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**Earls, Knights and Bastards: A Comparative Study of the Fortunes and
Misfortunes of Two Aristocratic Families of England c.1135-1267**

By

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Abstract

This thesis analyses and compares the fortunes of two English aristocratic families, the Senlis family and Crevequer family, between the beginning of King Stephen's reign in 1135 and the closing of the Second Baron's war in 1267. The first chapter evaluates the duties which the patriarchs of these families performed for either the king or lesser lords. This chapter reveals that, over multiple generations, both families sought to enjoy the benefits which their loyal service could impart. The second chapter examines the political careers of both families during the civil wars of the period. By doing so, it demonstrates that intelligent political opportunism during such times could present great benefits to these families' power and wealth, but, to the unfortunate aristocrat they could also cause a great loss of land and power. The third chapter explores the estates and religious patronage of the families, looking specifically at the extent of their estates and the methods by which lands were gained and alienated. This chapter also evaluates the motivations for the religious patronage undertaken by these aristocrats and reveals that both spiritual and worldly motivations played a pivotal role in their decisions to fulfil their obligations as founders and benefactors.

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Abbreviations

BL	British Library.
CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archives.
<i>CChR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Charter Rolls</i> (London: H.M.S.O, 1903-).
<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i> (London: H.M.S.O, 1902-).
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls</i> (London: H.M.S.O, 1901-).
<i>CFR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, 1216-72</i> (2007-2011), available at https://finerollshenry3.org.uk
CUL	Cambridge University Library.
<i>Danelaw</i>	<i>Documents illustrative of the social and economic history of the Danelaw, from various collections</i> , ed. F. M. Stenton (London: Oxford University Press, 1920).
<i>EYC</i>	<i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> , Vols I-III, ed. W. Farrer (Edinburgh, 1914-16); Vols IV-XII, ed. C.T. Clay, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, Extra Series I-X (Wakefield, 1935-65).
<i>Monasticon</i>	<i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 Vols. in 8 (London, 1815-46).
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
<i>Regesta</i>	<i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum</i> , Vol. I, ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913); II, ed. C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956); Vol. III, ed. H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).
TNA	The National Archives.



Figure One: The Seal of Simon (III) de Senlis, earl of Northampton. Reproduced courtesy of Inspire: Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/SR/102/42/1.



Figure Two: The Seal of Hamo de Crevequer of Blean. Reproduced courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, CCA, U24/4/B/8.

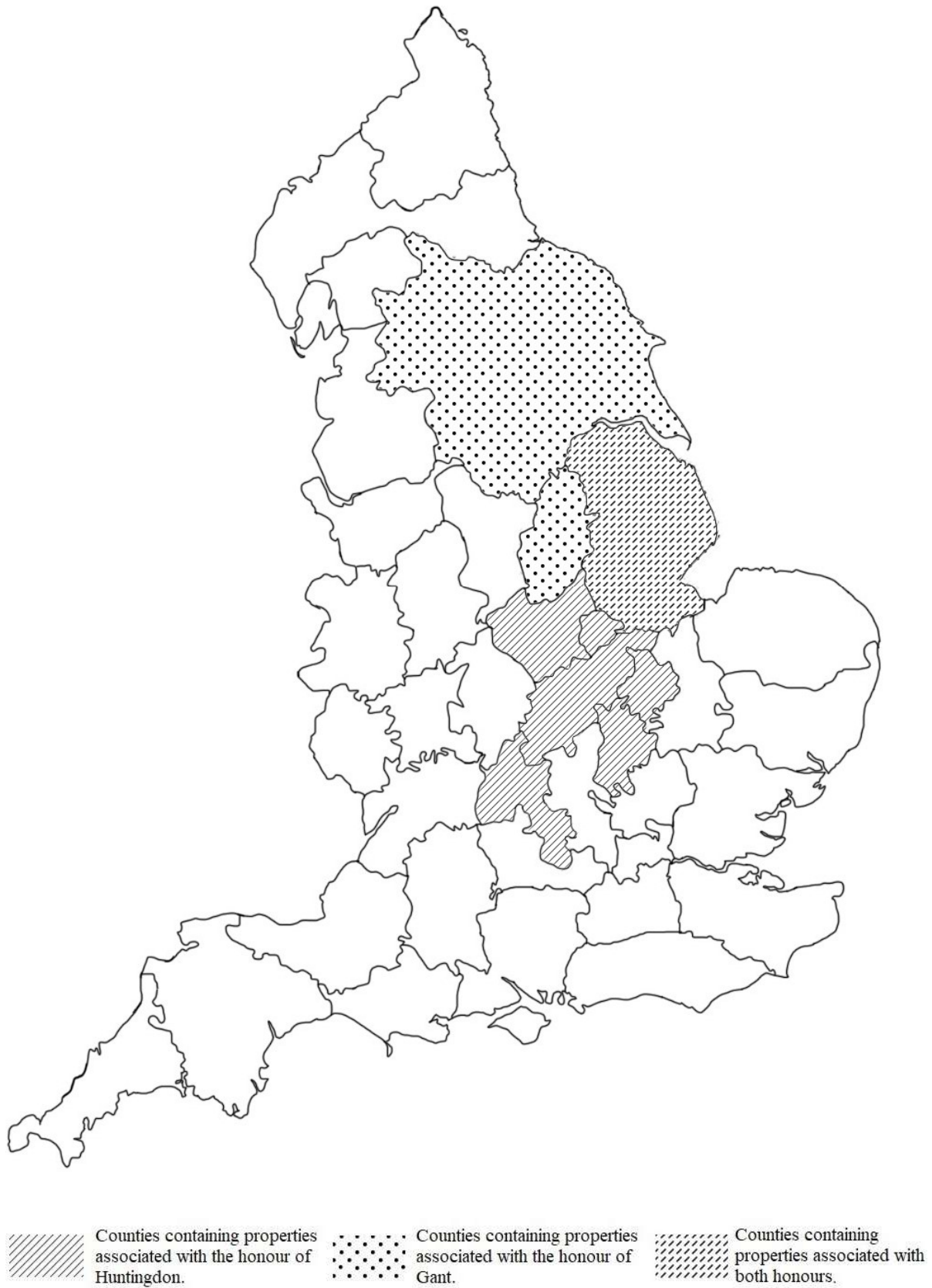


Figure Three: Map of the counties containing properties of the Senlis family, divided by honour.

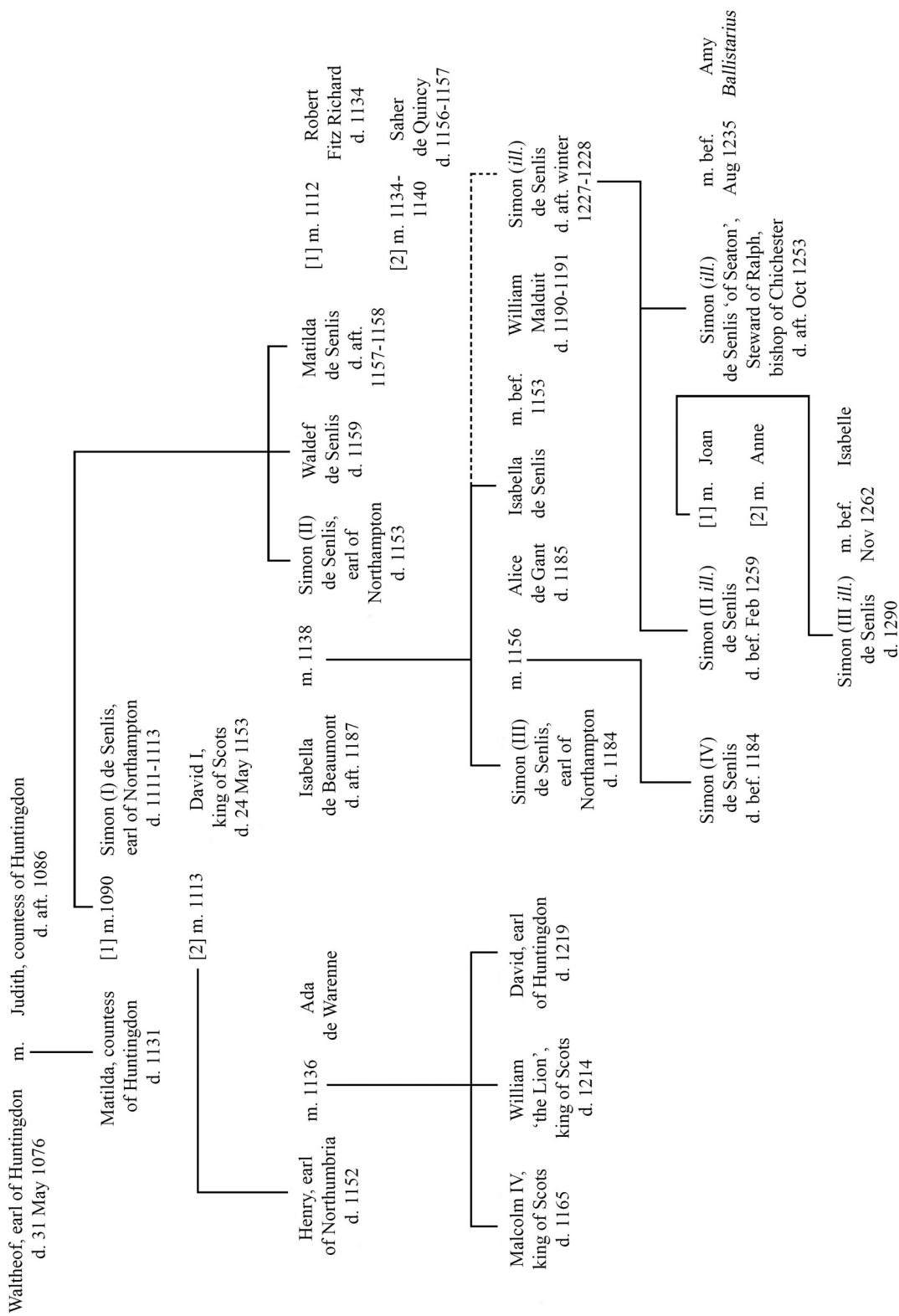


Figure Four: Senlis family tree.

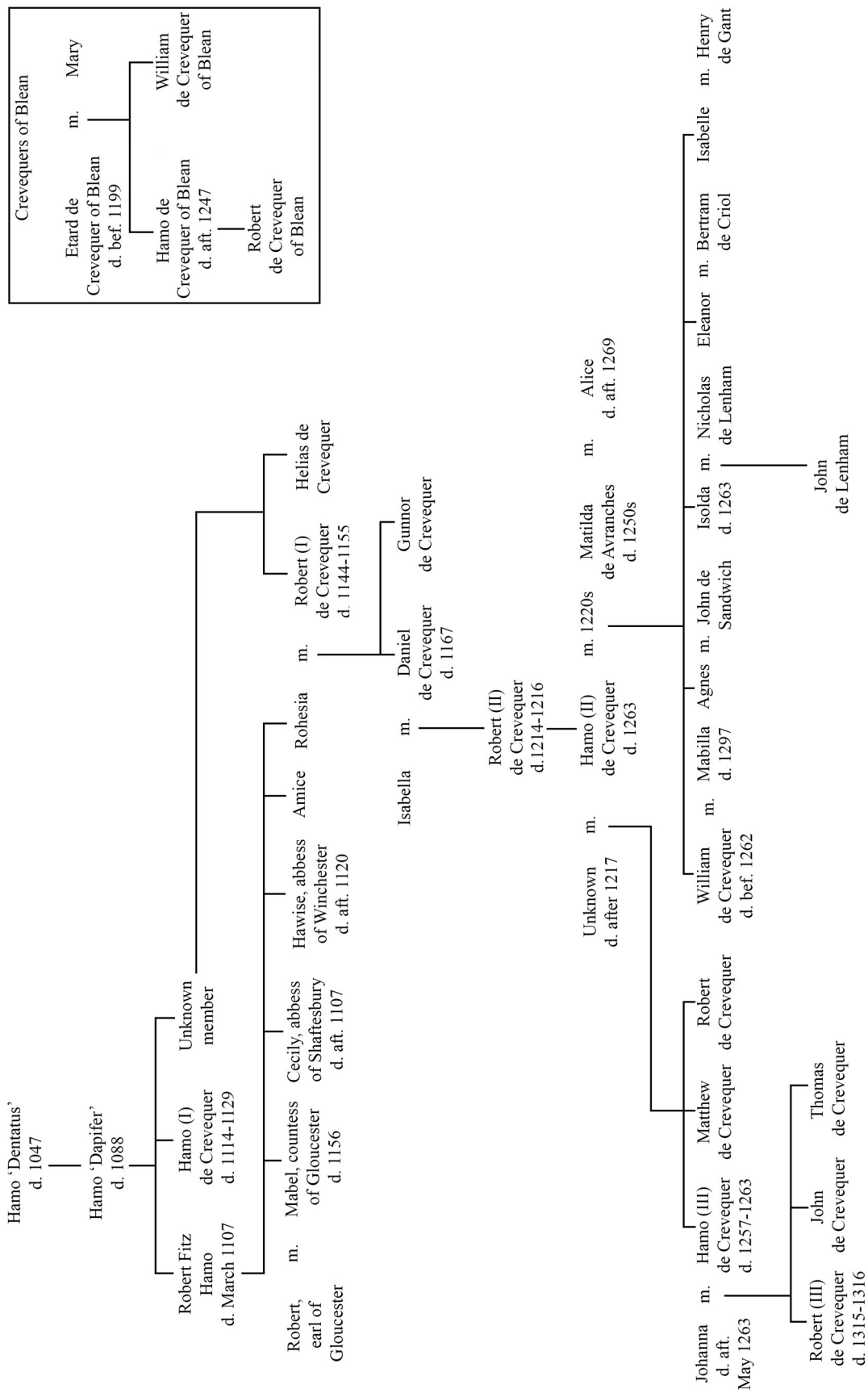


Figure Five: Crevequer family tree.

Introduction

When family patriarchs Earl Simon (III) de Senlis and Hamo (II) de Crevequer held their courts, in 1174 and 1253 respectively, they could scarcely have predicted their dynasties' imminent collapse within the following two decades. Both lords were at the pinnacle of their families' power, families that had endured since the Conquest and had accumulated lands beyond their original endowments. Simon (III) had regained his long desired comital possessions through warfare, while beneficial marriage had secured extensive estates for Hamo (II). Both these men had produced male heirs, with Hamo (II) producing several sons. By 1185 however, Simon (III), along with his wife and only male heir, were dead, their possessions divided among relatives and the kings of Scotland. Similarly, when Hamo (II) died in 1263, he had been pre-deceased by all his male heirs, save for a single grandson, Robert (henceforth Robert III). Following his support for a failed rebellion in 1263-1265, Robert (III) was dispossessed of half his father's inheritance. Ultimately, by 1273 the English queen had forced him from his remaining baronial estates. As shown by these examples, medieval aristocratic fortunes were not secure; they were fluid and often precarious.

This thesis seeks to explore the fortunes of these families from the outbreak of the civil war during Stephen's reign between 1135 and 1154 until the close of the Second Barons' War in 1267. It examines the political techniques that these families employed in restoring, securing and improving their wealth and status. These techniques included holding royal office, supporting or opposing the crown during periods of political unrest and forging strong political alliances. This thesis also considers these families' approaches to the management of their estates and religious patronage. However, it will first be necessary to introduce the two families that this study will be addressing, the Senlis and Crevequer dynasties, who have not been specific foci of other studies of this period.

Senlis

The Senlis family originated in France, specifically from the region of Senlis, in the Île-de-France during the eleventh century.¹ The earliest prominent member to enter England was Simon de Senlis (henceforth Simon I). Simon (I) was the third son of Landri de Senlis, lord of Chantilly and Ermenonville.² Simon (I)'s early career is difficult to discern, however by c.1091 his interests had clearly shifted into the kingdom of England when he married Maud, daughter of Waltheof, earl of Huntingdon/Northampton, by his wife Judith, the niece of King William I.³ Thereafter, Simon appeared for the first time as Earl Simon in an attestation of a charter of William Rufus.⁴ The exact date of Simon's entry into England and the events which led to him obtaining such a wealthy heiress in marriage are also unclear. Yet, his absence from Domesday Book suggests that he probably entered England under William II.⁵ Simon's association with the king seems to have persisted into the reign of Henry I; he witnessed Henry I's coronation charter in 1100 and can be found as an active witness of royal charters until 1111.⁶ Simon (I) patronised several religious houses; his foundations include St. Andrew's Priory and the Holy Sepulchre Church (both in Northampton), the latter possibly inspired by his first pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁷ It was during his second pilgrimage (between 1111 and 1113) that Simon (I) died.⁸ At the time of his death, he left three young children, two sons, Simon (henceforth Simon II) and Waltheof (henceforth Waldef), and a daughter Matilda (or Maud).⁹ By the end of 1113 Simon (I)'s widow, Matilda, was married to her second husband David, the future king of Scotland.¹⁰ By right of this marriage, the lands of Simon (I) passed to David, thus beginning a long-running dispute over the honour of Huntingdon

¹ M. Strickland, 'Senlis, Simon (I) de, Earl of Northampton and Earl of Huntingdon (d. 1111x13)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25091> [accessed November 13 2017].

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* The titles of earl of Huntingdon and earl of Northampton were synonymous terms for the honour of Huntingdon and should be read as such in this thesis: see G. W. S. Barrow, 'David I (c. 1085–1153), King of Scots.' *ODNB* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7208>, [accessed October 10 2018].

⁴ *Regesta*, I, no.315.

⁵ Strickland, 'Senlis, Simon (I) de'.

⁶ *Regesta*, II, nos 488 and 988.

⁷ K. Stringer, 'A Cistercian Archive: The Earliest Charters of Sawtry Abbey', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 6:6, (1980), 329 n3.

⁸ *Regesta*, I, no.1032.

⁹ Strickland, 'Senlis, Simon (I) de'.

¹⁰ Barrow, 'David I'.

between the Scottish and the Senlis descendants of Matilda.¹¹ The three children of Simon (I) achieved varying degrees of prominence. Simon (II) succeeded to his father's earldom, Waldef became the abbot of Melrose and Matilda married Robert Fitz Richard of Tonbridge.¹² This study will focus mostly on Simon (II) and his descendants, simply due to this line being the most visible in the extant sources.

Simon (II)'s minority and career under Henry I is difficult to discern clearly, due to the survival of two conflicting accounts. One account places his childhood in the court of his stepfather, King David I, whereas another puts Simon (II) in the court of his uncle, the count of Aumale.¹³ Regardless of the location of his upbringing, one indisputable fact of Simon's early career is that upon the death of his mother in c.1133 (by which time Simon had reached his majority) the honour of his father remained in the hands of his stepfather King David I.¹⁴ Simon sought recognition of his inheritance from King Henry I, but to no avail.¹⁵ Despite this early uncertainty, Simon rose to prominence in royal and other records, beginning in King Stephen's Easter court of 1136.¹⁶ His career from this point was that of a loyalist to King Stephen. In 1138, Simon's loyalty was rewarded with his endowment of the earldom of Northampton, albeit in a reduced size (Bedford was withheld).¹⁷ The earl's strongest display of continued loyalty was during the captivity of Stephen, following his defeat at the battle of Lincoln in 1141.¹⁸ Simon (II) married Isabella de Beaumont, daughter of Robert, earl of Leicester, early during Stephen's reign and benefited from his close relationship with his father-in-law during the rest of his career.¹⁹

¹¹ K. Stringer, 'Senlis, Simon de, Earl of Northampton and Earl of Huntingdon (d. 1153), Magnate', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25092> [accessed November 13 2017].

¹² *Monasticon*, VI, 147.

¹³ 'Vita et Passio Waldevi Comit' in *Vitae Quorumdam Anglo-Saxonum*, ed. J.A. Giles (London: Russell Smith, 1854), 20; *An Edition and Translation of the Life of Waldef, Abbot of Melrose by Jocelin of Furness*, ed. G.J. McFadden (Michigan: UMI, 1952), 80.

¹⁴ Barrow, 'David I'.

¹⁵ 'Vita et Passio Waldevi Comit', 20-21.

¹⁶ *Regesta*, III, 96-97 no.271.

¹⁷ Stringer, 'Senlis, Simon de'. See also G.H. Fowler, 'The Shire of Bedford and the Earldom of Huntingdon', *The Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, Vol. IX (Aspley Guise: Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 1925), 24-25.

¹⁸ J.H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville: A Study of the Anarchy* (London: Longman, 1892), 145.

¹⁹ D. Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 84.

Simon (II)'s death came late in the summer 1153. He left several children, two sons, both called Simon, one legitimate and the other illegitimate, and one known daughter, Isabelle.²⁰

Simon (II)'s legitimate son Simon (III) experienced a career, which, like his father's, was dictated by the rivalry over the honour of Huntingdon. Following the death of his father in 1153, Simon (III) entered a period of minority, although King Stephen recognised his inheritance to his father's comital title.²¹ It would appear that Simon (III)'s good fortune did not persist into the early years of Henry II's reign. Despite his initial acknowledgement under Stephen, Simon (III) was dispossessed of his inheritance.²² Simon (III) appears as an earl in the 1154 pipe roll, although this only provides accounts for the first quarter of 1154, after which Simon (III) is absent from the existing rolls until 1168.²³ According to David Carpenter, Henry II 'twisted and turned over the earldom of Huntingdon'.²⁴ This was until 1157, when, in return for the surrender of all possessions gained by David I south of the Solway and Tweed, King Malcolm IV of Scotland was granted the earldom and honour of Huntingdon.²⁵ Simon (III), like his father, had been summarily disinherited. While Simon (III) faced difficulties during the 1150s, his position was partially recovered through his marriage to Alice de Gant, the daughter and heiress of Gilbert de Gant, who had been earl of Lincoln in the reign of Stephen.²⁶ However, Simon (III)'s desire to retrieve his lost inheritance was not entirely abandoned. During the rebellion of Henry, the young king, in 1173-1174, Simon maintained the siege of Huntingdon against the Scots (who supported Henry the young king).²⁷ Simon was rewarded with the honour of Huntingdon following the end of hostilities and held the title of earl until his death in 1184.²⁸ Simon (III)'s only son, Simon

²⁰ Stringer, 'Senlis, Simon de'.

²¹ Stringer, 'The Earliest Charters of Sawtry Abbey', 329 n.23.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, Vol. II, ed. H. Hall (London: H.M.S.O, 1896), 655; Pipe Roll 14 Henry II, 65.

²⁴ D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery* (London: Penguin, 2004), 196.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 210.

²⁶ P. Dalton, 'Gant, Gilbert de, Earl of Lincoln (c. 1123–1155/6), Magnate', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47206> [accessed November 9 2018].

²⁷ *The Annals of Roger De Hoveden: Comprising the History of England and of Other Countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201*, Vol. I, ed. H.R. Riley (London: Bohn, 1853), 379.

²⁸ *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, eds D.M. Stenton and L. C. Lloyd (Oxford: Clarendon, 1950), 308.

(henceforth Simon IV), predeceased his father and thus Simon left no male heir.²⁹ The honour of Huntingdon reverted back to the Scots in 1185, when David (brother of King William ‘the Lion’) was made earl.³⁰ Simon (III) was the last Senlis of comital status in England, but the illegitimate line continued much longer.

Simon (II)’s illegitimate son, Simon (*ill.*), far outlived his legitimate brother, as did his branch of the Senlis family. Simon served as an active witness of his brother’s charters from possibly as early as 1156 until his death in 1184.³¹ Following the death of his brother, Simon (*ill.*) joined the court of Earl David of Huntingdon, first appearing as a witness in an agreement of Earl David’s marriage to Matilda of Chester c.1190.³² Under David, Simon received various endowments of lands between 1185 and 1219, including lands in Alconbury and Great Stukeley, both in Huntingdonshire.³³ Simon (*ill.*) lived a long life, appearing in the pipe roll of 1230-1231 as Simon de Senlis ‘senior’.³⁴ Simon (*ill.*) had at least two sons, both of whom were named Simon. The eldest son (henceforth Simon II *ill.*), remained invested in the family’s Huntingdonshire properties, but also gained estates in Buckinghamshire and died in c.1259.³⁵ This Simon had a son, also named Simon (henceforth Simon III *ill.*), to whom his estates passed.³⁶ Simon (III *ill.*) died shortly before May 1290.³⁷ The younger Simon (henceforth Simon *ill.* of Seaton) became

²⁹ Simon (III) granted St. Andrew’s abbey the church of Whissindine on the day of his son’s burial: see BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII, fol. 9 r.

³⁰ *The Annals of Roger De Hoveden: Comprising the History of England and of Other Countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201*, Vol. II, ed. H.R. Riley (London: Bohn, 1853), 32.

