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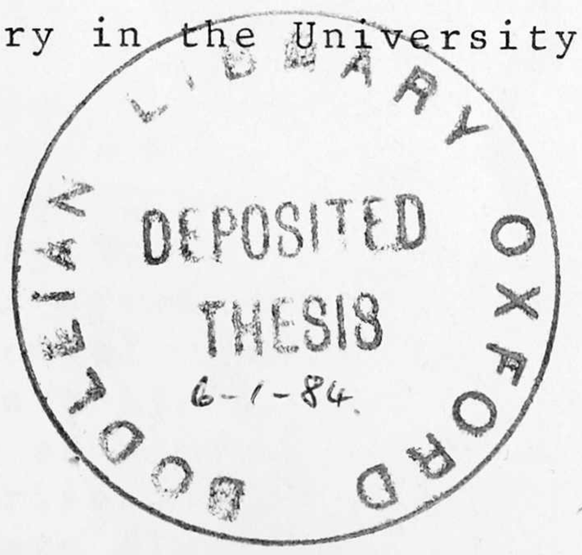
# THE POLITICS OF THE ENGLISH ROYAL COURT 1247-65, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ROLE OF ALIENS

H.W. Ridgeway M.A.

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Faculty of Modern History in the University of Oxford




Jesus College

October, 1983

(ASLIB) Abstract

This thesis is not a straightforward account of the aliens under Henry III 1247-65 but rather aims to use them as a pathway into the inner politics of the court. Previous Historians, concentrating on the growth of the 'baronial opposition' to Henry III, have assumed that in 1258 the baronage moved against a united royal government and, foremost, against the aliens in it. Henry III's favourites, however, took different sides over the Provisions of Oxford: the Savoyards supported it but the Poitevins were exiled from the realm. Contrary to the standard interpretation, there was no united alien force at court before or after 1258 - until 1264 at the very least. Aliens had always played a distinct rôle in government and formed differing political connexions. This thesis describes and explains these divergent paths and draws conclusions about the nature of government, politics and opposition in the reign of Henry III.

Using orthodox sources, grounded in Chancery rolls and well-known chroniclers, and some new manuscript material, I re-interpret familiar political events 1258-63. I also explore the unchartered territory 1247-58, unearthing neglected political developments including important court crises of 1252 and 1257. I see the politics of the court as being governed partly by Henry III's problems over patronage. Courtier factions arose and frequently became the focusses for baronial opposition (1252-63). From this a new view of Henry III's aliens - and his courtiers - emerges, as well as a new insight into the great constitutional crises, such as the Provisions of Oxford. Aliens are divorced from propaganda and the prejudice of the chroniclers, but I also show how anti-alien propaganda arose and what its effects were. In the introductory chapters and a full appendix I list, and comment on, the Savoyards and Poitevins at court and in the provinces.

# ABSTRACT

This thesis is not a straightforward account of the aliens under Henry III 1247-65 but rather an attempt to use the aliens as a pathway into the inner political life of Henry III's court. Previous generations of political historians have concentrated on the growth of the 'baronial opposition' to Henry while paying little attention to the point that the focus of political opposition for much of the reign came from the 'court', and especially members of the royal family: Richard of Cornwall, the lord Edward and Simon de Montfort. Similarly, while historians have assumed, perhaps with the exception of F.M. Powicke, that the baronage moved in 1258 against a united royal government and, foremost against the aliens in it, they have failed to observe that King Henry III's favourites took different sides over the Provisions of Oxford: the Savoyards supported it but the Poitevins were exiled from the realm. Contrary to what has become the standard interpretation, there was no united alien force at court before or after 1258 - until 1264 at the very least. The Savoyards and Poitevins at court and in the provinces had always played a distinct rôle in royal government and in politics; they were men of very different character,

outlook and connexions. It is the purpose of this thesis to describe and explain these divergent political paths and to draw conclusions from them about the nature of government and politics in the reign of Henry III.

My sources are orthodox, grounded in Chancery rolls and well-known chroniclers, but with the addition of some new manuscript material. In the shadow of Powicke and Treharne I comment on familiar political events 1258-63 and place a new interpretation on them; but I also explore the less familiar ground of 1247-58 and here, through the court and the aliens, have found some neglected political developments including an important court crisis of 1252 and another in 1257. It has also been necessary to define and describe aspects of royal policy in which aliens played a part (since much of Henry III's policy before 1258 is not well known or has not received sympathetic treatment). I describe the rôle of the aliens in Gascony and in the formulation of royal policy over patronage, including matters such as the king's creation of an establishment for the lord Edward. Following the lead given by other mediaeval Historians - for the reign of Henry I and Edward II, and a recent study of court politics at the close of the minority of Henry III by D.A. Carpenter - and,

ultimately, the great historian of the structure of eighteenth-century politics, Sir Lewis Namier, I see the politics of the court 1247-65 as being governed by faction and that the general political history of the period - often misnamed 'baronial politics' - was greatly influenced by courtiers and their struggles. A new view of Henry III's aliens emerges, divorced from propaganda and the prejudice of the chroniclers; I also show how some forms of anti-alien propaganda arose and what its effects were.

Chapters I and III offer an introduction to the aliens at court and in England. Improving, in the case of the Savoyards, on the work of Mugnier and describing, for the first time, the Poitevins, I explain why they came into the king's service, where they settled at court or in the provinces, and into which positions they were placed. The Savoyards were the protégés of Eleanor of Provence, married to Henry III in 1236. They formed a core of cosmopolitan servants for the king, providing both expert diplomats and important links with mercenary knights of Burgundy and Flanders. The Poitevins, in contrast, were not merely the clients of Henry III's half-brothers of the house of Lusignan but the result of Henry III's desire to

revive his traditional link with the nobility of Poitou to use them as a counterbalance against the growth of Capetian power on the borders of Gascony. Neither alien connexion found a widespread rôle in Henry III's service outside the royal Households, diplomacy and military affairs, and in Gascony, Wales and Ireland. Practical and political considerations made these areas the preserve of the king's personally-chosen agents. Both connexions, however, founded communities in the provinces; these were centred mainly around the three alien bishops. Lists of them and the households of the other leading aliens are given in an Appendix (tables 8-12) which shows that, apart from the mainly cosmopolitan Peter of Savoy, most of the other aliens soon attracted to inner ranks of their service both English and aliens.

In Chapters II and IV a contrast can be drawn between the early political impact made by the Savoyards and Poitevins. The former (1236-46) had, in order to establish themselves at court, to struggle against the factions of curiales and the influence of rival royal favourites such as Richard of Cornwall and Simon de Montfort. Through a combination of their own political skill and moderation and thanks to the fact that the court (and English politics in general) was undergoing a period of remodelling the Savoyards managed to out-

manoeuvre their enemies and to establish a key position for themselves in the new political order created around him by Henry III after his minority. The Savoyards were also skillful in their dealings with the baronage. Poitevins, on the other hand, generated political tension when, after 1251, the desperate situation erupting in Gascony (and the reluctance of the English baronage to consent to taxation or overseas service) resulted in their becoming the king's leading favourites. They abused their positions and caused offence in many powerful quarters. They posed a threat to the position of the Savoyards as favourites and as the latter, in turn, clashed with them during a prolonged political crisis of 1252 the queen's cause became momentarily that of the discontented baronage. The crisis was resolved in the Savoyards' favour but it illustrates well the link between court politics and a wider political world.

I concentrate in the next two chapters on providing further contrasts between the aliens in matters of royal policy prior to 1258. In Chapter V I show that the Savoyards had a coherent rôle, linking diplomacy, Gascony and the affairs of the lord Edward and that they pursued a conservative policy of peace and co-operation with other curiales especially over the construction of a household and establishment for the

lord Edward which was designed, in many ways, to cater for the aspirations of curiales looking to advancement under the future king - and even, through the doctrine of inalienability, to exclude any new elements. The Poitevins' rôle in government, however, did not expand far beyond the Gascon campaign of 1253-54 where they and their military contacts otherwise played a distinguished part. The Capetians and the Savoyards prevented Henry III from making wider use of them in Gascon administration and so they remained almost solely as royal favourites in the household and had little opportunity of building up a deeper rapport with the English curiales. Chapter VI shows that, in addition to this, the king's very attempts to provide for his Poitevin servants and kinsmen after 1247 generated friction, for unlike the earlier period when he settled the Savoyards Henry III now faced financial difficulties which placed a strain on his patronage and dictated a policy of royal largesse which was far more orderly, in fact, than the simple-minded generosity pictured by Matthew Paris. The Council, the Exchequer and, indeed, other claimants on the royal bounty stood in the path of the Poitevins' enrichment and drove Henry III into desperate expedients of dubious legality which hastened the downfall of his favourites in 1258. But I also take the longer view of the

problems of royal patronage. The dwindling resources in escheated land of a mediaeval king unsuccessful in war but committed to providing for an ever-expanding circle of family and dependants was bound to result in the generation of political friction and rivalries within the Court. King Henry III can be said to have avoided disaster with Richard of Cornwall and Edward only to meet it in Simon de Montfort. It was only the territorial confiscations after the barons' wars which could alleviate such a situation.

Chapters VII-IX take the political narrative from 1255-65. We see the king's half-brothers, denied an adequate rôle, clash repeatedly with the king's established Councillors, both privately and over matters of policy. As the Council gave the king sound advice to attempt to weather the political and financial problems of 1255-57 so the Poitevin favourites drove Henry III to flout it in their own interest, especially during periods of military emergency when the king believed he was dependant on them. The Poitevins' lawless behaviour continued and when the Council attempted partial reform to accommodate the baronial opposition in 1257 they also moved to bring the Lusignans to justice but, in the wake of the new Welsh war could achieve nothing. The Poitevins then forged

an alliance with the lord Edward, emerging into political manhood and determined to cast off the tutelage of the older curiales and, together with other junior elements at court, they began to build up a new and ambitious faction around the king. It was this which led so many of Henry III's courtiers, including Peter of Savoy, into an active alliance with the baronial opposition in 1258 (Chapter VII) which resulted in the exiling of the main Poitevins from the realm. I show how the evidence of the Parliament at Oxford needs to be used with circumspection, and how the Provisions of Oxford were not indiscriminately anti-alien but, indeed, how some of the propaganda was pro-Savoyard and how the latter's rôle in the downfall of the Poitevins was not negligible.

The alliance between the court and the baronage inaugurated in 1258 broke down (Chapter VIII) because the constitutional and other weaknesses in the new régime resulted in violent faction warfare between the leading Councillors and, as the result of this, the lord Edward was able to move into revolt with Simon de Montfort - the seriousness of which has not been appreciated - and threaten the political equilibrium and the interests of the Savoyards achieved in 1258. I offer an important revision of the political narrative of the second half of 1260 which shows that the political

influence of de Montfort and Edward was not shattered after the revolt but, in fact, threatened to grow; and that it was this which spurred Henry III and the Savoyards to move to destroy the Provisions from early 1261.

In Chapter IX I am aware that a terser analysis relying on the detailed narrative of R.F. Treharne is in order. However, I add some new material to interpret the king's seizure of power in 1261 and argue that Henry's aims were initially compromise, rather than confrontation, for he was now under the influence of the Savoyards. After this the main outstanding political question became the independence of action to be allotted to Edward. As the Savoyards were able to ensure that the return of the exiled Poitevins in 1261 was under conditions of good behaviour so, when financial difficulties drove Edward back to his father's side in mid-1261 he was forced to shed the disruptive 'new men' he had absorbed into his household since 1258. A temporary unity of the Royalists 1261-2 was shattered when junior elements at court still excluded from influence, in alliance with discontented magnates and Edward's former knights, rallied into revolt under the banner of Simon de Montfort in 1263. They broke the influence of the Savoyards and ensured that Edward could emerge as the

leading force behind Henry III. Thus, a unity was forged in the royal court which challenged de Montfort at Lewes and Evesham. The 1263 revolt ensured the triumph of Edward and youth at court which the Savoyards and other veteran councillors had striven so long to resist.

Thus, a study of the aliens shows that there was no unity in the royal court 1247-63 but that, in addition to insuperable problems of finance, a constitutionally ambitious and obstructive baronage and the military problems of far-flung and vulnerable dominions, Henry III had to tackle faction at his court exacerbated by his own difficulties in patronage. From being the master of the political situation in the 1230's he became, in moments of desperation, the victim of alien favourites in the 1250's and 60's. The real enemies of these alien favourites were, however, not the mass of the English baronage but members of the royal family and others who were anxious to replace them.

# PREFACE

Anyone writing about aliens in thirteenth century England faces problems over the idiosyncracies of mediaeval spelling of names. The English Chancery reached a standard spelling in a surprisingly high proportion of cases, but there still remains room enough for confusion. To assist the reader desiring to refer to the sources cited in the text I have adhered throughout to the Latinized version of French names commonly found in the Chancery rolls. Only in a few cases have I deviated from this principle, where the French spelling of the name would be already very familiar from general History e.g. Lusignan as opposed to 'Lezigniaco' and its variants, Savoy for 'de Sabaudia', Rochechouart for 'Rupecavardi', Joinville for 'Genevill' and so on.

The most pleasant task of a thesis-writer is to thank all those who have stood loyally by him through the tortuous process of its compilation. I should like to thank my supervisor, Miss Barbara Harvey, and my tutor, Dr. John Walsh, for their help and support throughout. Countless family, friends and colleagues in Wales,

Oxford and Sherborne have been my solid foundation and without their forbearance I could never have finished my research. In the last stages I have been blessed with an excellent typist, Mrs. Linda Best. To my parents and sister I owe a debt which I can never repay; if this work has any merit I dedicate it to them with my love and gratitude.

