geoffrey de Lusignan, acting for the king, ratified Aymer's appointment of his clerk, Emery Curtini, as warden of the house of St. Cross in the diocese of Winchester "in consideration of the probity, character and knowledge of the said Emery."[116]

Among other favors which the Lusignans sought was that of knighthood for their followers. As has already been pointed out, the king occasionally supplied the robes and trappings of knighthood for these men.[117] Several among the many of his

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[112] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 278. [113] Ibid., p. 407.

[114] Ibid. p. 410.

[115] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 466.

[116] Charter Rolls, I, 451.

[117] See above p. 92.

brothers' friends whom Henry knighted were William Mutun,[118] Bertrand de Cressy,[119] William de Walenfrey,[120] Guy de Quercu, and Peter Bernard.[121] Numbers who are listed as having received robes and accouterments for the knighting ceremony are not called by name.

Other favors which Henry III granted his brothers were protection for their stewards and messengers while traveling for their masters,[122] protection for their merchants, and freedom to trade throughout Ireland, England, and Wales.[123]

Although it is evident from the complaints of the barons, that they were primarily concerned over the king's grants of money, warships, and escheats to his Lusignan brothers,[124] they must have been cognizant of the thousands of miscellaneous donations and marks of favor which Henry III also showered upon the Lusignans; and, no doubt, their wrath was further increased by these indications of the king's affection.

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[118] Rôles Gascons, I, 429.

[119] Ibid., p. 360.

[120] Close Rolls, 1254-1256, p. 329.

[121] Ibid., p. 71.

[122] C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp. 6,19,91,291,405,469,585,622; Rolls, Ireland, I, 439; Rolls, Ireland, II, 88,140; Close Rolls 1247-1251, pp. 112-113; and Rôles Gascons, I, Supplement, p. 26.

[123] C.P.R., 1247-1258, pp. 29,289,446; Rolls, Ireland, II, 54; Close Rolls, 1247-1251, p. 269.

[124] See Chapter VII infra.

CHAPTER VII

THE EXPULSION

Eiecti sunt fratres regis Henrici et multi alienigene....[1]

Although the baronial movement of 1258 to 1267 cannot be ascribed entirely to the desire of the English barons to rid the country of the king's Lusignan brothers, certainly the partiality which Henry III showed them was a contributing factor in precipitating the crisis.[2] The hatred which the

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[1]"Annales Dorenses," M.G.H., Scriptores, XXVII, 529. "The brothers of king Henry and many foreigners were expelled....."

[2]According to Professor Powicke, "the brothers of the house of Lusignan, though they were not popular, do not seem to have been marked down until they resisted the process of events at Oxford." (Henry III, I, 384) And "the main offence of the king's brothers was that they had refused to swear to the provisions." (Loc. cit.) And further: "Some annalists, unfamiliar with political affairs, naturally ascribed the baronial movement as such to the unpopularity of the king's half-brothers." (Loc.cit., n. 1) I cannot concur with Professor Powicke's contention. It is my firm conviction that long before the Parliament of Oxford met the English barons considered the Lusignan brothers and other Poitevins in very much the same light as we view a ring of gangsters today. I am inclined to believe that the feeling of resentment, jealousy, and hatred toward the Lusignans was smoldering throughout the period from 1247 to 1258. There can be little doubt that the barons were familiar with the numerous excesses which the Lusignans committed during this period. They were aware that the king was endowing his brothers heavily with wardships, escheats, and other lands. They also knew that William de Valence and Aymer were two of the wealthiest men in England. Indeed, I should be more surprised if public opinion were not against the Lusignans. And although I should hestitate to ascribe "the baronial movement as such to the unpopularity of the king's half-brothers," in view of the fact that many of the items of the Provisions of Oxford were directed (continued)

Lusignans evoked commenced on their first entering England in 1247 and culminated in their expulsion on July 18, 1258.