³¹ *EYC*, II nos 1186 and 1118; *Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia*, Vol. I, ed. W.H. Hart and P.A. Lyons (London: Longman, 1884), no.194; *Rufford Charters*, Thoroton Society Record Series, Vols I-III, ed. C.J. Holdsworth (Nottingham: Derry and Sons, 1980), nos 721, 722, 751, 752 and 760; *Book of Seals*, no.439; *Beauchamp Cartulary Charters, 1100-1268*, ed. E. Mason (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1980), no.177; BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII fols, 7 r., 9 r. and 10 r.; BL, Add. Ch. 11233.

³² *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester c.1071-1237*, The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire 126, ed. G. Barraclough (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1987), no.220.

³³ K. Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon, 1152-1219: A Study in Anglo-Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985), 269.

³⁴ TNA, E 372/75.

³⁵ In 1231 Simon de Senlis, ‘eldest son of Simon de Senlis’, was granted exemptions from juries: see *CPR 1225-1232*, 451.

³⁶ In February 1259, Anne, ‘widow of Simon de Senlis’, claimed against Ralph de Senlis lands in Great Stukeley as her dower: *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, Vol. I, ed. J. Bain (Edinburgh: Her Majesty’s General Register House, 1881), 420. In 1262, Simon, ‘son and heir of Sir Simon de Senlis’, granted lands to John le Welyes de Parua Kinebelle to maintain until Simon came of legal age: Cornwall Record Office, AR/1/1120.

³⁷ *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Vol. III, ed. J.E.E.S. Sharp and A.E. Stamp (London: H.M.S.O., 1912), 513.

the steward of Ralph, bishop of Chichester, and later became the steward of the archbishop of Canterbury.

Crevequer

The first prominent Crevequer to enter England was Hamo Dapifer. Dapifer was the son of Hamo Dentatus, who was the lord of Torigny, Creully, and Évrecy. The same Dentatus supposedly unhorsed King Henry I of France at the battle of Val-és-Dunes 1047, before dying in the same battle.³⁸ His son Hamo Dapifer probably entered England with Odo, bishop of Bayeux, from whom he held the Norman honour of Évrecy; this would also explain the family's later landed interest in Kent.³⁹ Hamo was the steward of both William I and II, securing the office as early as 1069, earning him his namesake 'Dapifer'.⁴⁰ The same Hamo was sheriff of Kent from 1077 until his death c.1088.⁴¹ Dapifer had two sons, Robert (usually styled Robert Fitz Hamo) and Hamo (henceforth Hamo I).⁴² Robert inherited the Norman estates of his father, whilst Hamo (I) received his English, mostly Kentish, estates, and also held the office of sheriff.⁴³

Robert Fitz Hamo was a fervent royalist, supporting William Rufus against Odo of Bayeux's coalition in support of Robert Curthose.⁴⁴ Robert Fitz Hamo was also one of those present at the hunt in the New Forest in which William Rufus was killed.⁴⁵ After this, Robert almost immediately began service to Henry I, whom he continued to support until his own death in March 1107, following a wound received at the siege of Falaise.⁴⁶ Robert Fitz Hamo had no male heir, but several daughters.⁴⁷ One of these daughters, Mabel, married Robert, earl of Gloucester.⁴⁸ Roesia, another daughter of Robert Fitz Hamo, married Robert (henceforth Robert

³⁸ D.C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London: Methuen, 1964), 50.

³⁹ J.A. Green, 'Robert Fitz Haimon [Robert FitzHaimon, Robert Fitz Hamo] (d. 1107), magnate and soldier,' *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9596> [accessed June 10 2018].

⁴⁰ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 290.

⁴¹ C. Flight, 'A list of the Holders of Land in Kent c.1120', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 125 (2005), 367.

⁴² Green, 'Robert Fitz Haimon'.

⁴³ *Ibid.* See also K.S.B Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166: Domesday Book* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), 242.

⁴⁴ F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London: Yale University Press, 2000), 93.

⁴⁵ Green, 'Robert Fitz Haimon'.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

I) de Crevequer, who would eventually inherit the estates of Roesia's uncle Hamo (I).⁴⁹ It was the younger brother of Robert Fitz Hamo, Hamo (I), who continued the Crevequer family's strong connection with Kent, succeeding to his father's lands there in c.1088. Hamo (I) was replaced as sheriff before 1116 and had died by 1119.⁵⁰ Hamo (I) seems not to have had a son, but was instead succeeded by Robert (I), the husband of Roesia, Hamo (I)'s niece.⁵¹ Robert (I) Crevequer is most notable for his foundation of Leeds Priory, which the family patronised across the period.⁵²

Robert (I) sided with Stephen during his reign. This appears to have had negative implications for the family when, in 1138, rebels against Stephen held Leeds Castle during the rebellion of Robert, earl of Gloucester.⁵³ In the following year, the castle fell to Gilbert de Clare and was withheld from Robert (I).⁵⁴ Robert (I) appears to have regained favour with King Stephen by 1142, when he reappeared as a witness to a royal charter.⁵⁵ Robert (I) died sometime between 1141 and 1155.⁵⁶ Daniel, the son of Robert (I), succeeded to the Crevequer barony. Through his marriage to his wife Isabelle, a smaller barony of Hallerton, Leicestershire, joined the family's estates.⁵⁷ Daniel died in c.1176-1177 and was succeeded by his son Robert (II), who appears to have led a relatively inconspicuous life in national politics; he died during the troubles of King John's reign.⁵⁸

The long lived Hamo (henceforth Hamo II), born in c.1190 and son of Robert (II), was the next and arguably most successful head of the family.⁵⁹ By 1217, Hamo (II) had succeeded to the barony of his father, and it was at this time that Hamo (II)'s first son Hamo (henceforth Hamo III)

⁴⁹ H.M. Colvin, 'Archbishop of Canterbury's Tenants by Knight-Service in the Reign of Henry II' in *Documents Illustrative of Medieval Kentish Society*, ed. F.R.H. Du Boulay (Ashford: Headley, 1964), 12.

⁵⁰ Flight, 'Holders of Land in Kent', 367. Flight suggests 1129 as the latest date of Hamo's death, but it must have occurred before Robert's foundation of Leeds Priory c.1119: *Monasticon*, VI, 215.

⁵¹ Flight, 'Holders of Land in Kent', 368.

⁵² C. Flight, 'Fall of the House of Crevequer', (unpublished article, 2010), 2, <http://www.durobrivis.net/articles/crevequer.pdf> [accessed June 10 2017].

⁵³ *The History of the English People 1000-1154*, ed. D. Greenway (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 70.

⁵⁴ J. Bradbury, *Stephen and Matilda: The Civil War of 1139-53* (Stroud: The History Press, 2014), 66.

⁵⁵ *Regesta*, III, no.406.

⁵⁶ Flight, 'Holders of Land in Kent c.1120', 367.

⁵⁷ Flight, 'Fall of the House of Crevequer', 2.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*; *CCR 1204-1224*, 312.

⁵⁹ Flight, 'Fall of the House of Crevequer', 2.

was born.⁶⁰ A few years later his first wife, whose name went unrecorded, died, but only after producing two further sons (Matthew and Robert).⁶¹ Hamo (II) later married Matilda de Avranches, daughter of William de Avranches of Folkestone, with whom Hamo (II) had at least one son, William.⁶² Through this marriage, Hamo (II) gained full rights to Mathilda's inheritance of Folkestone.⁶³ Before Hamo (II)'s death in 1263, several other deaths within the family altered a seemingly secure inheritance. Those who predeceased him included the primary heirs of both lines of inheritance, that of the honour of Chatham with the death of Hamo (III), and that of Avranches with the death of William.⁶⁴ Hamo (III) left three sons, the eldest of whom, Robert (henceforth Robert III), inherited the honour in 1263. William left no heirs and so his four sisters and the heirs of one sister Isolda, who was deceased, divided the barony of Avranches among themselves.⁶⁵

Robert (III) was the last Crevequer to possess the family honour. Shortly after securing his inheritance in 1263, he became involved in the Second Barons' War.⁶⁶ He supported the rebel cause, and fought against the king at the Battle of Lewes on 14 May 1264.⁶⁷ As a result, Robert (III)'s lands were confiscated following the royalist victory at the battle of Evesham in 1265.⁶⁸ It was not until 1268 that he successfully regained his losses, although the crown withheld Leeds Castle from him.⁶⁹ Queen Eleanor of Provence pursued the remainder of the Crevequer honour and by June 1273 she had successfully gained it in its entirety, possibly by imposing debts as leverage on Robert.⁷⁰

⁶⁰ Ibid., 2-3.

⁶¹ Ibid., 2-3.

⁶² G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom Extant, Extinct, or Dormant*, Vol. V (London: St. Catherine Press, 1926), 116-117.

⁶³ Flight, 'Fall of the House of Crevequer', 1.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 3-4.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, Vol. II, ed. W. Stubbs (London: Kraus, 1965), 237.

⁶⁸ Flight, 'Fall of the House of Crevequer', 5.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 6.

The Sources

In order to explore the history of these families fully, contemporary, or near contemporary, works of history and other primary record sources must be considered. The Senlis family, due to their comital status during in the twelfth century, feature in chronicles more often than the Crevequers. Henry of Huntingdon's chronicle, particularly his continuation of his history from 1135 until the coronation of Henry II in 1154, proves most relevant for the study of Simon (II) de Senlis.⁷¹ Henry's account can be considered reliable for information concerning Simon (II) for two main reasons. Primarily, Henry was situated within the earldom of Northampton as he was the archdeacon of Huntingdon from 1110 until his death sometime between 1156 and 1164.⁷² Additionally, Henry knew Simon (II) personally, having witnessed Simon (II)'s foundation charter of Sawtry Abbey, late in Simon (II)'s lifetime.⁷³ Henry's comments, therefore, provide not only historical insight into events in which Simon (II) was involved, but also insights into Simon (II)'s character. Henry's chronicle is also significant for studying the Crevequers, as it specifically mentions Leeds Castle and its role in the c.1138 rebellion against King Stephen.⁷⁴

Other extensive chronicles of the reign of King Stephen, such as the *Gesta Stephani*, Orderic Vitalis's *Ecclesiastical History* and William of Malmesbury's *Historia Novella* make very little or no mention of Simon (II), despite his comital status. In fact, the *Gesta Stephani* only mentions Simon's death, referring to him by his title as earl of Northampton.⁷⁵ The sparsity of information regarding Simon (II) is curious, as he was an adherent of Stephen throughout his reign. Similarly, the *Historia Novella* only mentions Simon (II) once indirectly, in an addition made in a later copy, probably based on Henry of Huntingdon's chronicle.⁷⁶ This lack of content regarding Simon (II) is perhaps due to Malmesbury's work ending in early 1143, although Simon (II) was active for a further ten years beyond this date.⁷⁷ Simon (II) was, however, an earl for five

⁷¹ *History of the English People*, xviii.

⁷² *Ibid.*, xv-xviii.

⁷³ *Monasticon*, V, 522-523.

⁷⁴ *History of the English People*, 70.

⁷⁵ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. K.R. Potter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 239.

⁷⁶ *Historia Novella: The Contemporary History*, ed. E. King and K.R. Potter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 84 n.203.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, xxxiii.

years prior to this and was a prominent royalist throughout Stephen's reign and so the lack of coverage is unfortunate. Nonetheless, such chronicles provide insight into the events of the period and useful context when assessing Simon (II)'s actions and potential motives.

The Peterborough manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (or E recension) that extends into Stephen's reign proves useful for analysing the context of Simon (II)'s lifetime. The E manuscript contains a unique record of events 1132 to 1154.⁷⁸ Of these, the most useful entry, that for 1137, is almost entirely concerned with the atrocities of the reign, including mentions of adulterine castles and protection money or *tenserie*.⁷⁹ As the writer of the chronicle was based in Peterborough Abbey, which neighboured Simon (II)'s honour, the recording of such atrocities was possibly meant to implicate Simon (II) as a participant in such practises.⁸⁰ This section of the chronicle, however, was written in 1154, so was written with full knowledge of the final outcome of the civil war. Even so, an individual writing in 1154 would probably have lived through the majority of Stephen's reign.⁸¹

Later chronicles of the reign of Henry II also prove valuable for this study, such as the *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Hovedene*, which covered the period from Bede's death until 1202.⁸² The latter section of Howden's history written during the reigns of Henry II and Richard I provides extremely useful information regarding both monarchs.⁸³ Howden was closely associated with king's court, serving as a royal clerk from c.1174 until 1189.⁸⁴ Howden's history also recorded the royal itinerary, useful for dating surviving royal charters.⁸⁵ This chronicle, like most others of Henry II's reign, mentions Simon (III) twice, noting his involvement in the siege of Huntingdon 1173 and his death in 1184.⁸⁶ Possibly due to their lower status as a baronial family, the Crevequers are absent from this and most other chronicles and histories of the period including

⁷⁸ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. M. Swanton (London: Phoenix, 2000), xxvi.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 263-266.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, xxvi-xxvii.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, xxvi.

⁸² A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England I, c.550 to c.1307* (London: Routledge, 1996), 220.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁸⁴ D. Corner, 'Howden [Hoveden], Roger of (d. 1201/2), chronicler,' *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13880> [accessed October 24 2018].

⁸⁵ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 224.

⁸⁶ *The Annals of Roger De Hoveden*, I, 379; *The Annals of Roger De Hoveden*, II, 32.

Henry II's reign. The chronicle evidence from the reigns of Richard I and John cover neither the Senlis nor Crevequers and so do not feature in this thesis.

The works of the St. Albans chronicler, Matthew Paris, have additional value for analysing English affairs during the reign of Henry III. Paris wrote a number of histories, including his *Historia Anglorum*, a revised version of his earlier *Chronica Majora*, covering the period from the Norman Conquest until 1253.⁸⁷ Paris' value as commentator stems from his connections with the royal court, leading aristocrats and the position of his monastic community of St Albans. For example, he produced saints' lives for Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III.⁸⁸ Additionally, St. Albans was close to the capital and was a stopping place for travellers of the highest status, including Henry III on several occasions.⁸⁹ Moreover, its monastic community was privy to information about events from its daughter cells across the country, including its northern houses such as Tynemouth Priory.⁹⁰ Paris' work, like the earlier histories, makes no mention of the Senlis family (who were no longer of comital status by this point) or the Crevequers. However, his history and its critical opinions provide useful insight into the key political events of the reign of Henry III.

While chronicles supply valuable narrative accounts of historical events, documentary sources, such as charters, provide specific details concerning the administration of a family's estates and their patronage. Charters typically concerned grants of property to both lay and ecclesiastical recipients, documenting the possession of properties during periods for which evidence from inquisitions was scarce, such as during Stephen's reign. Transcripts of charters issued by members of the Crevequer and Senlis families are preserved within a number of cartularies. The cartulary of St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton, originally a Senlis foundation, contains many charters for the family.⁹¹ Despite the difficulty in discerning exactly which Simon the charters refer to (the family usually named at least one son in each generation Simon), it is the

⁸⁷ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 356.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 358.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 360.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 360.

⁹¹ BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII.

largest source of charters for the family. Another cartulary relevant for studying the Senlis family is that of Sawtry Abbey.⁹² Although the original is now lost, a later copy made by Sir Richard St. George has survived.⁹³ This copy lacks contemporary abstracts and Sir Richard edited the Latin in line with nineteenth-century conventions, but the surviving texts of these charters remain useful sources.⁹⁴ For the Crevequer family, a partial cartulary exists for their family's foundation of Leeds Priory.⁹⁵ The surviving section of the cartulary includes several charters issued by members of the Crevequer family between the twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries.⁹⁶ These charters supply useful insights into the families' wealth, estates and their benefactions to religious houses.

As well as later transcripts preserved in cartularies, individual single-sheet charters survive in various archives. A useful set is the Savile collection of charters, namely the collection of charters for Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire. These charters, held at the Nottinghamshire Archives, include many references to the Senlis family in the late eleventh century and preserve their seals.⁹⁷ For the Crevequer family, numerous charters, including a substantial collection for Eastbridge Hospital, Canterbury, survive and are held in the archives of Canterbury Cathedral.⁹⁸ From these sources, twenty-five charters survive issued by Simon (II) himself, and a further fifty-seven in which he is either a witness or mentioned by name. For Simon (III), thirty-two charters have been collected that were issued by him jointly or otherwise, and a further nine in which he appears as a witness or is mentioned directly. For the Crevequer family, twenty-two charters issued by members of the main branch, with a further thirty-two charters witnessed by or directly referencing the family members, have been discovered during the course of my research. For the smaller branch of the family associated with Blean, thirty-five charters issued by Hamo de Crevequer of Blean and six issued by his son, Robert de Crevequer of Blean, have been collected.

⁹² Stringer, 'The Earliest Charters of Sawtry Abbey', 325.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ L. Sherwood, 'The Cartulary of Leeds Priory', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 64 (1951), 24-25.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/SR; J.C. Holdsworth also produced a transcribed edited volume of these charters: *Rufford Charters*.

⁹⁸ CCA, U24.

Royal charters issued throughout the period also provide extremely useful information about the families of this study. Members of both the Senlis family and the Crevequer family are included in the witness lists of royal charters, indicating when they attended the king's person at court. The most prolific was Simon (II), who witnessed over forty-two charters for King Stephen during his eighteen-year reign.⁹⁹ In comparison to Simon (II), Robert (I) Crevequer witnessed only two charters of King Stephen.¹⁰⁰ Later royal charters were enrolled on the charter rolls, which survive from 1199.¹⁰¹

References to members of the Senlis and Crevequer families can also be traced in the English royal chancery rolls, which survive from John's reign onward. One such collection of rolls, known as the fine rolls document agreements of payments made for royal concessions.¹⁰² These promises of payments were recorded by the royal exchequer and sent as lists twice annually to the sheriffs for collection.¹⁰³ These debts were also recorded by the exchequer in the pipe rolls.¹⁰⁴ The records of these debts and fines are valuable for analysing the Senlis and Crevequer families' financial dealings with the English crown. Another useful set of chancery rolls, the patent rolls, record the texts of royal letters 'patent', which were issued open.¹⁰⁵ These letters included a diverse range of business, including grants of offices, liberties and privileges, as well as grants of safe conduct.¹⁰⁶ The close rolls, however, which survive from 1204 onward, enrolled letters touching on more private royal matters and business of the realm and as such, were issued sealed closed.¹⁰⁷ Both these sets of rolls can supply valuable information about the Senlis and

⁹⁹ *Regesta*, III, nos 16, 94, 132, 192, 271, 246, 249, 276, 284, 376, 399, 402, 410, 427, 437, 438, 494, 570, 611, 613, 638, 650, 667, 736, 737, 738, 745, 814, 861, 862, 889, 890, 895, 914, 920, 944, 945, 947 and 964; *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, Vol. I, ed. C.W. Foster (Hereford: The Hereford Times, 1931), nos 94 and 99; N. Vincent, 'New Charters of King Stephen with Some Reflections upon the Royal Forests during the Anarchy.' *The English Historical Review* 114, no. 458 (1999): 925-926.

¹⁰⁰ *Regesta*, III, no.51.

¹⁰¹ 'Charter Rolls', TNA, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C3613> [accessed March 20 2018].

¹⁰² 'Introduction to Rolls', Henry III Fine Rolls Project, http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/commentary/historical_intro.html [accessed March 20, 2018].

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ G. O. Sayles, *The Medieval Foundations of England* (London: Methuen, 1948), 291.

Crevequer families' dealings with the crown. An additional set of useful chancery rolls are the *Liberate* rolls, surviving from 1200, which contain an enrolled form of writs *liberate* which were issued by the chancery.¹⁰⁸ Writs *liberate* concerned orders of payments out of the royal treasury.¹⁰⁹ The rolls provide very useful detail for the reign of Henry III, whereas later entries, beginning in the fourteenth century, became more abbreviated.¹¹⁰

Another government record useful for this study are the pipe rolls.¹¹¹ These rolls survive from 1130 and are almost uninterrupted from 1155 onward as the yearly financial record of the crown.¹¹² These records are not only useful for evaluating royal revenues, but also for assessing the wealth of the Senlis and Crevequer families as tenants-in-chief. In addition to these, royal court records provide interesting insights into the involvement of these families in litigation. The rolls of the justices in eyre survive from 1194 onward.¹¹³ These justices usually made a circuit of all the counties of England at regular intervals, during which they heard civil and crown pleas.¹¹⁴ Any amercements or fines generated by these cases were to be paid to the exchequer and often were recorded on the pipe rolls.¹¹⁵ In addition to the extant eyre rolls, the surviving rolls of pleas before the king and the royal justices at Westminster preserve the details of legal cases involving members of the Senlis and Crevequer dynasties.¹¹⁶ When such disputes were resolved, a document known as a final concord was drawn up, which before 1195 was retained in the hands of the two parties of the suit.¹¹⁷ From 1195 onwards, a third copy was retained by the court; these were known as the feet of fines. The record of these fines is also a valuable source as they not only indicate the outcomes of cases but also provide valuable indications of magnates' ambitions with

¹⁰⁸ 'Chancery: Liberate Rolls', TNA, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C3613> [accessed December 17 2018].

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ 'Medieval financial records: pipe rolls 1130-c1300', TNA, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/medieval-financial-records-pipe-rolls-1130-1300/> [accessed March 20, 2018].

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ 'General Eyres 1194-1348', TNA, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/general-eyres-1194-1348/> [accessed March 20 2018].

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ C. Phillips, 'A Short Introduction to the Feet of Fines', *Foundations* 4 (2012), 45-55.

regard to particular lands. Furthermore, as married couples often brought these suits, they also provide information about wives and the properties acquired by lordly families through marriage.¹¹⁸

A further valuable source for this study is contemporary correspondence. Although few letters are extant for these families, those that survive allow for a greater insight into individual magnate's lives. The most notable body of correspondence for this study is that of the thirteenth century bishop of Chichester, Ralph de Neville.¹¹⁹ Ralph's letters include twenty-seven addressed from his steward, Simon (*ill.*) de Senlis of Seaton, and are of great value in reconstructing the later fortunes of this branch of the Senlis family. In addition to these letters, a royal letter of Henry III addressed to Simon (III *ill.*) also exists which has proven useful for exploring the fortunes of the very last member of the Senlis family covered in this study.¹²⁰ I have unfortunately been unable to discover any correspondence relating to any member of the Crevequer family.

Historiography

The study of aristocratic families in the period covered by this thesis is by no means new. There have previously been studies of the fortunes of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy. For instance, Judith Green's book *The Norman Aristocracy* covered the topic in detail. One of Green's main conclusions was that kinship was an important aspect of the social and political lives of the Norman aristocracy, with many seemingly social decisions, for example the choice of marriage partner, being strongly influenced by political considerations.¹²¹ Green's study is valuable for this thesis, particularly with regard to the relationship between lords and the king through royal service, the accumulation of wealth, estate management and the exercise of religious patronage. Due to their importance, these aspects of the lives of aristocrats will all be focused upon in this study. Green's emphasis on the period 1066 to 1166, however, means that her work only overlaps

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ TNA, SC 1.

¹²⁰ *Royal and Other Historical Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III*, Vol. II, ed. W.W. Shirley (London: Longmans, 1866), 290-291.

¹²¹ J.A. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 439.

with the period of this thesis for around three decades. Nevertheless, other surveys of aristocratic families during the later reigns of Stephen, Henry II, Richard I, John and Henry III will be critical in exploring and contextualising the experiences of the Senlis and Crevequer families.

A valuable examination of an aristocratic family during both the reigns of King Stephen and Henry II is David Crouch's study of the Beaumont twins (Robert, earl of Leicester, and Waleran, Count of Meulan). Crouch's book provides, firstly, a narrative account of the lives of the twins, followed by an analysis of how their lives revealed the challenges faced by aristocrats of the period. The narrative focuses on the key events which saw the twins' fortunes increase and decrease. Crouch highlighted the twins' favour at royal court and their royal offices, including Roberts's office of Justiciar, their loyalties during civil wars (beginning with Waleran's involvement in the Norman revolt in support of William Clito 1123-1124) and the negative and positive consequences of their actions during such times.¹²² These areas are relevant to this study, particularly for the careers of Simon (II) and Simon (III) de Senlis, both of whom, like the Beaumont twins, were earls. Crouch's analysis of the challenges faced by the twins also provides areas of relevant study. These challenges included fulfilling royal duties, their performance (or non-performance) of military service, the management of their honours, as well as maintaining or increasing their economic revenues.¹²³ Crouch concluded that successful management of the above challenges were essential in the aristocratic pursuit of climbing the political ladder.¹²⁴

Colin Veach's monograph on the Lacy family is also an important work for this study. The Lacy family was a baronial family established in England by two brothers, Ilbert and Walter, following the Conquest of 1066.¹²⁵ The brothers were granted lands in England, forming two regional branches, with Walter's lands concentrated in Herefordshire and Ilbert's in Yorkshire.¹²⁶ Veach's study focused on the descendants of the Herefordshire line who eventually expanded

¹²² See Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins*.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 213-215.