Diolch, Iesu.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

page

ABBREVIATIONS

INTRODUCTION 1

Methodology and evidence (p.5)
The rôle of the aliens in Henry III's policy (p.16)

I THE SAVOYARDS AND HENRY III: 1236-72 28

(a) pattern of settlement (p.33)
(b) Savoyards in the king's service (p.36)
(c) Some other Savoyards not immediately connected with the king's government (p.45)
(d) the organization of the Savoyard community in England (p.46)

II SAVOYARDS AND THE FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL STABILITY AT COURT: 1236-47 53

III THE POITEVINS AND ENGLAND 69

(a) pattern of settlement (p.69)
(b) the Poitevin community - status, function and organization (p.75)
(c) the characters of the king's half-brothers (p.85)

IV FROM STABILITY TO CRISIS: THE LUSIGNANS AND POLITICS AT THE ROYAL COURT: 1247-53 96

(i) court politics 1247-52 (p.97)
(ii) the crisis of 1252 (p.110)

V ALIENS AND ROYAL GOVERNMENT: 1253-57 138

(i) the Poitevins and Gascony: 1253-54 (p.140)
(ii) Poitevins and government after the Gascon campaign 1255-57 (p.153)
(iii) the Savoyards and government: 1253-57 (p.159)

page

VI ALIENS AND HENRY III's PROBLEMS OF PATRONAGE: 1247-65 180

VII COURT POLITICS AND THE EXILING OF THE POITEVINS: 1257-58 247

(i) the king's Council and the Poitevins 1255-57 (p.247)
(ii) court politics and the 'baronial movement' 1257-58 (p.258)
(iii) the aliens and the Provisions of Oxford (p.282)
(iv) the aftermath of the expulsion of the Poitevins (1258-59) (p.296)

VIII COURT POLITICS DURING THE PERIOD OF THE PROVISIONS OF OXFORD: 1258-61 314

(i) the aliens and the re-alignment of factions on the Council 1258-59 (p.317)
(ii) the lord Edward's rebellion 1259-60 (p.336)
(iii) the aftermath of Edward's rebellion: May-Dec.1260 (p.361)

IX ALIENS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROYALIST PARTY: 1261-65 381

Conclusion (p.403)

APPENDIX: LISTS OF THE MAIN ALIEN HOUSEHOLDS IN ENGLAND: 1236-72 409

BIBLIOGRAPHY 447

# List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| Baronial Plan: | R.F. Treharne, The Baronial Plan of Reform 1258-63 (Manchester, 1932) |
| B.I.H.R.: | Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research. |
| Boissonade 1, II: | 'L'Ascension, le déclin ..... les Lusignan, comtes de la Marche ... et leurs rélations avec les Capétiens et les Plantagenets' by P.Boissonade: Bulletin et Mémoires de la Societé Archeologique et Historique de la Charente (2 parts: Angoulême, 1936 & 1948) |
| C.Ch.R.: | Calendar of Charter Rolls (6 vols: London, 1903-27) |
| C.Lib.R.: | Calendar of Liberate Rolls (6 vols: 1226-72: London, 1916-63) |
| C.P.R.: | Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry III (4 vols: London, 1906-13) |
| C.R.: | Calendar of Close Rolls: Henry III (14 vols. + supplement: London, 1902-75) |
| Cal.Docs.Ireland: | Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland (ed. H.S. Sweetman, 2 vols: 1171-1284: London, 1875-7) |
| Cal.Inq.Misc.: | Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous: 1219-1307 (London, 1898) |
| Cal.Inq.P.M.Henry III: | Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Henry III (London, 1904) |
| Cat.Anc.Deeds: | Catalogue of Ancient Deeds (6 vols., London, 1890-1915) |
| D.B.M.: | Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion 1258-67, ed. R.F. Treharne & I.J. Sanders (Oxford, 1973) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Diplomatic Docs.: | Diplomatic Documents 1101-1272 ed. P. Chaplais (London, 1964) |
| D.N.B.: | Dictionary of National Biography |
| E.H.R.: | English Historical Review |
| Excerpt.e.Rot.Fin.: | Excerpta e. Rotulis Finium:1216-72 2 vols. (Rec.Comm., 1835) |
| Foedera, I (i): | Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae ed. T. Rymer, vol.I, part I (Rec.Comm., 1816) |
| G.E.C.: | The Complete Peerage (new edit., ed. V. Gibbs et.al., 13 vols., London, 1910-59) |
| Hen.III + L.Edw.: | F.M. Powicke, King Henry III and the Lord Edward (Oxford, 1947) |
| Layettes: | Layettes du Trésor des Chartes (ed. A. Teulet et.al.: vol. 2-5: Paris, 1886-1902) |
| Marsh, Epistolae: | Adae de Marisco Epistolae: Monumenta Franciscana, vol.I ed. J.S. Brewer (Rolls Ser., 1858) |
| P.R.O.: | Public Record Office |
| Reg. Alexander IV: | Régistres d'Alexandre IV (3 vols: École Francaise d'Athènes et de Rome: Paris 1859-1959) |
| Reg. Innocent IV: | Régistres d'Innocent IV (4 vols: ibid. 1884-1919) |
| R.G.: | Rôles Gascons, ed. C. Bémont (3 vols. + suppl.: Paris, 1885-1906) |
| Richard of Cornwall: | N. Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall (Oxford, 1947) |
| Snellgrove, The Lusignans: | H.S. Snellgrove, The Lusignans in England 1247-58 (Alburquerque, 1950) |
| Thirteenth Century: | F.M. Powicke, The Thirteenth Century (2nd edit., Oxford, 1962) |
| T.R.H.S.: | Transactions of the Royal Historical Society |

V.C.H.: Victoria County History

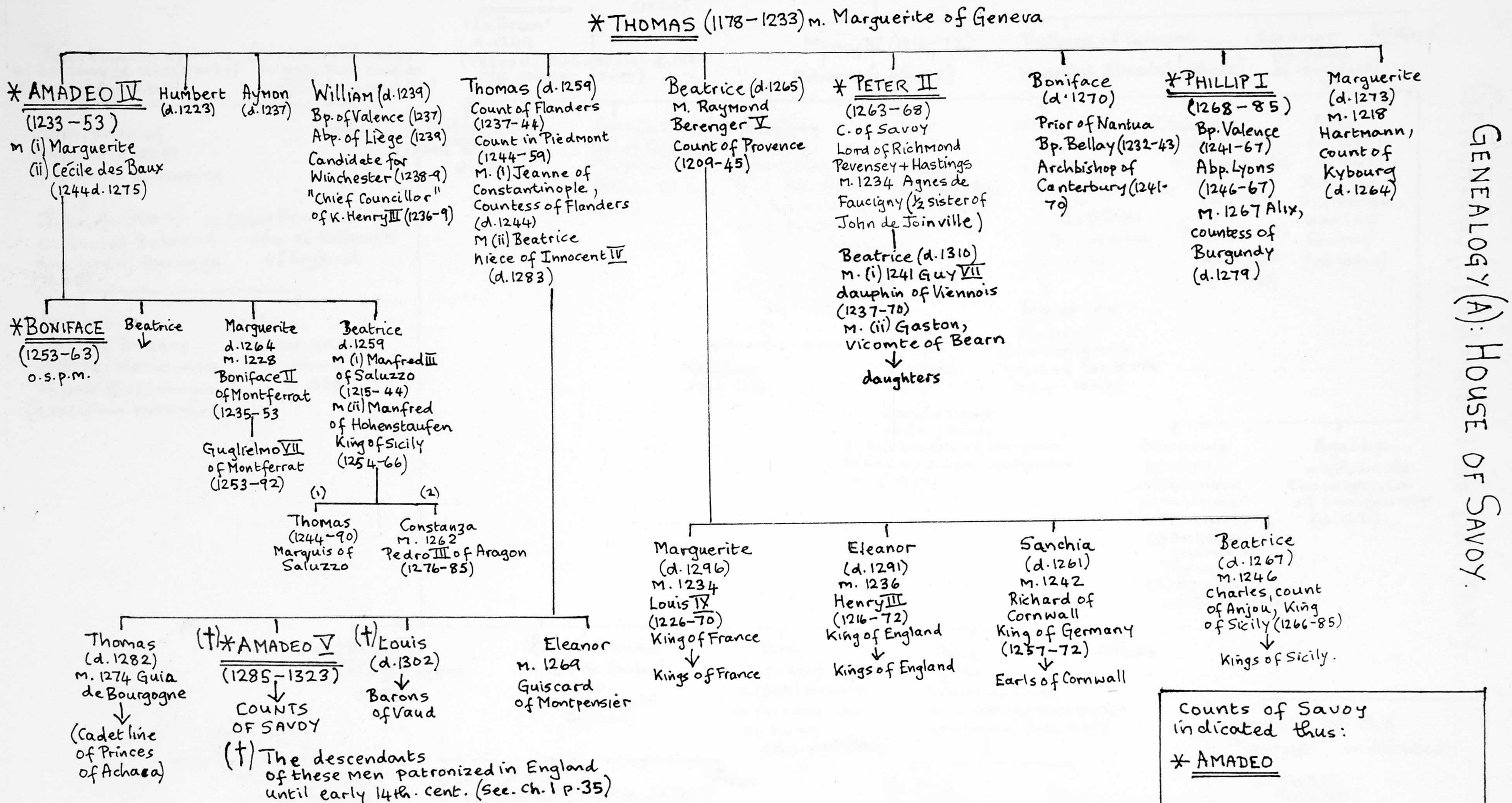
Wurstemberger IV: Peter der Zweite, Graf von Savoyen, vol.4. (ed. J.L. Wurstemberger, Zurich, 1858)

Note: References to Chronicles:-

All chronicles are cited throughout the thesis by a simple title e.g., Tewkesbury Annals; Robert of Gloucester etc. for easy reference to the list of printed narrative sources in the Bibliography (pp.452-4)

Exception: Chron.Maj: Matthew Paris' Chronica Majora (ed. H.R. Luard, Rolls Ser. 1872-83)

# GENEALOGY (A): HOUSE OF SAVOY.



# GENEALOGY (B): LUSIGNAN AND BRITTANY.

*HUGH X = (2) Isabella of Angoulême (1220) = (1) John, King of England (1199–1216)

'Le Brun' d.1249 (Peter of Aubusson: ≤.1230 –75 illegit. son)

Henry III (1216–72) — Edward (+ others)

Richard of Cornwall — Henry of Almain (+ others)

Eleanor (m. Simon de Montfort) (Others)

Peter Mauclerk, duke of Brittany (d.1250), Earl of Richmond (to.1234) = (his sister, Yolande, m. ante.1246 Ralf de Lusignan, count of Eu)

John, duke of Brittany (d.1285) m. Blanche of Navarre

John (b.1238–9) cr. earl of Richmond and lord of Hastings (1268) = (1260) Beatrice, dau. of K. Henry III of England

Arthur, duke of Brittany m (1275) Marie, dau. of Guy VI of Limoges (a Lusignan kinsman)

John (succ. earl of Richmond. d.1334)

Yolande = (1236) *HUGH XI b. ≤.1221 d.1250.

Guy (b.1223) Ld. of Cognac Merpins and Archiac (d.≤.1288)

Geoffrey (b.1224) Ld. of Jarnac Bois-Pourreau St. Hermine etc. (+ in England: Wighton, Laughton Louth etc). d.1275. = (1259–63) Jeanne of Châtellerault

Geoffrey o.s.p.1306

Eustace d.1330 — Jane = count of Eu. (lands of this branch of Lusignan in England finally confiscated in ≤.1337)

Aymer (b.≤.1227) Bp-elect of Winchester (d.1260)

William de Valence (b.≤.1230) Ld. of Pembroke = (1247) Joan de Munchensi. (d.1296) — Aymer de Valence (surviving heir: earl of Pembroke o.s.p.1324)

Isabella (d.1297/1300) = Maurice (IV) de Craon (d.1250) — Maurice (V) de Craon (d.1293)

Alice (d.1256) = (1247) John de Warrenne, earl of Surrey (no issue)

Margaret (d.1283) = (1) Raymond of Toulouse (diss.1245) (2) Amaury, vicomte of Thouars (3) Geoffrey of Chateaubriand

Agatha = William de Chauvigny, Ld. of Chateauroux (d.1271)

*HUGH XII (of age ≤.1257) d.1270

Gui de Marche' Sieur de Couhé d.1309 (Some conn. with England)

Marie (b.≤.1242) = (1249) Robert de Ferrars, earl of Derby (d.s.p.m.1266)

Alice = (1253) Gilbert de Clare succ. earl of Gloucester (Marriage diss.1271)

Others

Counts of La Marche

Marie, m.1288 c. of. Sancerre. Espoused (1279) to John de Vescy

Joan (d.1313) = (2) Peter de Joinville (d.1292) Ld of Ludlow and Enyas

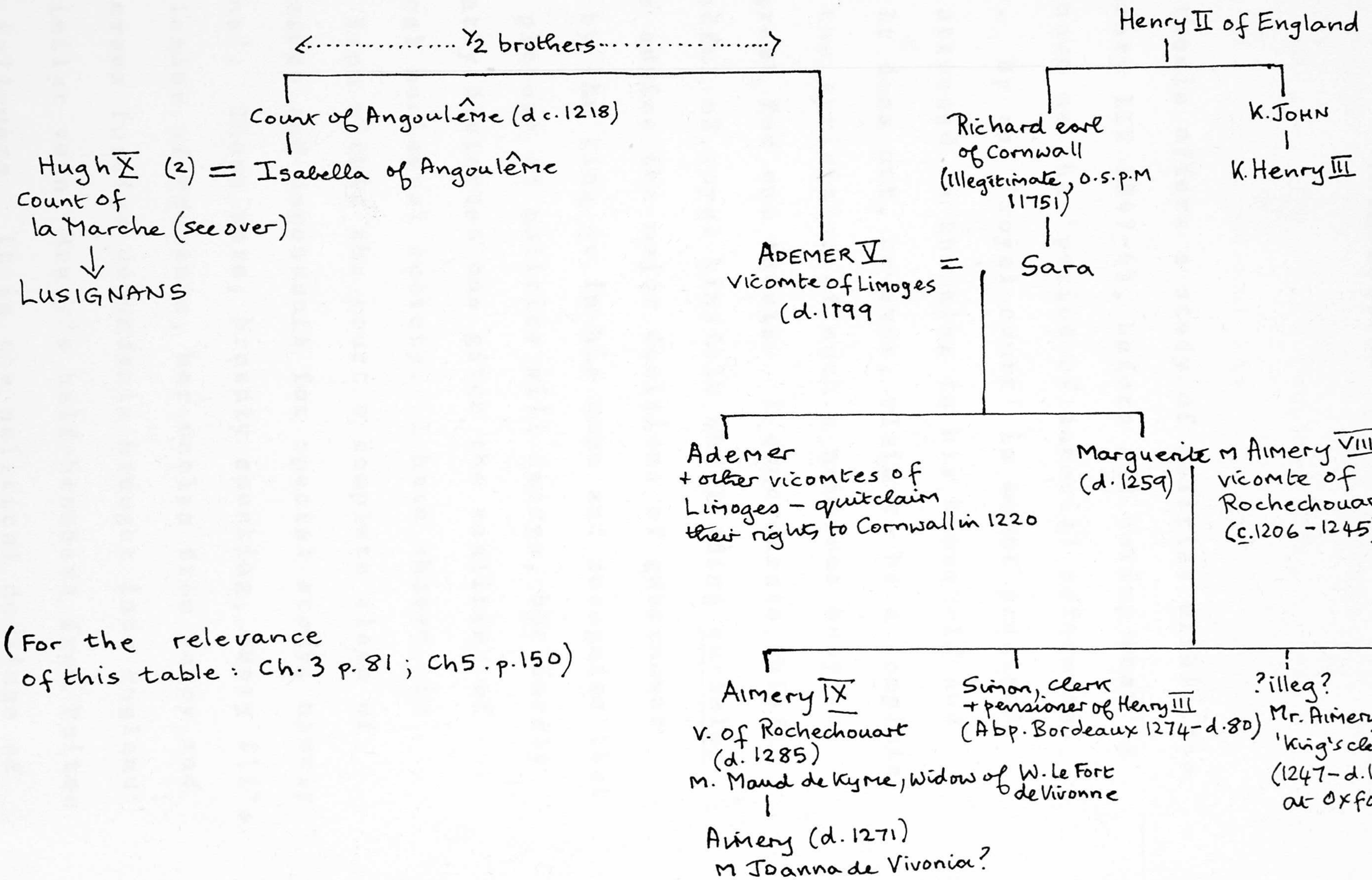
Others.

Isabel (b.1263) m. earl of Warwick

Joan m. earl of Fife

Counts of La Marche indicated: *HUGH

# GENEALOGY (C): ROCHECHOUART (simplified)




(For the relevance of this table: Ch.3 p.81; Ch5.p.150)

# INTRODUCTION

This thesis offers a study of politics within the court of Henry III 1247-65, before and during what is commonly known as the 'period of baronial reform and rebellion'. By the 'royal court' is meant precisely those who attended on the king in his household and Council. It does not, however, claim to be a complete survey of the activities of such a numerous body, a task too great for one thesis. I concentrate chiefly on the handful of royal kinsfolk and leading curiales upon whose advice the major decisions of government were made by the king or in his name and recognise that a partial picture of politics will emerge, but hardly an inherently distorted one given the realities of hierarchical mediaeval society. I have chosen, in addition, from within the court a complete class of royal servants and dependants for special study, namely the 'aliens'. These were, broadly speaking, Henry III's consort Eleanor of Provence, her uncles from Savoy and their numerous foreign dependants brought into England and, in similar vein, Henry's half-brothers from Poitou and their followers. It is the political dealings of these aliens with the king, his court, the English baronage and, not least, with each other which will be a major theme of this work.