The aversion which the barons felt for the king's brothers "originated not in the bare fact of their foreign birth, but in their unconstitutional doctrines and utter lawlessness."[3] In describing the Lusignans to Pope Alexander IV, the barons claimed that the king's brothers "plundered the poor, beguiled the simple, cherished the impious, oppressed the innocent, exulted in the worst things, rejoiced when they had done evil, ... basked in the tears of widows, rejoiced in stripping children of their goods."[4] Indeed, their excesses were so grave and so great that "their inferiors could not live beneath them; their equals, with them; nor their superiors, above them."[5] When it was brought to their attention "that their conduct was contrary to the English laws, they scrupled not to reply, 'What do the laws of England signify to us? We regard them not.'"[6] There can be

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against the aliens, especially the Lusignans, I cannot help but feel that the barons were "out to get" the king's brothers from the very beginning.

[3] O. H. Richardson, The National Movement in the Reign of Henry III, p. 71.

[4] Letter of the barons to the Pope in Ann. de Theokesberia, 172.

[5] Loc. cit.

[6] Stephen Reynolds Clarke, Vestigia Anglicana or Illustrations of the More Interesting and Debatable Points in the History and Antiquities of England, 2 vols., (London, 1826), I, 398. The same idea is attributed to one of William's seneschals. 'Si ... tibi injuriam facio, quis tibi rectum faciet? dominus rex vult quicquid dominus meus vult; sed dominus meus nonvult quicquid dominus rex vult, vel emperat." (William de Rishanger, The Chronicle of the Barons' Wars, ed. by James O. Halliwell, (London, 1840) (The Camden Society) p. 5.

no question that the brothers felt entirely safe; for not only did the king distort justice in their favor, but he "gave orders that no chancery writ was to be issued which could be productive of injury or loss" to them.[7]

A detailed catalog of the crimes attributed to the Lusignans and their followers would be entirely too tedious. For the sake of illustration, however, a number of the more interesting ones should be indicated. Indeed, this becomes a necessity in view of the charges which the barons laid before Pope Alexander IV.

When Guy returned to England from his crusade, he borrowed horses from the Abbot of Faversham and never returned them.[8] More colorful, however, was the outrage of William de Valence against the Bishop of Ely. In the year 1252, William came from his castle of Hertford and against a decree of the king entered the park of the Bishop of Ely which was near the bishop's manor of Hatfield. Therein he hunted without the license of anyone,--an act which was not only a violation of the law of the land but also a violation of the honor of a knight. After William had finished hunting, he went to the manor of the bishop and sought drink. On finding nothing but ale, he swore profusely, broke down the door of the cellar, removed the taps from the wine casks, and drank as much as he wanted. After his own thirst had been quenched, he ordered the choicest wine to be

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[7]N. Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall (Oxford, 1947), p. 84 citing Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, pp. 594, 689.

[8]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 204-205.

distributed to his grooms and all who wished, as if it were water or common ale. When he and his men had drunk to the point of inebriation, they retired. Later, the bishop's servants found wine flowing abundantly over the floor of the cellar.[9]

According to Matthew Paris, shortly thereafter Geoffrey de Lusignan, proposing to rest at the monastery of St. Albans, sent his groom ahead to announce his arrival and make accomodations for him. When the groom arrived at the gate of the monastery, without even greeting the gatekeeper, he demanded a regal apartment for his master, who, he claimed, was of kingly blood. The gatekeeper, in a seemingly cool and collected manner, informed the groom that it was the custom of the monastery for those who desired hospitality to ask for it gently and not boisterously. Thereupon, the infuriated groom demanded the direction of the stables. The gatekeeper indicated to him a long building, where three hundred horses could be stabled without difficulty. On that day, however, a number of churchmen and laymen had gathered at the monastery for hospitality: they had been dined, and their horses had been fed. Geoffrey's groom entered the stable, and on observing many horses and grooms, drove them from the building. Indeed, he left no corner of the building occupied.[10]

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[9]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, pp. 343-344. See also V.C.H., Hertford, III, 99-100.