¹²⁵ C. Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms: the Lacy Family 1166-1241* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 21.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

their influence into the other three ‘realms’, namely Wales, Ireland and Normandy.¹²⁷ One of Veach’s major findings was his observation of the expansion of the Lacy family’s influence during times of disruption for the crown and, therefore, a breakdown in royal power.¹²⁸ This is applicable to this study due to the participation of many members of the Senlis and Crevequer families in civil wars, during such times that royal power was significantly reduced.¹²⁹ Another area of Veach’s study which is particularly pertinent is his suggestion that members of the Lacy family received lighter sanctions for transgressions and greater royal favour when acting as the chosen ‘instrument of royal will’.¹³⁰ Again, as seen in parallel within Crouch’s study, the fulfilment of royal office could bring material benefits for aristocratic families. Whilst Veach’s case study focuses primarily on Ireland, his observations are relevant to both the Crevequer and Senlis families, as their members experienced fluctuating degrees of royal favour and were able to exert varying degrees of local and regional power as a result.¹³¹

Robert Bearman’s study on the Redvers family also offers valuable points of comparison for my thesis. The Redvers family held the earldom of Devon, along with the honours of Plympton, Christchurch, and Carisbrooke.¹³² This study (which included an edition of the family’s extant charters) also evaluated the family’s changing fortunes between the lifetime of Richard de Redvers (c.1090) and the death of Earl William, the last Redvers earl, in c.1217.¹³³ Bearman examined the difficulties this dynasty faced in the form of multiple minorities.¹³⁴ Bearman offers an exemplary model for assessing the estate management of an aristocratic family, focusing primarily on how and when properties entered or left the honour.¹³⁵ Bearman concluded that the majority of the family’s estates came into their possession during the reign of Henry I and were

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 279.

¹²⁹ See Chapter 2.

¹³⁰ Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms*, 279.

¹³¹ Ibid., 280.

¹³² R. Bearman, ‘Revières [Reviars, Redvers], Baldwin de, earl of Devon (c. 1095–1155), magnate’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1163> [accessed October 10 2018].

¹³³ R. Bearman, *The Charters of the Redvers Family and the Earldom of Devon 1090-1217*, New Series, Vol.37 (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1994), 44.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 15.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 17–26.

given as a reward for Richard de Redvers' loyalty and support.¹³⁶ Bearman's conclusions, like those of both Veach and Crouch, emphasises the importance of royal favour to aristocratic fortunes.

Keith Stringer's examination of the career of David, earl of Huntingdon, offers valuable insight into this earl's stature in English and Scottish landholding society and his involvement in public life, which are also relevant to this thesis. Earl David belonged to the family of the Scottish kings, and was a grandson of King David I.¹³⁷ In 1185, following the death of Simon (III) de Senlis, David received the earldom of Huntingdon due to his shared blood with Matilda, countess of Huntingdon.¹³⁸ David was earl of Huntingdon from 1185 until 1219 and as such, exercised lordship during the reigns of Henry II, Richard I and John.¹³⁹ One of Stringer's conclusions was that David relied heavily on benefits of the favour he enjoyed at the royal court.¹⁴⁰ Yet, under King John, royal favour was lost and Earl David's financial situation became burdensome due to royal fines and confiscations of property.¹⁴¹ As in Veach's study, the connection between royal favour and the fortunes of an aristocrat is clearly revealed.

Previous studies have also focused on the spiritual interests and religious patronage of aristocratic families. For example, Janet Burton's work on monastic orders in Yorkshire.¹⁴² Whilst Burton covered monasticism as a whole, she also devoted a chapter to aristocratic patrons and founders.¹⁴³ Among her main findings was the suggestion that grants could serve more than simply religious purposes.¹⁴⁴ Burton did not underestimate the spiritual nature of grants, noting the concern for the souls displayed by patrons, but simply observed that grants could also simultaneously serve more political functions.¹⁴⁵ Burton also observed that the position of founder

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 25–26.

¹³⁷ Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon*, 1.

¹³⁸ K. Stringer, 'David, earl of Huntingdon and lord of Garioch (1152–1219),' *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/49365> [accessed November 13 2017].

¹³⁹ Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon*, 30–55.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 104–125.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² J. Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire 1069–1215* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 182–215.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 182.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 195–210.

and or patron of a religious community could convey privileges, such as confraternity and burial rights within houses, to benefactors.¹⁴⁶ Burton's observations are useful as both the Senlis and Crevequer families' patronage reveals both spiritual and political motivations.

Another notable work is that of J.C. Ward on the religious foundations of the Clare family.¹⁴⁷ Ward's article notes that, by focusing on a single family and their foundations over multiple generations, it is possible to identify changing trends in religious benefactions and endowments.¹⁴⁸ One of Ward's key observations was how the endowment of particular houses shifted as the Clare family acquired new lands in new regions.¹⁴⁹ This included the use of foundations to help establish their hold over newly gained lands.¹⁵⁰ Ward also appreciated that the Clare family were more enthusiastic in taking advantage of their main houses of choice, than granting them further possessions, a noticeable trend in the baronage in general during the mid-thirteenth century.¹⁵¹ This study also aims to identify and assess the patterns of religious patronage followed by both the Crevequer and Senlis families.

The Senlis and Crevequer families have attracted little attention from modern scholars. The Senlis are not the subjects of a single monograph, although they are sometimes discussed in various works focusing on the twelfth century. Simon (II) de Senlis is perhaps the most prominent member of his family in the existing secondary literature. Simon's life and political activities (including his presence at the battle of Lincoln and siege of Winchester, both in 1141) are outlined in a brief *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* article by Stringer.¹⁵² Edmund King's article on Northamptonshire during the Anarchy also focuses primarily on Simon and the political centre of his honour.¹⁵³ Stringer makes some interesting observations regarding Earl Simon's religious patronage and possible abuse of religious houses, as well as suggesting that Simon (II) may have

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 206-207.

¹⁴⁷ J. C. Ward, 'Fashions in Monastic Endowment: the Foundations of the Clare Family, 1066-1314', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981): 427-451.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 427.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 450-451.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Stringer. 'Senlis, Simon de'.

¹⁵³ E. King, 'King Stephen and the Empress Matilda: The View from Northampton', *Northampton Past and Present* 67 (2014), 17-30.

been complicit in the infamous arrests of Ranulf (II), earl of Chester, and Geoffrey de Mandeville by King Stephen.¹⁵⁴ Edmund King's article also discusses Simon's son, Simon (III), but as Simon (III) was a minor at the end of the Anarchy, King only covers his life immediately after the end of the civil war.¹⁵⁵ Another short article by Stringer focuses upon Simon (II) in some detail, examining the early charters of Sawtry Abbey, his foundation.¹⁵⁶ A larger study, also by Stringer, which discusses the Senlis family is the aforementioned monograph on Earl David. Stringer's work, whilst focusing primarily on Earl David and the Scottish earls of Huntingdon, also discusses the Senlis family and its influence and activities within the earldom of Huntingdon.¹⁵⁷ It offers valuable observations on the career of Simon (*ill.*), the illegitimate son of Simon (II) and steward to Earl David, a figure neglected in other works and whose life this thesis seeks to consider further. Scholars have curiously overlooked this illegitimate branch of the Senlis family.

The Crevequer family have received even less attention in the existing historiography, with the most substantial study to date being Colin Flight's unpublished article, 'The fall of the house of Crevequer'. Dealing briefly with the history of the family from 1120, Flight looked predominantly at the family during the thirteenth century and its 'fall'.¹⁵⁸ As a result, Flight's work fails to examine many aspects of the family's lordship, such as their religious foundations and their involvement in other forms of patronage. The Crevequers received only a passing mention in F.R.H. Du Boulay's work on the 'lordship' of Canterbury, where he outlined evidence of the lands lost during the family's 'fall'.¹⁵⁹ The family are briefly mentioned in other works, such as that of Richard Eales' study of Kent during King Stephen's reign.¹⁶⁰ This family is evidently in need of further study, a situation, which this thesis seeks to remedy.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 21-24.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 17-30.

¹⁵⁶ Stringer, 'The Earliest Charters of Sawtry Abbey', 329 n.23.

¹⁵⁷ Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon*, 104-125.

¹⁵⁸ Flight, 'Fall of the House of Crevequer', 1-10.

¹⁵⁹ F.R.H. Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury: An Essay on Medieval Society* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1966), 332.

¹⁶⁰ R. Eales, 'Local Loyalties in Norman England: Kent in Stephen's Reign' in *Anglo-Norman Studies VIII, Proceeding of the Battle Conference 1985*, ed. R.A. Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), 97-106.

Overall, this thesis will address these two families, examining their changing fortunes between the reigns of the Henry I and Henry III. This study begins by analysing the political history of the families in Chapter One, looking specifically at the royal duties which the members of the families fulfilled and the impact of the resulting royal patronage on the families' wealth, status and power. Chapter Two focuses on the political decisions of the families during times of civil war and rebellion, and considers how they endeavoured to maintain their prosperity during such conflicts through strategies linked to political allegiance, as well as the threats they faced to their authority. The study then considers two further aspects of these aristocratic families' histories. Chapter Three examines how both families managed their estates, analysing the location and extent of their properties and how these properties entered and left the families' possession. This chapter also examines the spiritual interests of these families, as they were reflected in their religious benefactions to particular religious houses and orders.

Chapter One: Responsibilities and Rewards: Service to Great Lords.

For the aristocrats of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, service to the crown and to aristocrats of higher status and greater wealth than themselves offered a means of improving their own fortunes. Successful royal service (and resulting favours) had the potential to convey true material benefits to an aristocrat. As suggested by Robert Bartlett, ‘the royal patronage machine was the single most important instrument for making or breaking individual fortunes in the medieval period’.¹⁶¹ Irrespective of this, not all men could gain access to the king’s royal service. Often, aristocrats served great lords beneath the king, as these lords were still able to generously provide land and wealth to their loyal servants. This chapter will seek to assess how the members of the Senlis and Crevequer families pursued the expansion of their personal status and wealth through their service to the king and other great lords. For the Senlis family, the discussion will focus on the two branches of the family separately. Firstly, the comital line between 1135 and 1185 and their royal service (or lack thereof) in the reigns of Stephen and Henry II will be discussed. Then, the careers of two members of the illegitimate line of the Senlis family, Simon (*ill*) de Senlis and his son Simon of Seaton (who found service to men of lesser rank than the king) will be examined. Following this, the political careers of the Crevequer family will be evaluated, predominantly focussing on the naval duties of Hamo (II) and the benefits of the subsequent royal favour he received for his service.

Both Simon (II) de Senlis (d. August 1153) and Simon (III) de Senlis (c.1138-1184) achieved the rank of earl, the greatest lay title below that of king. The position of earl was one of prestige and privilege, and pre-1135 earls were extremely few in number and were elite landholders.¹⁶² Simon (II) and Simon (III) experienced their careers as earls in two very different reigns; the turbulent reign of Stephen (1135–1154) was in stark contrast to that of Henry II (1154–1189). It is, therefore, necessary to understand that the nature of their positions as earl were different in a number of ways. One notable difference was that during Stephen’s reign earls were

¹⁶¹ R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 32.

¹⁶² D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000 -1300* (London: Routledge, 2005), 34.

allowed, or perhaps expected, to exercise more control over the shires of their earldoms.¹⁶³ Additionally, during Stephen's reign, earldoms experienced a high spike in numbers. At the time of Henry I's death seven earldoms existed, but the creations of both Stephen and Matilda drove this figure up to a total of twenty-eight.¹⁶⁴ This development has been discussed by a number of historians. The earliest explanation was that of J.H. Round, who argued that the earls of Stephen's reign enjoyed little power in comparison with those of the previous reign. Round also suggested that these earldoms were mostly honorific in nature, with their associated county styles taken merely out of conformity with contemporary convention.¹⁶⁵ However, R.H.C. Davis argued that several factors (including the strong connections that existed between the new earls and their associated counties) suggest that the earls were expected to exercise local authority under Stephen and were stronger than before.¹⁶⁶ W.L. Warren went further, suggesting that Stephen relied heavily on local earls to maintain royal power in the localities, so that they functioned as 'surrogates' of the king in the shires, similar in a way to practices in Germany and France.¹⁶⁷

The increased power of earls during Simon (II)'s lifetime meant that it was the earl, rather than sheriff, who enforced the will of the king throughout the shires where earldoms existed. David Crouch has argued that the earls in Stephen's reign replaced the sheriffs as the intermediary officers of royal power in the shires.¹⁶⁸ Judith Green has shown that earls also secured the appointment of their estate stewards to the position of sheriff.¹⁶⁹ During Simon (II)'s time as earl, his steward, Robert Grimbold, appears to have held the office of sheriff of Northampton, since he is styled 'sheriff' in an attestation of a charter issued by King Stephen in or before 1146.¹⁷⁰ Although this charter does not specifically outline Robert's county, from the fact that the order

¹⁶³ W.L. Warren, *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England 1086-1272* (London: Arnold, 1987), 93-94.

¹⁶⁴ R.H.C. Davis, *King Stephen* (London: Longman, 1990), 130.

¹⁶⁵ Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 273.

¹⁶⁶ Davis, *King Stephen*, 130.

¹⁶⁷ Warren, *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England*, 93-94.

¹⁶⁸ Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy*, 48.

¹⁶⁹ J. Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154* (London: H.M.S.O., 1990), 13 n.53; see also J. Green, 'Financing Stephen's War', in *Anglo-Norman Studies XIV*, ed. M. Chibnall (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 93.

¹⁷⁰ *Regesta*, III, no.611. Dated between 1136-1153, Paul Latimer suggests a date no later than 1146 as it was issued at Northampton: P. Latimer, 'The Earls in Henry II's Reign' (PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 1982), 108. For Robert as steward, see W. Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, Vol. II (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925), 302.

was concerning Northamptonshire, we can infer that this was his appointed county. It is difficult to establish the exact tenure of his office, however, it is possible that he held the office for the remainder of Simon (II)'s lifetime.¹⁷¹ The idea that Robert did not enjoy any real independent power in his shire is supported by the absence of any extant royal orders that were addressed to him. In contrast, another document records an order issued by King Stephen that Simon (II) re-seise the manor of Woodwalton, Huntingdonshire, for the abbot of Ramsey.¹⁷² Under Henry I, this type of order was ordinarily addressed to a sheriff (or an earl and his sheriff), although here only Simon was ordered to act by the king.¹⁷³ That Simon was the recipient of these instructions, not the sheriff, shows how his individual power benefitted from the new situation. That the order was issued at Northampton (Simon's capital) and to Simon directly, dealing specifically with property within his own county, further suggests that Simon enjoyed significant local powers.¹⁷⁴ Simon's relationship with another sheriff, Payne de Hemingford, presents a less clear image of the distribution of power between Simon (II) and local sheriffs. Payne was sheriff of Huntingdonshire during Stephen's reign (potentially as early as 1139) and still held the title at the end of Stephen's reign.¹⁷⁵ A number of charters issued by King Stephen to Thorney Abbey do, however, suggest he was also possibly subject to Simon's authority, at least in part. During the tenure of the earldom of Huntingdon by the Scots, between the first treaty of Durham in 1136 and 1140, several charters issued by King Stephen to Thorney Abbey address the sheriff of Huntingdonshire directly as the primary addressee.¹⁷⁶ While not mentioned by name, we can infer that Payne was the sheriff addressed, as he also appears as sheriff during the tenure of the earldom by the Scots, witnessing Stephen's confirmation of a grant to Huntingdon Priory between June 1139 and March 1140.¹⁷⁷ Later, during Simon's tenure of the earldom, Payne appears to have become less important as is suggested by two further charters issued to Thorney. Both charters

¹⁷¹ E. Amt, *The Accession of Henry II in England: Royal Government Restored, 1149-1159* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993), 119.

¹⁷² *Regesta*, III, 248, no.671.

¹⁷³ *Regesta*, II, nos 574, 581, 582, 587, 589, 590, 688, 996, 1115 and 1191.

¹⁷⁴ *Regesta*, III, 248, no.671.

¹⁷⁵ Green, *English Sheriffs*, 49.

¹⁷⁶ *Regesta*, III, nos 882 and 883.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, no.410.

are confirmations of the Abbey's market held at Yaxley, Huntingdonshire, one issued by Stephen after 1141 and the other by Robert, bishop of Lincoln, between 1148 and 1153.¹⁷⁸ In both charters, the position of the sheriff as the primary addressee had been replaced by Simon (II). While in both the sheriff is still addressed (suggesting he retained some authority), he is addressed after the earl, suggesting that his authority was subordinate, or at least shared, with Simon (II). Unlike Robert Grimbold, Payne appears not to have been so closely associated with Simon (II)'s household. In fact, no surviving charters issued by Simon (II) are witnessed by Payne. Indeed, Simon assuming these greater powers (especially when viewed in conjunction with his consistent support for Stephen as king) suggests that he was a crucial part of Stephen's network of earls, a network that was designed to control the localities.¹⁷⁹

In the reign of Henry II, a concerted effort was made by the crown to curtail the excessive number of earldoms and the individual power of the earls, as the prospect of hereditary aristocrats ruling each county posed a direct threat to royal power.¹⁸⁰ Warren suggested that Henry II expected his earls' powers to resemble those that the earls of Henry I had enjoyed: weaker than those of Stephen's reign, and kept in check by royal power in the form of more traditional sheriffs.¹⁸¹ Although Simon (III) appears to have succeeded to his father briefly in 1153 as a minor, under the new regime of Henry II, Simon (III) was soon prevented from exercising any real authority in his earldom.¹⁸² In these early years, the earldom was held in royal hands until 1157.¹⁸³ For the year 1154-1155, the shire was accounted for in the pipe roll by Robert Grimbold, Simon (II)'s former steward and sheriff.¹⁸⁴ The tables had clearly turned, and very quickly, as Simon (III) only answered for the first quarter of the year.¹⁸⁵ The balance of power was beginning again to return to the king and his newly re-enfranchised sheriffs.¹⁸⁶ Whilst royal power was

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., no.884. See also, *English Episcopal Acta 1: Lincoln 1067-1185*, ed. D.M. Smith (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), no.267.

¹⁷⁹ Warren, *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England*, 93.

¹⁸⁰ Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, 150.

¹⁸¹ Warren, *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England*, 95-97.

¹⁸² Stringer, 'The Earliest Charters of Sawtry Abbey', 329 n.23.

¹⁸³ Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 196.

¹⁸⁴ *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, II, 655.

¹⁸⁵ Amt, *The Accession of Henry II*, 119.

¹⁸⁶ G.J. White, *Restoration and Reform, 1153-1165: Recovery from Civil War in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 71-94.

reintroduced in the shires by Henry II's sheriffs, the identities of those who were chosen to act as sheriffs during Simon's early career suggest that, to some degree, the earl's wishes were still being considered due to their previous connection to his father's household. For example, Robert Grimbold (as previously discussed) was a former household steward for Simon (II) and was sheriff under Simon (III) for a time. Robert's successors in the office were also similarly linked to the Senlis household. His immediate successor, Simon Fitz Peter (sheriff from 1155) had also been a household steward of Simon (III)'s father.¹⁸⁷ The appointment of such men should be considered alongside other motivations however, such as the royal desire for sheriffs to be 'local landholders of modest means'.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, when considered alongside other indicators of Simon's declining authority, such as the return of the borough of Northampton to the royal demesne by 1156 (arguably the heart of Senlis comital power), it is clear that Simon (III)'s influence (or the lingering influence of his father) over such appointments would have been minimal.¹⁸⁹ Simon (III)'s position as earl early in his career was therefore reduced to a seemingly honorific title. Simon continued to be styled earl in the years following his dispossession, although he relied on his mother and her family, the earls of Leicester, for support in making grants and confirmations.¹⁹⁰ This could, of course, have been a consequence of Simon (III)'s minority (estimates place his birth around 1138), rather than a symptom of the change in the power of Henry's earls.¹⁹¹ Yet, the degree to which Simon (III) lacked any real independent power, even as a minor in his mother's care, is undeniable.

A primary expectation of an earl was his presence at the king's court.¹⁹² Simon (II) fulfilled this expectation witnessing forty-two surviving royal charters.¹⁹³ Simon's first dateable appearance was at King Stephen's Easter court of 1136 at Oxford, when Simon witnessed

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 93. For Simon fitz Peter as steward, see BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII, fol. 7 r.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ Pipe Roll 2 Henry II, 40.

¹⁹⁰ Simon (III) issued two charters during his dispossession, one jointly with his mother and another as '*Comes Simon nepos Roberti comitis Legrecestrie*', dated to before 1158: *Danelaw*, nos 334 and 335.

¹⁹¹ Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 84.

¹⁹² Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, 28-31.

¹⁹³ *Regesta*, III, nos 16, 94, 132, 192, 271, 246, 249, 276, 284, 376, 399, 402, 410, 427, 437, 438, 494, 570, 611, 613, 638, 650, 667, 736, 737, 738, 745, 814, 861, 862, 889, 890, 895, 914, 920, 944, 945, 947 and 964; *Registrum Antiquissimum*, Vol. I, Foster, nos 94 and 99; Vincent, 'New Charters of King Stephen', 925-926.

Stephen's Oxford charter of liberties.¹⁹⁴ While not yet an earl, Simon was accepted as a man of notable birth, sufficient to attest this charter, yet of meagre status to be placed rather low in the witness list, being thirty-seventh in a list of forty-one.¹⁹⁵ From here, Simon disappears from the witness lists of King Stephen's charters until 1138. The probable explanation for this was Simon (II)'s displeasure that Stephen had, before his Easter court, invested Simon's half-brother Henry (c.1115–1152) as the earl of Huntingdon.¹⁹⁶ The security of this grant was compounded by Henry sitting at Stephen's right hand, a position of considerable prestige, in his Easter court as a sign of positive Anglo-Scottish relations.¹⁹⁷ Interestingly the chronicler John of Hexham records how this led to the dissatisfaction and withdrawal from Stephen's court of certain nobles, including Ranulf, earl of Chester, who 'spoke disrespectfully of the young man'.¹⁹⁸ Stringer suggests Simon (II) could have been another member of this group.¹⁹⁹ It is also possible, however, that due to the lack of definitively dateable charters from the early years of Stephen's reign that Simon's presence may be underrepresented in surviving material.

Beginning in 1138, Simon (II) appears as an earl at Stephen's court, probably invested in the place of his half-brother.²⁰⁰ Simon (II)'s continued presence at Stephen's court as an earl following the treaty of Durham in 1139 is interesting as, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, Stephen re-instated Henry as earl of Huntingdon.²⁰¹ Regardless, he continued to be styled as an earl between this date and the Battle of Lincoln in 1141, in his attestation of royal charters.²⁰² Simon (II)'s exact position during this time has been disputed and it is possible that he was dispossessed of his territory but kept his title as earl as a personal dignity.²⁰³ However, there has

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., no. 271.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., no.271

¹⁹⁶ 'The chronicle of John of Hexham', *The Church Historians of England*, Vol. IV, ed. J. Stevenson (London: Seeleys, 1856), 6.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ K. Stringer, 'Henry, Earl of Northumberland (c. 1115–1152), prince', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12956> [accessed October 10 2018].

²⁰⁰ The earliest charter reference of Simon as earl was datable at earliest to the winter of 1137-1138, however Stringer placed the date of his creation within the Limits of Henry's dispossession suggesting April 1138 at the earliest: *Regesta*, III, 357 no.964; Stringer, 'Senlis, Simon de, earl of Northampton'.

²⁰¹ Davis, *King Stephen*, 46, 129-131.

²⁰² *Regesta* III, nos 16, 399 and 410.

²⁰³ Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy*, 45.

also been a suggestion that Simon was made earl of Northampton and Henry earl of Huntingdon, dividing the earldom between the two of them.²⁰⁴ There is difficulty in proving or disproving either claim as Simon (II) was almost never styled 'earl of Northampton' in his attestations of royal charters, but was typically described simply as 'Earl Simon'.²⁰⁵ The situation is further complicated by the dearth of narrowly dateable charters issued by Simon (II) during the period between the second treaty of Durham and the Battle of Lincoln.²⁰⁶ The possibility that Simon was allowed to keep his title as earl, although he was deprived of the territory attached to it, seems the most plausible interpretation. This is because, as suggested by Stringer and Geoffrey Barrow, Huntingdon and Northampton were synonymous terms for the same earldom.²⁰⁷

Close proximity to the king led to real material benefits for Simon (II). He was involved in three incidents where his association with King Stephen indicates that he influenced the king to act against Simon's (or Simon's allies') political enemies. Rivalry between aristocrats and their factions at the royal court was often rife, partly caused by the pursuit of the best royal patronage.²⁰⁸ Advising the king to act against rivals by convincing him of disloyalty was an efficient way of removing enemies. The first arrest in which Simon (II) may have been complicit was the arrest of the bishops in June 1139. Simon's possible involvement in this event is significant as the arrests have been suggested by Kenji Yoshitake to have been made at the instigation of the Beaumonts and their allies, who moved against Roger bishop of Salisbury (d.1139) and his relatives.²⁰⁹ Simon (II) had become allied to the Beaumonts through his marriage to the daughter of Robert, earl of Leicester, early in Stephen's reign, so could be considered to have been a member of this faction.²¹⁰ Simon (II) had witnessed two charters of Stephen (alongside Earl Robert), at Oxford

²⁰⁴ Davis, *King Stephen*, 129-131.