The reign of Henry III has long been a popular period in mediaeval English political History, but the politics of the royal court during the crisis years of the 1250's and 60's have not been the object of much serious study. Apart from the work of Sir Maurice Powicke and a handful of administrative historians descended from T.F. Tout, interest seems to have been focussed almost exclusively on the stages in the growth of the constitutionalist baronial opposition to the king and the interpretation of a handful of political crises and their relevant documentation, most especially the Provisions of Oxford, the years following 1258-61 and the period of Simon de Montfort's rule 1264-5. This has resulted in too much emphasis being placed on the 'baronial' or 'magnate' nature of politics during the reign to the neglect of the equally important activities of royal councillors - members of the royal family and others. It is often forgotten that the main leadership of the forces of opposition to King Henry, or at least the focus for such opposition, was derived, in typical mediaeval fashion, from first his brother, Richard of Cornwall, then his heir, the lord Edward, and, finally, his brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort. All these men thought and acted not simply as ordinary members of the baronage but as those for whom the politics of the royal court were second nature, indeed, vital for their very

positions. However many grievances and figures from outside the court were undeniably to emerge onto the political stage during the 1250's and 60's it was still the king's family - and other curiales like them - and their struggles for power and office which dominated the course of national politics during this period.

It is for these reasons that I aim to give an account of the aliens in court politics. Hitherto the aliens have been seen, almost without exception, as a subject more worthy of study by someone desiring to discover the origins of 'baronial' discontent with the rule of Henry III rather than by someone probing into the complex inner world of pressures and struggles in the king's court. Few historians have commented on the divergent political fate of the Poitevins and Savoyards 1258-66, or still less in the decade before this, and none has traced or explained adequately how this arose or what significance it had. In 1258 the royal court flew apart. Poitevins were exiled from the realm and Savoyards and other curiales joined what appeared to be a radical baronial régime designed to curb the king's power. For the next seven years of political turmoil there were continual shifts of loyalty within the court - even within the royal family itself - and repeated accusations and attacks against aliens, but never against

Savoyards and Poitevins together before 1264. Indeed they had always made different political associations and enjoyed differing degrees of royal favour and influence and mirrored throughout the 1250's and 60's sharp divisions within what the constitutionalist historians would like to see as a unified royal policy, even a unified royalist 'party'. Nothing of the kind, in fact, existed before the Autumn of 1263 at the very earliest. It is well-known events such as the attacks on certain Savoyards by a rebellion led by young courtiers in the middle of 1263 or the repeated statements of chroniclers concerning the misuse of their political influence by the king's half-brothers in 1258 followed in 1263 by exactly the same kind of accusation against the queen which have prompted this study of the aliens. These attacks can be shown to have come not from outside, but from inside the world of men dependant, like the aliens themselves, on the king for patronage and office. They reveal that during the 1250's and 60's Henry III's court underwent strain and change and that the aliens played a large part in this process. They underline the point that the political tasks of a mediaeval king encompassed not simply the leadership of his baronage but the direction of his own family and servants.

## (ii) Methodology and Evidence

The following chapters present a political narrative in part based on a new interpretation of some incidents and material which is already well-known. The close relationship between events at court and what could loosely be termed the 'general political history' of Henry III's reign makes such a conservative approach, albeit full of pitfalls for the terms of reference of a thesis, quite unavoidable.

However, it must be said from the outset that, apart from some sources used here for the first time, the traditional material of the printed calendars of Chancery Rolls and the Rolls Series Chroniclers contain enough virgin soil for the researcher except for the period 1258-63 when he has, to a startling degree, been pre-empted by the detailed work of Treharne. No other adequate narrative of the reign exists, of course, from the 1220's onwards and, however narrow his period, no student of the reign can avoid having to accomplish for himself in places even elementary tasks such as establishing the basic framework of events. Nor can he, it might be added, use with an easy conscience even his basic materials of the printed calendars and chronicles in the light of what is now known about the shortcomings

of Victorian editors. Even the Provisions of Oxford and the other great texts of the baronial movement still await a reliable edition based on the consultation of all the variant manuscript readings. It would be presumptuous, and indeed, a task beyond one thesis, to claim that there has been an attempt to remedy here more than some of these deficiencies, except where necessary, but there can be few periods of mediaeval history where so much that is fundamental still needs to be completed before the finer work of interpretation can begin.

The assumptions made by a historian about the nature of politics inevitably colour his choice of sources. In the mediaeval period the answer to the age-old question of whether politics are a matter of ambitions, personalities or issues is impossible to resolve. It is easier to destroy interpretations than to construct them; the most one can try is a new approach. The technique offered here is to concentrate on the aspects of patronage and faction in order to see whether a connexion between the men involved in politics provides new insights into the great events themselves. This has already been used to some effect in the interpretation of the reign of Henry I, the opposition to King John, politics in the reign of Edward II and, most recently, in describing politics at the close

of Henry III's minority.(1)

The method of establishing connexions is complex. Apart from obvious ties of kinship or direct references to the service or grant given by one individual to another careful observation of patterns of association - such as the names of men referred to repeatedly as tournamenting or travelling together-may be the sole clue which prompts further investigation which might, or might not, yield fruit. The great networks of Savoyards and Poitevins have, therefore, proved of great value as, with the guidance of Mugnier and others, it is possible to construct lists of them and their followers largely by searching out further references to foreign names which usually provide, as a matter of course, corroborative evidence for an identification. References to attorneys and testamentary executors are also sound material. More contentious, however, is the value of the witness-lists of charters and other acta. I have made wide use of the royal charter roll witnesses to establish the membership of the king's entourage at any

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1. R.W. Southern 'The place of Henry I in English History', Proceedings of the British Academy XLVii (1962) p.127-70; J.C. Holt, The Northerners (Oxford, 1961); J.R.S. Phillips, Aymer de Valence (Oxford, 1972); D.A. Carpenter, 'The fall of Hubert de Burgh', Journal of British Studies: 19 (1980) p.1-17.

given moment - a crucial factor in court politics - out of the belief that some sense can be made, using other sources, of the changing pattern of witnesses. Some of its fruits can be seen, for example, in the re-interpretation offered of October-December 1260. I have relied, similarly, on the corpus of Edward's surviving charters to illustrate the composition of his entourage and, having identified every witness, am satisfied that changes in the lists illustrate political change. Seigneurial charters are, however, in a different category. Not many aliens left charters in sufficient number to assist confident analysis. Peter of Savoy's charters, for example, were mostly attested by English _curiales_ as suited a partial absentee with a predominantly alien _familia_ whereas William de Valence's, while nearly always attested by one or more of his _familia_, often reflected local magnates or parties interested in the transaction being recorded. The contrasting political behaviour of these magnates before 1258, of course, may well be reflected in this. In the search for connexions and charters I have cast my net as widely as possible among printed and indexed collections and chronicles as, I trust, will be seen from the text and bibliography. I have concentrated, apart from the aliens, in studying the adherents of their main English associates, for example, the lord Edward and John de Warenne, earl of

Surrey. As much as was possible was done, too, to search out connexions between other English curiales, bringing some interesting material to light but, without a doubt, providing only a foretaste of what is to come when men such as John Mansel have been properly researched. Throughout this thesis reliance has had to be placed on the existing standard biographies of Simon de Montfort and Richard of Cornwall but it must be said that they are not very helpful guides to the clients and associates of these magnates either at court or in the provinces.

Manuscripts have, therefore, been used to supplement rather than to replace printed and indexed sources. I have preferred, in general, to explore complete classes of the Public Record Office rather than to experiment more widely. The Memoranda rolls (mainly the king's Remembrancer) are more than a straightforward series of financial records; they are, indeed, closest to the Chancery rolls for the diversity of their content, particularly in their enrolled copies of private charters and royal writs otherwise lost; they record oaths, memoranda of important judicial decisions and declarations of the king's policy which make then essential tools of the political historian and I have benefitted from them greatly throughout. The classes of Ancient Correspondence,

Ancient Petitions, Chancery and Exchequer Miscellanea and the Gascon rolls have yielded a variety of illuminating political material and connexions too. So has the fortunate survival of the various queen's jewel rolls for much of the 1250's and 60's. Without them little or no test could be made of the political activities attributed to Eleanor of Provence by the chroniclers, but we have now, at least, some guide to the queen's household and patronage. The itinerary and something of the correspondence of the queen during the politically sensitive months of 1252-3 can be reconstructed from the equally fortuitous survival of other household accounts on which periodic summaries entered by the keeper of the queen's Wardrobe on the Pipe Roll were based. A valuable collection of the acta of Edward now exists, but to derive full use of it still requires a return in places to the original manuscripts. As for other important manuscripts used, I freely admit to have discovered them by a series of happy accidents rather than by design. An example of this is an enquiry about the political loyalties of Edward in 1261 which led me to Durham and to a variant text, hitherto unpublished and unused, of the king's grievances against his councillors drawn up c. March 1261 containing some useful new material on general and court politics 1260-1.(1)

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1. Durham, Dean & Ch.Mun.Locellus I.62.
See below p. 358, 368-9, 382-3

Every Historian must feel there are themes and sources relevant to his work which he has not explored as thoroughly as he would have liked. I have collected as much material as possible without a thorough investigation of provincial archives. There is probably more at the appropriate repositories in Hereford and Winchester about the local administration of the respective alien bishops, but the likelihood is that it will be of local rather than general significance. Other aliens held land in a wide variety of counties and little more than stray references concerning them can be expected. I have consulted catalogues and other material drawing on continental archives in order to determine whether, for instance, there exists in France anything as valuable as the de Montfort Clairembault MS. for the Lusignans, but without success so far. As for the Savoyards, the material collected by Mugnier, Wurstemberger and Chapuisat from English and continental sources gives little sign that there will be more than a few stray documents on the continent.

I am conscious, therefore, that in the concentration on the politics of the court many other aspects of the aliens in England under Henry III have not been given detailed enough treatment. I have studied two to three hundred Savoyards and Poitevins but only a fraction of

them is discussed at any length in the following text. Space prevents the compilation of a full list illustrating their location, wealth and activities, if such a list claiming full accuracy were possible granted the uneven nature of the evidence. I have, instead, confined myself to general introductions to the two alien 'communities' or 'connexions' together with an appendix illustrating the main alien households and their composition. Much individual biographical information, including the location of lands held by aliens in England has had to be relegated to general observations supported by footnotes which the reader can pursue for himself. For the leading aliens I have only attempted the briefest character sketches where other readily available material is lacking or seems misleading. Indeed, the more one learns about the aliens the more one appreciates their diversity and the meaninglessness of most generalizations that can be made about them other than when they acted in concert in politics. With some notable exceptions, their activities were not remarkably different from others of similar rank, whether at court or in the provinces.

That the chroniclers have almost nothing to say about individual aliens other than a handful of persons of political importance is in itself quite revealing. It follows that Historians have become, correctly, more

sceptical about 'anti-alien' movements of the thirteenth century.(1) Most seem to have been the result of inflammatory propaganda or other operations directed from the centre against specific political rivals who conveniently could be branded as 'aliens'. This was almost certainly true of the 'anti-foreign' movement led by 'William Wither' in 1231-2 and sponsored by Hubert de Burgh or the various propaganda campaigns directed against the aliens 1258-64.(2) I make no attempt to reach a new definition of what the word 'alien'(alienigena) conjured up in the mind of the mid-thirteenth century. It suffices to observe that it must have been a very ambiguous epithet. When in August 1252 the men of Havering petitioned the king not to be judged by foreigners in the investigation of feudal dues alienated from the manor since 1199 they can hardly have meant foreigners literally (since Henry III had no alien judges) but men from another locality.(3) Similarly, Simon de Montfort's own alien origins were, as it is well known, little obstacle to him

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1. e.g. T.H. Lloyd Alien merchants in England in the High Middle Ages (Brighton, 1982) p.3-4.

2. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.77-9; H. MacKenzie, 'Anti-foreign movements in England in 1231-2' in C.H. Taylor (ed.) Haskins Anniversary Essays (Boston, 1929) p.183-203. 'William Wither' later had a position in Henry III's court (Richard of Cornwall p.42,115.)

3. C.P.R.1247-58 p.105.

in politics before the de Clare propaganda of 1264.(1)

Finally, I have been unrepentantly cautious in my treatment of the aliens and the law. While the querelae cases heard before the Justiciar 1258-9 have been re-read, I have not made extensive use of judicial records. Litigation by magnates was by the mid-thirteenth century hardly unusual and it is only in a few cases, which normally would come to light elsewhere in chronicles or on the Chancery rolls anyway, that disputes involving even alien kinsmen of the king took on political significance as I hope to show. It has, however, been disappointing to have to gloss over interesting questions such as the extensive liberties enjoyed by Peter of Savoy on his estates or the elaborate series of charters he extracted from Henry III from the 1240's onward to grant him free disposal of his estates in default of male heirs.(2) The status of aliens before

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1. Tewkesbury Annals p.179-80.

2. Liberties: C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.394; C.P.R.1247-58 p.161,543; C.R.1251-53 p.283; 1254-56 p.253; Cal.Inq.Misc. 1219-1307 No.131. Free disposal of estates: C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.251,292; 1257-1300 p.41; Foedera 1(i) p.417; P.R.O. C.47/9/1 dorse; C.P.R.1232-47 p.390; 1247-58 p.220,337. cf. Wurstemberger IV Nos.407,657,749,751.

English law is largely beyond the scope of this thesis, too, and only passing reflections about it appear in the text. It has recently been suggested that the law of aliens merchant and denizenship was still unformulated in the mid-thirteenth century.(1) All one can say here is that most of Henry III's alien courtiers given lands in England took pains to recruit Englishmen for the management of their estates and legal and financial interests, with the curious exception of that most law-conscious alien, Peter of Savoy, with his alien Stewards of Richmond.(2) Some aliens high in royal favour enjoyed certain legal immunities, but, for the most part, landed aliens readily participated in English law using English lawyers.

Discussion of other sources and problems, mainly propaganda and the statements of chroniclers, occurs at appropriate points in the text.(3)

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1. T.H. Lloyd op.cit. p.13-14.
2. Appendix, esp. table 9 p. 419.
3. I have followed the guidance given to the chronicles of the reign of Henry III in A. Gransden, Historical Writing in England c.550-c.1307 (London, 1974).

## (iii) The role of aliens in Henry III's policy

To assist the reader the briefest summary is offered here of the main spheres of alien activity in England.

1) <u>English government: general</u>. Few aliens were members of the king's Council apart from, predictably, royal kinsmen. Aliens on the Council tended to specialize after the mid-1240's in matters of diplomacy and war, ignoring (in general) detailed financial and judicial work. Aliens attended Parliaments but rarely are noticed as taking an active part in them. Otherwise, no alien held chancery, judicial or financial office (outside the Wardrobe) or major office in the administration of the royal forests, manors or the jewry. Only a handful of aliens held royal castles at various intervals (which casts an interesting light on the well-known statements of 'baronial' reformers in 1258) and only one alien (a Poitevin) held a shrievalty between 1241-58 and one (a Savoyard) 1261-65. Most aliens belonged to the king's household and the lesser households of the queen and Edward. Here their rôle was mainly domestic (as stewards, chamberlains, valets etc.) or as diplomats or members of the household military forces. It appears, therefore, that the scope of the aliens

in government has been somewhat exaggerated in the past.(1)

2) Provincial administration: Wales, Gascony & Ireland.

Although numbers should not be exaggerated, aliens have always been recognised as important agents of the king here.(2) They were undoubtedly given lands by Henry III, or intermarried with local families in Ireland and the Welsh March, in order deliberately to bring these regions under somewhat closer ties with the king. One Savoyard, for example, became deputy Justiciar of Ireland under Henry III. William de Valence, too, was to be a more loyal power on the vital Western flank of the South Wales March than had been his predecessors, the rebellious sons of William the Marshal. Both Poitevins and Savoyards were extremely important in the defence and administration of Gascony and their rôle is discussed fully in Chapter 4.

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1. That is, apart from the wise (but, unfortunately, unsupported) comments of Sir Maurice Powicke: Hen.III + L.Edw. p.296-7. B. Wilkinson, Studies in the Constitutional History of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Manchester, 1937) p.146, in contrast, undervalues the aliens in the Council.