[10]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 344-345.

Far more cruel, however, was Geoffrey's treatment of the king's cook. At Guilford, on the day of Circumcision, 1253, Geoffrey became angry with a certain Roger, one of the king's chief cooks. He and his men rushed upon the said Roger, treated him most cruelly, bound him, wounded him in many places, hung him up, and pulled out the hairs of his head one-by-one. As a result of such torture, the cook died. The master of the cooks, on reporting this incident to the king, received nothing but scoffs.[11]

According to William de Rishanger, the conduct of the bailiffs and seneschals of the Lusignans was such that they deserved to be called robbers. Their excesses were, he vouched, too numerous to relate. One, however, was deserving of attention and was illustrative of all the others. Once a youth was passing through a little village called Trumpeton. When he was attacked by a dog, he picked up a stone and threw it at the animal, hoping thereby to defend himself. Instead, the stone accidentally killed a hen belonging to one of the village women. The outcry which the woman raised brought forth her neighbors. The youth swore under oath that the death of the fowl had come about accidentally and offered to pay double its value. But the woman accused the youth of every conceivable crime and cried loudly for vengeance. An insolent servant of William de Valence happened to be passing. He took advantage of his master's position, seized the guiltless youth, and sent him bound with chains

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[11]John de Oxenedes, Chronica, p. 175.

to an intolerable prison. After a few days the youth died and was buried in a cemetery. Three days later, William de Bussey, seneschal of William de Valence, passed through that region. On hearing what had been done, he ordered the corpse to be disinterred and hung from a fork-shaped gibbet. All of these things, wailed the chronicler, were done without trial.[12]

Sceptical though one may be of many of the atrocity stories attributed to the Lusignans and their servants, there can be little doubt that many of them were true. There is the case brought against Aymer and his bailiffs before the Council.[13] John Fitz Geoffrey "sought redress for an attack made by the bailiffs of Aymer de Lusignan on the clerk and men of John's manor of Shere...."[14] It appears that Aymer had sent these "men who plundered the church, killed the clerk, and some of John's tenants, and robbed and beat others."[15] Despite the fact that John had presented his complaint to the king, "Aymer's influence had ... prevented the case from being heard."[16]

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[12]William de Rishanger, Chronicle of the Barons' Wars, p. 4. With only a few omissions, this is the story as Rishanger tells it. Whether it is true or not, I am unable to say. It does, however, tie in with the barons' complaints to Alexander IV. That William de Bussey was capable of this action, see Treharne, The Baronial Period of Reform, p. 125, who states: "William de Bussey, the arrogant and brutal steward of William de Valence, was tried in January, 1259, on many charges..."

[13]C.P.R., 1258-1266, p. 2.

[14]Treharne, The Baronial Plan of Reform, p. 113, citing Close Rolls, 1187, m. 1 and Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 708-709 and VI, 408-409. See also C.P.R., 1258-1266, p. 2.

[15]C.P.R., 1258-1266, p. 2. See other references in footnote 14 above.

[16]C.P.R., 1258-1266, p. 2. The Council saw to it that justice was rendered.

Although the English barons certainly were enraged by the atrocities committed by the Lusignans and their followers, they were even more indignant that the king was bestowing those emoluments which they felt to be rightfully theirs on penniless foreigners who were surpassing them both in prestige and riches.[17] The barons were justified in these complaints: William and Aymer were two of the wealthiest men in England; and all four brothers appear to have outranked most of the English nobles, even though their best claim to nobility was vested in the appellation "the king's brothers."[18]

In rewarding his brothers, the king transgressed not only the letter but also the spirit of the charters. He interfered in episcopal elections;[19] he abused the feudal customs concerning wardships[20] and marriages;[21] he placed his brothers above the law; he freed their followers from service on juries, assizes, and recognitions; he pardoned their servants and

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[17]Wright, Political Songs, pp. 86-87.