²⁰⁵ *Regesta*, III, nos 410, 437, 650 and 745.

²⁰⁶ The only occasion Simon has a territorial designation attached to his attestation of a royal charter occurred December 1137-May 1138 or March-June 1139: *Regesta*, III no.964.

²⁰⁷ Stringer, 'Senlis, Simon de'; Barrow, 'David I'.

²⁰⁸ Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, 33-35.

²⁰⁹ K. Yoshitake, 'The Arrest of the Bishops in 1139 and its Consequences', *Journal of Medieval History* 14: 2 (1998), 98.

²¹⁰ Crouch estimated that Simon (II) was born c.1138 and so the marriage would almost certainly have occurred before the events of June 1139: Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 84 n.111.

in January 1139, and again at the end of April 1139, not long before the arrests in June.²¹¹ The two other occasions were the arrests of fellow earls who posed clearer threats to Simon (II) directly. The first was the arrest of Geoffrey de Mandeville (d.1144) at St. Albans in 1143, which Edmund King has claimed Simon (II) probably advocated.²¹² King's argument was based upon the benefits which an associate of Simon, Turgis de Avranches, received following Mandeville's arrest.²¹³ The second arrest was that of Ranulf, earl of Chester (d.1153), in 1147.²¹⁴ Ranulf was a known enemy of Simon (II), who was included in the Leicester-Chester convention as an ally of Robert, earl of Leicester.²¹⁵ That the second arrest took place at Northampton, and has been suggested to have been encouraged by Stephen's chief councillors, strongly implicates Simon (II) in this arrest.²¹⁶ It was Simon (II)'s position as an earl, trusted advisor and ally, which ultimately gave him political sway with the king to be considered a promoter of these arrests.²¹⁷

Unlike his father, however, Simon (III) does not appear to have been a regular attendant at the court of his king, Henry II. In fact, no evidence of Simon (III) witnessing a single charter of Henry II appears to have survived, either before or after the return of the earldom of Northamptonshire.²¹⁸ Simon, as a result, appears to have had little impact on national affairs. One explanation for this was that Simon (III) was not as politically important to Henry II as Simon (II) had been to Stephen. Henry II's authority stretched much further geographically than that of Stephen; upon his succession, Henry claimed lordship of Anjou, Maine, Aquitaine and Normandy, in addition to England.²¹⁹ Additionally, according to Graeme White, Henry was not

²¹¹ *Regesta*, III, nos 473, 667 and 964. The authenticity of the latter charter, that of April, has been questioned, see *Regesta*, III, no.964.

²¹² King, 'The View from Northampton', 21.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 21. Turgis received the castle of Saffron Walden, formerly a principle possession of Geoffrey de Mandeville.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

²¹⁵ F. Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1932), 285-288.

²¹⁶ King, 'The View from Northampton', 21.

²¹⁷ According to Edmund King, Stephen's earls 'would accompany the king and give him council': E. King, *King Stephen* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), 131.

²¹⁸ Simon is not named in any witness lists within the List and Index Society Acta: *Acta of Henry II and Richard I*, List and Index Society, Vol. 21, ed. J.C. Holt and R. Mortimer (Gateshead: Paradigm, 1986). See also *Acta of Henry II and Richard I Part Two*, List and Index Society, Vol. 27, ed. N. Vincent (Gateshead: Paradigm, 1996).

²¹⁹ W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London: Yale University Press, 1973), 42-53.

personally invested in the detailed governance of England for the first eight years.²²⁰ Furthermore, a number of aspects of Simon's own career impeded his political power. Firstly, he began the reign as a minor, stripped of almost all authority as well as being dispossessed of the territory of his father's earldom.²²¹ Even following the possible compensation for Simon (III)'s losses through his marriage to the heiress Alice de Gant (d.1185) and the acquisition of the northern honour of Gant soon after her father's death in 1156, Simon witnessed no royal charters.²²² Likewise, after the return of the earldom of Northampton in 1174 (when Simon was arguably at his most powerful), Simon was not recorded attending the king's court. The disparity between Simon (III)'s and his father's presence in the king's court is stark.

For the laymen of lower social status than the great earls and magnates, royal offices were often inaccessible. For such men, service to magnates of lower rank than the king could, however, be extremely lucrative. As an illegitimate son and the descendant of an illegitimate aristocrat, the branch of the Senlis family to whom Simon (*ill.*) belonged was of noticeably lower rank than their predecessors.²²³ This branch of the Senlis family did not attest royal charters, nor did they frequent the royal court. Instead, the administrative role which both Simon (*ill.*) de Senlis (d. after 1131) and his son Simon (*ill.*) de Senlis of Seaton (d. after 1253) fulfilled was that of steward or seneschal. Simon (*ill.*) de Senlis fulfilled this office for David, earl of Huntingdon (1152–1219), who had inherited the earldom after the death of Simon (III) de Senlis, Simon (*ill.*)'s half-brother, in 1184. Simon of Seaton was the steward of Ralph, bishop of Chichester (d.1244), who spent his career working in the English royal chancery, eventually holding the office of chancellor.²²⁴

²²⁰ White, *Restoration and Reform*, 11.

²²¹ Stringer, 'The Earliest Charters of Sawtry Abbey', 329 n.23.

²²² Robert of Torigni records the marriage in 1156; see *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, Vol. IV, ed. R. Howlett (London: Longman, 1885), 189. Gilbert died c.1156: P. Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire 1066-1154* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 291.

²²³ The laws of the late twelfth century meant that Simon (*ill.*) could not inherit his father's or brother's lands: *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England Commonly Called Glanvill*, ed. G.D.G. Hall (London: Nelson, 1965), 88.

²²⁴ F.A. Cazel, 'Neville, Ralph de (d. 1244), Administrator and Bishop of Chichester', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19949> [accessed October 27 2018].

It is important to outline the exact role that a steward was expected to fulfil in this period. To do this, there are several surviving thirteenth-century treatises which described the duties and attributes of the ideal steward. The earliest of these was the *Rules* of Robert Grosseteste, written between 1245-1253.²²⁵ The *Rules* which Robert produced for the widowed Margaret, countess of Lincoln and Pembroke (d.1266), to advise her on the management of her estates, provide a useful insight into what a lord or lady was to expect of their steward.²²⁶ The *Rules* suggests that upon selecting a steward a lord should inform the steward what he or she expected of them.²²⁷ The expectations primarily included the protection of the lord's lands and produce by lawful means.²²⁸ Another aspect of the office was that every year, at Michaelmas, the steward was to audit the crops of the harvest of all the lord's manors.²²⁹ A later text which survives in a number of copies is the *Seneschaucy* (c.1260-1276), by an anonymous author, which also outlined the expectations and qualifications of an estate steward.²³⁰ The work begins with a broad definition of the role:

The seneschal of lands ought to be prudent and faithful and profitable, and he ought to know the law of the realm, to protect his lords business and to instruct and give assurances to the bailiffs who are beneath him in their difficulties.²³¹

By comparing both texts, it appears that the ideal steward was to meet the following criteria: he should act lawfully and be knowledgeable about the law, and he should protect the lord's produce and property, and if necessary pursue this through law. The steward was also expected to have an in-depth knowledge of the lands of the lord's manors and their potential agricultural output

²²⁵ L.J. Wilkinson, 'The Rules of Robert Grosseteste Reconsidered: The Lady as Estate and Household Manager in Thirteenth-Century England', in *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c. 850-c. 1550: Managing Power, Wealth, and the Body*, eds C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic, and S.R. Jones (Turnhout, Brepolis, 2003), 306.

²²⁶ *Walter of Henley's Husbandry Together With Robert Grosseteste's Rules*, ed. E. Lamond (London: Longman, 1890), xlii. See also D. Oschinsky, 'Medieval Treatises on Estate Management.' *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 8:3 (1956), 296-309.

²²⁷ *Walter of Henley's Husbandry*, 125-127.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 127.

²³⁰ J. Sabapathy, *Officers and Accountability in Medieval England 1170-1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 64.

²³¹ *Walter of Henley's Husbandry*, 85.

through regular inspections and visits. How far, then, did Simon (*ill.*) and Simon of Seaton meet these expectations as stewards?

As far as Simon (*ill.*) is concerned, there is much less surviving evidence for his duties as a steward than for his son. The only reference we find to Simon in this role is in 1194-1195, when he appeared in a suit against William de Leicester over land in Rutland.²³² Simon's other tasks as steward have largely gone unrecorded. Nonetheless, as Earl David's other stewards appear in legal records, suggesting that they performed legal duties for their earl, it is interesting that Simon served Earl David in a similar capacity.²³³ In June 1212, Simon can again be found acting for Earl David, when he was sent on the earl's behalf to hear the king's will regarding an inquisition.²³⁴ Simon clearly occupied a position of trust in the earl's following as evidenced by his frequent attestation of Earl David's charters. Simon witnessed charters for Earl David on at least eleven separate occasions between 1194 and 1212, in both Scotland and England.²³⁵ He was also the most frequent witness of any who held the position of steward of the Earl.²³⁶ Simon's privileged position earned him several rewards, including grants of land in Great Stukeley and Godmanchester, both in Huntingdonshire, as well as monetary rewards such as payments from the earl's third penny.²³⁷ The dating of these grants is unfortunately vague, but it would not be unreasonable to suggest that at least one of these grants occurred around the date of Simon's stewardship. Even if these grants did not occur then, his selection for the office in conjunction with these grants suggests that Simon's service and close connection to his lord was lucrative.

The career of Simon (*ill.*)'s son, also called Simon, similarly indicates that holding the office of steward to a lesser lord could be extremely beneficial and bring material rewards. Simon's service as an exemplary thirteenth-century steward has been examined by several authors due to the survival of insightful letters that Simon wrote to his lord Ralph, bishop of Chichester,

²³² *Three Rolls of the Kings Court in the Reign of King Richard the First, AD 1194-95*, Pipe Roll Society, Vol. XIV, ed. F.W. Matiland (London: Wyman and Sons, 1891), 28.

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland AD 1108-1272*, I, 91.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 156.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 269.

regarding his work for him as his steward. The first historian to cover Simon was W.H. Blaauw, who in his evaluation of the bishop's correspondence, described Simon as an exemplary steward.²³⁸ Similarly, Jacques Boussard has suggested that Ralph expected great precision from his steward.²³⁹ Simon's letters make his career an excellent exemplar for examining service in this capacity to a lord. The exact time at which Simon entered the bishop's following is unclear; the earliest evidence dates to 1225, when the men of Chichester were ordered to grant Simon the arrears of their tallage.²⁴⁰ At this point Simon was not yet a steward, but in the lesser position of bailiff.²⁴¹ This role was still important, and came with a wage for the officer, though ultimately the bailiffs were subordinate to the steward.²⁴² Simon advanced in the bishop's service and was promoted to steward by at least the beginning of 1226.²⁴³ The roles fulfilled by Simon are recorded in his correspondence and so can be evaluated more extensively than his father's.

One letter, dateable to between 1226 and 1232, contains an indication of Simon's legal capabilities. Within this letter Simon explains that he and the bishop's other servants are becoming far too familiar with the hundred court of the earl of Arundel due to the hostility of the earl's bailiffs.²⁴⁴ That the bailiffs were hostile to the bishop's servants is not necessarily unexpected, since bailiffs and stewards of neighbouring lords inevitably became frequent enemies in land disputes, as they sought to protect and further their lord's possessions.²⁴⁵ However, Simon's legal capability in the same letter is further revealed by his observation that the keeper of the hundred court, Ralph de Bonewell, was an honourable man, possibly meaning that he had a reputation for fair practice.²⁴⁶ In another letter (which can be dated no more accurately than occurring within Simon's stewardship) we find further evidence of Simon's legal functions, this time acting on

²³⁸ W.H. Blaauw, 'Letters to Ralph De Nevill, Bishop of Chichester (1222-1224), and the Chancellor to King Henry III', in *Sussex Archaeological Collections, Illustrating the History and Antiquities of the County*, Vol. III (London: John Russell Smith, 1850), 44-45.

²³⁹ J. Boussard, 'Ralph Neville, Évêque de Chichester et Chancelier D'Angleterre (1244). D'après sa Correspondance' *Revue Historique* 176:2 (1935), 217-233.

²⁴⁰ *CFR 1224-1225*, 215.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² Blaauw, 'Letters to Ralph De Nevill', 98

²⁴³ The earliest dateable letter of Simon which seems to suggest he was acting as Steward comes from January 1226: TNA, SC 1/6/82. For the printed version see Blaauw, 'Letters to Ralph De Nevill', 70-71.

²⁴⁴ Blaauw, 'Letters to Ralph De Nevill', 48.

²⁴⁵ *Walter of Henley's Husbandry*, 125.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

behalf of the bishop in a local dispute. Within the letter, Simon states that a day had been set for William de St. John and William de Goodwood to make their peace before himself, the dean of Chichester and another unnamed official.²⁴⁷ In another letter occurring sometime after December 1227, possibly as early as summer 1228, Simon requested that the bishop appoint him as his attorney against the men of the archbishop of Canterbury (the broad date range of the letter makes identifying the archbishop difficult) over their claim to pasture in Aldingbourne.²⁴⁸ Simon also indicates that he had already spoken to the archbishop in person about the matter and described his reply with some derision, suggesting it was ‘shallow and feeble’.²⁴⁹ Simon of Seaton certainly fulfilled contemporary expectations that a steward should be knowledgeable in the law and capable of pursuing justice on his lord’s behalf.

Another aspect of stewardship outlined in the contemporary texts is the collection and audit of the harvest and income from the lord’s estates. The *Rules* declared that a steward was to make yearly audits of the harvest.²⁵⁰ In his letters, Simon makes reference to visits to manors and overseeing audits. In one telling example, which unfortunately cannot be dated, Simon suggests he urgently needed the bishop to appoint a fellow officer to assist him, as the existing officer, Reginald de Winton (the archdeacon of Lewes), was unable to attend.²⁵¹ As well as auditing the harvests, it was the steward’s duty to see that agricultural production was progressing adequately and to the lord’s benefit.²⁵² To this end, we find evidence contained within another letter, that Simon personally oversaw the improvement of the Broyle (a forested area north of Chichester and formerly a royal possession), where he raised a new hundred-foot ox-shed and continued ‘assarting and fallowing vigorously’.²⁵³

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 66.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 57. As the Broyle of Chichester and was granted to Bishop Ralph in December 1227, this letter cannot predate this, at the earliest was written in the summer of 1228 as it talks of Michaelmas and August 1 as future dates: *CChR 1226-1257*, 276.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 57.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 125-129.

²⁵¹ Blaauw, ‘Letters to Ralph De Nevill’, 65.

²⁵² The *Seneschaucy* suggests that upon arriving at a manor the Steward was to enquire about what crops were sowed and how the field were tilled: *Walter of Henley's Husbandry*, 87.

²⁵³ Blaauw, ‘Letters to Ralph De Nevill’, 57.

Simon of Seaton also fulfilled additional duties, such as organising the stocking of the bishop's household in London. Bishop Ralph was regularly in the capital, overseeing the chancery following his appointment in May 1226 as royal chancellor.²⁵⁴ As such, Simon's duties seem to have been divided between the stewardship of the Chichester estates and the household in London. For example, in one undateable letter, Simon talks of sending supplies to London, including wine, firewood and lambs fur for winter.²⁵⁵ In some instances, the distance between the bishop's residence in London and the steward's duties in Sussex seem to have been a hindrance. Simon could not fulfil his duties from London as he needed to supervise the estates first hand, and we find indications that Simon travelled regularly between London and Sussex to meet both obligations.²⁵⁶ Ralph appears to have understood that Simon would not necessarily be in constant residence in London, but had alternative officials for when this was a problem.²⁵⁷ This distance between the estates and the London residence appears to have even been a source of distress on one occasion, as Simon was in London awaiting the response from a messenger with news of his father's infirmity, but had received orders from Ralph to return to Sussex.²⁵⁸ Although Ralph's position as an absentee bishop undoubtedly complicated Simon's office, it was also beneficial as it meant that, in the estates of the bishop, Simon was often the most authoritative individual in residence. Indeed, Henry Bennett suggested that most stewards (at least to the peasants) may have seemed 'as all-powerful as the lord himself'.²⁵⁹

Simon of Seaton certainly seems to have met the expectations of his role of steward. The last mention of Simon as the bishop's steward can be found in 1232, when Hugh de Neville, the chief forester, was ordered to allow Simon to take bucks from the wood of Weybridge on the bishop's behalf.²⁶⁰ Simon was, therefore, steward for approximately six years. Simon's role as

²⁵⁴ Cazal, 'Neville, Ralph de'.

²⁵⁵ Blaauw, 'Letters to Ralph De Nevill', 52-53.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 47, 52, 56, 70-71.

²⁵⁷ *English Episcopal Acta 22: Chichester 1215-1253*, ed. P.M. Hoskin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), no.93. Ralph ordered Geoffrey Savage to pay twenty-four marks owed to the bishop to Simon, but, if he was absent ordered the payment be made to Robert the chaplain of the Old Temple.

²⁵⁸ Blaauw, 'Letters to Ralph De Nevill', 70-71.

²⁵⁹ H.S. Bennett, *Life on the English Manor: A Study of Peasant Conditions 1150-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), 157.

²⁶⁰ *CCR 1231-1234*, 77.

steward did come with some considerable rewards. In April 1227, Simon, during his service to the Bishop, received the wardship and marriage of Amy, daughter of Richard Ballistarius, and her lands in Seaton.²⁶¹ Simon later married Amy and, through this marriage, gained her lands for life.²⁶² Simon also appears to have gained other properties, the evidence for which we find in the records of later property disputes. For example, Simon appears to have gained some possessions in either Maxey or Leam, Northamptonshire, the evidence for which we find in records of fines paid by Ralph of Leam to have an assize of novel disseisin against Simon, as well as Bishop Ralph, concerning tenements in both Leam and Maxey.²⁶³ That Ralph was summoned as a defendant suggests that he was, in some way, also involved in Ralph of Leam's dispossession. Simon's service, therefore, most certainly earned him some tenurial rewards. His ambitions appear only to have grown, as we later find him acting as the steward of Archbishop Edmund of Abingdon, a considerable promotion.²⁶⁴ Exactly how long Simon served Edmund is unclear, as this is the only reference to him in this role.

The Crevequer family performed very different roles during their royal service. One notable service was the performance of castle-guard at Dover, a royal fortress, alongside several other baronial families. In 1166, Henry II reorganised the duties of castle-guard, giving responsibility to a residential constable and the holders of several Kentish baronies.²⁶⁵ The barony held by the Crevequers was one of these. Those responsible were expected to provide a specified number of knights for the defence of the castle. At the beginning of this service, the Crevequer barony was held by Daniel de Crevequer, who owed five knights for a period of twenty-four weeks.²⁶⁶ In 1216, however, Hubert de Burgh replaced service in person with a monetary charge, similar to scutage.²⁶⁷ Garrisoning Dover Castle was crucial to the security of the realm; it was

²⁶¹ *CPR 1225-1232*, 117.

²⁶² *CChR 1226-1257*, 212.

²⁶³ *CFR 1233-1234*, 271.

²⁶⁴ *CCR 1234-1237*, 84.

²⁶⁵ F.W. Hardman, 'Castleguard Service of Dover Castle', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 49 (1937), 100.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 103.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 103.

besieged twice in the thirteenth century, first by the French king's son, Louis, in the First Barons' War (1216) and again by the Lord Edward in the Second Barons' War (1265).²⁶⁸

The reorganisation of the castle-guard did not sever the family's connection to coastal defence, as early in his career Hamo (II) de Crevequer was appointed keeper of the Cinque Ports by February 1235.²⁶⁹ His promotion to office appears to have been as a result of maritime responsibilities in order to combat the Marshal rebellion of the previous winter.²⁷⁰ The appointment of Hamo, alongside Waleran the German ('*Teutonicus*'), appears to have been somewhat of a negotiation. The original royal appointment occurred on 9 February 1235, in which Hamo and Waleran were ordered to defend the Cinque Ports and their coast.²⁷¹ Another royal order was issued the same day, which resulted in the cancellation of this appointment, in which the two were also granted 'custody' of the Cinque Ports, making them 'keepers of the Cinque Ports'.²⁷² In addition to the acquisition of the title of keeper, Hamo and Waleran were tasked with defending a significantly larger area of coast than previously stated, which included regions of Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk as well as that of the Cinque Ports.²⁷³ This grant appears to have been formalised on the same day, with a letter issued to the men of the port of Dunwich, Suffolk, informing them of Hamo and Waleran's appointment.²⁷⁴ Even so, two days later this order was refined.²⁷⁵ Whilst Hamo and Waleran remained as keepers of the Cinque Ports, the area of coast they were to defend was reorganised; their new orders made no mention of the east coast.²⁷⁶ Instead, they specified that the stretch of coast they were to defend lay between the ports of Hastings and Poole.²⁷⁷ It would appear that their new area of jurisdiction extended only along the south coast. Yet, this was still a considerably large stretch of coast, spanning over one-hundred

²⁶⁸ S.P.H. Statham, *The History of the Castle Town and Port of Dover* (London: Longmans, 1899), 51 and 323.

²⁶⁹ *CPR 1232-47*, 92-93.

²⁷⁰ See Chapter 2.

²⁷¹ *CPR 1232-47*, 92-93.

²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 123.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 92-93.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

miles. Even so, Hamo's promotion to the role of keeper cannot be ignored and suggests that Hamo, and indeed Waleran, were the recipients of royal favour.

During the year in which he undertook these duties, Hamo received further signs of royal favour, namely, the grant in January 1235 of a wardship, which included the custody of extensive lands previously held by Thomas de Camville.²⁷⁸ Hamo agreed to pay six-hundred marks for the wardship and was also granted the right of marriage to one of Thomas' daughters.²⁷⁹ The following year, Hamo received an additional increase to his possessions with a beneficial marriage. After the death of the brother of Matilda de Avranches, Hamo's wife, Hamo performed homage for his brother-in-law's lands, which had passed to Matilda as heiress.²⁸⁰ Hamo paid a relief of £100 in accordance with clause two of Magna Carta for admission to these lands, most of which were situated in Kent, but also included property in other counties including Bedfordshire, Berkshire and Herefordshire.²⁸¹ Evidently, during his time as a keeper of the Cinque Ports, Hamo (II) experienced material rewards for his service. Indeed, the marriage to Matilda and his subsequent receipt of her inheritance, the Avranches barony, required royal approval.²⁸²

Hamo's role on the south coast was not without controversy. In April 1235, Hamo, along with several other individuals who included members of the Allard family of Winchelsea, were accused of seizing ships that were transporting wine and ejecting their crews.²⁸³ In total, eight men made these allegations against Hamo (II) and his associates to the king, including men of Barfleur and Drax.²⁸⁴ Due to the number of allegations and the geographical distribution of those raising complaints it is, therefore, reasonable to assume that this was not an isolated instance of piracy. Due to the nature of shipping at the time, ships often tried to remain close to the coast, with the Channel being one of the few locations to be considered open sea, leaving ships more

²⁷⁸ *CFR 1234-1235*, 102.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁰ *CFR 1235-1236*, 103.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

²⁸² C. McCarthy, *Marriage in Medieval England: Law, Literature, and Practice* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), 75.

²⁸³ *CPR 1232-1247*, 99.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

susceptible to isolation (and subsequently piracy).²⁸⁵ What makes this case particularly troublesome is that the plaintiffs' men had been issued with letters of safe passage by the king, and (according to their account of events) the royal letters had been seized by the pirates and either destroyed or withheld.²⁸⁶ Such letters were, in essence, the word of the king himself; to disregard them was to ultimately disregard the orders of the king. Yet, the consequences of these actions for Hamo seem to have been minimal. He and the other men accused were merely ordered to return the confiscated ships and their goods, rather than receiving any monetary penalty.²⁸⁷ This moderate punishment was probably a result of Hamo's favoured position with the king. Relaxed punishments for transgressions was a common mark of royal favour and could be extremely beneficial to magnates who presented a flexible attitude towards the observance of the law.²⁸⁸

Even after losing the role as keeper in May 1236, Hamo continued to be involved in coastal defence, having had various other periods when he served as a defender of the coast and fulfilled maritime duties for the crown.²⁸⁹ For example, in 1242 Hamo was granted a letter of credence in his favour by Henry III, when he was sent to speak with 'all masters of ships and mariners of England' on urgent royal business.²⁹⁰ We can presume that this was in preparation for Henry III's campaign to France to support the rebels of Poitou, for which the king required ships.²⁹¹ Two years later, Henry III employed Hamo (II) again to 'the defence of the sea', this coming at a time when Scottish piracy on English ships was increasing.²⁹² This last appointment not only displayed a continued reliance on Hamo as a naval agent for the king, but also revealed the benefits of performing such a duty.²⁹³ Alongside his sergeants and knights, Hamo was granted the king's protection, as well as an exemption from suits and pleas in all counties and hundreds

²⁸⁵ A. Jobson, 'The Maritime Theatre, 1258-1267', in *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England 1258-1267*, ed. A. Jobson, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016), 229.