2. Inter alia, T.F. Tout, 'Wales and the March during the Barons' wars' Collected Papers vol.II (Manchester, 1934) p.48ff. G.W. Watson 'The families of Lacy, Geneva, Joinville and la Marche', The Genealogist new ser.:21 (1904) shows how (p.8-13) aliens monopolized the marriages of two Welsh-Irish heiresses, Maud de Lacy and Christiana de Marisco to obtain control of castles, some of which even ultimately fell into the hands of the Crown.

3) Diplomacy and Mercenaries. King Henry III made free use throughout his reign of the wide connexions on the continent of both the houses of Savoy and Lusignan in the recruitment of mercenaries to fight in Wales, Scotland and South-Western France.(1) From the 1240's the Savoyards brought strengthened links with Flanders and a new link with Burgundy opened. Poitevins were the king's natural military allies in the continental campaigns of 1242-3 and 1253-4 . The diplomatic use made by Henry III of these aliens in furthering his continental schemes is a major theme throughout this thesis.

4) Aliens and the Church. No attempt has been made to approach this subject with any thoroughness since the complex relationship between the Church and Henry III is in need of special re-assessment. However, recent work on two of Henry's three alien episcopal appointments, Boniface of Savoy and Peter de Aigueblanche, has modified the crude picture painted by the chroniclers, such as Matthew Paris, that these were simply royal agents for the suppression of ecclesiastical liberty.(2)

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1. e.g. R.F. Walker 'Anglo-Welsh Wars 1216-67' (Univ. Oxford D.Phil. Thesis, 1954) p.89; Thirteenth Century p.545n. For just one Burgundian mercenary family, the Salines: C.P.R.1247-58 p.231; C.R.1259-61 p.487; C.Lib.R.1240-45 p.316; 1245-51 p.8; 1251-60 p.214.

2. D.T. Williams 'Aspects of the career of Boniface of Savoy 1241-70' (Univ.Wales Ph.D. Thesis, Aberystwyth, 1970); W.N. Yates 'Bishop Peter de Aquablanca (1240-68) a Reconsideration', Journal of Ecclesiastical History 22: (1971) p.303-317.

5) Aliens and the English baronage. Henry III's practice of marrying some of his alien kinsfolk and their dependants within the ranks of the English earls and the wealthier curiales is well-known. Its motivation was to bring these families into closer union with the king, to mutual advantage, but also to prevent the build-up of feudal power through uncontrolled marriage, as, for example, had happened in the case of the Marshals during Henry's minority. While these marriages were conducted under some royal pressure(1) they met with a mixed reception: some earls, such as Richard de Clare and John de Warrenne, were won over by their marriages and others, such as Gilbert de Clare or Robert Ferrars, were possibly goaded into rebellion. The grievances voiced by some during 1258-65, however, did not put an end to this practice and it was continued by Edward I.(2) It is very likely that it went hand-in-hand with a policy of stricter control

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1. e.g. Tewkesbury Annals p.151 (Richard de Clare's heir to the king's Poitevin niece in 1253); C.P.R.1247-58 p. 237(William de Vescy's heir to a Savoyard: 1253).

2. D.B.M. p.81 c.6; Watson, op.cit. p.80; G.E.C. IV p.201-2; V p.707. Some enforced marriages were happy ones, however. Agnes de Vesci is said to have died of grief on hearing of her husband's imprisonment in 1265, despite the fact that he was a Montfortian (G.E.C. XII pt.ii p.279)

For Edward I: K.B. McFarlane 'Had Edward I a "policy" towards the earls?' History: 50 (1935) p.145-59.

over wardships to ensure that the heirs to earldoms, for instance, were educated with the royal children at Windsor. This, again, probably assisted in an early rapport between Edward I and the earls far greater than had been possible for his father.(1)

Apart from the Welsh March and Ireland, however, there is no evidence - with the exception of the Poitevins in Dorset - of a deliberate concentration of alien landholding or castle-control in England to act as a counterbalance to the baronage. Nor were the aliens numerous (or united) enough to lend credence to the chroniclers' fears that they constituted a collective threat to the English social and political order.

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1. cf. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.702-3.

TABLE NO. 1.

Savoyards and Castles in England (1236-72).

(a) Royal castles in Savoyard custody:-

Dover, Canterbury, Rochester

1241-2: Peter of Savoy (C.P.R.1232-47 p.265,266,276)

1265-67: Matthew Bezill (Dover only)
(C.P.R.1258-66 p.512,578;
1266-72 p.171.)

Hadleigh co. Essex

ante 1244-1246: Imbert Pugeys (C.P.R.1232-47 p.477;
C.R. 1242-47 p.227 )

c. 1250-1255: Stephen de Salines (C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.323)

1255-58 : Eubule of Geneva (C.P.R.1247-58 p.454, 638.)

Oxford

1253-56: Imbert Pugeys (ibid. p.195,475)

1258-59: (as executor of John fitz Bernard) C.P.R.1258-66 p.60

Hereford

1262-63: Bishop of Hereford (ibid. p.242)

Tower of London

1256-57: Aymo Thurumberd (C.P.R.1247-58 p.499)

1257-58: Imbert Pugeys (ibid. p.538,638.)

TABLE NO.1. (Continued)

(b) Castles in Savoyard custody in the name of the lord Edward:-

Tickhill, co.Yorks, & Hastings, co.Sussex (Honour of Eu)

1244-47: Bernard of Savoy (C.P.R.1232-47 p.422; C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.422.)

1247-49: Peter of Geneva (P.R.O. List of Foreign Accounts (Lists & Indexes vol.XI: London, 1900)p.203)

1249-54: Peter of Savoy (C.P.R.1247-58 p.52,272)

Montgomery

1254-c.57: Imbert de Montferrand (C.R.1253-54 p.63; 1256-59 p.147.)

(c) Dower castles of Queen Eleanor:-

(N.B: non-Savoyards marked (*))

Gloucester

1251-63: Matthew Bezill (C.P.R.1247-58 p.89; Flores Historiarum II p.480)

1269-c.73:Peter de Chauvent (C.Lib.R.1267-72 No.591)

(1277, in office : Imbert de Montferrand (d.1280) (C.Moor, Knights of Edward I, III p.180-1)

Ludgershall & Marlborough, co.Wilts. (not under alien control)

* 1235-54: Robert de Muscegros (C.P.R.1232-47 p.120)

* 1254-55: Henry de la Mare (C.P.R.1247-58 p.371)

* 1255 (June-d.July): Hugh Gorget (ibid. p.413)

* 1255-61: Stephen Fromund (ibid. p.418)

* 1261-c.64: Robert Walerand(sic.) (C.P.R.1258-66 p.144)

(* 1263 July-Sept: Roger de Clifford, rebel, through his retainer, William de Berkeley)(C.Lib.R. 1260-7 p.242; C.P.R.1266-72 p.298)

TABLE NO.1. (Continued)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| * | 1263 (Oct-Dec) | Roger de Clifford (as Royalist) | C.R.1261-64 p.325 |
| * | 1264-65: | Henry Sturmy (Royalist?) followed by Robert de Insula (Montfortian) | C.P.R.1258-66 p.350. |
| * | 1265-66: | Roger de Clifford | (ibid. p.662) |

Windsor

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| * | 1234-41 : | Engelard de Cigoné | (C.P.R.1232-47 p.50) |
| | 1241-c.47: | Bernard of Savoy | (ibid. p.268) |
| | 1248-d.49: | Peter of Geneva | (C.P.R.1247-58 p.14,32) |
| * | 1249-c.52: | Peter's widow, Maud de Lacy | (ibid. p.52) |
| | c.1252-55: | Aymo Thurumberd (sic.) | (ibid.p.538; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.210) |
| | c.1255-57: | Geoffrey de Joinville | (E.159/29 m.8.) |
| | 1257-63: | Aymo Thurumberd | (C.P.R.1247-58 p.538) |
| * | 1263(Aug.): | Giles de Argentine (Rebel) | (C.P.R.1258-66 p.273) |
| * | 1263-64: | Drogo de Barentino (Royalist) | (ibid. p.300) |
| | 1266-d.68: | Eubule de Montibus | (ibid.p.543) |
| * | 1268-(d.): | Hugh de Dyve | (C.P.R.1266-72 p.215) |
| | (1281, in office, | Imbert de Montreal | (Moor, op.cit.III p.197) |

(d) Private castles under Savoyard control by hereditary or life-tenure:-

Hastings co.Sussex

1262-d.68: Peter of Savoy (quit-claimed by the lord Edward in a land-exchange, 1262)

Pevensey co.Sussex

1246-d.68: Peter of Savoy

TABLE NO.1. (Continued)

Richmond co.Yorks.

1238-d.39: William of Savoy

1241-d.68: Peter of Savoy

(together with smaller castles of the Honour e.g. Bowes, co. Yorks.)

Ludlow

1260-83: Geoffrey de Joinville (G.E.C. V p.630)
(then quit-claimed to his son)

Trim (Ireland)

1254-d.1314: Geoffrey de Joinville (ibid. p.629)

Lydbury North &
Bishop's Castle co. Hereford

1240-d.68: Bishop of Hereford

(e) Private castles under temporary Savoyard control (e.g., wardship)

Alnwick
(ex-Vesci)

1254-62: Peter of Savoy (C.P.R.1247-58 p.364)

Lewes & Reigate
(ex-Warenne)

1241-52: Peter of Savoy (C.P.R.1232-47 p.259)

(Bernard of Savoy:
deputy keeper 1241-46: (ibid. p.252)

TABLE NO. 1. (Continued)

Striguil
(ex-Clare)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1262-?63: | Geoffrey de Joinville | (C.P.R.1266-72 p.726) |

Tutbury
(ex-Ferrars)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1257-60: | Peter of Savoy & Queen Eleanor | (C.P.R.1247-58 p.554 Dunstable Annals p.203) |

# TABLE NO. 2.

## Poitevins and castles in England (1247-72)

(a) Royal castles in Poitevin custody:-

### Colchester

1256-58: Guy de Rochford
appointed "for life". (See below, p. 255 : Ch. 7)
(C.P.R. 1247-58 p.482
C.R. 1256-59 p.254)

### Corfe

1251-58: Elias de Rabayn (C.P.R. 1247-58 p.113, 638)
(Re-appointed in, or around, 1271: in
office 1272 (C.P.R. 1266-72 p.646)

### Devizes

1271-72: Elias de Rabayn (ibid., excerpt.e.rot.fin.
ii. p.551)

### Northampton

1254-? : Guy de Rochford (C.P.R. 1247-58 p.301)
(Replaced immediately?)

### Porchester

1252-55: William de Chabanais (C.R. 1251-53 p.155;
C.P.R. 1247-58 p.416)

### Sherborne (Dorset)

1251-55: Elias de Rabayn (ibid. p.113, 429)
(Again in office by 1282: (C. Moor, Knights
of Edward I, IV p.108)

(b) Castle in Poitevin custody in the name of the lord Edward:-

### Montgomery

1251-54: Guy de Rochford (C.P.R. 1247-58 p.98, 272)

(c) Private castles under Poitevin control by hereditary or life-tenure:-

### Pembroke

1247-d.96: William de Valence

TABLE NO. 2. (Continued)

Goodrich

1247-d.96: William de Valence

Hertford (Royal Castle in life tenure - see p.198)

1247-d.96: William de Valence

Farnham & Wolvesey

1251-58: Bishop-elect of Winchester.

Portland

1257-58: Bishop-elect of Winchester
bought from priory of St. Swithun's, Winchester.
(C.Ch.R. 1257-1300 p.9; C.P.R. 1247-58 p.607, 640.)

Enniscorthy (Ireland)

1253-d.1258: Maurice de Rochford.
(P. Hore, Ferns & Enniscorthy p.348)

(d) Private castles under temporary Poitevin control (e.g. lease or wardship):-

Tickhill

?1257-58: Bishop-elect of Winchester
leased from the lord Edward ?1257
(C.P.R. 1247-58 p.644)

Warkworth

1249-68: William de Valence
FitzJohn wardship (M.H. Dodds, History of Northumberland X p.66-68)

# CHAPTER 1

## The Savoyards and Henry III 1236-72

When Henry III married Eleanor of Provence in January 1236 he commenced a link with Eleanor's kinsmen of the House of Savoy which lasted for nearly thirty years. Within months of the king's marriage the queen's uncle, William of Savoy, bishop-elect of Valence, who had accompanied Eleanor to England had become, according to some chroniclers, the king's leading councillor and his influence lasted for over two years until his early death in 1239. The number of other Savoyards in England, however, did not become significant until after his death when his place was taken in the king's affections, from the Christmas of 1240 when he first visited the realm, by his brother Peter of Savoy. After this point the number of Savoyards enjoying positions in the court and elsewhere in the realm grew steadily until by the mid-1250's they had become the largest alien community in England.

Savoyards began to flock to the English court because they quickly saw in Henry III a generous patron. Since the early 1230's when Henry began to exercise a

greater personal rôle in politics on his emergence from the prolonged period of his minority under the tutelage of Hubert de Burgh he busied himself as a young prince in creating a court designed to establish his reputation among European princes and to restore the prestige of the king in England after the disasters of John's reign and the years of minority. Aliens quickly became an essential part of this project. They brought a cosmopolitan spirit into the royal entourage in keeping with the king's artistic interests; moreover, they brought with them new ideas and talents in war, diplomacy, law, the arts and other spheres which were to make Henry III's court one of the most glittering intellectual centres of the West. Already young, ambitious men of the reputation of the knight Simon de Montfort, second son of the hero of the Albigensian crusade, or the lawyer Peter de Vinea had been glad enough to enter his service or receive his pensions.(1)

Savoyards formed an intelligent and resourceful addition to the royal establishment. By the middle of the thirteenth century they enjoyed, for example, an international reputation as diplomats. Despite the other uses to be made by the king of his Savoyard dependants it is well to stress from the outset that Henry III's alliance

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1. Thirteenth Century, Ch.II p.38-79; C. Bémont, Simon de Montfort (Oxford, 1930) Ch.I-III; D.A. Carpenter 'The Fall of Hubert de Burgh' Journal of British Studies esp. 14ff.

with the Houses of Savoy and Provence was primarily for the purposes of warlike diplomacy. Henry III was a ruler bent, until the 1250's at least, on restoring the continental influence of the kings of England. A marriage alliance with Provence was useful to help counter-balance the growing influence of the French crown in the midi and relieve the pressure on the diminishing possessions of the English crown in the South-West. Furthermore, from the 1230's King Henry III had grand schemes of isolating the French crown diplomatically with a view to recovering the lost Angevin empire in Normandy. To this end he had, after the failure of his 1230 Breton expedition, made a series of alliances, such as the union of his sister Isabella, with the Emperor Frederick II in 1235. Friendship with the House of Savoy made a useful addition to these schemes, since Savoy itself was strategically so situated governing the approaches to Italy that its exceptionally able rulers were in an ideal position to exploit the conflicts between the Hohenstaufen and the Papacy in order to build up influence in both camps. By the 1230's Savoyard princes had come to dominate much of the international diplomacy of the continent; they had negotiated a marriage alliance between Provence and the king of France at the same time as one had been made with England and their importance was enhanced by the promotion of Thomas of Savoy by marriage to the Countess of Flanders (1237-44) and his brothers: Phillip to the

archbishopric of Lyons (1239) and, in the same year, William of Savoy himself to the archbishopric-principality of Liège.(1)

From the start Savoyards began to play a role in Henry III's continental ambitions. From 1237 Thomas of Savoy was a vital factor in restoring the essential links - trading and military - between England and Flanders and he began to visit Henry III's court and to receive gifts in 1239. William of Savoy's fantastic scheme of recruiting a force of 100 knights from English Gascony to support the Imperial campaigns in the conquest of Lombardy was part of an even more fantastic hope that the Emperor might be coaxed into supporting Henry III's projected military coalition against the Capetians in the midi. In 1242-3 Thomas of Savoy added his military support to Henry's expedition to Poitou and Peter of Savoy assisted in the construction of diplomatic alliances. Closer links with the county of Provence were forged by the visit to England of Beatrice of Provence in 1243 and by the king's favours lavished on her.(2) The rest of Savoyard contribution to Henry III's foreign policy will be described below.(3) It was in many ways the life-line supporting their position in the English court.