[18]The position of their names on the witness lists, their prestige with the king, and their service in important official capacities bear witness to this fact. But see also their attitude in n.10 above.

[19]Compare Magna Charta, Article I in Select Charters, p. 42.

[20]Compare Magna Charta, Articles II-V in Select Charters, pp. 42-43. See also Chapter IV above and n. 4 of this chapter.

[21]Compare Magna Charta, Articles VI-VIII in Select Charters, pp. 43-44. The marriages of William de Valence with Joan de Muntchenesy and Alice de Lusignan with John de Warenne were, in reality, a violation of Article VI. From the barons' letter to the pope, one is led to believe that the Lusignan brothers also violated the articles concerning marriage.

followers for certain heinous crimes; and, indeed, he appears to have banded together with them and other aliens against the rest of the country.[22]

For eleven years the English barons suffered the arrogance and cruelty of the Lusignans. For eleven years they observed the king lavishing upon his despicable brothers those things which they themselves desired. Finally, the day of reckoning arrived: the king was completely bankrupt. The situation is ably depicted by Tout, who states:

> During the early months of 1258, the aliens ruled the king and realm, added estate to estate, and defied all attempts to dislodge them. Papal agents traversed the country, extorting money from prelates and churches. The Welsh, in secret relations with the lords of the march, threatened the borders and made a confederacy with the Scots. The French were hostile, and the barons disunited, without leaders and helpless. A wretched harvest made corn scarce and dear. A wild winter, followed by a long late frost, cut off the lambs and destroyed the farmers' hopes for the summer. A murrain of cattle followed, and the poor were dying of hunger and pestilence. Henry III was in almost as bad a plight as his people. He had utterly failed to subdue Llewelyn.[23] A papal agent threatened him with excommunication and the resumption of the grant of Sicily.[24] He could not control his foreign kinsfolk, and the rivalry of the Savoyards and Poitevins added a new element of turmoil to the distracted relations of the magnates. His son had been forced to pawn his best estates to William de Valence, and the royal exchequer was absolutely empty. Money must be had at all risks, and the only way to get it was to assemble the magnates.[25]

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[22] Certainly Henry violated the spirit of the charters by these acts.

[23] Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, who united the Welsh princes under his lordship and assumed the title "prince of Wales." (Powicke, Henry III, I, 380).

[24] This reference is to the granting of the crown of Sicily to Henry's younger son, Edmund.

[25] Tout, History of England, 1216-1377, p. 98.

On April 2, 1258, the leading men of the nobility and clergy assembled at London. In the various meetings of the parliament, debates were heated; rash words were spoken.[26] Finally, the barons "forced Henry, in return for the promise of an aid, to consent to the reform of the realm by a Committee of Twenty-four."[27] Of these twenty-four, the king was given authority to choose twelve; and the barons, the other twelve. The Committee was entrusted with the task of drawing up a list of complaints which should be presented to a parliament which was to meet at Oxford in June.[28]

In the meantime, the barons continued to "mature their scheme,"[29] while the king sent ambassadors to France to treat with Louis IX concerning a truce[30] and an embassy to Rome "to ask for the dispatch of a papal legate as well as for an amelioration of the conditions of the Sicilian business."[31] At length, on June 11, 1258, the parliament, which seems to have included "a full assembly of the baronage and higher clergy, assembled at Oxford."[32]

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[26]Tout, History of England, 1216-1377, p. 98 and Stubbs, Constitutional History of England, II, 75.

[27]At least three, if not four, of the Lusignans represented the king on this committee.

[28]R. F. Treharne, "The Personal Rule of Henry III and the Aims of the Baronial Reformers of 1258," History, New Series, XVI(1931-1932), p. 340.

[29]Tout, History of England, p. 99.

[30]Powicke, Henry III, I, 378. See also Chapter VI above.

[31]Loc. cit.