²⁸⁶ *CPR 1232-1247*, 99.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms*, 279.

²⁸⁹ Hamo was replaced by Bertram de Criol: *CPR 1232-1247*, 144.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 311.

²⁹¹ Statham, *The History of the Castle Town and Port of Dover*, 50.

²⁹² *CRP 1232-1247*, 443. See also, M. Prestwich, *Plantagenet England, 1225-1360* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 229.

²⁹³ *CRP 1232-1247*, 443.

for the length of his service.²⁹⁴ Additionally, a record exists from 1244 in the *Liberate* rolls of a payment of £200 to Hamo (II) and Peter, son of Ralph, to provide liveries (presumably royal) to the knights, serjeants and mariners 'whom they will take with them in ships to guard the sea'.²⁹⁵ Not only, therefore, were Hamo (II) and his men granted the privileges of exemptions, but they were also outfitted in the king's liveries whilst in his service. This offers a clear example of Hamo (II) acting as an extension of the king's will when he fulfilled his naval duties.

As is evident, service to great lords was an extremely beneficial tactic available to the aristocrats of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries who wished to increase their wealth, as has been revealed by the careers of both the Senlis and Crevequer families. It is clear that both Simon (II) and Simon (III) de Senlis relied upon their status as earls to pursue the expansion of their power and their own regional interests. Simon (II) often attended King Stephen's court and exercised the king's will in the counties under his control. Simon (II), like his fellow earls during the reign, also appears to have exceeded the atypical power exercised by earls before 1135, influencing the appointment of his own men as sheriffs. This itself was not disobedience, merely a necessity required of the earls in Stephen's reign and the close connection between the king and Simon (II) suggests that Stephen did not oppose this situation.²⁹⁶ For Simon (III), his position as earl was much weaker than his father's and he appears to have enjoyed little royal favour; Simon was stripped of his inheritance and compensated with a valuable (yet arguably lesser) honour through marriage. Paradoxically, it was Simon (III) (who enjoyed fewer marks of royal favour) who possessed a greater expanse of territory, holding both the honour of Gant and earldom of Northampton. For the illegitimate line of the family, service to the king was not as accessible and so they sought their fortunes by serving lesser lords. Simon (*ill.*)'s service to Earl David brought him tangible rewards in the form of lands and money. For his son, service to Ralph, bishop of

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁵ *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office 1240-1245*, Vol. III (London: H.M.S.O., 1930), 240.

²⁹⁶ Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy*, 48. See also K. Stringer, *The Reign of Stephen: Kingship, Warfare and Government in Twelfth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1993), 34-38.

Chichester, likewise brought benefits including the grant of the wardship and marriage of the heir of Richard Ballistarius.

For the Crevequers, Hamo (II)'s service to the king as a coastal defender and maritime agent proved to be the family's most beneficial role. Hamo's successful fulfilment of the role of keeper of the Cinque Ports, with responsibilities spanning a stretch of coast over one-hundred miles long, provided him with very immediate rewards including a beneficial wardship and a very lucrative marriage to a powerful heiress. Hamo (II)'s continued employment under Henry III in the 1240s as a maritime agent also conveyed some useful benefits to Hamo, including the exemption of Hamo and his men from lawsuits. Service to greater men (whether a king, earl or bishop) was a lucrative and shrewd method for bettering and sustaining the status of an individual aristocrat and, indeed, their descendants, who inherited many of the benefits.

Chapter Two: Changing Fortunes in Civil Wars and Rebellions

Periods of civil war were critical for the fortunes of aristocratic families. These were times when aristocrats were presented with a decision that was not typically available otherwise; that of whom to serve, either the king or his rival(s). A lord who successfully took advantage of these times stood to be heavily rewarded, while incorrect choices could pose disaster, and often did. While luck was also a pivotal factor during these times, as will be demonstrated, tactical politics could lead to an aristocrat securing substantial material rewards. It is significant that the periods either during or immediately after civil wars saw the greatest changes in the status and wealth of both the Senlis and Crevequer families. Across the period, there were several major civil wars including the 'Anarchy' of King Stephen's reign, the 'Great Rebellion' of 1173-1174, the First Baron's War of 1215-1217, and the Second Barons' War of 1264-1267. This chapter seeks to analyse the successes and failures of these families during periods of civil war.

Both Simon (II) and Simon (III) were successful in their opportunistic approach to civil war. Their main successes were regaining the earldom of Northampton. Neither Simon (II) nor Simon (III) were in possession of the earldom of Northampton at the beginning of their adult careers. Instead, the earldom was in the possession of their rivals, the ruling dynasty in Scotland. At the beginning of Stephen's reign the earldom was held by Simon (II)'s stepfather David (I), King of Scots.²⁹⁷ While at the beginning of Henry II's reign the earldom remained in royal hands for several years and was granted to the Scots once more in 1157.²⁹⁸ The return of this earldom to Simon (II) and Simon (III) was due to the success of the sides they both chose in civil wars: Simon (II) and his adherence to King Stephen in 1141 and Simon (III) to Henry II, during the Great Rebellion of 1173-1174.

Simon (II)'s greatest achievement in navigating the troubles of Stephen's reign to his advantage came in 1141, when he profited from his service to Stephen and gained the earldom of Northampton for the rest of his life.²⁹⁹ The battle of Lincoln in 1141, was crucial in the recovery

²⁹⁷ Stringer, 'Senlis, Simon de'.

²⁹⁸ Stringer, 'The Earliest Charters of Sawtry Abbey', 329 n.23.

²⁹⁹ Stringer, 'Senlis, Simon de'.

of Simon (II)'s possessions. Simon was a general in Stephen's army, as can be confirmed by Henry of Huntingdon's account of the battle.³⁰⁰ Huntingdon notes that Simon was able to flee, thus avoiding the consequences that other magnates faced during their own captivity.³⁰¹ Simon, despite the fall of his king, remained loyal through service to the queen, which earned him a place amongst J.H. Round's 'faithful three'.³⁰² He was also a key combatant at the siege and rout of Winchester, after which Stephen was released and restored as king.³⁰³ King David was at the siege and (according to one account) was only able to escape royal forces due to the defection of one man in Simon's service, David Olifard (d.1170).³⁰⁴ Simon's position following the success at Winchester and Stephen's subsequent release from captivity was very favourable. Due to their betrayal of Stephen during his time in captivity, the earldom of Huntingdon was withheld from the Scots and Simon was restored as earl.³⁰⁵ His situation after the events of 1141 may have also been solidified by Stephen taking up residence at Northampton in 1142, during his extended illness between May and June, merely months after his re-coronation in Canterbury, an event at which Simon (II) was also present.³⁰⁶ Simon's pragmatic decision to remain loyal during Stephen's captivity, a time when many of his peers changed loyalties, was extremely beneficial to his power.³⁰⁷ Although 1141 was a year which initially threatened to compromise Simon's power, ultimately, by its close it was the most successful year of his political career, serving as a clear example of the potential benefits of backing one side consistently during civil war.

Soon after the events of 1141, Simon (II) also appears to have pursued the removal of tenants who had been loyal to the Scots. An example of this was the dispossession of David Olifard's manor of Sawtry. Olifard's blatant display at the siege of Winchester of loyalty to the Scots and disloyalty to Simon meant that his manor reverted to Simon's possession.³⁰⁸ Olifard's

³⁰⁰ *History of the English People*, 109.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

³⁰² Round, *Geoffrey De Mandeville*, 145. The faithful three also included Waleran of Meulan and William de Warenne.

³⁰³ *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, 301.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁶ Davis, *King Stephen*, 67; *Regesta*, III, no.276.

³⁰⁷ Davis, *King Stephen*, 51.

³⁰⁸ Stringer, 'Earliest Charters of Sawtry Abbey', 326.

dispossession seems not to have been enough of a retributive action on the part of Simon, who in either 1146 or 1147 alienated Sawtry from Olifard's possession permanently by founding the Cistercian Abbey of Sawtry on the manor.³⁰⁹ Simon's decision to found the house on Olifard's manor might not have been wholly motivated by spite towards a disloyal tenant, but rather was possibly part of a wider trend in the period to found houses to resolve land disputes peacefully.³¹⁰ Nonetheless, Simon's enmity towards Olifard cannot be ruled out of the decision to found Sawtry, effectively alienating his land permanently. Whatever Simon's rationale for the foundation, it would not have been possible without his actions during Stephen's captivity, and was undoubtedly to Simon's political benefit in his reclaimed shire.

Even during the later years of Stephen's reign, Simon's actions suggest that he took advantage of the politics created by the civil war. His behaviour indicates that he was strongly in favour of King Stephen's son Eustace (d.1153) succeeding to the English throne, or at least opposed to the accession of Henry of Anjou. Henry of Huntingdon's accounts of Simon and Eustace lend an interesting plausibility to this notion. Henry recorded that Simon and Eustace, following the settlement at Wallingford in July 1153, remained Henry of Anjou's 'fiercest and most powerful enemies'.³¹¹ That these two are mentioned together suggests that Simon and Eustace were cooperating in some way. That Simon and Eustace died of the same illness and at roughly same time might also reinforce the idea that they had been in each other's presence around that time.³¹² Moreover, it was in Cambridgeshire that Eustace operated after he withdrew from the royal court, close to Simon (II)'s territorial possessions.³¹³ Indeed, Simon was unlikely to have been happy with the agreement between Stephen and Henry. The Scottish king was related to Henry, and had knighted the future English king in 1149 before supporting his failed campaign the same year.³¹⁴ Unfortunately, the deaths of Simon and Eustace meant that, even if the two men had cooperated, any shared ambitions came to nought. Nonetheless, it is clear that even in his

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ P. Dalton, 'Churchmen and the Promotion of Peace in King Stephen's Reign', *Viator* 31 (2000), 95-99.

³¹¹ *History of the English People*, 92.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Davis, *King Stephen*, 118.

³¹⁴ Bradbury, *Stephen and Matilda*, 162.

final months, Simon skilfully navigated the fractured politics of Stephen's reign to his own advantage.

Stephen's reign witnessed a successful period of Simon (II)'s career, but also saw his earldom suffer from the encroachments of his neighbour's authority. For example, after 1141 Ranulf, earl of Chester, began to encroach on Simon's authority and hold on the earldom of Northampton, as Ranulf pursued his claims to the lands of William d'Aubigny Brito.³¹⁵ Ranulf received William's lands in a charter from Stephen, dateable to 1146 (it has also been argued to have occurred in 1140).³¹⁶ The encroachment on Simon's authority is most evident in Ranulf's patronage of the abbeys formerly favoured by William. Two examples include the abbeys of Pipewell and Thorney. Pipewell was within Northamptonshire and Thorney within Huntingdonshire, both integral counties of Simon (II)'s earldom. The wording of Ranulf's charters for the monks is indicative of his intrusive influence. In one charter, issued between 1141-1144 to Thorney Abbey, Ranulf claimed that he maintained the monks (*'eos sicut corpus meum manuteneatis'*).³¹⁷ This grant to Thorney also demonstrates Ranulf's intrusion as he confirmed grants formerly made by William D'Aubigny of land in Stoke Albany, Northamptonshire.³¹⁸ In another charter issued by Ranulf after 1149, he requested that the monks of Pipewell be treated as 'his monks'.³¹⁹ This language suggests an intrusion by Ranulf as Pipewell was founded partially upon land formerly belonging to the D'Aubigny's fee of Belvior, well within Northamptonshire, around sixteen kilometres from Northampton.³²⁰ Simon (II) was unlikely to have been pleased by the build-up of Ranulf's authority in his shire. Indeed, it was between these grants, in 1146, that Ranulf was arrested by Stephen in Simon's capital of Northampton, an arrest which Simon possibly advocated.³²¹

³¹⁵ J.A. Green, 'The Descent of Belvoir.' *Prosopon* 10 (April 1999), 3.

³¹⁶ E. King, 'The Foundation of Pipewell Abbey, Northamptonshire', *Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990), 175.

³¹⁷ *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, ed. G. Barraclough (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1988), no.57.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, no.95.

³²⁰ King, 'The Foundation of Pipewell Abbey', 175.

³²¹ See above, 29.

It would not be unreasonable to speculate that Ranulf's increasing power in Simon's counties could have been a motivation of Simon's advocacy of Ranulf's arrest. Later, however, and more obvious is Simon's opposition to Ranulf militarily in support of his father-in-law Robert, earl of Leicester, evidence for which we find in the survival of two peace agreements. The first was made between 1145-1147 and documents an agreement by which Ranulf renounced his lands and woods in Leicester in return for a pledge of faith from Robert.³²² This agreement was witnessed by Simon (II) and made in 'the fields between Leicester and Mountsorrel' (*'in agris deinter Legrecestriam et monte sorell'*), on neutral ground, suggesting it to be a peace agreement.³²³ The second part of these agreements, the famous Chester-Leicester *conventio* (1148-1153), suggests that hostilities between Simon and Ranulf were still in progress, as within the agreement a provision detailed what would happen if they attacked one another.³²⁴ It is clear that Simon's authority was threatened, even within his own earldom, from hostile neighbours during the civil war of Stephen's reign. It is also evident that these encroachments led to military conflicts, as is revealed by the negotiation of grand treaties specifically designed to limit the damage these caused.³²⁵

Simon (III), like his father, used a period of civil war to benefit his power, namely to secure the return of the earldom of Northampton. This earldom, which Simon (III) briefly inherited in 1153, was soon taken into royal hands by Henry II and remained so until it was restored to the Scots in 1157.³²⁶ It was not until sixteen years later that Simon was presented with an opportunity to recover his inheritance. This opportunity was the rebellion of Henry the Young King, whom Earl David (who had been made earl of Huntingdon in 1165) joined in rebellion and fortified Huntingdon.³²⁷ In response, a siege was initiated at Huntingdon in June, originally under the supervision of Richard de Luci.³²⁸ Command was transferred to Simon (III), who led the siege

³²² *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, ed. Barraclough, no.82

³²³ *Ibid.* The suggestion of the agreement occurring in a field has been questioned: E. King, 'Mountsorrel and its Region in King Stephen's Reign.' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (1980): 3.

³²⁴ Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism*, 250-251.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery*, 210.

³²⁷ M. Strickland, *Henry the Young King* (London: Yale University Press, 2016), 186.

³²⁸ *The Annals of Roger De Hoveden*, I, 379.

until its end in July, following the capture of William ‘the Lion’ and the arrival of a force led personally by Henry II.³²⁹ Roger of Howden suggests that Simon participated in the siege because of an offer from Henry II that, should he capture Huntingdon, he would receive his ancestral earldom.³³⁰ It is clear that Simon was restored his earldom soon after the rebellion; in one of his earliest dateable charters following this rebellion, which recorded a grant of the rents of the mills of Huntingdon to Ramsey Abbey and was dated 28 March 1175, Simon used the title of ‘earl of Northampton’ (*comes de Northamtona*).³³¹ As with his father, Simon (III) enjoyed the return of his earldom until the end of his life, although the lack of a surviving heir meant that the honour ultimately returned to the Scots.³³² The actions of Simon (II) and Simon (III) during the civil wars of their lifetimes show how successful navigation of such complicated political circumstances benefitted their families’ wealth and status.

Not only did the comital branch of the Senlis participate in civil wars, but so too did the illegitimate branch, with varying degrees of success. The first indication of the illegitimate branch being drawn into a civil war was that of Simon (*ill.*)’s participation in the troubles of John’s reign. Little is known of Simon’s role in the conflict itself, although he was a strong supporter of his lord David, earl of Huntingdon, who was in rebellion by spring 1216.³³³ This date is significant as Simon possibly accepted farm payments from the burgesses of Godmanchester, Huntingdonshire, for the Easter term of 1216.³³⁴ These payments did not reach the king, as is indicated by the burgesses being summoned to account at the royal exchequer for their farm for the previous three years in January 1217.³³⁵ Simon’s participation beyond this potentially misappropriated farm payment is unrecorded. However, as outlined by Keith Stringer, there was a strong rebel faction amongst the tenants of the Huntingdon fief, and therefore Simon should be

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 383.

³³⁰ *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis: The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, AD 1169-1192*, Vol. 1, ed. W. Stubbs (London: Longman, 1867), 71.

³³¹ *Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia*, 313.

³³² *The Annals of Roger De Hoveden*, II, Riley, 32.

³³³ Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon*, 52.

³³⁴ *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, I, 121.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*

considered a probable member of this group.³³⁶ Simon remained in rebellion until he made his peace with the minority government of King John's son, Henry III, in March 1217.³³⁷

Later descendants of this branch of the family also found themselves drawn into the movement for baronial reform and rebellion in Henry III's reign. The documented involvement of Simon (II *ill.*) de Senlis in these conflicts first began after the Oxford parliament of June 1258.³³⁸ Simon (II *ill.*) de Senlis (d. August 1258-January 1259) was appointed in August 1258 as a one of the four knights in Buckinghamshire to enquire about the complaints of the lesser magnates there against the operation of royal government.³³⁹ These appointments were part of a push to reform the government of the realm and address local grievances in the shires.³⁴⁰ Simon's appointment suggests that he was sympathetic towards the reformers' cause. Indeed, the same entry appointing Simon notes that several appointees (those of Shropshire) were replaced as they were deemed unsuitable by Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester (c.1208–1265), a leading member of the reform movement.³⁴¹ As Simon (II *ill.*)'s appointment remained unopposed, it can be inferred that he was known to be sympathetic towards the reformers. Soon after his appointment, however, Simon died, leaving his widow to claim her dower land in Great Stukeley at the beginning of 1259.³⁴²

The involvement of this branch of the Senlis family in the political turmoil did not end with Simon (II *ill.*)'s death. Rather, he was succeeded by a son, Simon (III *ill.*) (d.1290). In December 1264, Simon (III *ill.*) was appointed to enquire into issues concerning the land of Simon de Montfort in Merston, Buckinghamshire.³⁴³ This appointment followed the Montfortian victory of Lewes in May the same year, when Montfort was at the height of his power and King Henry III was effectively in his custody.³⁴⁴ Here, it is evident that Simon (III *ill.*) de Senlis (like his father)

³³⁶ Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon*, 53.

³³⁷ *CCR 1204-1224*, 303.

³³⁸ *Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Santi Albani, Chronica Majora*, Vol. V, ed. H.R. Luard, (London: Longman, 1880), 695-696.

³³⁹ *CPR 1247-1285*, 645-649.

³⁴⁰ Jobson, *The First English Revolution*, 25.

³⁴¹ *CPR 1247-1258*, 645-647.

³⁴² *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, I, 420.

³⁴³ *CPR 1258-1266*, 475.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 112-117.

was willing to oblige the baronial regime. However, following the regimes' collapse at the battle of Evesham in August 1265, it appears that Simon (III *ill.*) returned his loyalty to Henry III. Evidence of repaired relations between Henry III and Simon is shown through a letter from Henry that was addressed to Simon directly. The clerk of Henry's younger brother (Richard, King of Germany) remained in captivity in rebel hands, and the letter instructed Simon to protect the imprisoned clerk.³⁴⁵ Simon was reconciled to Henry III, as is revealed in the wording of the letter, within which Simon is referred to as the king's 'beloved and faithful' subject.³⁴⁶ Clearly, flexible loyalty could be a pragmatic choice, as continuing to oppose Henry III after Evesham would have made Simon's position extremely difficult, especially since all those who fought against the royalists at Lewes and Evesham were subsequently disinherited at the parliament summoned in the autumn of 1265.³⁴⁷

The Crevequer family, like the Senlis family, enjoyed the benefits of changing political circumstances during times of civil war. The support lent to the crown by Hamo (II) de Crevequer, for example, during the rebellion of Richard Marshal in c.1233-1234 was very profitable, in both the acquisition of lands and titles. During this rebellion, Hamo II supported and remained loyal to Henry III. This is not surprising, as the rebel coalition consisted mainly of the Marshal's supporters who were predominantly from his household or other close associates; Hamo was neither.³⁴⁸ It was Hamo's potential as a leader of maritime forces that was utilised by Henry III. The first indication of Hamo's involvement on the side of the crown in this conflict appears in royal letters issued on 10 November 1233 by Henry III, in which Hamo, along with Ranulf de Hurley, were sent to ensure that five ships were armed for the king's service in Bristol.³⁴⁹ It was around this time that Henry III was preparing for a counter offensive against the Marshal rebels and it was soon after this letter that the raid on the king's baggage train and the

³⁴⁵ Jobson, *The First English Revolution*, 130.

³⁴⁶ *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III*, 290.

³⁴⁷ Jobson, *The First English Revolution*, 152.

³⁴⁸ N. Vincent, *Peter Des Roches: An Alien in English Politics 1205-1238* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 395-400.

³⁴⁹ *CCR 1231-1234*, 341.

effective end of the planned offensive occurred.³⁵⁰ This disaster seems not to have changed the king's orders to Hamo, who operated out of Bristol throughout December 1233. During this time Hamo performed several different tasks, including the safe transport of one-thousand quarrels to Peter de Rievaux and the safe reception of two-hundred boats of corn coming from Bruges to Bristol for the hospital of Bristol.³⁵¹ In December 1233, Hamo was also included, along with the keepers of the king's galleys at Bristol, in an order to assist Henry de Trubeville (seneschal of Gascony) in making his journey by sea to Dublin.³⁵² This same Henry de Trubeville had been a key figure on the royalist side, relieving the siege of Carmathen, earlier that year.³⁵³ The exact business of Henry is not described, yet it probably concerned the conflict which arose at the same time in Ireland between royalists and allies of the Marshal, during which Richard Marshal died of injuries suffered at the Curragh of Kildare.³⁵⁴

The royal favour that Hamo was shown shortly after his participation in this war was extensive. The first and most immediate reward was an appointment as a defender of the coast and keeper of the Cinque Ports.³⁵⁵ While Hamo's service is not mentioned as the reason for his appointment, the timing and similarity between these appointments to his duties during the rebellion suggests that there was a connection. For example, Hamo's first appointment occurred on or before 9 February 1235, merely a year following his service at Bristol.³⁵⁶ This appointment transpired through his naval duties for the crown during the rebellion where Hamo had earned the trust of the King as a maritime agent, enough to be entrusted with the defence of arguably the most important ports of the realm.³⁵⁷ It was in these subsequent offices that Hamo received further boons of royal favour.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁰ N. Vincent, 'Rivallis [Rivaux], Peter de (d. 1262), Courtier and Administrator', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23688> [accessed November 29 2018].

³⁵¹ *CCR 1231-1234*, 356.

³⁵² *CPR 1232-1247*, 85.

³⁵³ *Annales Monastici*, Vol. I, ed. L.H. Richards (London: Longman, 1864), 92.

³⁵⁴ *Chronica Majora*, V, 275-279 and 288.

³⁵⁵ See above, 37-38.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁷ S. Rose, 'The Value of the Cinque Ports to the Crown' in *Roles of the Sea in Medieval England*, ed. R. Gorski (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), 41-43.

³⁵⁸ See above, 38.

The Crevequers, however, were not always successful in their participation in civil wars. For example, during the reign of Stephen, there is evidence for possible Crevequer disobedience to the king. The history of Henry of Huntingdon specifies Leeds Castle as one of the castles that Robert, earl of Gloucester, and his supporters held against Stephen in 1138.³⁵⁹ By Christmas in the same year, Stephen had retaken the castle, according to Henry.³⁶⁰ Confusingly, Orderic Vitalis named Gilbert de Clare as the individual who reclaimed Leeds.³⁶¹ Yet, the Crevequers are not commented upon in either authors' accounts of events. This presents two possibilities, either that Leeds Castle was seized from Robert de Crevequer by the forces of Earl Robert or that Robert de Crevequer was allied with Earl Robert, but went unnamed in the sources. The marital ties between Robert of Gloucester and Robert de Crevequer make the latter a distinct possibility, as the wives of the two Roberts' were sisters.³⁶² Sadly, the lack of surviving evidence makes it difficult to establish the true events. Irrespective of this, the evidence shows that Leeds was seized by rebels in 1138 and subsequently captured by Stephen's supporters, to the detriment of Robert de Crevequer. The first occasion we find documentation demonstrating Robert's return to the political sphere was between July 1140 and September 1143, when he witnessed a charter issued by King Stephen at Ipswich.³⁶³

The fortunes of the latter members of the Crevequer family certainly suffered during civil wars. Particularly during the career of Robert (III), who committed actions which effectively devastated the Crevequer family's power and influence. Robert's reasons for supporting the rebels are not made entirely clear, however he and his father had been involved in the king's recent and disastrous military campaigns. Both Hamo and Robert accompanied Henry III to Gascony in 1253-1254, and to Wales in August 1257 on a campaign that did little and was ineffective at achieving its goal.³⁶⁴ Indeed, they can hardly have been impressed by the king's failure, which

³⁵⁹ *History of the English People*, 70.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 73.