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1. Thirteenth Century ibid., C.W. Previté-Orton, The Early History of the House of Savoy (Cambridge, 1912); E.L. Cox, The Eagles of Savoy (Princeton, 1974) p.46-80.
2. Cox, op.cit. p.62-8,107-120; Thirteenth Century, p.98-106.
3. esp. Ch.5 p.159f.

The Savoyards quickly became useful to Henry III in other ways. Henry put lands and castles under the control of Peter of Savoy and a handful of Savoyard knights from the 1240's thereby strengthening,to a certain degree,the direct influence of the king in English society. Savoyards were married into English baronial society from the mid-1240's and the king advanced Savoyard kinsmen and their followers into the church, obtaining the bishopric of Hereford for Peter of Aigueblanche in 1240 and the archbishopric of Canterbury for Boniface of Savoy in 1241. Boniface of Savoy did not arrive in England until 1244 but there is a view that the king hoped that his uncle would work for a closer co-operation between the English church and the crown. His subsequent career was to show him to have been, in many ways, ill-chosen for such a position but this could not have been foreseen in the first flush of King Henry's enthusiasm for his family in the 1240's. Thus, the Savoyards acquired the wealth and positions to make them an important factor in English politics.

Since the publication in 1890 of F. Mugnier's work 'Les Savoyards en Angleterre au XIIIe siècle et Pierre d'Aigueblanche évêque de Hereford'(1) no comprehensive work has appeared on the Savoyards in England during the reign of Henry III. Biographies such as those by C.L.

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1. F. Mugnier: 'Les Savoyards en Angleterre au XIIIe siècle et Pierre d'Aigueblanche évêque de Hereford': Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société Savoisienne vo.29. (Chambéry 1890).

Kingsford (1909) and E.R. Clifford (1961) on Otto de Grandison or E.L. Cox (1974) on the House of Savoy or D.T. Williams (1970) on Boniface of Savoy, while useful guides, do not go far to filling the gap in Savoyard studies.(1) Mugnier's monograph, which lists over seventy Savoyards having some connexion with England, did not itself attempt an overall analysis; it had much useful material on individuals but it had many errors resulting mainly from the shortage of evidence then available.

(a) The pattern of settlement

In this chapter as, indeed,throughout the thesis, it has been necessary to cast rather a wide interpretation over the generic term 'Savoyard' to make it embrace not simply aliens from Savoy itself, but also aliens inextricably connected, whether politically or otherwise, with them and their interests,such as Provencals, Burgundians or even - in a few carefully chosen cases - Flemings who entered England under the influence of the House of Savoy.

The Savoyard link with England really began with the marriage of Eleanor of Provence to Henry III in 1236 and

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1. C.L. Kingsford: 'Otto de Grandison' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 3rd.ser. vol.III (1909) p.127-181; E.R. Clifford: Otto de Grandison, a knight of great reknown. (Chicago, 1961) E.L. Cox The Eagles of Savoy (Princeton, 1974); D.T. Williams: 'Aspects of the career of Boniface of Savoy 1241-70' (Univ.Wales Aberystwyth unpublished Ph.D. thesis 1970).

the advent of the House of Savoy to a position of power at court. Unlike the Poitevins, no earlier link of any significance existed before this, although the Flemish connexion, cemented by the marriage of Thomas of Savoy with the countess of Flanders in 1237 was, naturally, much older than this. Savoyards began to visit or settle in England not immediately, but in a slow process which lasted for more than the next thirty years. As far as can be discerned with any accuracy, the rate of new arrivals was fairly constant down until 1255, with the exception of a definite acceleration in 1240-6 when the House of Savoy had really begun to consolidate its position in the realm, and something of a peak in 1243 when Henry III was faced with military problems in Gascony and, doubtless, needed to canvass for allies. Later in the 1250's the rate of new arrivals began to slow down as the result of the king's financial problems plunging to a very low figure during the period of political upheaval of the 1260's. Far fewer Savoyards settled in England after 1265, although the trickle, remarkably enough, did not cease entirely; Edward I had his Savoyard servants and members of the House of Savoy, for instance, were being provided to benefices in England until as

late as 1300.(1) The total number of Savoyards having some connexion with England during the reign of Henry III easily exceeded two hundred identifiable individuals (that is, excluding an unknown quantity of anonymous servants and menials). Approximately a quarter of these were absentees who visited England infrequently or not at all, but this figure is always rather difficult to determine with any accuracy because so many Savoyards were truly cosmopolitan in their habits, moving freely to and from the continent, in contrast to Poitevins who were far less ready to travel. At least sixty per cent of all Savoyards were clerics, a much higher proportion than the Poitevins, which can be explained by the closer involvement of the Savoyards with diplomacy and the Roman curia as well as by the two Savoyard prelates who maintained large households and imported many aliens into their dioceses.

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1. See Genealogical table on p. xviii Amadeo, count of Savoy (1285-1323) m. (1297) Joan, countess of Gloucester. He was an important ally of Edward I who in 1299 promised him 1000 marks' annual revenue in wardships. This connexion lasted until 1302 (C. Moor, Knights of Edward I, vol.IV p.164.) Also: Louis of Savoy (d.1302) dean of St. Martin's London and elsewhere (C.P.R.1272-81 p.49,229,360; 1292-1301 p.76); Amadeo of Savoy (d.1300), a minor, holding 1000m. p.a. benefices in England (Moor, op.cit. IV p.184; W. Bliss, Calendar of entries in the Papal register relating to Great Britain I. p.560,580); Peter of Savoy (d.c.1319) dean of Bridgnorth and Salisbury etc. and benefices up to value of £1000 p.a. (Bliss, op.cit.I p.506, 560; C.R.1288-96 p.443); William of Savoy, dean of Bridgnorth (1300-1) fl.1306 (Bliss, II p.7); Aymo of Savoy (d.c.1325) archdeacon of York etc. (V.C.H. North Riding of Yorks. II p.194); Thomas of Savoy, (fl.1300-4) archdeacon of Wilts. etc. An absentee, residing abroad (Bliss,I p.595; C.P.R.1301-7 p.234).

## (b) Savoyards in the king's service

Approximately half the Savoyards served the king and his court, whether in the king's own household or in subsidiary households. A considerable further number had less direct links with the king, including the receipt of fees and other favours by virtue of the influence of their patrons of the House of Savoy. In the following pages a brief introduction will be given to the leading individuals, classified by rank. I have not gone into detail with Savoyards in the household of the lord Edward since this subject is covered elsewhere in Chapter 5 (1) Nor have I given an account specifically of Savoyards in the service of the queen and other Savoyard magnates in England. Lists of these are available in the Appendix (2).

### (i) The king's knights (1236-65) (3)

In addition to Peter of Savoy, there served in Henry III's household thirteen prominent Savoyard knights. By 1258 the two surviving veterans were Imbert Pugeys and Matthew Bezill. Pugeys, as 'Imbert of Savoy' had arrived

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1. pp.175-6
2. Tables 8-12 pp. 410 - 428
3. I omit, for the sake of space, the handful of lesser valets.

in England in 1236 in the entourage of Queen Eleanor but by 1238 a series of lucrative grants and a desirable marriage reveal that he had become a favourite of the king - he was now styled vadlettus de camera nostra.(1) Pugeys remained in the royal chamber until about 1240 when he subsequently became a knight of the household, holding a number of sinecure posts such as the custody of Hadleigh Castle (co.Essex) 1244-1246, and Oxford Castle (1253-56) In January 1257 he became Constable of the Tower (held until June 1258) and from April 1257 - September 1262 was Steward of the King's Household with a full measure of the domestic and judicial functions attached to this office.(2) Matthew Bezill, or Becilles, on the other hand, was a servant of even older standing whose career began as a Burgundian favourite in about 1233. After making his mark as a knight of the king's household, he soon drifted into the service of the queen (1240) and subsequently became constable of her castle of Gloucester (1251-63) and Steward of her household (1254-61).(3)

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1. 'Imbert qui venit cum regina in Angliam' (Bk. of Fees ii p.{1379}; C.R.1237-42 p.72.

2. Table 1 p. 21 C.P.R.1247-58 p.538,614, 636,639. F.M. Powicke & E.B. Fryde (eds) Handbook of British Chronology (R.Hist.S. London 1961, 2nd ed.) p.74.

3. See Tables 1+8 p.21-2, 410. For his early career: D.A. Carpenter 'The fall of Hubert de Burgh' art.cit. p.14. Bezill was a connexion of Engelard de Cigogne.

Other prominent Savoyards of the 1240's left a less permanent mark. Bernard of Savoy (perhaps an illegitimate son of Peter of Savoy) was only active in the king's service for six years (1240-6). But although he died in 1247 he had during this time held the custody of no fewer than three castles: Windsor (1241-7), Reigate (1241-7) and Tickhill (1244-7). In addition, his diverse administrative talents found their outlet in the keepership of the vacant see of Chichester (1244) and the revenues of the newly confiscated terrae Normannorum (1245-6).(1) Another short-lived Savoyard was Peter of Geneva, son of the count of Geneva - the only one of this class of Savoyard servants to receive direct comment from Matthew Paris. From 1242 until his early death in 1249 he was well rewarded with extensive estates in Wales and Ireland. His main duties were military, but in 1248 the queen appointed him constable of Windsor Castle. Peter also had a connection with the service of the infant lord Edward and administered the honour and castle of Tickhill in his name 1245-9.(2)

The majority of the leading Savoyard knights of the 1250's and 1260's were, therefore, of more recent origin.

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1. Bernard's career is linked, initially, with that of Thomas of Savoy but in England he was Peter's deputy (e.g. at Reigate Castle, part of Peter's wardship of John de Warrenne). C.P.R.1232-47 p.252,268,419,422. C.Lib.R.1240-5 p.283. also: TABLE 1, p.22-4.

2. G.W. Watson, 'The Families of Lacy, Geneva, Joinville and la Marche' The Genealogist (new series vol.21, 1904) pp.6-8. Table I p.22-23.

Peter of Geneva's brother, Eubule, may have accompanied him to the king's court in 1242 but it is only in 1245 that he first appears in the records - taking part in a military campaign. Probably younger than Peter (perhaps only 20 in 1245), he was not provided with a marriage and lands until 1253. In the 1250's he drifted into the service of the lord Edward (1255) and at this point was given his first post of importance, the custody of Hadleigh Castle (1255-58). His career was cut short by death in 1259.(1) Another keeper of Hadleigh (1250-5) was the Burgundian Stephen of Salines. Stephen had probably spent his earliest years as a young page in the queen's household - perhaps from 1236. He was knighted in 1244 and from 1249 began to reach the front rank of the king's servants and receive very lucrative rewards. By 1255, the year of his death, he, too, was in Edward's service.(2)

Seven Savoyards of the 1250's achieved particularly spectacular success. Eubule de Montibus was serving from 1249 in the queen's household, became knight and possibly Steward of the Household of the lord Edward (1251-7), Steward of the king's household (1261-3) and Constable of

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1. G.W. Watson op.cit p.8-11. See also C.Lib.R.1240-45 p.316. Table 1, p.21.

2. C.R.1242-47 p.186. C.P.R.1232-47 p.503; 1247-58 p.21,42,51,104,217,408,454. R.G.Iii No.4337. The writ of his appointment to Hadleigh is now lost, but he was in office at least by December 1250 (C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.323.)

Windsor (1266, until his death in 1268).(1) Geoffrey de Joinville, born in 1226 and knighted by Henry III in 1247, only settled in England in 1252, but he was almost immediately provided with a marriage and lands in Wales and Ireland. He quickly became a councillor of the lord Edward (1255-57) deputy Justiciar of Ireland (1261-63) and, after this held, besides a number of diplomatic missions, the Justiciarship of Ireland (1273-76). He died in 1314.(2) His younger brother, Simon, was knighted in 1252 and served the king as a banneret in Gascony and Wales and the royal household until 1262 but retired thereafter to his native Burgundy where he died in 1277.(3) Imbert de Montferrand enjoyed a long career after emerging from the service of Peter de Aigueblanche to become keeper of Edward's castle of Montgomery (1254-57) and Marshal of the king's household (1258-74) until his retirement to the household of the dowager Queen Eleanor (1275-79).(4)

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1. C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.378; 1257-1300 p.2,13; C.R.1251-53 p.181,338; 1254-56 p.130; C.P.R.1258-66 p.543; 1266-72 p.215. For Eubule and Edward see below Ch.5 p.176 The Handbook of British Chronology (p.74) states that Eubule had become Steward of the king on 12th November 1256 but this must be a mistake. Eubule began to witness royal charters in January 1261, but the first definite reference to him as Steward was in February 1262 (C.P.R. 1258-66 p.203).

2. G.W. Watson: op.cit. p.628-30. See below p.175.

3. Watson p.12. He was Sieur de Gex. C.P.R.1247-58 p.276,544; C.R.1256-9 p.223; 1259-61 p.319,487. C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.77,487.

4. Tables 1+10 p.22,423 C.P.R.1247-58 p.664. Moor, op.cit. III p.180-1.

Aymo Thurumberd, who since the 1240's had probably trained in the queen's household, was appointed keeper of Windsor Castle (1253-4), of the Tower (1256-57), and again (1257-63) Windsor (d.c.1263).(1) Another very long career was that of Peter of Champvent. During our period he was still a youthful courtier and favourite who 'kept the king's weapons' (1252-69) but he was later promoted into the queen's service as keeper of Gloucester Castle (1269-73) and sheriff of Gloucester (1270-73) before becoming Steward of the king's household (1286-92) and Chamberlain (1292-c.1298) dying, after over fifty years' service to the English crown, in 1303.(2) Last of all, mention must be made of John de Grailly, knight of the lord Edward's household from 1262, Seneschal of Gascony 1266-67; 1278-83, and of the Agenais (1279-86).(3)

## (ii) The King's clerks (1236-65

The total number of Savoyard clerks employed directly in royal service in England was, surprisingly, rather low but their important positions and impressive specialization made up for this. Apart from Boniface,

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1. C.P.R.1247-58 p.499,538,544; 1258-66 p.164,273. The queen appointed him to the service of prince Edmund.
2. Moor, op.cit. I. p.192-3; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.55; C.P.R.1258-66 p.266; Handbook of Chronology p.74
3. C. Bémont, Rôles Gascons III p.xxxiii-iv; J. Trabut-Cussac, L'Administration Anglaise en Gascogne (Geneva, 1972) p.32, 373-4.

archbishop of Canterbury, Peter of Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford and William of Savoy (1236-39), there were during the 1240's and 50's only about a dozen clerks of importance. Most prominent of all were those appointed to the keepership of the royal wardrobe: Peter of Aigueblanche (1240-1 ), a former clerk of William of Savoy, Artauld de Sancto Romano (1254-57) and Henry of Ghent (1261-5), a former clerk of Thomas of Savoy.(1) Other clerks often gravitated to subsidiary royal households, for example Guy de la Palud (1242-48) and James d'Aigueblanche (1254-57) keepers of the queen's Wardrobe,(2) Michael de Fiennes, chancellor of the lord Edward (1255-58),(3) William of Provence (? Edward's chancellor in Gascony 1254-5)(4) and William de Salines, Edward's household and estates clerk (1254-62).(5) The remainder

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1. T.F. Tout, Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England vol.I (Manchester, 1920) pp. 260-4; 278-80; 299-300. Tout's account of Henry of Ghent's origins is incorrect: C.P.R.1232-47 p.251 proves the connexion with Thomas of Savoy. Henry served Boniface of Savoy c.1247-57 as a favourite clerk, but he renounced holy orders, married and entered royal service. (D.T. Williams 'Aspects of the career of Boniface of Savoy' p.383,387.) He was connected with Queen Eleanor c.1252-3: P.R.O. E.101/308/1m.1-2.