[32]Stubbs, Constitutional History of England, II, 76.

The threat of war with the Welsh gave the barons an excuse to appear at Oxford with armed forces.[33] Matthew Paris, however, believed that the barons expected to have trouble with the king's brothers.[34] Ultimately, a truce with the Welsh furthered the already-existing hatred between William de Valence and Simon de Montfort. William, who did not favor the truce, accused Simon of being a traitor. The irate earl replied: "No, William, I am neither a traitor nor the son of a traitor. Our progenitors were different."[35]

To a meeting of the parliament the committee presented not only a list of proposed reforms but also a new plan of government.[36] The opposition of the Poitevins to this plan of reform, which is known in history as the Provisions of Oxford, "was disregarded and overridden by the barons without any difficulty until June 22nd, when the Poitevin obstruction became a serious and dangerous obstacle."[37] Several decisions of the committee aroused the Poitevins, "to extreme defiance."[38] Royal castles should be bestowed on none but native-born Englishmen;[39] "any wrongful oppressions alleged against any bailiffs, royal or baronial,

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[33]Stubbs, Constitutional History of England, II, 76.

[34]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 695-696.

[35]Ibid., p. 677.

[36]Ann. de Burton, 439-443.

[37]Treharne, The Baronial Plan of Reform, p. 76.

[38]Loc. cit.

[39]Ann. de Burton, pp. 444, 439-440.

were to be investigated and punished, and any lord responsible for these misdeeds was to make reparation; this was doubly emphasized in the case of the Poitevins;"[40] and every bishop, earl, baron, and knight was to swear to uphold the provisions.[41] If any one refused, he should be considered an enemy of the state.[42]

Despite the threats of Simon de Montfort and other nobles, the Lusignans refused to swear to the provisions[43] and began to plot against the barons.[44] After failing in several attempts,[45] they evidently realized that in the end they would be forced to leave England; for Guy and Geoffrey persuaded the lord Edward, who had borrowed money from them, to make the former keeper of Oleron and the Channel Islands and the latter seneschal of Gascony.[46] When the plot was discovered by the barons, letters

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[40]Treharne, The Baronial Plan of Reform, p. 76 and Ann. de Burton, p. 43.

[41]Chronicon Dovoriae, M. S. Cotton. Julius D. v. fol. 31, r° cited in Rishanger, Chronicle of the Barons' Wars, p. 117.

[42]Ann. de Dunstaplia, p. 209; Ann. de Theokesberia, p. 174.

[43]Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 698; Ann. de Dunstaplia, p. 209; Ann. de Burton, p. 444; Chronicon Henrici Knighton, vel Cnitthon, Monachi Leycestrensis, ed. by J. R. Lamby, 2 vols., London, 1889, I, 238.

[44]This point is best brought out in the letter of the barons to the pope. See Ann. de Theokesberia, p. 171 or Matthew Paris, Additamenta, p. 215.

[45]See the letter cited in n. 44.

[46]For several references, Treharne, The Baronial Plan of Reform, p. 77.

were dispatched to Gascony, Oléron, and Ireland, advising the officials and people of those regions to obey no order which came to them from the lord Edward, unless it was confirmed by the king.[47] Upon the failure of this attempt, the Lusignans decided to flee.

Matthew Paris gives an interesting account of the flight. On the night of June 22, while dinner was being prepared, the half-brothers of the king secretly left Oxford.[48] In their flight they had their servants ascend the higher positions to see if the barons were following them. Finally, after urging on their horses with all their might, they arrived at Winchester and took up their abode in Wolvesey castle, Aymer's episcopal residence.[49]

When the barons learned that the Lusignans had fled, they became alarmed: it was entirely possible that aid might be secured from the continent. As a result, they immediately ordered all of their followers and every one else present to arm themselves and set out by horse for Winchester.[50] On their arrival, the barons beseiged Wolvesey castle.[51] At length, the Lusignans evidently realized that they could not hold out; for they sent their messengers to the barons, stating that they were willing to become reconciled and were prepared to stand

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[47] C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 639. See also Treharne, The Baronial Period of Reform, p. 77.