³⁶¹ *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. VI, ed. M. Chibnall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 520.

³⁶² Colvin, 'Archbishop of Canterbury's Tenants', 12.

³⁶³ *Regesta*, III, no.406.

³⁶⁴ *CPR 1247-1258*, 233 and 597. For failure of the Wales campaign: *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H.R. Luard (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1890), 416.

they witnessed first-hand.³⁶⁵ The first mention of Robert as a rebel in the records can be found in March 1264, when he was listed among rebels in royal letters close, alongside other prominent rebels such as Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, and Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester.³⁶⁶

It was only two months later, on 9 May 1264, that Robert was issued a letter of safe conduct.³⁶⁷ It would seem, therefore, that the king believed Robert was ready to surrender to royal command.³⁶⁸ Robert appears not to have seized this opportunity, as merely days later he was a participant at the battle of Lewes on the side of the rebel barons. According to the continuation of Gervase of Canterbury's chronicle, Robert was among those knighted on the eve of Lewes by Simon de Montfort.³⁶⁹ At this point Robert can hardly have foreseen the imminent failure of the baronial cause. He had played his part in defeating the forces of the king, and, from what can be reconstructed of the Mise of Lewes, the properties of rebel barons were granted immunity.³⁷⁰ However, following the defeat and death of de Montfort at the battle of Evesham in August 1265 and the subsequent collapse of the baronial cause, Robert's position declined rapidly. As a defeated enemy, Robert's lands were confiscated and by November 1265, Roger de Leybourne, a supporter of king and the sheriff of Kent, was granted Robert's estates.³⁷¹ It was not until 1268 that Robert reappeared in England to set about regaining his property, reaching a final agreement with Roger in 1271.³⁷² He regained half of his estates and half of the knight's fees, while Roger retained Leeds Castle and its manor in exchange for land of similar value elsewhere, namely Trottiscliffe and Fleet.³⁷³ Robert also kept the advowson of Leeds Priory, which remained in his

³⁶⁵ The failure on the campaign to Gascony created a rift between the king and Roger Bigod, Earl of Essex, and he later rebelled against Henry III: R. Stacey, 'Bigod, Roger, fourth earl of Norfolk (c. 1212–1270), magnate and courtier', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2380> [accessed November 29 2018].

³⁶⁶ *CCR 1261-1264*, 378.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 383-384.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁹ *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, II, 237.

³⁷⁰ A. Jobson, *The First English Revolution*, 117.

³⁷¹ Flight, 'The Fall of the House of Crevequer', 5.

³⁷² Robert was ordered in 1271 to collect his chirograph containing his agreement with Roger de Leybourne concerning the manor of Leeds made: *Calendar of Kent Feet of Fines to the End of Henry III's Reign*, ed. I.J. Churchill, R. Griffin, and F.W. Hardman, Kent Archaeological Society, Vol. XV (Ashford: Headley Brothers, 1956), cxxxii.

³⁷³ *Registrum Roffense, or, A Collection of Antient Records, Charters, and Instruments of Divers Kinds: Necessary for Illustrating the Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities of the Diocese and Cathedral Church of Rochester*, ed. J. Thorpe (London: Longman, 1796), 660.

possession until at least 1285, when Edward I confirmed the earlier charters of the Crevequers.³⁷⁴ However, Roberts (III)'s position following this agreement continued to decline. Later in the same year as this agreement, Henry III heavily deforested and thus devalued Robert's properties, specifically the manor of Bockingfold.³⁷⁵ Two entries in the liberate rolls reveal the vast extent of this policy. In August 1271, Henry III ordered eighty oaks 'which the king has had felled' to be shipped for the king's works at Westminster Abbey.³⁷⁶ In November of the same year, a similar entry exists, although this entry is vague and only refers to the king's timber in the wood of Bockingfold.³⁷⁷ This might simply be a reiteration of the previous order, but the possibility that Henry was ordering further trees is a distinct possibility. Unfortunately, this was the least of Robert's problems, as his previous actions may have marked him as a candidate for the predatory tactics which were executed by Queen Eleanor of Provence, who gained Robert's remaining possessions by a mixture of incumbent debts and offers of payments.³⁷⁸ Robert's previous rebellion, however, may not have been why Eleanor targeted his property; Roger de Leybourne's son, William, was simultaneously targeted by this tactic, despite his father's support of Henry III.³⁷⁹ Even so, the division of the Crevequer barony in the aftermath of the Second Barons' War undoubtedly made it a more vulnerable target for Eleanor's policies.

Opportunistic approaches to civil war could clearly be very beneficial, as the careers of both the Senlis and Crevequer families demonstrate. Simon (II)'s loyalty to Stephen earned him his much-desired inheritance of the earldom of Northampton. His early attempts to enter Stephen's service show how quickly Simon adapted to the situation, although his greatest reward came after 1141, following his strong support of Stephen even at his most dire time. Following the return of his earldom, Simon made further use of the civil war by augmenting the tenants within his honour, removing Olifard, who had betrayed him at the siege of Winchester. Simon

³⁷⁴ *CChR 1257-1300*, 301-302.

³⁷⁵ *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls 1267-1272*, Vol. VI (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1964), 181 and 195.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 161 and 181.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 195.

³⁷⁸ *Flight, 'Fall of the House of Crevequer'*, 6.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

appears to have also attempted to use the disorder during the civil war to his advantage by attempting to oppose the agreements with, and accession of, Henry of Anjou. Simon (III) similarly used a civil war to help reclaim his estranged inheritance, successfully offering his support to Henry II during the siege of Huntingdon in return for the earldom of Northampton. For the Crevequer family, it was Hamo (II) who most successfully navigated a civil war and was, in turn, duly appointed as keeper of the Cinque Ports in reward for loyalty and service during the rebellion of the Marshal in 1233.

During civil wars aristocrats could, however, face incredible difficulties. The very act of picking a side created enemies and both the Crevequers and Senlis families experienced the consequences of this. Simon (II) de Senlis experienced incursions on his power within his own earldom from neighbouring rivals, namely Ranulf, earl of Chester, as well as the destruction of his properties by multiple hostile lords. The most obvious example of the damage that a civil war could cause for an aristocratic family can be seen in Robert (III) de Crevequer's career. His resolute support of the Montfortian cause, even beyond the defeat at Evesham, led to the decline of his family's baronial status. In direct contrast to this, Simon (III *ill.*) de Senlis displayed political guile by returning to the king's faith following Evesham. Ultimately, this allowed Simon to retain his properties despite his earlier disloyalty to Henry III, something that Robert was either unable or unwilling to do, much to his detriment.

Chapter Three: Estates and Religious Patronage

The true power of magnates came from their properties and estates. Without the resources that vast estates presented to lords, their titles were of little true worth. In this section, the properties that the Senlis and Crevequer families held, as well as the regions where their territorial interests were principally focused will be examined. In addition to their location, the methods by which these families expanded or indeed depleted the estates within their possession will be explored.

The main patrimony of the Senlis family was the honour of Huntingdon. This honour, which was intrinsically bound with the title of earl of Huntingdon/Northampton, was based primarily on estates held by Countess Judith at the time of the Domesday survey.³⁸⁰ The honour Simon (II) had inherited, however, even at its fullest extent in c.1141, was much smaller than the vast possessions listed in the survey of 1086. Keith Stringer has convincingly argued that in the fifty years following the survey, the alienation of property was the biggest cause of depreciation of the honour.³⁸¹ The biggest losses were the Essex and Cambridgeshire estates, which were included with the marriage of Judith's younger daughter, Alice, to Ralph II de Tosny.³⁸² Stringer divided the properties in the honour into two groups. The first were properties which lay in and around Northampton, the centre of the honour's power, many of which were within the Northamptonshire hundreds of Wymersley and Hamfordshoe.³⁸³ The second group of properties Stringer identified lay along the route of Ermine Street, a major route from London to York.³⁸⁴ As well as making the properties more valuable, also made them manageable despite their apparently scattered locations. The vast majority of these properties lay between Ermine and Watling Streets, two key routes out of London into the Midlands and northern England.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁰ Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon*, 107.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 109.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 106.

³⁸⁴ C. Given-Wilson, *An Illustrated History of Late Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 34.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

Simon (III)'s properties after his marriage to Alice de Gant drew his landed interests much further north in England than his father's. The properties that Simon gained with his marriage were those of the honour of Gant. The properties in Yorkshire had originally been acquired by Gilbert I de Gant, Alice's great-grandfather, and Walter de Gant, her grandfather.³⁸⁶ These included the Yorkshire manors of Hunmanby and Bridlington, both of which were large sokes.³⁸⁷ In Lincolnshire, the estates included Folkingham and Barton-upon-Humber, the former of which was made the *caput* of the honour by Gilbert.³⁸⁸ Before the return of the honour of Huntingdon to Simon (III) the Gant fee was his primary holding.

The lands accumulated by the illegitimate branch of the Senlis family were not inherited from the main branch as Simon (*ill.*)'s illegitimacy meant that he could not inherit the property of his brother.³⁸⁹ That is not to say that Simon (*ill.*) did not accumulate properties in the same region as those previously held by the comital line. The first known property that Simon held was land in Connington, from which Simon patronised the Delapré Abbey sometime before 1185.³⁹⁰ Due to the date of the grant it is plausible that Simon (III) made a gift of this property to his illegitimate brother. As an illegitimate son, Simon relied wholly on the generosity of his brother and later Earl David for his estates.³⁹¹ Earl David provided property more generously than Simon (III) had and his gifts included land in Great Stukeley and Godmanchester, both in Huntingdonshire.³⁹² Both of these properties were close to Huntingdon and, from a later claim made by Simon's son's widow, we know that by 1259 the properties in Great Stukeley were at least one-hundred-and-forty acres and one-third of a messuage.³⁹³ The later descendants of Simon (*ill.*) appear to have maintained an interest in Huntingdonshire, but also began developed a new interest into Buckinghamshire. This appears to have happened under Simon (II *ill.*), who during the 1240s

³⁸⁶ *EYC*, II, 432-434.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 432.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁹ *Glanvill*, Hall, 88.

³⁹⁰ *Book of Seals*, no.438.

³⁹¹ See above, 30-33.

³⁹² Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon*, 262.

³⁹³ *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, I, 420.

gained estates in Buckinghamshire, including the manor of Halton.³⁹⁴ This manor and the other Buckinghamshire properties passed to his son Simon (III *ill.*) on his death in the winter of 1258-1259.³⁹⁵

The properties of Simon de Senlis of Seaton, steward of Ralph, bishop of Chichester, appear not to have been based in or around the bishop's estates in Sussex. Rather, Simon obtained properties in Rutland and Northamptonshire, reflecting the Senlis family's earlier territorial associations with this part of England.³⁹⁶ Simon's properties in Rutland were based in Seaton and were gained through the successful attainment of the wardship (originally granted in 1227) and later marriage to Amy, the heir of Richard the Crossbowman.³⁹⁷ We know that this property, which was primarily a wood, remained in the family until at least October 1253, when Simon de Senlis paid eight bezants of gold to hunt with hounds in the forest.³⁹⁸

The properties of the main branch of the Crevequer family were concentrated around the principle manors of Chatham and Leeds in Kent. From the inquisition *post mortem* of Hamo (II) de Crevequer in 1263, we can identify the properties which pertained to these manors and their value. The manor of Chatham was estimated to return a value of £32 per annum.³⁹⁹ The manor of Leeds was worth £33 6s. 8d. per annum.⁴⁰⁰ Bockingfold manor was also associated with the manor of Chatham and worth £8 per annum.⁴⁰¹ This manor's properties extended into Brenchley, Goudhurst, Horsemonden and Marden.⁴⁰² Bockingfold also contained properties held from several lords, rendering £3 and one buck annually.⁴⁰³ These lords included the priors of

³⁹⁴ *A History of the County of Oxford*, Vol. VII, ed. M. Lobel (London: Victoria County History, 1962), 117-146.

³⁹⁵ Simon (II *ill.*)'s widow claimed her dower in February 1259: *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, I, 420. A chirograph from 1262 survives concerning the maintenance of lands which Simon de Senlis (II *ill.*) gave to his son Simon de Senlis (III *ill.*) in Halton until he came of age: Cornwall Record Office, AR/1/1120.

³⁹⁶ See above, 36.

³⁹⁷ *CPR 1225-1232*, 117.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 354.

³⁹⁹ 'Inquisitions Post Mortem', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 3 (1860), 253-264.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰² E. Hasted. *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, Vol. V, (Canterbury: W Bristow, 1798), 154-173.

⁴⁰³ 'Inquisitions Post Mortem', 253-264.

Christchurch, Canterbury, as well as lay magnates, such as William de Say.⁴⁰⁴ Farleigh was another manor in the family's possession, here the Crevequer properties were valued at £17 2d. per annum.⁴⁰⁵ Teston manor, valued at £10 5s., was also a property of the family.⁴⁰⁶ These manors were all within the possession of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, in 1086, and passed to the family sometime following his disgrace in 1088.⁴⁰⁷ It was these estates which the family relied upon for their income throughout the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

The marriage of Hamo (II) to Matilda de Avranches bolstered the Crevequer family's possessions substantially. The descent of the barony before this marriage has been covered previously in detail by Thomas Stapleton.⁴⁰⁸ At the time of Hamo (II)'s death, properties in the manor of Folkestone incorporated eight-hundred-and-twenty-five acres of arable land, generating annual revenues of £13 15s., in addition to a further £32 2s. 9d. of rents.⁴⁰⁹ We also find that this acquisition increased the number of knights' fees within Hamo's possession. In a survey of knightly tenants made by the crown in 1242-1243, roughly 10 knights' fees, equating to around a third of his total fees, lay within the extensive manor of Folkestone.⁴¹⁰

Aristocratic families gained properties by numerous methods and across the period studied there were common methods to gain estates. Heiresses in possession of extensive estates were a valuable asset if a marriage could be successfully arranged.⁴¹¹ For example, Baldwin de Redvers added three manors to the honour of Plympton through his marriage to an unnamed wife which occurred between 1106-1113.⁴¹² As has been explored earlier in this thesis, successful marriages to heiresses were key successes in the expansion of power for both the families of Senlis and Crevequer. Simon (III)'s marriage to Alice de Gant was extremely beneficial to the continuation

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 255.

⁴⁰⁷ Except Bockingfold which does not appear in the survey: *Domesday Book: Kent*, ed. Philip Morgan and J. Morris (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), 7 d, 8 b, 8 c and 8 d.

⁴⁰⁸ T. Stapleton, 'Observations Upon the Succession to the Barony of William of Arques, in the County of Kent', *Archaeologia* 31 (1846), 216-237.

⁴⁰⁹ 'Inquisitions Post Mortem', 253-264.

⁴¹⁰ *The Book of Fees Commonly Called Testa de Nevill* (Nendeln: Kraus, 1971), 655, 658-659, 660, 663, 668-669 and 672-674.

⁴¹¹ J. Ward, *Women in England in the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), 18.

⁴¹² Bearman, *Charters of the Redvers Family*, 24-25.

of the Senlis family as powerful magnates.⁴¹³ The Crevequers also obtained extensive properties through marriages to heiresses. The first of these was the marriage of Daniel de Crevequer to Isabelle and the Leicestershire estate she brought with her.⁴¹⁴ Hamo (II) de Crevequer's marriage to Matilda de Avranches, another wealthy heiress, was also a success for the power of the Crevequer family and brought the very lucrative manor of Folkestone within the family's possession.⁴¹⁵ In a similar fashion, both the Senlis and Crevequer families benefitted from the acquisition of profitable wardships.⁴¹⁶

Properties were not only amassed over the generations but were also slowly alienated by both families in this study. Although marriages could provide a comital or baronial family with lands, they could also lead to the depletion of the family's estates, as was seen in the common occurrence of marriages being accompanied by property transfers. The most immediate was the *maritagium*, a gift of lands given by a father upon the marriage of a daughter to her new husband.⁴¹⁷ There is only one surviving example of such a provision for the Senlis family. This was recorded in a grant of Simon (III) to William Malduit of land in *maritagium* on his marriage to Isabelle, Simon (III)'s sister. With this union, William gained all the land of Simon (III) in Grendon, along with its church and three knights' fees.⁴¹⁸ No record survives of land received in *maritagium* to the Crevequer family, though it is probable that land was lost in this manner due to Hamo (II) having four daughters, all of whom were married during his lifetime.⁴¹⁹

The need to provide for the widows of these families also meant that a portion (usually a third) of a family's estates passed into the widow's hands as dower for the remainder of her life.⁴²⁰ For the Senlis family, the most obvious occurrence of the temporary loss of properties through dower is that of the dower of Simon (II *ill.*)'s wife Anne, and her claims to land in Great

⁴¹³ See above, 56.

⁴¹⁴ Flight, 'Fall of the House of Crevequer', 2.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴¹⁶ See above, 36-38.

⁴¹⁷ See C. de Trafford, 'The Contract of Carriage: The Maritagium from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century' (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1999).

⁴¹⁸ Mason, *Beauchamp Cartulary Charters*, 103.

⁴¹⁹ The daughters were, Agnes, Isolda, Eleanor and Isabel; see *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Vol. I, ed. J.E.E.S. Sharp and A.E. Stamp (London: H.M.S.O., 1904), 172.

⁴²⁰ *Glanvill*, Hall, 59.

Stukeley.⁴²¹ The illegitimate line had a smaller collection of holdings, so the loss of a third may have been keenly felt. The Crevequer family also saw lands leave their control, albeit temporarily, due to dower. Such an example is seen whereby, following Hamo (II)'s death in c.1263, his third wife Alicia received two manors (those of Farleigh and Teston) as her dower settlement.⁴²² These manors were valued at a little over £27 pound per annum.⁴²³ The manors which passed to Alicia only came into the hands of Robert (III) after her death, before 1274.⁴²⁴ Yet the properties which Mary (the widowed mother of Hamo de Crevequer of Blean) had gained in both Blean and Nackington, most probably from her dower, were returned to Hamo within her lifetime.⁴²⁵ Mary did not simply do this out of good will, however, as Hamo paid her 40s. for the land in question.⁴²⁶ It is probable that this was a mutually beneficial agreement, with the payment likely to have been of immediate benefit for Mary, on account of her being well into adulthood at this time (her son Hamo was an adult).

Furthermore, the need to provide material support for younger sons and daughters placed additional pressure on an aristocrat's estates. For the Senlis family, their struggles with producing heirs meant that this was less of an issue, as no major losses appear to have occurred due to younger children, except for the provision of Isabelle's *maritagium*.⁴²⁷ However, the tenurial customs of Kent, namely gavelkind, did erode the size of the main branch of the Crevequer's estates. Robert (III) de Crevequer's inheritance was reduced by the claims of his close relatives, as his uncles and brothers were entitled to shares of any properties held in gavelkind, such as the manor of Bockingfold. Robert was the primary heir, but his uncles (entitled to a third share) and his younger brothers (who were entitled to a ninth share) again reduced the properties which passed to Robert.⁴²⁸ Even in properties not held in gavelkind, familial responsibilities also drained the Crevequers' possessions. When an aristocrat died without a male heir and leaving multiple

⁴²¹ *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, I, 420.

⁴²² *CCR 1262-1264*, 228-229.

⁴²³ 'Inquisitions Post Mortem', 253-264.

⁴²⁴ Colin Flight, 'Fall of the House of Crevequer', 4 n.11.

⁴²⁵ CCA, U24/4/G/5, and *Cartulary of the Priory of St Gregory, Canterbury*, ed. A. Woodcock (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1956), no.80.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁷ Mason, *Beauchamp Cartulary Charters*, 103.

⁴²⁸ 'Inquisitions Post Mortem', 254.

daughters, these daughters each inherited claims to an equal share of the family's estates.⁴²⁹ Although Hamo (II)'s marriage to Matilda produced a son, William, his death (following shortly after that of Hamo in 1263) meant that the manor of Folkestone was divided between the daughters of Matilda and Hamo. The manor, valued at £150 3s. 10³/₄d. was divided equally between four co-heirs.⁴³⁰

Religious Patronage

Both the Crevequer and Senlis families fulfilled their roles as religious patrons and benefactors. Religion was an important aspect of medieval society and a key priority in the decision to alienate property and wealth. These noblemen were not solely influenced by their secular desires and territorial interests but were also occasionally guided by a strong sense of religious devotion and spiritual responsibility.⁴³¹ The vast number of grants made by noblemen to religious houses which mentioned concern for the grantor's soul, or the souls of their ancestors and other kin, attests to this. Of course, this is not to say that their religious expression did not often provide them with secular benefits. Often, significant decisions were made with both secular and spiritual motivations and goals.⁴³² In this section, the religious patronage of the families in question will be examined. Firstly, the religious and secular motivations for performing their roles as religious patrons and benefactors will be considered. Following this, the specific patterns of both the Crevequer and Senlis families' patronage will be investigated, including preferences for particular religious orders or houses, and any noticeable regional interests. Finally, this section will look at the extent to which the patronage of kin influenced the patronage of these families.

The motivations for aristocrats fulfilling the role of religious patron is a complex subject. Individuals in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were deeply religious; their world was dominated by the concern for their souls and their wellbeing in the afterlife.⁴³³ For these

⁴²⁹ *Glanvill*, 76.

⁴³⁰ 'Inquisitions Post Mortem', 253-264.

⁴³¹ Ward, 'Fashions in Monastic Endowment', 428.

⁴³² Burton, *The Monastic Order In Yorkshire*, 182.

⁴³³ T.A. Fudgé, *Medieval Religion and its Anxieties: History and Mystery in the Other Middle Ages*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 126-128.

individuals, the threat of eternal damnation was very real and pressing.⁴³⁴ During the twelfth century, the introduction of the idea of purgatory also added a new concern; not only was the soul at risk from eternal damnation, but it was also possibly faced with a delay in reaching heaven.⁴³⁵ For male aristocrats, the health of the soul was most prominently endangered by the apparent incompatibility between their social roles as men of war and their need as Christians to avoid of sin. Janet Burton has suggested that this burden was a key motivator behind the religious patronage of noblemen since they sought to atone for sins committed during their lifetimes.⁴³⁶ Religious patronage was a possible method of securing forgiveness as founders and benefactors of religious houses often received prayers from the members of the house in return.⁴³⁷ Such prayers were not only useful during an aristocrat's lifetime, as provisions were also made for prayers to continue beyond death.⁴³⁸ Helias de Crevequer organised anniversary masses to be said by the brothers of Leeds Priory, which he secured with an annual gift of 20s. from the mills of Lamberhurst, for example.⁴³⁹ It was not only in the provision of prayers that the concerns for souls presented itself as a motivator, but also in the wording of the charters through which gifts were made. The majority of grants by the Senlis and Crevequer families included *pro anima* clauses that were overt displays of the role of religious patronage in the redemption of the soul.

The male heads of both the Senlis and Crevequer families across the period participated in military campaigns. It is likely that their concerns about death and the afterlife generated from time on campaign influenced their patronage.⁴⁴⁰ This motivation is interesting in the case of Simon (II), as it is stated in the *Vita* of his brother, Waldef, that towards the end of his life, Simon was finally overcome with a sense of shame and reformed his life.⁴⁴¹ While the *Vita* suggests, albeit incorrectly, that Simon (II) founded St Andrew's Priory, Northampton, as an act of penance (it

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain*, 238-239.

⁴³⁶ Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, 193.

⁴³⁷ J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 210.

⁴³⁸ E. Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1135* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), 151.

⁴³⁹ *CChR 1257-1300*, 300-301.

⁴⁴⁰ R. N. Swanson, *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity: 1050-1500* (London: Routledge, 2015), 188.

⁴⁴¹ *The Life of Waldef*, 261.

was in fact Simon's father who had founded the house), Simon did found the houses of Sawtry and Delapré in the last decade of his life.⁴⁴² Despite the *Vita Waldevi's* inaccuracy, further evidence concerning the idea of Simon as a sinful individual can be found in the history of Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote of Simon's death that he was 'sated with every kind of lawlessness and with every kind of indecency'.⁴⁴³ The concern towards the wrong-doings of Simon (II) and the implications for his soul did not end at his death. A grant of his son Simon (III), shortly after the rebellion of the Young King Henry, to Ramsey Abbey of the rents of the mills of Huntingdon, was specifically granted to apologise for the oppression of the house by his father during wartime.⁴⁴⁴ We can see here that concern for the souls of predecessors also motivated grants as a patron. For the Crevequers, while no examples as overt as this can be found, one need only look at the surviving charters issued by the family to Leeds Priory during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to find numerous *pro anima* clauses.⁴⁴⁵ Indeed, Hamo (II) and his sons participated in campaigns during Henry III's reign and Hamo (II)'s involvement in piracy was morally dubious.⁴⁴⁶ It was not only the members of the senior lines of the two families who were concerned with the health of their souls; the charters recording the gifts of the cadet branch of the Crevequers residing at Blean and the one surviving gift of the illegitimate son of Simon (II) also included *pro anima* clauses.⁴⁴⁷ These men, although of lower rank, were still expected to participate in armed conflicts. The seal of Hamo de Crevequer of Blean serves as a good representation of their ideal role.⁴⁴⁸ His seal depicts a mounted knight, sword in hand, and was attached to each of his gifts to the hospital of Eastbridge.⁴⁴⁹

As well as the spiritual anxieties that inspired religious patronage, more worldly concerns also played an influential role in persuading lords to support particular communities. For medieval aristocrats, the foundation of religious houses, as well as later grants of confirmation and

⁴⁴² Ibid.