2. Tout vol. V p.234.

3. G.P. Cuttino. 'A chancellor of the lord Edward' Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research: 50 (1977) p.229-232. J.R. Studd 'Chancellors of the lord Edward, a supplementary note' B.I.H.R.: 51 (1978) p.181-3. Fiennes, a Fleming, was related to Queen Eleanor.

4. C.P.R.1247-58 p.354,358. R.G.I(ii) No.4334, Archives Historiques du département de la Gironde vol.III (Bordeaux, 1861) p.5.

5. C.P.R.1247-58 p.589,596; 1272-81 p.131.

of the leading Savoyards were diplomats concerned chiefly with embassies to Rome, Paris and Provence. Most cosmopolitan of these were the archbishops of Embrun and Tarentaise,[1] John d'Ambliun (1243-d.1254)[2] and William de Chauvent, precentor of Lausanne (1262-7).[3]

Not the least interesting of Henry III's Savoyards was Guy de Roussillon, a kinsman of both the queen and Peter of Savoy's chancellor, Thomas of Roussillon. Guy's career was unusual because he enjoyed a sudden meteoric rise to power in Henry III's court followed by an almost equally dramatic disappearance from office within the space of a few months. From the obscure ranks of Henry III's many alien pensioners he emerged during the Gascon campaign to become in 1243 a leading royal councillor, and on the king's return to England he continued to be a man upon whose advice the patronage of Henry's household was dispensed.[4] He himself received in the course of 1244 the enormous favour of 400 marks p.a. ecclesiastical revenue, which a special committee of royal councillors was appointed to receive in his name,[5] but already by January 1244 he had left the English political scene on diplomatic adventures for the

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1. Mugnier, op.cit.p.352-3; Hen.III + L.Edw. p.272-3; 378-87 nn.
2. C.P.R.1232-47 p.412; 1247-58 p.325,334.
3. C.P.R.1258-66 p.6,221,566,658; 1266-72 p.4,625, 737; 1272-81 p.49.
4. C.R.1237-42 p.176; C.P.R.1232-47 p.396,437; C.R.1242-47 p.141,149.
5. C.P.R.1232-47 p.418.

king and was to return only briefly before his death in 1254.[1] Guy was undoubtedly a rising star in 1243 and still a great favourite as late as December 1244 when he was given a special crystal goblet by the king,[2] but why he failed to take advantage of the situation and become a second Peter of Aigueblanche or William of Savoy is not clear: perhaps there were no satisfactory openings for his talents in England at that moment.

A mention must be made here of the lesser Savoyard clerks in Henry III's service. Many, such as Mr. John de Dya (fl. 1241-56), Peter de Soleriis (1256-8) the abbot of Hautercombe (1243) and Ralph, provost of Aosta, (1241) were diplomats at the Roman curia where Henry III maintained a large delegation which contained a number of alien clerks.[3] Besides these, there were those Savoyards holding a variety of minor posts in England, such as Mr. Walter de Dya (in 1238 a clerk of William of Savoy) who was in 1241 joint tutor of the king's children at Windsor Castle,[4] or Mr. Richard de Montibus who in 1256 was appointed by the king to preach the Crusade and raise funds in the Channel Islands.[5] But the numbers of these lesser

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1. ibid. p.418; 1247-58 p.269,325; C.R.1242-47 p.477 (1246), 518 (1247); C.R.1247-51 p.504 (1251).
2. C.R.1242-47 p.271.
3. C.P.R.1232-47 p.248,375,384,412-13; 1247-58 p.463, 471; 1258-66 p.2; C.Lib.R.1240-45 p.28-9.
4. C.P.R.1232-47 p.211; C.Lib.R.1240-45 p.15,31.
5. C.P.R.1247-58 p.456.

clerks was not large - perhaps never more than a dozen or so, and they were frequently in the royal pay for only short periods.

(c) Some other Savoyard clerks not immediately connected with the king's Government.

Very few Savoyards come into this category for the simple reason that it must have been difficult to find places for aliens, no matter how talented, outside the most obvious spheres of Court influence or the households of the Savoyard bishops - if the English provinces had many attractions for Savoyards at all. No Savoyard is known to have used his influence to study at the Schools, for instance, even though we do know of a handful of Poitevins at Oxford. Nevertheless, the three truly 'provincial' Savoyards that can be isolated - and there were, probably, a few more - held important and interesting posts. During the 1250's Aimery Gychard, who had been a clerk of Guy de Roussillon, became archdeacon of Winchester and was, ironically, to suffer the same fate of exile as Aymer de Lusignan in 1258.[1] In addition to him we find, rather interestingly, two Cluniac monks, Stephen de Charron, prior of Thetford

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1. Tables 12+16 p. 426, 439.

(1240-c.1248)[1] and Aymo de Montibus, prior of Bermondsey in 1259 and Wenlock (co.Salop.) 1261-d.1272.[2] Both these men were fortunate to have well-placed kinfolk serving elsewhere and at the Court, but they do represent a small, but not uncontroversial, provincial presence by these aliens.

## (d) The organization of the Savoyard Community in England.

The Savoyards formed in England a close-knit community. Most of these aliens were the dependants of well-placed patrons at Court and, as we have suggested, few Savoyards lived in the provinces without being in the protection of one of their great households. And yet within this structure there existed further bonds. When Savoyards came to the realm it was often either in the entourage of one of the visiting members of the House of Savoy or the result of the familiar pattern of kinsmen coming to England to settle or visit in the wake of the success of Savoyards at court. Imbert Pugeys, for instance, came to England with Queen Eleanor in 1236,[3] Bernard of Savoy came with Thomas of

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1. Chron.Maj. V. p.31-32; F. Blomefield, An essay towards a topographical History of the County of Norfolk (London, 1805) vol.II. p.107 says that a 'Stephen' became prior in 1240. M.H. Dodds, History of Northumberland IX p.249-257 suggests that he was the brother of Guiscard, the seneschal of Peter of Savoy.
2. C.P.R.1258-66 p.14,148; R.W. Eyton, Antiquities of Shropshire (London, 1856) III p.242-3; Bliss, Calendar of Entries, op.cit. I p.287.
3. Bk. of Fees ii p.1373.

Savoy in the Summer of 1240.(1) In 1247 Peter of Savoy himself brought ladies to be married.(2) As for visitors, no fewer than four of Eubule de Montibus' kinsmen turned up within ten years of his arrival in England to be knighted by the king, petition for benefices or enter royal service. An equivalent number of Imbert de Montferrand's family took only four years to appear.(3) Indeed, Savoyards did not decide to settle in the realm without taking some thought or precautions over patrons. As late as the 1250's both Eubule de Montibus and Geoffrey de Joinville had made preliminary visits to Court before settling on a permanent basis.(4) It always helped to begin a Savoyard magnate's career to bring Henry III some timely military assistance. Peter of Geneva, for example, arrived in Bordeaux in the Summer of 1242 in order to join in the Poitou campaign and never looked back.(5) Similarly Simon de Joinville, who

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1. cf. Hist first gift in August, 1240.(C.Lib.R. 1226-40 p.486). Thomas visited England in the same month. (Chron.Maj. IV. p.19).

2. ibid. IV. pp.598, 628.

3. Eubule de Montibus: Ralph (clerk) in 1253 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.234); William of Lausanne (knight) in 1256 (C.R.1254-56 p.293). Mr. Richard (1256) and Aymo (1252) in the text above. Imbert de Montferrand: Stephen (his brother) c.1259; Michael and Gerard (1261) and John (1266): C.R.1259-61 p.100; 1261-64 p.15; 1264-68 p.179.

4. Eubule in 1246, three years before settling (C.R.1242-47 p.487); Geoffrey in 1247 to be knighted four or more years before settling (C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.144).

5. G.W. Watson, 'The family of Joinville, Geneva' p.6.

arrived in England at some stage in 1252 in order to visit his newly-married brother, was knighted by Henry III in October, and then returned to Court in 1253 in order to join in the Gascon campaign.(1)

When settled in the realm, the Savoyards established an alien network of great strength, almost a pyramid structure converging on the queen and her uncles. At court Savoyards clung together. As with the Poitevins, there is not much evidence surviving of their direct intervention to secure favours for each other, but there is plenty of indirect evidence that they were treated by the king as a distinct group and, from this, that they assisted each other in petitions. When a reference occurs to a Savoyard on the rolls of Chancery it is often grouped with entries which concern fellow-aliens. Savoyards also witnessed almost exclusively each other's acta or those of their English friends and patrons.(2) Savoyards served together on diplomatic missions, such as the negotiations concerning Sicily in the 1250's. There are examples of their sharing or monopolizing offices, such as the keepership of Tickhill castle and the Honour of Eu (1244-54) or Hadleigh Castle (c.1239-58).(3) Sometimes Savoyards even monopolized items of royal patronage,

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1. C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.77; C.R.1253-54 p.199.

2. The best example of this is Eubule of Geneva's will (May, 1259: London) witnessed, among others, by Eubule de Montibus, Peter de Chauvent, Gerard de Grandison, Simon de Joinville. (Wurstemberger IV No.507)

3. Table I p.21-2.

such as the way in which Peter of Geneva was succeeded, less than three years after his death in 1249, by Geoffrey de Joinville[1] as the husband of the wealthy marcher heiress, Maud de Lacy. Savoyards, of course, assisted each others' careers in royal administration. We have seen how Peter of Aigueblanche began as the clerk of William of Savoy, but in the 1250's when he had achieved his pre-eminent position, he advanced his former Steward Imbert de Montferrand, and Imbert in turn furthered the fortunes of his brother, Stephen.

Savoyard links extended, naturally, into the provinces and to the continent. Savoyards in the provinces depended closely on their fellow-countrymen and kinfolk at court for protection and assistance. The king's Steward, Eubule, was, for instance, able to help his brother, Aymo de Montibus, prior of Wenlock, resolve in 1262 a long-running dispute between his priory and the Exchequer over forest offences in the Shropshire forest.[2] The Montibus were only one of eight such widely-dispersed Savoyard families, the others being the Salines, Chauvent, Grandison, Joinville, Geneva and Montferrand. Savoyards often sold or leased each other property or even gave each other assistance in lawsuits. The list of attornies is

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1. Watson, op.cit. p.12-13.

2. R.W. Eyton, op.cit. III. p.242-3; C.P.R.1258-66 p.207.

endless. When Imbert de Montferrand married Henrietta, the English widow of Geoffrey de Grandimonte (a knight of Peter of Savoy) and attempted in 1267 to recover Henrietta's dower land in Lincolnshire which Geoffrey had leased or sold to a royal clerk in 1260, his chosen agent, with full power of appointing attorneys was none other than the cosmopolitan royal diplomat, William de Chauvent.(1) A case of a land-sale even demonstrates how the continental network could work. In 1257 a certain Arnulph de Venaunt, a former yeoman of Phillip of Savoy and now vadlettus of the queen of France sold his land at Culing (co.Suffolk) to Berengar de Castro Veteri, yeoman of the Savoyard Alice de Lacy.(2) It would be difficult to find better examples of such intense clannishness even among the Poitevins.

By 1263 the Chroniclers began to attack the Savoyard community - prompted, no doubt, by Montfortian propaganda.(3) The Savoyards had made enough open demonstrations of the combination of diplomatic, military and ecclesiastical weapons that they could wield against the Provisions of Oxford, using the

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1. C.R.1264-68 p.359.
2. C.Ch.R.1226-57 p. 460.
3. See Ch. 9 p. 396f

concerted energies of their network, for the Montfortians to believe that England was in the grip of some vast international alien conspiracy. Matthew Paris believed that the queen lay at the ultimate centre of the Savoyards, thanks to the vast power of the crown that she was not slow to invoke on their behalf. When in 1248 Stephen, prior of Thetford (probably brother of Bernard of Savoy and Guiscard de Charron) was stabbed to death by one of his monks it was Queen Eleanor who avenged him and had the guilty Welshman imprisoned at Norwich.(1) Or, again, it is not difficult to imagine the impression caused in some circles by the king's reaction when in 1252 the bishop of Hereford's alien agent, the prior of Campagne, was murdered in Hereford. An elaborate enquiry by the king's justices, lasting two years, was ordered to investigate threats made to the Savoyards in the County. The individual suspected of the murder, John de Frome, was handed over from Oxford prison in December 1252 to the safe custody, first of the bishop of Hereford himself and then, in January 1253, moved, rather surprisingly, to Essex to the Savoyard keeper of Hadleigh Castle, Stephen de Salines. Frome was finally brought to London for trial in the Autumn of 1254, but only to escape from custody. Henry III

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1. Chron.Maj. V. p.31-2.

then, in a most telling move, deposed the Sheriff of the city. Here the Savoyard community can be seen in action, decisive in its vengeance.(1)

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1. Annals of Worcester p.441; Tewkesbury, p.147; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.96; C.R.1251-53 p.286,312; 1253-54 p. 315; Liber de Antiquis Legibus p.22.

# CHAPTER 2

## Savoyards and the foundations of political stability at court 1236-47

The ten years between Henry III's marriage with Eleanor of Provence and the arrival in the realm of his half-brothers of the house of Lusignan saw the construction of a political stability which lasted from at least 1238 until 1258, with only one major interruption in 1252-3. This was in marked contrast to the years of the king's minority and early manhood which had seen frequent political upheavals - in 1221, 1223-4, 1232, 1234, 1236 and 1238. Between 1238 and 1252 no English magnate took up arms for a political cause and rebellions were replaced by the orderly statement of grievances in Parliaments.(1) During the same period there were none of the violent palace revolutions which had so characterized the early years. Courtiers were no longer subject to sudden disgrace from office; indeed, earlier uncertainty in public life was replaced by a spirit of confidence in virtual

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1. That is, with the possible exception of 1241 (see below, p.59-60)

irremovability among even the most corrupt by the mid-1250's.(1) King Henry III, thus, created in his court a loyal power-base to replace the treacherous machinations of his brother, Richard of Cornwall, and the warring factions of curiales which had torn the realm apart during the minority.

A number of factors worked to produce this stability. In the first place, the assumption of the direction of government by the king himself, achieved fully only after 1236,(2) helped to put a brake on faction as Henry was now to be the arbiter in the political system and to prevent it being corrupted by the undue dominance of forces beyond his control. His task was eased by the fact that by 1236 Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches had fought each other to a standstill and the realm and its magnates were ready, perhaps even anxious, for stability and peace. By the early 1240's death itself had come to the king's aid, wiping from the political stage its major figures; not only the leaders of the curial factions and several of their subordinates died but there occurred also the great 'mortality of earls' destroying dangerous magnate lines such as those of the earls of Chester and the Marshals and leaving many minorities open to dynastic engineering by the king.

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1. Below, Ch.5 p. 138-9.

2. While Henry III declared himself to be of age in January 1227 it seems, following the guidelines of Dr. D.A. Carpenter (e.g. 'The fall of Hubert de Burgh' Journal of British Studies: 19(1980) p.1-17), that until his triumph over the factions in 1236 the king's political influence was limited.

During this remodelling of political society Henry was fortunate, too, in having a healthy treasury which allowed him a wider scope of action to buy off trouble-some figures such as Richard of Cornwall and to promote others of his choice into the political system. By such means, therefore, was created during the 1230's and early 1240's what can be termed a new governing order. Its leading members were the king's own family, his brother, the queen and the Savoyards, the king's brother-in-law Simon de Montfort, together with other courtiers, a gener-ation of tightly-knit clerks and knights dominated by John Mansel, Robert Passelewe, John du Plessis, Henry de Wengham and John fitz Geoffrey, the stewards, Bertram de Criol, William Cantilupe, John of Lexington, Paulinus Piper and Robert Walerand and their clans, together with other well-established curial families such as the Greys, and the Bassets.(1) Promotions and patronage depended, to a remarkable degree, on this circle.(2) Henry III was to

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1. Hen.III + L.Edw. Ch.4 expounds this idea: esp. p.140-55.