[48] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 698. See also Ann. de Dunstaplia, III, p. 209; Tout, History of England, p. 102.

[49] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 698.

[50] Loc. cit. [51] Ann. de Burton, p. 444.

by the Provisions.[52]

But the barons were unwilling to give the king's brothers a second chance: they must leave the kingdom with their households, "at least during the period of reform."[53] To the king's imprecations, the barons relented only to the extent that they offered William de Valence and Aymer de Lusignan, who held lands in England, the opportunity of remaining under their custody. William and Aymer refused to accept these conditions, and all four brothers asked permission to leave the country. Although they had hopes of retaining the full income from their lands,[54] they were allowed only enough for their sustenance. The remainder was to go to the custodians of their estates; and if they should ever be allowed to return (which was unlikely), the accumulated wealth would be turned over to them.[55]

The brothers were evidently amenable to these conditions, for on July 5, 1258, the king issued letters of safe conduct for them. By these letters he appointed Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, and William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle, and certain other

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[52] Ann. de Burton, p. 444.

[53] Ann. de Burton, p. 445 and Treharne, The Baronial Plan of Reform, p. 79.

[54] Ann. de Burton, p. 445. Treharne, The Baronial Plan of Reform, p. 79, citing Ann. de Burton, p. 444-445, claims that the brothers asked to be allowed to leave the country with all of their wealth plus the future proceeds from their lands. I do not see this in the source.

[55] Ann. de Burton, p. 445.

nobles to conduct his brothers and their households to Dover and from there to Whitsand. This mission was to be accomplished before July 14.[56]

According to the Burton annalist, the brothers were given six thousand marks before they left England.[57] Of this amount, William and Aymer each received three thousand marks.[58] It would thus appear that Guy and Geoffrey may have been expelled without resources. If this were the case, the barons evidently justified their action on the grounds that these two brothers held no properties in England in their own right.[59] It is possible that Guy and Geoffrey had no extensive resources in England.

The six thousand marks were sent to Dover, where they were to be handed over to William and Aymer by Walter de Grey and Robert de Ferraris, earl of Derby.[60] On July 6 the king ordered Richard de Grey, cutodian of the Cinque Ports to search the brothers and their retinues for money and weapons.[61] It

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[56]Rymer, Foedera, I, ii, 40; C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 640; Ann. de Burton, p. 445.

[57]Ann. de Burton, p. 445.

[58]For this statement, Treharne, The Baronial Plan of Reform, p. 79 cites Ann. de Burton, p. 445 as his source. I have been unable to read this interpretation into the account of the Burton annalist. But C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 641 specifically states that 3,000 marks were to be taken from the convent of Waltham "out of the money of William de Valence on deposit in their house...to be carried to Dover and delivered... to the said William...."

[59]This point is clearly brought out in Ann. de Burton, p.445.

[60]Treharne, The Baronial Plan of Reform, p. 79 and C.P.R., 1247-1258, p. 641.

[61]Close Rolls, 1256-1259, p. 317.

appears, however, that the Lusignans had already placed both money and other objects in the New Temple at London and in certain religious houses for safe-keeping.[62] Accompanied by a group of aliens, the Lusignans sailed on July 18, 1258.[63] The revolution had been accomplished without bloodshed.[64]

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[62] Ann. de Burton, p. 445; C.P.R., 1258-1266, p. 22. 'Mandate to the preceptor and the treasurer of the New Temple, London, to deliver...a box deposited with other things in their house by William..."; and Ibid., pp. 643-644.

[63] Powicke, Henry III, I, 385 claims that the brothers sailed on July 14. Treharne, The Baronial Plan of Reform, p. 79 gives July 18; Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 702 gives July 18.

[64] Treharne, The Baronial Plan of Reform, p. 97.