⁴⁴³ *History of the English People*, 92.

⁴⁴⁴ *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*. I, 313.

⁴⁴⁵ *CChR 1257-1300*, 295-302.

⁴⁴⁶ *CPR 1232-1247*, 99; *CPR 1247-1258*, 233 and 597.

⁴⁴⁷ CCA, U24/4/B/25. For Simon (ill.)'s grant: *Book of Seals*, no.438.

⁴⁴⁸ See Figure Two.

⁴⁴⁹ CCA, U24/4/B/8.

additional gifts of new lands were ‘about their image, their aspirations and their continuity with the past and the future’.⁴⁵⁰ Foundations were material stamps of legitimacy in a region, whilst continued patronage, including confirmations by subsequent generations, were overt displays of legitimacy and lineage.⁴⁵¹ The most extensive expression of these benefits were foundations of religious communities. Both families in this study founded a religious house located in the heart of their patrimonies before the beginning of the period in question. The Crevequers founded a community of Augustinians at Leeds Priory in c.1119.⁴⁵² Likewise, the Senlis family had founded the Cluniac priory of St. Andrew’s Priory in Northampton between 1093 and 1100.⁴⁵³ St. Andrew’s, founded by Simon (I), was located within the capital holding of the Senlis honour, Northampton.⁴⁵⁴ Leeds Priory, founded by Robert (I) de Crevequer, was built within the family’s principle manor of Leeds.⁴⁵⁵ Although both houses were founded before the period covered by this thesis, the later confirmations and grants by subsequent family members reveal the desire to associate themselves with their predecessors’ foundations.⁴⁵⁶

The use of confirmations to family foundations to reinforce their family’s legitimacy is evident in the multiple confirmations issued by the Crevequer family to Leeds Priory. They also allowed the communities themselves to maintain their connections with their founders’ descendants and, potentially, to draw on their support to maintain their rights. Following Robert (I)’s original endowment, every successor to the Crevequer barony issued confirmations of Roberts (I)’s original grant until the final Crevequer baron, Robert (III), who died in 1315.⁴⁵⁷ The clearest example of a confirmation as a display of legitimacy and continuity in lordship can be found in the confirmation charter issued by Hamo (II), which recited the grants of his ancestors back to the founder Robert (I), Hamo’s great-grandfather.⁴⁵⁸ Such reiterations of both the grants

⁴⁵⁰ Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, 193.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵² *Monasticon*, VI, 215.

⁴⁵³ *A History of the County of Northampton*, Vol. II, eds R.M. Serjeantson and W.R.D. Adkins (London: Victoria County History, 1906), 102-109.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁵ *Monasticon*, VI, 215.

⁴⁵⁶ Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England*, 152-156.

⁴⁵⁷ *CChR 1257-1300*, 301-302.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

of the family and the documentation of the family's line of inheritance shows the longevity of Crevequer patronage of Leeds, as well as suggesting the possible ulterior use of confirmations for outlining and reinforcing lineage and legitimacy. This confirmation would also have benefitted Leeds Priory, as their past gifts were protected for the next generation. This would have been especially useful considering Robert (III) was deprived of his estates following his actions during the Second Barons' War.⁴⁵⁹

The Senlis family also used confirmations and gifts to the religious houses within their honour to reinforce their position as patrons and legitimate landholders. Perhaps the most interesting display of religious grants as an attempt at claiming legitimacy is that of Simon (*ill.*) to the nuns of Delapré. Simon granted the meadow of Connington to Delapré in the period between 1174-1184.⁴⁶⁰ This gift can be seen as a claim to legitimacy due to the soul for which it was granted. The charter recording the grant states that the gift was made for the soul of his father, whilst making no mention of his mother's soul.⁴⁶¹ Simon (*ill.*) was illegitimate and by highlighting his connection to his father, an earl, whilst simultaneously distancing himself from his illegitimacy by ignoring his mother, he was, perhaps, defending his status amongst his aristocratic peers. His place at Simon (III)'s court appears not to have been reduced by his illegitimate status, as he was a regular witness for his brother.⁴⁶² Nevertheless, it may have been a matter of personal concern.

As well as the possible spiritual and worldly motivations for religious benefactions, the choices that members of these families made about which orders to support should also be evaluated. During the reign of King Stephen, the Cistercian monks and the Augustinian canons, orders which were expanding rapidly during this time, attracted a good deal of patronage from the baronial and knightly classes.⁴⁶³ The Cistercians arrived in England in 1128 and, by 1152 (when new foundations were banned), eighty new houses had been founded.⁴⁶⁴ The Senlis family,

⁴⁵⁹ See above, 52-53.

⁴⁶⁰ *Book of Seals*, no.438.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶² See above, 5.

⁴⁶³ Ward, 'Fashions in Monastic Endowment', 439.

⁴⁶⁴ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, 69.

like other comital families, patronised the Cistercians during this period. Simon (II), for example, founded a Cistercian house at Sawtry and Simon (II)'s brother, Waldef, although estranged from Simon, was impressed by the order and later became the abbot of the Cistercian house of Melrose.⁴⁶⁵ The Crevequers, on the other hand, were supporters of the Augustinian canons. Robert's foundation of Leeds Priory (1119) marks the primary, and surprisingly only, foundation of the family.⁴⁶⁶ During the mid-twelfth century the crusader orders, another influential group of religious orders, were increasing in popularity.⁴⁶⁷ The Templars followed the rule of St. Benedict, making them similar to the Cistercians, and the rule followed by the Hospitallers was based on that of St. Augustine.⁴⁶⁸ Simon (II) granted Merton to the Templars of Sandford in c.1153, a grant later confirmed by Simon (III).⁴⁶⁹ Simon (III) also patronised the less well-known order of St. Lazarus, granting the order the churches of Hale, Heckington and Threkingham sometime between 1178 and 1184.⁴⁷⁰

Into the thirteenth century, the Crevequer family and the illegitimate line of the Senlis family were less disposed towards endowing religious houses with large grants than the comital branch of the Senlis family had been.⁴⁷¹ The illegitimate branch of the Senlis family made no grants, or at least no grants for which written records survive, save for that of Simon (*ill.*), presumably because their status and possessions were relatively meagre in comparison to those of the previous Senlis family members.⁴⁷² The Crevequers continued to expand their possessions, although preferred to issue charters of confirmation, and maintained their existing connections with the houses previously endowed by members of their family, such as Leeds Priory.⁴⁷³ The preference for confirmations over new grants in the thirteenth century was not unique to the

⁴⁶⁵ Stringer, 'The Earliest Charters of Sawtry Abbey', 328. See also *The Life of Waldef, Abbot of Melrose*, 80.

⁴⁶⁶ *Monasticon*, VI, 215.

⁴⁶⁷ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, 69.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁹ *The Sandford Cartulary*, Vol. II, ed. A.M. Leys (Oxford: Oxford Record Society 1941), no.424.

⁴⁷⁰ *EYC*, III, no.1460.

⁴⁷¹ D. Postles, 'Pittances and Pittancers' in *Thirteenth Century England IX: Proceedings of the Durham Conference 2001*, ed. M. Prestwich, R.H. Britnell and R. Frame (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 177-178.

⁴⁷² *Book of Seals*, no.438.

⁴⁷³ *CChR 1257-1300*, 295-302.

Crevequers, but a symptom of a decline in noble patronage at this time.⁴⁷⁴ It was the cadet branch of the Crevequers at Blean who continued to make new grants to houses, particularly Eastbridge Hospital in Canterbury, most probably in an attempt to form stronger ties with Canterbury.⁴⁷⁵

The patronage of both the Senlis and Crevequer families adapted with their changing regional interests. As suggested by Ward, during the twelfth century, an identifiable trend in aristocratic patronage was that the receipt of new possessions in a region by a lay aristocratic family was often marked with a new foundation or the greater endowment of already established houses.⁴⁷⁶ Both the Senlis and Crevequer families followed this pattern in their foundations and endowments. For the Senlis, their initial focus was on the honour of Northampton/Huntingdon, which Simon (II) developed during his life and which spread north under Simon (III). For the Crevequers, their focus was strongly on Kent and changed little due to their lack of expansion into other counties in the twelfth century.

The patronage Simon (II) de Senlis exercised during his lifetime demonstrates his expanding investment in reclaiming the honour of Huntingdon. The foundation of Sawtry Abbey in c.1143 and his benefactions to Thorney Abbey also reveal Simon's (II) consolidation of his expanding interests in Huntingdonshire. Stringer has already identified how Sawtry was probably used as a political tool by Simon (II) for solidifying regional control, alienating a rebellious tenant's property effectively permanently.⁴⁷⁷ Likewise, Simon (II)'s gifts to Thorney might also indicate the cultivation of his expanding interests in his earldom and were possibly a response to the expanding influence of Ranulf of Chester, who also issued confirmations to the monks.⁴⁷⁸

Further benefactions also reflect Simon (II)'s expanding regional interests. For example, Simon (II)'s use of rents in Bedford to endow communities after 1141 reflected the expansion of his power into Bedfordshire. Simon (II) used sources of income from Bedfordshire to benefit both

⁴⁷⁴ Postles, 'Pittances and Pittancers', 177-178.

⁴⁷⁵ CCA, U24/4/B.

⁴⁷⁶ Ward, 'Fashions in Monastic Endowment', 451.

⁴⁷⁷ Stringer, 'The Earliest Charters of Sawtry Abbey', 328.

⁴⁷⁸ See above, 45.

the house of St. Andrew's, Northampton, and Nostell Priory.⁴⁷⁹ The grant to St. Andrew's totalled 40s. per annum and was a continuation of a grant which his mother had previously made to the brothers.⁴⁸⁰ As Simon's claim to his honour descended from his mother, the reassertion of the precedent of her rights of rents there solidified his hereditary right to also do so. Simon's grant to the brothers of Nostell provides a clearer representation of the expansion of his regional interests into Bedford, as he granted the brothers three marks of silver from his rents in Bedford and specified that this was to be taken from the income of the third penny, which he received as earl.⁴⁸¹ Both his grants of rents and the use of his income from the third penny in his religious patronage exhibit Simon (II)'s territorial interests shifting during his lordship and the changes these had on his benefactions.

The shift in the interests of the family northward into Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and even Yorkshire following the marriage of Simon (III) and Alice de Gant can also be identified as influencing the family's benefactions. The choice of Rufford Abbey as a frequent beneficiary during Simon (III)'s lifetime was a direct result of this marriage. This Nottinghamshire house had been founded on the land of Earl Gilbert II de Gant, within the Gant honour, to which Alice was heir, and for which Simon (III) was legally responsible through marriage.⁴⁸² Among Simon's extant charters are confirmations he made of grants by Earl Gilbert that conveyed further privileges to the house, including the gifts of tenants and their properties and rights to half of the patronage of Eakring Church in Nottinghamshire.⁴⁸³ Simon (II) had made no grants to this house and so the shift in his son's patronage is indicative of the development of the interests of Simon (III) in the Gant honour. The property that Simon (III) gave to other religious houses after his marriage also represented his shift in interests. Jointly with his wife Alice, for example, Simon granted the Lincolnshire churches of Hale, Heckington and Threkingham to the order of St.

⁴⁷⁹ Fowler, *The Shire of Bedford*, 28-29. See also, J.A. Frost, 'An Edition of the Nostell Priory Cartulary' (PhD thesis, University of York, 2005), no.819.

⁴⁸⁰ BL. Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII fol. 9 v.

⁴⁸¹ Frost, 'Nostell Priory Cartulary', no.819.

⁴⁸² *Monasticon*, V, 517-518. See above, 56.

⁴⁸³ *Rufford Charters*, no.760.

Lazarus, gifts which were confirmed by Henry II between 1178 and 1184.⁴⁸⁴ Likewise, Simon III's grant of land in Hunmanby, Yorkshire, to the monks of Bardney Abbey shows Simon's use of Gant properties in his patronage, since Hunmanby was held by Gilbert de Gant in Domesday Book.⁴⁸⁵ Two confirmations of Simon issued to Adelard and his son Henry in Willerby, another Gant possession, which were addressed to Bridlington Priory, a Gant foundation, further demonstrates Simon (III)'s command of the Gant fee and its effects on his patronage.⁴⁸⁶

The patronage of the Crevequer family during the period was focused primarily on Leeds Priory, and while their choice of house changed very little, the properties and rights that they alienated to religious houses are suggestive of the development of the family's estates around Kent. The original endowment of Leeds Priory by Robert (I) Crevequer included several churches which were described as all the churches that Robert owned. Therefore, later grants of churches must be considered as entering the family's estates after Robert (I)'s original grant. For example, Daniel de Crevequer granted the church of *Harlecton* to the brothers of Leeds Priory in his lifetime, and so appears to have entered the family's possession during Daniel's career.⁴⁸⁷ In the thirteenth century, no new grants of churches were made, though later Crevequers confirmed these earlier grants of churches until the final confirmation was issued by Robert (III) de Crevequer, reflecting the longevity of the family's interest in Kent and Leeds Priory.⁴⁸⁸

A development in the geographical focus of the Crevequer family's religious patronage is most prominently shown by the contrast between the benefactions of the main line and those of the smaller branch located at Blean. The Blean branch began and maintained a strong patrimonial interest in the religious houses of Canterbury, which had been largely ignored previously by the main line of the family. This lesser branch, whose capital holding was the manor of Blean, is represented most extensively by the surviving material relating to Hamo de Crevequer of Blean.⁴⁸⁹ Hamo's benefactions were concentrated almost entirely on Canterbury houses. These included

⁴⁸⁴ *EYC*, III, no.1460.

⁴⁸⁵ *Domesday Book: Yorkshire*, ed. M.L. Faull and M. Stinson (Chichester: Phillimore, 1986), 20 E.

⁴⁸⁶ *EYC*, II, nos 1226 and 1227.

⁴⁸⁷ *CChR 1257-1300*, 300.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 301-302.

⁴⁸⁹ CCA, DCc/ChAnt/B/419.

the Canterbury hospitals of Eastbridge and St. James, and the priories of St. Gregory's and Canterbury Cathedral.⁴⁹⁰ These houses received little interest from the Crevequers before Hamo de Crevequer of Blean, despite their strong base in Kent. The development of Hamo de Crevequer of Blean's patronage in Canterbury shows how a lesser branch of a family cultivated their own patronage networks. Hamo de Crevequer of Blean concentrated the majority of his patronage on the hospital of Eastbridge, granting the brothers there at least eighty acres of various lands (primarily in Blean), in addition to the church of St. Cosmus and St. Damian situated next to Hamo's manor.⁴⁹¹

Another interesting aspect of the religious patronage of these families is the possible influence of their familial connections on their patterns of religious patronage. Bonds between kin could be used to strengthen an aristocrat's relationship with a religious house, as well as strengthen the bond between the aristocrat and their family. For the Senlis, the effects of kin appear most notably in the patronage of Simon (III). For example, he appears to have had an influence over his father's patronage shortly before his death. In a grant of Simon (II) to Sandford Priory, a Templar house, Simon (III) was mentioned specifically to have given his consent to the grant.⁴⁹² It was not abnormal for fathers to include their heirs in grants, particularly to give their grants security following their death.⁴⁹³ It is possible that, since the gift was within the year of his death, Simon (II) was in poor health, necessitating Simon (III)'s inclusion. This is not implausible as Simon (II) was not a young man; he was at least in his forties and had been actively participating in military conflicts throughout Stephen's reign.⁴⁹⁴ Therefore, the permission of Simon (III) may have been included to give the grant more longevity and security in the future. However, contemporary evidence suggesting that Simon (II) died suddenly in this year, as did King Stephen's son Eustace by the same illness, casts doubt on this.⁴⁹⁵ Another explanation for

⁴⁹⁰ CCA, DCc/Register/E/957-982/959; CCA, U24/4/B; CCA, DCc/ChAnt/B/329.

⁴⁹¹ *Monasticon*, VI, 691.

⁴⁹² *The Sandford Cartulary*, no.424.

⁴⁹³ B. Thompson, 'Free Alms Tenure in the Twelfth Century' in *Anglo-Norman Studies XVI*, ed. M. Chibnall, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), 232.

⁴⁹⁴ Simon was the eldest of three known children. His father died c.1111-1113: see Strickland, 'Senlis, Simon (I) de'; Stringer, 'Senlis, Simon de'.

⁴⁹⁵ *History of the English People*, 92.

Simon (III)'s inclusion was that he was a motivating force behind Simon (II)'s grant. Whilst Simon (III) was not yet at the age of majority, he was by no means a child and was in his mid-teens.⁴⁹⁶ It is possible that he either had influence over his father by this age, especially as he was his sole heir, or that his father wished to associate him firmly with his religious patronage, so that his son would value associations after his death.

Simon (III)'s benefactions also appear to have been influenced by his wife Alice de Gant. The clearest example of this being the gifts Simon (III) made to Rufford Abbey. These gifts are suggestive of the influence that a countess could have over her husband's patronage.⁴⁹⁷ All of Simon (III)'s donations to Rufford Abbey were accompanied by confirmations by his wife Alice de Gant or were granted with her consent. Of the six charters issued by Simon (III) to Rufford Abbey, Countess Alice confirmed all six with an accompanying charter, identifying Alice as an important influence on her husband's patronage.⁴⁹⁸ Alice's predecessor's connection to this house was also a possible motivation behind her desire to associate these gifts with Simon (III), as the Gant heir. Interestingly, other grants by Simon (III) to religious communities were also given jointly either with, or confirmed by, Alice. These included grants to the order of St. Lazarus, Rievaulx Abbey and to the nuns of Stixwold Priory, Lincolnshire.⁴⁹⁹ However, it was also likely that Alice's status as heiress of the Gant honour meant that the religious houses themselves might have sought her confirmations due to her Gant lineage.

The heads of the Crevequer family also appear to have influenced the patronage of their kin. This is demonstrated in the patronage to Leeds Priory, as several members of the family granted gifts to the priory within their fathers' lifetimes. For example, William de Crevequer granted the tithes of Chiddingstone to Leeds Priory during his father's lifetime.⁵⁰⁰ In c.1138, Elias de Crevequer, a kinsman of the family, made a grant of two churches, Sarre and Etchingam, and

⁴⁹⁶ Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 84 n.111.

⁴⁹⁷ S.M. Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power in the Twelfth-Century Anglo-Norman Realm* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 57.

⁴⁹⁸ *Rufford Charters*, nos 684, 699, 721, 751, 760 and 762 (Simon's charters), and nos 685, 700, 722, 752, 761 and 763 (Alice's confirmations).

⁴⁹⁹ *EYC*, III, no.1460; *EYC*, II, nos 1187, 1188 and 1232; *Danelaw*, nos 376 and 377.

⁵⁰⁰ Sherwood, 'The Cartulary of Leeds Priory', 26.

a further grant of 20s. from the mill of Lamberhurst and its tithe, while the founder, Robert (I), still lived.⁵⁰¹ As with the Senlis family, ties of kinship appear to have been a decisive motivation in the family's benefactions more broadly.

The religious patronage of both the Senlis and Crevequer families was in many ways typical of the practices of comital and baronial families in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Their grants were full of ostensibly pious intention, the majority of which included *pro anima* clauses in their charters, revealing a strong concern with the health of their immortal souls. As shown, their concerns also extended to the souls of their kin, particularly their predecessors, whose grants they upheld. These deeply religious individuals had spiritual motivations for their benefactions. However, their spiritual expression also had many enticing worldly benefits that cannot be separated from the decisions they made. The physical marker which foundations provided in the reinforcement of legitimacy, in a world where inheritance was an essential method of aristocratic fortune building, is an undeniable motivator. The continued reinforcement of legitimacy by successive generations, using such houses through confirmations, also provides evidence of this potential aspect of patronage.

⁵⁰¹ *CChR 1257-1300*, 300-301.

Conclusion

The aim of this present study was to evaluate the fortunes of both the Senlis and Crevequer families, between the beginning of Stephen's reign (1135) and the close of the Second Barons' War (1267). While the exact intricacies of the political careers of the heads of these families are at times unclear due to gaps in the extant sources, from the surviving evidence it can be seen that both the Senlis and Crevequer families benefitted from service to the crown. The benefits that these families received came in the form of grants of properties, marriages, wardships and other rights. They variously sought to experience the full benefits of the royal favour, achieved by the performance of royal duties associated with government office.

Nonetheless, even within the same dynasties, family members experienced royal favour differently. Although they were both earls, Simon (II) and Simon (III) de Senlis enjoyed differences in the levels of royal favour they received. Simon (II) de Senlis experienced more extensive royal duties as earl, due in part to the changes in political circumstances relating to the troubles of Stephen's reign, performing the duties formerly required of a sheriff. Simon (II) also benefited greatly from his close personal proximity to Stephen, which was an expectation of his royally appointed title as earl. As has been shown, Simon possibly used this proximity to his own advantage by persuading the king to arrest his enemies. Simon (III) experienced fewer powers as earl, being devoid of estates until his marriage in c.1156, and sharing local governmental responsibilities with the empowered sheriffs of Henry II's reign. Both Simon (II) and his son Simon (III) received substantial grants of lands which can be attributed to royal patronage. Likewise, the successful career of Hamo (II) de Crevequer as the keeper of the Cinque Ports, along with the almost immediate reception of royal rewards in 1235, was an excellent example of the Crevequers utilising a similar strategy. Hamo (II)'s career after leaving the office of keeper, was still one involving important royal duties. However, the rewards for these later duties were less extensive, imparting no new lands, but instead conveying other forms of reward such as exemptions from suits and royal liveries. Admittedly, royal service was unobtainable for many men at the lower levels of the aristocracy. For these men service to lesser lords, who were still

wealthy in comparison with the free peasantry, provided another similar route for improving an aristocrat's fortunes. The members of the cadet branch of the Senlis, who were disadvantaged by their illegitimate status, had to accept this reality. Their successful careers as estate stewards for great lay and ecclesiastical lords proved to be an exceptionally viable method for accessing the patronage of wealthy landholders. The career of Simon (*ill.*), although more difficult to trace in the extant sources than that of his son, proved to be prosperous, providing estates and material security for his family's future as steward of Earl David. Simon of Seaton's career as steward to an ecclesiastical magnate, Bishop Ralph of Chichester, provides a similar example.

Times of political instability, such as civil wars and rebellions, brought significant challenges which members of both the Senlis and Crevequer families dealt with to varying degrees of success. For opportunistic aristocrats, civil wars created unique circumstances whereby they could potentially promote their own interests. The Senlis and Crevequers both displayed such opportunism. Simon (II)'s decision to remain loyal to Stephen during his captivity in 1141 placed his landholdings and comital title in jeopardy. Ultimately, this was a decision which, following Stephen's release the same year, benefited Simon's position in his honour, providing him with an opportunity to remove disloyal tenants. The behaviour of Simon (III) during the Great Rebellion of the Young King in 1173-1174 reveals a similar tactic. Simon (III) appears to have seen this as an opportunity to successfully reclaim the earldom of Northampton, which by 1173 had been out of his possession for almost twenty years. The successful navigation of civil wars continued to be a theme in the family's politics for the cadet branch. Simon (*ill.*) had been involved in the civil war of John's reign to his own benefit, collecting farm payments which did not reach the king. Simon (II *ill.*) de Senlis and his son both endured the period of baronial reform and rebellion in Henry III's reign. Simon (II *ill.*) de Senlis' appointment by the reformers to enquire into grievances at the 1258 Oxford Parliament suggests that he was, at least, a known sympathiser of their cause. His death soon after prevented his involvement in the later civil war of 1263-1267. His son Simon (III *ill.*) was also a sympathiser of the reform movement, receiving a similar appointment to his father in 1264. Simon (III *ill.*) displayed a flexible approach to the conflict in his career, however, as he returned to the king's service when the situation shifted after Evesham

and the Montfortian cause collapsed. This move undoubtedly benefitted Simon as it protected both him and his lands from disinheritance at the autumn parliament of 1265. For the Crevequers, Hamo (II)'s loyal performance of naval duties for King Henry III during the rebellion of Richard Marshal meant that he was subsequently appointed as keeper of the Cinque Ports, an important Kentish office.