2. Some account of the training and promotion of curiales is given, in general, in F.Pegues 'The Clericus in the legal administration of 13th century England', E.H.R.:71 (1956) p.529-59.For John Mansel's patronage, for example, Chron.Maj. V. p.261,270,320 (promotion of Phillip Lovell), for Robert Passelewe: ibid.p.137,340 (Geoffrey de Langeley and Reginald de Mohun) for the Canti-lupes and Robert Walerand: C.P.R.1232-47 p.370.

make few totally new additions to it before 1258, apart from the Poitevins and prominent individuals such as the earl of Gloucester and Hugh Bigod.

The Savoyards played a prominent part in these processes. Through reliance upon a string of new alien favourites the king was enabled, in part, to break free from existing forces at court, such as his brother or the entrenched factions of curiales. In 1239 the queen produced for Henry an heir, a powerful factor, ultimately, in moderating the political ambitions of Richard of Cornwall. Even before this, in the early months of 1236 Henry III had remodelled his council placing William of Savoy, bishop-elect of Valence at its head and moved fast to break the curiales using tactics of great subtlety such as the removal of most of the curial sheriffs and replacing them with local men, thus winning the support of county society.(1) By the time that William of Savoy left England in the early Summer of 1238 the old curial factions were well on the way to disintegration.

The Savoyards also contributed to the achievement of harmonious relationship with political society through their constant advocacy of policies of moderation and

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1. D.A. Carpenter 'The decline of the curial Sheriff in England 1194-1258', E.H.R.: 91 (1976) esp. p.17-21.

compromise. There is no reason to believe that an impulsive ruler such as Henry III had himself the sensitivity for this, and it was almost certainly the main method by which the Savoyards defended their position as favourites during the early years after 1236 when their numbers were extremely small. From 1236-9 William of Savoy and 1239-41 Peter of Aigueblanche were the only Savoyards of importance surrounding the king and their claim to be more than merely one group among several royal favourites was by no means secure until the birth of the lord Edward in 1239. William of Savoy used his influence over patronage wisely to build up support.(1) He may also have been the author of the compromise which undermined Parliamentary opposition to taxation in the early months of 1237 by the re-issue of Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forest in January followed by the voluntary enlargement of the council to include three members of the opposition.(2) This can be contrasted with Henry III's behaviour in the early months of 1238 when, during the absence of William from court he

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1. A good account is given of William of Savoy in England in: E.L. Cox The Eagles of Savoy (Princeton, 1974) p.46-80. It would be misleading to pass over subsequent resistance to William by courtiers such as Ralph Nevill (ibid. p.70) or thereafter to the Savoyards by Geoffrey the Templar and Simon the Norman (Hen.III + L.Edw. p.772-783) but these were exceptions. For William's control of patronage: C.R.1234-37 p.300, 325,405,409,495; C.Lib.R.1226-40 p.312,324 etc.

2. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.153-4. The 'baronial' representatives admitted were curiales such as Lacy and fitz Geoffrey.

suddenly and foolishly acquiesced in the secret marriage of Simon de Montfort, his other main alien favourite of an earlier generation, with his sister, Eleanor, sparking off a magnate revolt led by Richard of Cornwall. It is highly significant to see that this crisis was to be resolved partly through the mediation of William of Savoy who rushed back to England from the continent.(1)

Even after the birth of the lord Edward the Savoyards continued to play the rôle of the agents of harmony rather than discord. A case in point is their treatment of Simon de Montfort. Before 1239 de Montfort was, obviously, a major rival and William may have benefitted, therefore, from his rash intrusion of himself in 1238 and the resulting rebellion. Later in the same year Henry III and Simon were reconciled after William had left the realm but in the Autumn of 1239 after the birth of Edward had prevented the upstaging of the hitherto barren Queen Eleanor by the birth of Simon's own heir the climate was ripe for another attempt at a more permanent disgrace of the earl of Leicester, with possible Savoyard connivance.(2) But in 1243 none other than Beatrice of Provence was to be the agent of the great reconciliation between the king

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1. C. Bémont, Simon de Montfort (Oxford, 1930) p.51-6. Flores Historiarum ii p.224.

2. Bémont, op.cit. p.56-65. For rumours of Eleanor of Provence's sterility and the birth 'to the strengthening of the realm' of an heir to de Montfort: Chron.Maj. III p.518.

and the de Montforts resulting in a partial settlement of their claims to dower and Simon's return to favour at court.(1) Thereafter de Montfort remained indebted to the Savoyards and attached to their faction. Similar wisdom was shown in the way in which Richard of Cornwall's opposition to the queen was gradually worn down, as we shall show.

Savoyard moderation was also the key to their continued acceptance by the rest of English political society after the events of 1237 and 1238, as is shown by the crisis of 1241. In this year Henry III took advantage of the absence of Richard of Cornwall on Crusade, together with the deaths and retirement of several councillors and magnates, suddenly to elevate the newly-arrived Peter of Savoy to a position of great power, investing him with the control of most of the major fortresses along the south coast and, possibly, making him his chief councillor.(2) Magnates and certain curial factions put up immediate resistance to Peter.(3) This coincided with a major confrontation between the

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1. Bémont, op.cit. p.68-70.

2. Chron.Maj. IV. p.85-6; Custody of Lewes, Dover, Rochester and Canterbury Castles, the Cinque Ports (possibly Pevensey) and the Shrievalty of Kent, from September and November 1241 (C.P.R.1232-47 p.259,260,261,265,266,276.)

3. Chron.Maj. IV.p.88. The opposition was led by the earl Marshal, Gilbert (d.1241).

king and the baronage over the proposed military expedition to Poitou which Henry had set in motion without consulting his magnates and to the furtherance of which he now quickly directed the diplomatic talents of Peter of Aigueblanche and his new favourite.(1) The Savoyards, however, escaped unscathed from this crisis through sheer diplomatic and political skill. Not only were they fortunate that the main forces of potential opposition, the Marshals and the Bassets, succumbed to the timely intervention of death in 1241(2) but they took pains to placate their heirs and even to restore to them manors resumed from these families by the king and bestowed on Savoyards.(3) Peter of Savoy's grasp of the art of propaganda stood him in good stead at this point, too. He seems to have convinced magnate society that he was reluctant to accept his new position. Matthew Paris tells a strange story that at the height of the

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1. Chron.Maj. IV. p.187,190.
2. ibid. p.89.
3. e.g. the recognition of the new earl Marshal, Walter, by Henry III at the instance of the queen and others in October 1241 (ibid. p.158). It seems that the king, nonetheless, demanded as his price the surrender of some Marshal castles in Wales and, possibly, Pevensey, since the honour of L'Aigle was bestowed on Peter at this time. For this transfer and a similar one in 1241 involving the Savoyards and the Aumâle heir: below, Ch. 6 p. 186, 204

political tension he magnanimously offered to resign his offices and castles and retire to the continent only to be summoned back immediately to power by the king. If this was so, Peter of Savoy characteristically proceeded to cling onto his Kent-Sussex redoubt long enough to guarantee his security during the return to England of the threatening Richard of Cornwall, a gamble based upon a nice calculation of Richard's financial difficulties after the Crusade.(1) Well might Matthew Paris relate his second surprising story that the king offered to make amends to his baronial critics in the Parliament of January 1242 'by the award of Peter of Savoy and others of the Council'.(2)

After 1241-2 the Savoyards faced no more concerted baronial opposition in England before 1263. The continued moderation of their political rôle was, again, important. As Henry III's early experiments in advancing Savoyards to administrative prominence had produced resistance, they were careful thereafter to confine their

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1. Chron.Maj. IV. p.177-8. Richard of Cornwall returned from Crusade in mid-January 1242 (Richard of Cornwall p.44) but Peter of Savoy did not surrender his shrievalty of Kent and the custody of its castles and port until March (C.P.R.1232-47 p.276).

2. Chron.Maj. IV. p.187.

role to diplomacy, the provinces and the household.(1) As for Peter of Savoy, his very outlook and movements became more cosmopolitan. Up to six months in some years were spent on the continent and, increasingly from the 1250's, there were even longer periods absent from the realm: 1250-1 (1253-4 campaigning with the king in Gascony) 1255-6 and 1260; after July 1262 he did not return to England. He moved little outside the royal court.(2) This meant that he made few contacts among wider English society: no close associations with the non-curial English baronage and no native recruitment to his familia which remained entirely alien in composition.(3) Instead Peter may have won respect for his indispensable work in European diplomacy. He also began to cultivate the image of statesmanlike impartiality similar to that of Richard of Cornwall and, like Richard, he became by the late 1240's (to a lesser degree) a figure sought after to make arbitrations.(4) This fitted

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1. Although Peter was one of the Council sent to convey the king's demands for taxation from the clergy in Parliament in July 1244 (Bémont, op.cit. p.69-70) and although he again attended Parliament at least in 1248, 1253 and 1257-9 (e.g. Chron.Maj. V. p.5; C.P.R.1247-58 p.229) there is no further chronicle evidence of his speaking in Parliament. He was active enough on the Council (see Ch.5 etc.)

2. We get few glimpses of visits by Peter to his English estates. He was at Reigate on 24th July 1247 (P.R.O. C.47/9/1) in Sussex (??Pevensey) in June 1252 and January 1253 (E.101/308/1m.1-2) and Witley (co.Surrey) on May 6th 1253 (E.159/27m.19). He may never have visited Richmond. When in England he was rarely away from court, according to the Charter Roll witness lists.

3. Appendix, Table 9 p.415-420.

4. e.g. C.P.R.1247-58 p.15,60,302; C.R.1251-53 p.204.

in well with Peter's interest and ability in law. When, for instance, in May 1241 the prior of Barnwell brought his suit against a levy of tallage before the council he found Peter, hardly over six months in the realm, among his judges.(1) Later, as count of Savoy, Peter was to be known as a lawgiver, the 'petit Charlemagne'. He may, therefore, have impressed the English baronage in something similar to the fashion of that other cosmopolitan and talented alien royal favourite, Simon de Montfort, who was equally remote from domestic politics in the period 1245-55.

The affairs of the infant lord Edward quickly became a major interest of the Savoyards. It may be considered curious why they so quickly made Edward's cause their own. The answer lies simply in the politics of the court, or rather the royal family. For the queen, Edward was, naturally, her trump card in politics and it was her concern that the guardianship of the prince should become her preserve and that of her uncles to the exclusion of Richard of Cornwall, a more natural choice. There was also the matter of the earmarking of an estate for Edward to enjoy during his father's lifetime and, perhaps, to support a household in which

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1. Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle ed. J.W. Clark (Cambridge, 1907) p.78 c.f. Placitorum Abbrevatio (Rec.Comm. 1811) p.109-11 for another early case.

Eleanor's Savoyard protégés could find office. Here, again, Richard of Cornwall was an obstacle, for the king had by the early 1240's still not provided his brother with an appanage sufficient for his ambition. It is likely that this quickly fuelled the periodic quarrels between Eleanor and Richard in the 1240's as Henry III began the construction of the proposed appanage for Edward. Interestingly enough, when Richard was away on Crusade, in February 1241, it was declared that, in the event of the king's death, Chester and other castles on the Welsh March were to be handed over to the queen for the use of Edward. A year later, in April, the guardianship of Edward and the control of all the royal castles was made over to the queen and her uncles as an obvious precaution before the forthcoming Poitou campaign.(1) These settlements posed a snub to Richard of Cornwall and we learn, for instance from rumours related by Matthew Paris of Richard's treachery during the Welsh campaign of 1245, that he had resented the earlier designation of Chester, at the queen's request, for Edward.(2) This friction explains Peter of Savoy's nervousness during the winter of 1241-2 over Richard's impending return to the realm. Further struggles of an

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1. C.P.R.1232-47 p.244,280.

2. Chron.Maj. IV. p.487; Richard of Cornwall p.55.

even more spectacular nature were to come during the Poitou campaign when Richard obtained at Saintes, in mid-1242, a rash promise of Gascony from the king only to meet the determined opposition of the queen. For a year Savoyard diplomacy struggled to outmanoeuvre Richard's plot through marriage negotiations with Sanchia of Provence (1242-3) and attempts to buy him off in other directions. The fruits of this were that, within a month of his marriage to Sanchia in November 1243, Richard renounced, in return for a very substantial marriage settlement in cash and land, all his rights to Gascony and Ireland.(1) This marked the formal end of Richard's career as Henry III's heir-presumptive and cleared the way for the construction of Edward's appanage, but it could be observed that, until 1257 at least, Richard's career continued from time to time to be motivated by a deep-rooted sense of political and territorial frustration.

By 1246 the Savoyards were well settled at court and in England. Eleanor's position as queen was, by contemporary standards, exceptionally secure: Henry III had no mistresses and succumbed to no known infidelities which posed any challenge to her and the birth of more

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1. Richard of Cornwall p.48-50 cf. p.73, 75-6. Richard may not have altered his seal to drop the title 'count of Poitou' until 1257 (ibid. p.171).

children and a second son guaranteed the succession.(1) Eleanor's uncles and dependants used their positions and influence with discretion. Boniface of Savoy, archbishop of Canterbury, proved from his first arrival in England in 1244 to be a vigorous ultramontane reformer and defender of ecclesiastical liberty even against the king. He, and Eleanor herself, were patrons of Grosseteste and ardent exponents of his principles.(2) Furthermore, Eleanor and her uncles, as one might expect, quickly became the patrons of a wide variety of curiales, especially the men whose careers began in the late 1230's such as John Mansel, Henry de Wengham or William de Kilkenny.(3) The queen was careful enough not to allow

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1. In Agnes Strickland Lives of the queens of England (Philadelphia, 1902) vol.2, p.70-2 there are references to Henry III's infidelities in 1263-4, but these are errors. The reference to Henry III's mistress (in 1263) in Croniques de London Depuis 1'An 44.Hen.III p.3. is a chronicler's confusion with Rosamond Clifford, the mistress of Henry II.

2. D.T. Williams 'Aspects of the career of Boniface of Savoy' p.94ff for Boniface's early support for bishop William Raleigh of Winchester in his dispute with Henry III; also his refusal to confirm the king's nominee, Robert Passelewe to Chichester in 1244. For Boniface and Grosseteste: ibid. p.109-116. For Eleanor and Grosseteste: Adam Marsh, Epistolae XVII p.102-3; XXVI p.114-116 etc.

3. Mansel worked in diplomacy alongside Peter of Savoy from the 1240's and was identified with the queen by the Chroniclers in 1263 (Waverley p.355). She was certainly in frequent contact with him in 1252-3, but the first gifts to survive date from 1258 (P.R.O. E.101/308/1m.1-2; E.101/349/26,m.1,3). For Wengham and Peter of Savoy: Appendix table 9 p.418 c.f. Wengham's gift to the queen in 1252: E.101/349/14. William de Kilkenny was a special favourite of the Savoyards (Chron.Maj. V. p.508) and c.1255-6 Eleanor granted him land. (B.L. Cotton. Ch.XVII.6).

the rest of her patronage to be devoted solely to Savoyards. A study of her household shows that it contained representatives from a wide selection of curial families, the Pecches, le Moines, Giffards and Bissets;[1] if Savoyard patronage in the court was biased, it was to some members of the former 'alien' faction of the Peter des Roches era, Simon de Montfort, Matthew Bezill, Engelard de Cigoné, Geoffrey de Langely and, perhaps, John du Plessis.[2] The queen, and Peter of Savoy, enjoyed a connexion with Cambridgeshire families such as the le Moines and the Pecches[3] but this did not compare in importance and intensity with the links built up by Richard of Cornwall with the powerful Bassets and other gentry of Oxfordshire and Berkshire or Simon de Montfort with the Cantilupes, Segraves and Bassets of Sapcote in the West Midlands, or even the Hampshire-Surrey connexion of Aymer of Winchester or the Hampshire-Wiltshire connexion of William de Valence.[4] But

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1. Appendix, table 8 p.410-14.