EPILOGUE

Although one would like to know just why Henry III was so indulgent to the Lusignans, it is difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion. There can be no doubt that he loved all of his brothers and sisters: all of them were the recipients of frequent donations of one sort or another. But fraternal love does not seem to explain the whole situation.

By marrying the Lusignans into the ranks of his native barony, Henry III was probably just as much interested in creating a powerful court party as he was in providing for his relatives. The marriages of the penniless Lusignans with the king's powerful vassals not only prevented the further aggrandizement of certain English noble families through marital union but also gave the king an opportunity of drawing closer to himself the loyalties of vassals who might, on occasion, give him trouble.

In his policy of endowing the Lusignans with incomes and properties, it is entirely possible that Henry III was attempting to set up the French system of appanages for younger members of the royal family. The Lusignans themselves considered that they were of royal blood; Henry believed that they should not "be of a worse condition than others but of a better." In this respect, however, Henry was never able to succeed entirely.

That he must have met with resistence is indicated by his inability to create William de Valence earl of Pembroke, despite the fact that the latter held the lands belonging to that title.

From the very beginning the Lusignans conducted themselves in a manner which was entirely incompatible with English custom. Henry's brothers may have acquired a part of their rowdiness from association with their temperamental mother. It may have been that they brought from France the idea that nobility and royalty were above the law and could not be restrained by legal processes. Difficult though this point would be to prove, certainly the brothers assumed this attitude shortly after their arrival in England.

If the question should be raised as to why Henry III seemingly accepted so readily the expulsion of his brothers, one does not have far to go in seeking an explanation. Henry was under the domination of Simon de Montfort and the Council. There can be little doubt that the orders issued against the Lusignans during the baronial struggle were instigated by the barons.

Although the experiences of the Lusignans after the expulsion present an interesting story, they do not fall within the scope of this work. Suffice it to say, Aymer dropped from the picture during the Barons' War. After receiving consecration as Bishop of Winchester, he died at Paris in 1261, enroute to England where he hoped to force himself upon his bishopric. Following the war, William, Guy, and Geoffrey returned to

England, and Henry III welcomed them with open arms. But years of exile had obviously changed the mental or moral outlook of the Lusignans: so far as we know they lived at peace with the English nobility. Perhaps, like the Stuarts of the Restoration, they were loath to renew their travels.

APPENDIX I

February 5, 1255 Westminister

Inspeximus and confirmation of an agreement made A. D. 1252 on the Saturday after the feast of St. Hilary between A. elect of Winchester and Sir William de Valencia, his brother, on the one part and Sir Richard de Clara, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, on the other part, whereby the said earl granted to the said A. and W. the marriage of Gilbert de Clara, his son and heir, so that the said Gilbert should contract matrimony with Alice, their niece, daughter of Hugh le Brun, sometime count of La Marche and Angoulême, their brother; and for this marriage the said A. and W. owe the said earl 5,000 marks of good, new, and lawful sterlings, to be paid to the said earl, his assigns, executors or their assigns, bringing the present writing or a copy sealed with authentic seals, at the New Temple of London, without clamor of judgement at the following terms; at the octave of St. Hilary in the said year the said bishop and William shall deposit 600 marks under their seals at the said Temple to be paid to the said earl or his assigns on the Monday after the octaves of the Purification, the contract being then confirmed and sureties given, as mentioned below; at the Easter next following they shall deposit 1,200 marks; at Michaelmas, 1253 [sic], 1000 marks; at the Easter next following, 600 marks, at the Michaelmas next following, 600 marks; and at Michaelmas, 1255, 1000 marks; and this last 1000 marks shall not be paid if the said Alice die before that term; but all residue of the total sum at the aforesaid terms and place shall be paid to the said earl or his assigns notwithstanding such death; moreover the espousals shall take place immediately on the arrival of the damsel at the demand of the said A. and W. at the Easter next after the making of this deed, the said 1,200 marks being first paid; and forthwith the said earl shall assign 200 l. of land to the said A. and W. in the name of the damsel or to the damsel herself by way of dower for her, which land shall be in a fitting place of which the name shall be expressed.