While civil wars could provide beneficial outcomes to the Senlis and Crevequer families, they also proved to be very detrimental in some instances. Simon (II), for example, suffered from the disruption to royal power caused by the political turmoil of Stephen's reign, namely the encroachment of neighbours on his territory. This encroachment, which was evident initially through the apparently benign confirmations of Earl Ranulf of Chester to the abbeys of Thorney and Pipewell, clearly developed into destructive private warfare. Simon (II)'s experiences serve as a valuable reminder of how the instability of Stephen's reign also caused damage to estates. The Crevequers also experienced the negative impact of a civil war. Robert (I) suffered during Stephen's reign as a result of Leeds Castle being held by rebels in 1138. Although it is unclear if these rebels were under the command of Robert (I), or his enemies, it was damaging for Robert's position nonetheless. Yet, this was inconsequential when compared to Robert (III) de Crevequer's adherence to the rebels' cause and the consequences of his actions. Robert's decision to ignore a royal letter of safe conduct shortly before his presence at the battle of Lewes was extremely damaging for the family's power and wealth. Robert's estates were forfeited after the Montfortian defeat at Evesham, only half of which were ever recovered. This, in turn, meant that Robert was more susceptible to the aggressive policy of Queen Eleanor, who successfully claimed the entirety of Robert's remaining estates. For Robert, the consequences were dramatic and led to the decline of the family from baronial to knightly status. His career demonstrates, perhaps most clearly of all the individuals considered in this study, the potentially disastrous effect of a magnate's participation in a civil war on the losing side. This was something which the Senlis family was, overall, more able to avoid.

Both the Senlis and Crevequer families possessed large estates and were members of a landed elite which was forever attempting to expand its wealth and possessions. To expand the properties in their possession, it was also necessary to expand the political power they could exert within the regions by recruiting a greater pool of local allies. While it has not been possible to reconstruct and analyse the affinities of the Senlis and Crevequer families in this thesis, this is certainly a further avenue for enquiry which might yield insights into the local networks of influence and control in which these families were situated. Despite this, there were common methods for the accumulation of landed wealth which both families employed. The utilisation of marriages to wealthy heiresses was of great benefit to both families, as it was to other contemporary nobles, in their goal of gaining estates. Simon (III)'s marriage to Alice de Gant provided him with the entirety of his lands until the earldom of Northampton was restored to him in 1174. For Hamo (II) de Crevequer, marriage to Matilda de Avranches successfully expanded his already considerable possessions.

Although lands were acquired through marriage, the marriages of non-inheriting daughters led to the alienation of property through the granting away of lands as marriage portions. The provision of dower for widows also led to the temporary alienation of properties, thereby impacting upon the material wealth of heirs. Yet, for members of the Senlis family, who appear to have been relatively unsuccessful in producing heirs (Simon (III) died heirless), the provisions for younger children appear not to have been of much consequence. For the Crevequers, however, particularly Hamo (II), whose long life and multiple marriages produced many offspring, the practice of providing for numerous children proved more damaging for the family's wealth. Hamo's (II) death saw the division of the barony of Avranches into four parts between his four daughters.

The practice of religious patronage was another significant reason for the alienation of aristocratic estates in the period covered by this thesis. For aristocrats of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, religious patronage was a valuable tool to help ensure the spiritual wellbeing of families. To claim one's place in heaven (or perhaps more importantly, avoid eternal damnation)

providing gifts to religious houses was an essential tactic. Both the Senlis and Crevequer families were active benefactors of religious houses. Their concern for the souls of their families, reflected by the inclusion of *pro anima* clauses, took a central place in the wording of the charters that recorded their gifts to local religious communities. Of course, the lifestyles enjoyed by aristocrats were full of paradoxical obligations; the need for aristocrats to perform military service on campaign was sinful, or at least caused concern for the soul. The solution for which could be gifts of lands and goods made in return for the prayers of monks and nuns, which was seen as assisting the path to heaven. The obligation of maintaining gifts to religious houses was inherited through the generations of aristocratic families, as demonstrated in this thesis, with ties of kinship often influencing patterns of religious patronage by members of the Senlis and Crevequer dynasties.

There were, however, also very worldly influences on the decisions that underpinned an earl or baron's decision to direct their religious patronage towards particular communities. The foundation of new communities, although usually the costliest form of patronage, acted as a useful landmark for a family who wished to establish and reinforce their position as local lords. It is no surprise that both the Senlis and Crevequers tended to endow foundations which were located near the caputs of their honours, as was demonstrated most obviously, in the case of the Senlis family, by Simon (II)'s foundation of St. Andrew's Priory, and Leeds priory by the Crevequers. The connections of religious houses to the descendants of their founders also reveals the political nature of religious patronage, as the desire to maintain ties to a house also allowed them to recite their lineage and reinforce their legitimacy as local lords for successive generations. The charter that recorded Robert (III) de Crevequer's confirmation of earlier rights granted to Leeds Priory recounted his lineage back through four generations.

For aristocratic families in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England, the religious, material and political aspects of their lives did not exist in isolation. Rather, they were all intricately and constantly intertwined. Political decisions were sometimes made based on the expectation of expanding their power and properties. To secure the rewards of royal favour was an excellent method for expanding the landholdings in their possession. These properties, in turn, allowed

magnates to maintain the expensive policies of their own lay and religious patronage, a necessity in a highly religious society. Poorly made decisions during civil wars could damage the security of a family's status and properties, jeopardising both their own position and that of their tenants, and compromising their ability to maintain their religious grants, which subsequently placed their souls at risk. The aristocratic lifestyle enjoyed by the Senlis and Crevequers, although one of relative luxury, was fraught with complex political, religious and social obligations that while forming the very framework of their society, also placed their lifestyle in constant jeopardy.

Appendix I: The acta of Earl Simon (II) de Senlis.

Recipient	Date Issued	Content	Source
Alberic de Dammartain	1141-1148	Grant to Alberic de Dammartain of land in Hamerton, Huntingdonshire.	BL, Add. Charter 11233.
Alexander, bishop of Lincoln	1145	Confirmation of the gift of Hugh of Leicester to the monks.	<i>The Cartulary Of Daventry Priory</i> , ed. M.J. Franklin (Northampton: Northamptonshire Record Society, 1988), no.610.
St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton	1138-1153	Grant of the mills of Exton, Rutland.	BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII, fol. 7 v.
St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton	1141-1148	Gant of 40s. annually to St. Andrew's from his rents in Bedford.	BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII, fol. 9 v., no. 28.
St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton	1141-1153	Grant of rent from the mill of Earl's Barton, Northamptonshire.	BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII, fol. 7 v., no.17,

St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton	1141-1153		Grant of land in Ryhall, Rutland.	BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII, fol. 8 r.
St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton	1141-1153		Grant of the mill of Grendon and land in Potton, with its mill, Bedfordshire.	BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII, fol. 8 v.
St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton	1141-1153		Grant of the mill of Paxton, Huntingdonshire.	BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII, fol. 9 v.
St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton	1147-1153		Notification that Anselm de Chokes, returns two thirds of his land at Wollaston, Northamptonshire, to St. Andrew's, due to an agreement made in the presence of Simon (II), as previously agreed in court and the synod of the bishop of Lincoln.	BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII, fol. 7 v.

St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton	1148-1153		Confirmation of the church in Potton, Bedfordshire, to St. Andrew's.	BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII, fol. 7 r.
St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton	1148-1153		Grant to St. Andrew's.	BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII, fol. 9 v.
Eynsham Abbey, Oxfordshire	1141-1148		Confirmation of a grant of a mill in Dallington, Northamptonshire, by William and Robert de Chensey.	<i>The Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham</i> , ed. H.E. Salter, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1907), no.78.
Eynsham Abbey, Oxfordshire	1141-1148		Another confirmation of a grant of the mill in Dallington, Northamptonshire.	<i>The Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham</i> , ed. H.E. Salter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1907), no.98.
St. James' Abbey, Northampton	1145-1150		Grant of the mill of Duston, Northamptonshire, or, in exchange, a rent of 20s. and ten marks of	<i>Facsimiles of royal and other charters in the British museum</i> , ed.

		silver (or in lieu of ten marks their value in land or rents).	G.F. Warner and H.J. Ellis (London: Longman, 1903), no.26.
Lincoln Cathedral	1138-1153	Confirmation of Robert Grimbald's grant of half a mark of silver annually, from the mill in Owston, Leicestershire.	<i>The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln</i> , Vol. II, ed. C.W. Foster (Hereford: The Hereford Times, 1933), no.326.
Lincoln Cathedral	1151-1153	Grant of the church of Tansor, Northamptonshire.	<i>The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln</i> , Vol. II, ed. C.W. Foster (Hereford: The Hereford Times, 1933), no.310.
Nostell Priory, Yorkshire	1141-1153	Confirmation that the canons of Nostell Priory shall have three marks of Silver from his rents in	J.A. Frost, 'An Edition of the Nostell Priory Cartulary' (PhD thesis, University of York, 2005), no.81.

		Bedford (Specified as coming from his third penny).	
Odo de Dammartain	1152-1153	Grant of land to Odo de Dammartain, including Buckden and Beachamstead, Huntingdonshire, and Wrestlingworth, Bedfordshire.	BL, Add. Charter 11233.
Robert, bishop of Lincoln	1148-1151	Confirmation of a meadow for the render of Sawtry Abbey, Huntingdonshire.	<i>The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln</i> , Vol. I, ed. C.W. Foster (Hereford: The Hereford Times, 1931), no.309.
Sawtry Abbey, Huntingdonshire	1147	Confirmation of land (' <i>ad abbatiam construendam</i> ') granted in an earlier charter of King Stephen.	K. Stringer, 'A Cistercian Archive: The Earliest Charters of Sawtry Abbey', <i>Journal of The Society of Archivists</i> 6, no.6, (1980), 334.

Sawtry Abbey, Huntingdonshire	1147-1153	Foundation charter of Sawtry Abbey.	<i>Monasticon</i> , V, 522-523.
Thorney Abbey, Cambridgeshire	1138-1153	Confirmation of the market at Yaxley, Huntingdonshire.	CUL, MS Add. 3020, 2lr.
Thorney Abbey, Cambridgeshire	1138-1153	A further confirmation of the market of Yaxley, Huntingdonshire.	CUL, MS Add. 3020, 2lr.
Thorney Abbey, Cambridgeshire	1138-1153	Grant of the restitution of 40s. a year from the mills of Huntingdon.	CUL, MS Add. 3020, 4lr.
Templar Preceptory of Sandford, Oxfordshire	1152-1153	Grant of land in Merton, Oxfordshire, to the Templars of Sandford.	<i>The Sandford Cartulary</i> , Vol. II, ed. A. M. Leys (Oxford: Oxford Record Society 1941), no.424.

Appendix II: The acta of Earl Simon (III) de Senlis.

Recipient	Date issued	Content	Source
Alberic de Dammartain	1174-1184	Confirmation of multiple lands, including Buckden and Beachamstead, Huntingdonshire, and Wrestlingworth, Bedfordshire.	BL, Add Ch 11233.
St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton	1153-1154	Confirmation of the 40s. annually from revenues of Bedford.	BL, Cotton Vitellius E XVII, fol. 8 r.
St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton	1174-1184	Grant of land in Wrestlingworth, Bedfordshire.	BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII, fol. 7 r.
St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton	1174-1184	Confirmation of the church of Potton, Bedfordshire.	BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII, fol. 9 r.
St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton	1174-1184	Grant of a meadow in Whissendine, Rutland.	BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII, fol. 10 r.

St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton	1174-1184		Grant of the church of Whissendine, Rutland, on the day of his son's burial.	BL, Cotton MS Vitellius E XVII, fol. 9 r.
Bardney Abbey, Lincolnshire	1156-1171		Grant of the moor of Hunmanby, Yorkshire.	EYC, II, no.1189.
Bridlington Priory, Yorkshire	1166-1184		Confirmation of the gift of Adelard father of Henry Willardby.	EYC, II, no.1226.
Bridlington Priory, Yorkshire	1170-1180		Confirmation of the gift of Henry de Willardby.	EYC, II, no.1227.
Bridlington Priory, Yorkshire	1174-1181		Settlement of a dispute between Earl Simon's men and the monks of Bridlington Priory over pastures in Swaledale, Yorkshire.	EYC, V, no.392.
Burton Lazars Hospital, Leicester	1174-1184		Grant of the mill of Whissendine, Rutland, with the miller and his chattels and one bovate of land.	BL, Cotton MS Nero C XII, fol. 4.

		<p>Additionally, Herbert, son of Jocelin 'Fabri' with all chattels and a virgate of land in Whissendine. As well as a toft, croft ten acres of land, one acre of meadow in Harringworth, Northamptonshire, and five acres of land and one acre of meadow in Abington, Northamptonshire.</p>	
Nuneaton Priory, Warwickshire	1153-1158	<p>Grant of two carucates of land with pasture for three-hundred sheep in Waltham On The Wolds, Leicestershire, issued jointly with his mother Isabella.</p>	<i>Danelaw</i> , no.334.
Nuneaton Priory, Warwickshire	1153-1158	<p>Confirmation of two carucates of land with pasture for three-hundred</p>	<i>Danelaw</i> , no.335.

		sheep in Waltham On The Wolds, Leicestershire.		
St. Peter's Hospital, York	1156-1174	Grant of Walter, Son of Arnald of Hunmanby, with his chattels and tenement of five bovates in Hunmanby, Yorkshire, in exchange for the mill of Hunmanby, which Earl Gilbert de Gant gave them.	<i>EYC</i> II, no.1186.	
Peter, the clerk of Paxton	1174-1184	Grant of the church of Great Paxton, Huntingdonshire.	<i>The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln</i> , Vol. III, ed. C.W. Foster (Hereford: The Hereford Times, 1935), no.812.	
Ramsey Abbey, Huntingdonshire	1175	Grant of the rents of the mills at Huntingdon.	<i>Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia</i> . Vol. I, ed. W. H. Hart & P. A. Lyons (London: Longman, 1884), no.194.	

Rievaulx Abbey, Yorkshire	1160-1171	Confirmation of two bovates in Hunmanby, Yorkshire, which Gilbert de Gant gave and, with consent of Alice, pasture for five hundred sheep and oxen and horses for four ploughs.	EYC II, no.1187.
Rievaulx Abbey, Yorkshire	1170-1184	Confirmation of the gift and sale made by Henry de Willardby, issued jointly with Alice de Gant.	EYC II, no.1232.
Robert of Haversham	1174-1184	Grant of the land which William, son of Hugh, held in Lilford, Northamptonshire.	<i>Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals</i> , ed. D. M. Stenton and L. C. Lloyd (Oxford: Clarendon, 1950), no.439.
Robert of Well	1174-1184	Grant of twelve and a half virgates in Little Paxton, Huntingdonshire.	<i>Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals</i> , ed. D. M. Stenton and L. C.

			Lloyd (Oxford: Clarendon, 1950), no.349.
Stixwold Priory, Lincolnshire	1155-1160	Confirmation of the land which the nuns held of Robert of Harrowby in <i>Honington</i> .	<i>Danelaw</i> , no.376.
Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire	1155-1184	Notification that Simon (III) has agreed to support the abbot of Rufford in any claims made against him for his land in Cratley, Nottinghamshire.	<i>Rufford Charters</i> , Thoroton Society Record Series, Vol. I-III, ed. C. J. Holdsworth (Nottingham: Derry and Sons, 1980), no.733.
Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire	1156-1168	Confirmation of the land in Eakring, Nottinghamshire, granted to Rufford by ' <i>Angot</i> '.	<i>Rufford Charters</i> , Thoroton Society Record Series, Vol. I-III, ed. C. J. Holdsworth (Nottingham: Derry and Sons, 1980), no.765.

Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire	1156-1184	Grant of the right of patronage in half the church of Eakring, Nottinghamshire.	<i>Rufford Charters</i> , Thoroton Society Record Series, Vol. I-III, ed. C. J. Holdsworth (Nottingham: Derry and Sons, 1980), no. 760.
Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire	1160-1176	Confirmation of the gift of Helias Foliot of two bovates and a half bovate in Holm, Lincolnshire.	<i>Rufford Charters</i> , Thoroton Society Record Series, Vol. I-III, ed. C. J. Holdsworth (Nottingham: Derry and Sons, 1980), no. 684.
Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire	1160-1176	Confirmation of the gift of Helias Foliot of two bovates and a half bovate in Holm, Lincolnshire. This confirmation was issued jointly with Alice de Gant.	<i>Rufford Charters</i> , Thoroton Society Record Series, Vol. I-III, ed. C. J. Holdsworth (Nottingham: Derry and Sons, 1980), no. 685.
Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire	1160-1181	Writ directing that Rufford should retain possession of <i>Coctrehage</i> and	<i>Rufford Charters</i> , Thoroton Society Record Series, Vol. I-III, ed. C. J.

			<i>Little Hage</i> in accordance with their previous agreement.	Holdsworth (Nottingham: Derry and Sons, 1980), no.762.
Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire	1170-1184		Grant of all the service which Henry Eakring and Hugh of Lambecote owe him for their holdings in Cratley, Nottinghamshire.	<i>Rufford Charters</i> , Thoroton Society Record Series, Vol. I-III, ed. C. J. Holdsworth (Nottingham: Derry and Sons, 1980), no.751.
Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire	1170-1184		Confirmation of the gifts of Earl Gilbert de Gant in Rufford, Cratley, Barton and Willoughby On The Wolds, all in Nottinghamshire.	<i>Rufford Charters</i> , Thoroton Society Record Series, Vol. I-III, ed. C. J. Holdsworth (Nottingham: Derry and Sons, 1980), no.669.
Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire	1174-1176		Grant of Hugh of Beekingham, son of Goda, with one and a half bovates, and Saun of Sutton with one bovate.	<i>Rufford Charters</i> , Thoroton Society Record Series, Vol. I-III, ed. C. J. Holdsworth (Nottingham: Derry and Sons, 1980), no.721.
William the chamberlain	1155-1176		Grant of three bovates and two tofts in Barton upon Humber,	<i>Danelaw</i> , no.473.

William Maulduit III and Isabel de Senlis, Sister of Simon (III)			1153-1171	Lincolnshire, for the service of the fortieth part of a knight.	Confirmation to the king's chamberlain, William Maulduit, of the lands which Simon (II) gave them.		<i>Beauchamp Cartulary Charters, 1100-1268</i> , ed. E. Mason (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1980), no.177.
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Appendix III: The acta of the Crevequers of Leeds, Kent.

Issued by	Recipient	Date issued	Content	Source
Robert (I) de Crevequer	Leeds Priory, Kent	c.1119	Foundation of Leeds priory, Kent.	<i>Registrum Roffense, or, A Collection of Antient Records, Charters, and Instruments of Divers Kinds: Necessary for Illustrating the Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities of the Diocese and Cathedral Church of Rochester,</i> ed. J. Thorpe (London: Longman, 1796), 209.
Daniel de Crevequer	Leeds Priory, Kent	1139-1161	Confirmation of his father's grants.	<i>CChR 1257-1300</i> , 300.
Daniel de Crevequer	Leeds Priory, Kent	1139-1161	Grant of the mill of <i>Brudescam</i> .	<i>CChR 1257-1300</i> , 300.
Daniel de Crevequer	Robertsbridge Abbey, Sussex	1170	Grant of the lands of two tenants in Hastings, Kent.	<i>Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley Preserved at Penshurst place</i> , Vol.

Daniel de Crevequer	Rochester Cathedral, Kent	1139-1161	Confirmation of predecessors' grants.	I, ed. C.L. Kingsford (London: H.M.S.O, 1925), 34. <i>Registrum Roffense, or, A Collection of Antient Records, Charters, and Instruments of Divers Kinds: Necessary for Illustrating the Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities of the Diocese and Cathedral Church of Rochester,</i> ed. J. Thorpe (London: Longman, 1796), 538.
Robert (II) de Crevequer	Leeds Priory, Kent	1167-1214	Grant of the fair of Chatham, Kent, and common pasture in Leeds. Additionally, Robert granted the priory the ability to dispose of its territory when its office of prior was vacant.	<i>CChR 1257-1300</i> , 301.

Robert (II) de Crevequer	Robertsbridge Abbey, Sussex	1167-1214	Grant of a 'snappam terram' in Evres.	<i>Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle & Dudley Preserved at Penshurst place</i> , Vol. I, ed. C. L. Kingsford (London: H.M.S.O, 1925), 57.
Robert (II) de Crevequer	Robertsbridge Abbey, Sussex	1167-1214	Grant of forty acres in the salt marsh under Eures, formerly held by Amrfrird de Tuttesham.	<i>Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle & Dudley Preserved at Penshurst place</i> , Vol. I, ed. C. L. Kingsford (London: H.M.S.O, 1925), 57.
Robert (II) de Crevequer	Robertsbridge Abbey, Sussex	1167-1214	Grant of lands which Emma de Pirifeld formerly held of him.	<i>Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle & Dudley Preserved at Penshurst place</i> , Vol. I, ed. C. L. Kingsford (London: H.M.S.O, 1925), 57-58.
Robert (II) de Crevequer	Robertsbridge Abbey, Sussex	1167-1214	Grant of two and a quarter virgates of land in Northiam, East Sussex.	<i>Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle & Dudley Preserved at Penshurst place</i> , Vol. I, ed. C. L. Kingsford (London: H.M.S.O, 1925), 59.

Robert (II) de Crevequer	Rochester Cathedral, Kent	1167-1214	Confirmation of a grant of land in Chatham, Kent.	<i>Registrum Roffense, or, A Collection of Antient Records, Charters, and Instruments of Divers Kinds: Necessary for Illustrating the Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities of the Diocese and Cathedral Church of Rochester,</i> ed. J. Thorpe (London: Longman, 1796), 540.
Robert (II) de Crevequer	Rochester Cathedral, Kent	1167-1214	Grant of two acres of land at the south gate of Rochester, Kent.	<i>Registrum Roffense, or, A Collection of Antient Records, Charters, and Instruments of Divers Kinds: Necessary for Illustrating the Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities of the Diocese and Cathedral Church of Rochester,</i> ed. J. Thorpe (London: Longman, 1796), 540
Hamo (II) de Crevequer	Leeds Priory, Kent	1219-1263	Confirmation of all the gifts of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather.	<i>CChR 1257-1300, 301.</i>

Hamo (II) de Crevequer	Leeds Priory, Kent	1219-1263	Grant of one sheave of each acre sown in Leeds yearly.	<i>CChR 1257-1300, 296.</i>
Hamo (II) de Crevequer	Leeds Priory, Kent	1219-1263	Grant of the lands of the heirs of Theobald de Broomfield, the land of Henry Fitz Norman of Leeds and an additional twenty acres of land.	<i>CChR 1257-1300, 296.</i>
Hamo (II) de Crevequer	Robertsbridge Abbey, Sussex	1234	Grant of all his land in the marsh of Leigh, Kent, to be enclosed in the summer, one third of which is to be returned to Hamo.	<i>Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle & Dudley Preserved at Penshurst place, Vol. I, ed. C.L. Kingsford (London: H.M.S.O, 1925), 89.</i>
Hamo (II) de Crevequer	Robertsbridge Abbey, Sussex	1234	Grant of all his land between <i>Finchesflet</i> and <i>Bradesfleet</i> for the monks to enclose,	<i>Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle & Dudley Preserved at Penshurst Place, Vol.1,</i>

			except five acres on the shore of <i>Finchesflet</i> , one third of all enclosed land to return to Hamo.	ed. C.L. Kingsford (London: H.M.S.O, 1925), 90.
Robert (III) de Crevequer	Geoffrey <i>Le Chateter</i> .	1274	Grant of the power of attorney to hand over the rents of marshland in Chatham to Leeds priory.	Medway Archives Centre, DRc/T414/2.
Robert (III) de Crevequer	Leeds Priory, Kent	1274-1275	Gift of the rents of marshland and tenements in Chatham.	Medway Archives Centre, DRc/T414/1.
Robert (III) de Crevequer	Leeds Priory, Kent	1275-1275	Confirmation of his predecessor's grants.	<i>CChR 1257-1300</i> , 301.
Robert (III) de Crevequer	Robertsbridge Abbey, Sussex	1263-1269	Confirmation of all the land of William de <i>Northye</i> in the manor of <i>Maderesham</i> .	<i>Report on the manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle & Dudley preserved at Penshurst place</i> , Vol.1, ed. C.L. Kingsford (London: H.M.S.O, 1925), 113.

Robert (III) de Crevequer	William le Ken.	1268-1279	Confirmation of land in Wrotham, in the manor of Trottscliffe, Kent.	<p><i>Registrum Roffense, or, A Collection of Antient Records, Charters, and Instruments of Divers Kinds: Necessary for Illustrating the Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities of the Diocese and Cathedral Church of Rochester,</i> ed. J. Thorpe (London: Longman, 1796), 696.</p>
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