And if by the default of the said Alice or her friends the marriage shall remain uncelebrated within the last aforesaid term, none the less the whole sum of 5,000 marks shall be paid as aforesaid without clamour of judgement; but if it happen that the said Gilbert de Clara on attaining the age of fourteen years or under shall by himself or by his friends, in the

lifetime of his father, refuse to celebrate the said marriage, then all the aforesaid sums received with 2,000 marks by way of damages and interest (end p. 438) shall be repaid to the said A. and W. and to the lady Hyelenda, countess of La Marche and Angoulême at the New Temple by the said earl; for which repayment the said earl shall give sufficient sureties, being men in religion, before the Monday after the octave of the Purification of the Virgin; but if the said Gilbert refuse the marriage as aforesaid after the death of his father, the said earl wills, ordains and grants 200 l. of land of his inheritance in a fitting place to be expressed by name to the said Alice, for her dower and support, to be held by her during her life; and in addition the said A. and W. and the countess of Angoulême shall have 300 l. of land of his inheritance in a fitting place to be held by them for their lives in recompense for the said payment of 5,000 marks; and neither the said Gilbert nor the said A. and W. nor the said countess nor Alice shall demand anything from the executors of the said earl on account of the 5,000 marks paid as aforesaid, but all that is in arrear of the said sum shall be paid to the said executors or their assigns.

And if during the lifetime of the said earl, the said Gilbert shall die, the said earl shall place the said Alice in full possession of the said 200 l. of land by way of dower without delay, and the payment of the said 5,000 marks shall be made as aforesaid; moreover if the said Gilbert survive his father, and the said marriage be duly celebrated notwithstanding the aforesaid assignment of 200 l. of land, the said damsel shall have her dower of all the lands of the said Gilbert according to the custom of the realm of England.

Moreover the said A. and W. and the said earl are to meet at London on the Monday after the purification to find and give mutual sureties under the following form; that is that the said bishop and William his brother shall give to the said earl three or four sufficient lay sureties for the payment of 1,200 marks at the Easter next following, each of the sureties to be bound in a fixed portion; and for the payment of 1,000 marks at Michaelmas following three or four sureties, clerks with a merchant of Cahors, one of the clerks to be the treasurer of Salisbury and the rest as sufficient as he, and each of them to be bound for a certain portion; and for the payment of the remaining 2,200 marks they shall give religious men, that is four or five monasteries, each to answer for a certain portion.

And unless 1,200 marks are paid at the term of Easter or within a month following, the first payment of 600 marks is not to be accounted as paid; and if the remaining payments are not made within a month of the appointed term, 300 l. [sic] of the first payment is not to be accounted as paid; the payments notwithstanding to be made in full of every term both of those past and those to come; and this shall be observed during the lives of the said bishop and William or either of them; but if after the death of both of them there shall be any default

in the payment of the terms, then after the lapse of three months that shall be understood which is expressed above of one month.

Moreover if the said Alice shall die before the Monday after the octave of the Purification, the said A. and W. shall have the 600 marks deposited returned to them and shall in no way be bound by this agreement.

Charter Rolls, I, 438-439.

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A complete bibliography of the primary and secondary sources for the history of thirteenth century England would include countless volumes. This period of English history is popular not only among English but also among American and continental historians. Practically all writers dealing with the reign of Henry III call attention to the Lusignan brothers; but with few exceptions, they repeat stock phrases which are familiar to every one who is acquainted with the period. This is likewise true for most of the contemporary writers. For this reason, I have selected my references with care and have refrained from padding the footnotes. Indeed, this bibliography does not pretend to be impressive. It includes merely those works cited in the text; hundreds of references were discarded as repititious.

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