2. Bezill (Table 8 p.410 ); Cigoné (ibid. p.413 ); Langeley (Ch.5 p.174 ); du Plessis: gift from him in 1252 (E.101/349/14). For these men and Peter des Roches: D.A. Carpenter 'The fall of Hubert de Burgh' Journal of British Studies: 19 (1980) p.14.

3. H.M. Cam Liberties and Communities in Mediaeval England (Cambridge, 1963) p.40,43. cf. Appendix, Table 8 p.412; 9 p.418.

4. cf. Appendix, Tables 13 (p.429-33); 16 (p.438-442). Richard of Cornwall p.90-3; D.A. Carpenter 'Thomas Cantilupe, his political career' in St. Thomas Cantilupe ..... essays in his honour, ed. M.Jancey (Hereford, 1982) p.60-62 cf. C.P.R.1247-58 p.31; D.B.M. p.285.

Savoyard patronage was, nonetheless, well in keeping with Henry III's aims after the mid-1230's to construct a national monarchy in England riding above factions in the court and the baronage.

# CHAPTER 3

## The Poitevins and England 1247-65.

### (a) The pattern of settlement

Before 1247 the number of Poitevins in England was not very large. Most of them were the last remnant of an earlier generation of Poitevin servants of the crown employed during the reign of John and the minority of Henry III. Among the most prominent of these men were the descendants of Hugh de Vivonia, an official of John,[1] Peter de Chaceporc, Keeper of the king's Wardrobe (1241-54), a royal kinsman and one of Henry's most trusted clerks,[2] William le Fort of Chewton (d.1258) marshal of the king's household[3] and Peter des Rivaux, nephew

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1. Hugh de Vivonia, of West Kington and elsewhere in co. Wilts and Somerset; sometime Seneschal of Gascony, constable of Bristol (1236) sheriff of Somerset and Dorset (1241), royal Councillor by time of his death (1244). C.P.R.1232-47 p.196,245,462; Cal.Inq.P.M.Hen.III No.34; The Ancestor xi p.66. His son, also Hugh de Vivonia, served Henry III e.g. in the assignment of a marriage to the Poitevin, Maurice de Rochford in 1248 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.15). He was killed fighting in Wales in 1258.

2. T.F. Tout, Chapters in Mediaeval Administrative History, I p.263 ff.

3. Second son of Hugh de Vivonia and Mabel de Malet; succeeded 1248 to Chewton Mendip (Somerset) etc. and land in Poitou (The Ancestor xi p.66; C.P.R. 1247-58 p.13); married Maud de Kyme, a rich widow and Marshal co-heiress, in 1248 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.23; G.E.C. IV. p.199).

of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and a clerk of the Wardrobe since the second decade of the thirteenth century, although living in semi-retirement after his two year spell of absolute power in government during the years 1232-4.(1)

There was very little connexion between this earlier generation of Poitevins and the Poitevin community which was to be established in 1247. That continuity was, in fact, to be provided by a group of exiles from the early 1240's who were the true antecedents of the Lusignans. In 1241, in the treaty of Reading, Henry III revived his customary alliance with the Poitevin nobility led by the count of la Marche, chafing under the increased authority of the French crown after the investiture of Alphonse, brother of Louis IX as count of Poitou. This resulted in a rebellion which Henry hoped to exploit to restore his position in the south-west, only to be disappointed by the failure of his expedition to Poitou 1242-3 and the defeat of the English army at Saintes and Taillebourg and the subsequent collapse of the Poitevin revolt and subjugation of the Lusignans by Louis and Alphonse.(2)

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1. Tout, op.cit. I. p.279-283.

2. Boisonnade, I. p.218-257.

In 1243, in the aftermath of the failure of their revolt a small group of Poitevin nobles who refused to be reconciled to the rule of the French king fled into exile in England and into the service of Henry III, their protector and original financier. These were all men of a military stamp and their leaders, the important Poitevin magnates Fulk de Castro Novo (a kinsman of Henry III) and Guy de Rochford became knights attached to the royal household having been provided by Henry III with revenues in England, fees and wardships, in compensation for their lands confiscated in Poitou.(1) These exiles quickly became active in the king's service and as early as 1245, for example, they were taking a leading part in a Welsh campaign.(2) Other Poitevins seen in England at this period, mostly on extended visits, were connected with these men, probably as knights making up the small Poitevin contingent in the king's army such as Segurus de Castro Novo,(3) but in their wake Henry III's patronage of Poitevins seems to have been stimulated somewhat and a handful of visiting or even absentee Poitevins

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1. Fulk was granted inter alia 80 marks p.a. from the farms of Stamford and Glatton and the wardship of Christiana de Marisco in Ireland (C.P.R. 1232-47 p.269,290,412,473,485). He died in 1247. Matthew Paris calls him 'miles eximius' (Chron.Maj. IV. p.604). For de Rochford: Ch.6 p.197 )

2. C.R.1242-47 p.343.

3. C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.44.

and other connexions in Gascony received gifts from Henry III in his capacity as rival paymaster to the king of France in Poitou and the border zones of Gascony.(1)

But it was incontestably the arrival in 1247 of Henry III's own half-brothers of the house of Lusignan which provided the greatest stimulus for intensified links with Poitou. This can be appreciated visually by reference to table 7.(2) which show the sharp increase in fees granted to Poitevins by the king. This is accompanied by other references to Poitevins in English government records of that year far beyond the quantity possible during the previous decade or more. Besides their own immediate households, which were by no means small, the Lusignan entourage arriving in England in 1247 contained many other Poitevins, kinfolk(3) and representatives of Poitevin houses of Rochechouart,(4) Aubusson,(5) Bovis Villa(6) and

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1. e.g. Arnold Cotyn (10m. gift:1246); William de Monte Revelli (£25 p.a. fee from 1246); Oliver de Chalais (£100 p.a. fee compensation for loss of lands in the Angoumois c.1246): C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.56,68,88.
2. p.243-46.
3. e.g. Alice de Lusignan (see below: p.96 ); Gwydona, (? illegitimate) kinswoman of Henry III, wife of Hugh de Chaceporc, ally of the king in 1247. Hugh was granted a fee of 30m. p.a. in 1247 (C.P.R. 1232-47 p.502.)
4. Aimery, a clerk (see p.76 )
5. Peter, a clerk (see p.76 )
6. Arnaud de Bovis Villa, lord of Miramont (Landes). He obtained a pension for his son, Arnaud, in 1247 (C.P.R.1232-47 p.510). For this family: below p.149

Chabanais[1] together with other client nobles and dependants of the once powerful house of Lusignan.[2] Most of these nobles and the immediate households of the Lusignans were quickly provided with fees and other revenues by the king.[3] It is quite clear, then, that this migration of Poitevins to England marked an important development in royal policy, especially in the wider field of foreign relations. Its origins lay in Henry III's continued interest in Poitevin affairs and a growing economic and political malaise among the Poitevin nobility under French rule.[4] Over one-third of the main Poitevin connexion created during 1247-58 visited England in 1247-8 and approximately half of these now settled in the realm to form the nucleus of a re-invigorated Poitevin community centred mainly at court. Furthermore, Henry III was attempting, with indifferent success, to revive in 1247 his patronage network among a wider circle of Poitevin nobles some of whom are also known to have visited England at this time, perhaps to attend the spectacular knighting ceremony in October 1247 held in honour of William de Valence when

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1. William, a knight (see p.77)
2. cf. Boisonnade I. p.225 for a list of Lusignan clients.
3. Tables 7 (p.243f) and 13-19 (p.429f)
4. Boisonnade, II. p.40, 46.

many other aliens were also knighted(1) or perhaps to attend a series of tournaments staged during this year, which chroniclers noted with disapproval had been arranged on behalf of the Poitevins by the king.(2)

From such beginnings the Poitevin community in England continued to grow steadily, perhaps as much as doubling its numbers before 1258. Hand-in-hand with those Poitevins settled in the realm came a steady stream of Poitevin visitors, royal kinfolk and other dependants of the Poitevins in England, who were hospitably received and rewarded by Henry III. The number of Poitevin visitors increased sharply from 1251 and reached its climax during the years of the Gascon campaign of 1253-4 when the king relied heavily on troops recruited from Poitou to aid him on the continent.(3) By the mid-1250's the power and wealth of the Lusignans and other Poitevins at the royal court was mounting steadily and this gave further impetus to Poitevin visits and some more settlement. But after this 'Gascon' period of 1252-5 Poitevin visits tailed off somewhat as political and economic problems began to engulf Henry III. While Poitevins

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1. Chron.Maj. IV. p.644. Arnaud de Bovis Villa was knighted with William in 1247 C.R.1242-47 p.540.

2. Chron.Maj. IV. pp.633,649 (at least 2 tournaments in 1247).

3. Below p.103,142

continued to exercise an increasing influence at the king's court 1256 marks, paradoxically, the virtual halting-point in the process of Poitevin settlement begun ten years earlier. Even after 1265 the evidence suggests that the number of new settlements had become very small indeed.(1)

## (b) The Poitevin Community - status, function and organization

At the zenith of their influence - about the years 1255-6 - there were approximately 40 identifiable Poitevins currently residing in England. Not more than 14 or so of these were knights or of knightly rank and a similar number were clerks, most of whom were beneficed. The remainder were sundry lay servants of inferior rank and other individuals such as the three Lusignan kinswomen married to young magnates of comital rank: Alice to John de Warrenne of Surrey (1247), Marie, or Mariotta, to Robert de Ferrars of Derby (1249), and another Alice to Gilbert de Clare of Gloucester (1253).(2) Well over one-third of the Poitevins (16 in all) were members of

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1. Table 5 (p. 238) also Table 7; Ch. 6 p. 232

2. G.W. Watson, 'The families of Lacy, Geneva .... and La Marche' The Genealogist new ser., vol. 21 (London, 1905) p. 80.

the households of the king's half-brothers resident in England.(1) At least 15 (7 knights, 2 valets and 6 clerks, not to mention other Poitevins who occasionally resided at court) were members of the king's household to which was also periodically attached the attendance of the four royal half-brothers and their immediate entourages. A handful of Poitevins resided in the provinces unattached to any specific household; these were mainly clerks, the most prominent of whom were the king's young kinsmen, Peter of Aubusson and Aimaury of Rochechouart, who were from 1247 studying at Oxford in the company of Aymer de Lusignan.(2)

About half-a-dozen Poitevins reached positions of importance in royal administration in the 1250's. The leading clerks were Peter de Chaceporc and Peter des Rivaux, keepers of the Wardrobe in swift succession, 1245-55; 1257-58.(3) Three laymen became prominent courtiers in constant attendance on the king, and as leading household knights performed a wide variety of both military and administrative duties, including service on all the major campaigns of the period, such as those in Wales and Gascony. Elias de Rabayn was sheriff of Somerset and Dorset 1251-55, keeper of

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1. Tables 13-18 (p.429-444)

2. A. Emden, Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500 (Oxford, 1957) p.74,1179, 1581-2.

3. Tout, op.cit. I. 263 ff, 280 ff.

Sherborne Castle 1251-55 and Corfe 1251-58. Guy de Rochford was keeper of Montgomery Castle (and as such Warden of the northern half of the Welsh March 1251-54), keeper of Northampton Castle (1254) and in June 1256 was appointed keeper of Colchester Castle, town and hundred 'for life'. By 1258 Rochford was probably a member of the king's Council. Another prominent knight was William de Chabanais, a kinsman of the king, who was from September 1252-June 1255 keeper of Porchester Castle.(1) These household knights were joined by William de Sancta Ermina, knight and member of the king's household from the beginning of 1253 rising to the office of Chamberlain. William's position was confidential and domestic rather than military and was described rather acidly by Matthew Paris in 1258: 'qui consuevit astare regi prandenti cum manutergio et ejus escam scindere' but it was nevertheless highly influential and kept him in daily attendance on the king where he witnessed most royal charters and received fees and gifts on the generous scale normally reserved for the Stewards of the Household themselves.(2)

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1. For these knights see table 2 p. 26
   Rochford is discussed esp. in Ch. 7 p. 254-5

2. Chron.Maj. V. p.702. For the rest of his career: below, p.154, 214-15.

Other Poitevins held less easily defined offices. Guy de Rochford's son, Maurice (deceased in 1257) was, like his father, first and foremost a soldier. He was knighted in Castille with the lord Edward in 1253 and was sent back to Gascony in 1255, probably with the intention to place him eventually in Edward's service.(1) Two other less well documented Poitevin knights of Henry III were William de Monte Revelli, who fought in Wales in 1257,(2) and Peter de Cultura.(3) Even less is known about the duties and status of the two Poitevins styled 'king's valet' down to 1258, Arnold Cotyn (1246-52)(4) and Hugh de Nede (or Narda) (1254-7; 1261-2)(5) who were endowed by the king, as was another Poitevin, Bertram de

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1. C.R.1253-54 p.199; C.P.R.1247-58 p.1 . Styled 'king's valet' and in receipt of a fee from 1251 (see Table 7 p.246

2. C.P.R.1247-58 p.596. In Henry III's service since the Poitou campaign of 1242, he was by 1269 a valet of Edward. (ibid. 1232-47 p.270; 1266-72 p.359).

3. In the king's service 1248-58 at least, but perhaps only resident in England from 1255. (C.P.R.1247-58 p.33, C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.216; C.R.1256-59 p.58,216.)

4. From 1246-d.1254 in receipt of a fee, small cash gifts and loans and, in 1247, a wardship. C.P.R.1232-47 p.499; 1247-58 p.3,4,40; C.Lib.R. 1245-51 p.56,112,165; C.R.1247-51 p.487; 1253-54 p.186, of Oléron. Served the king in 1242 (C.R.1242-47 p.148.) A frequent visitor, rather than settled in England.

5. C.P.R.1247-58 p.306,400,447; C.R.1261-64 p.12,59. Knighted at the instance of Geoffrey de Lusignan? 1261-2. P.R.O. S.C.1/4/47.

Bovis Villa (valet from about 1263)[1] but Arnold Cotyn, at least, was not settled in England for any length of time: his position at court may have been purely honorific, or of a diplomatic nature. As for the other Poitevin clerks at Henry III's court, one, Arnold de Bovis Villa, Henry III's kinsman (fl.1247-56; 1266-7), was still very young in 1256,[2] but Raymond, his kinsman, 'king's chaplain' in 1251 (fl.1250-1271),[3] and Peter de Rancon, received formally under letters patent as a clerk and member of the household in May 1256 (1256-8),[4] were employed from time to time on diplomatic missions on the continent for the king. Another alien clerk, Bonacio Lombard, may not be strictly termed a Poitevin, but the Lusignans were, nevertheless, his patrons: he was joint taker (Emptor) of the king's Wardrobe for a short period largely coinciding with the Gascon campaign (1254-55).[5]

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1. See below. Ch. 5 p.149

2. Robes were granted to his Tutor in 1256 (C.R.1254-56 p.290.)

3. C.R.1247-51 p.389. For his career see below: Ch. 5 p.149

4. C.P.R.1247-58 p.474. Peter was a canon of Limoges in 1256. By June 1257 he had been presented to a living (Byrinton) and sent in the entourage of the king's emissary, Rustand, to the Roman curia (ibid. p.559,622). He was in Henry's service in April 1258, but nothing more is known of him.

5. C.P.R.1247-58 p.316. Tout, op.cit.I. p.273-4.

A discussion of the rôle of Poitevins in Henry III's service will follow below, primarily in Chapter 5 (1)

The organization and activities of the Poitevin community in England, and of the stream of Poitevin visitors, was highly influenced by the fact that strong ties of kinship and other personal connexions bound these aliens together and made them identifiable as a force in English affairs. Geographically, the term 'pictavensis' needs liberal interpretation to include men from areas outside the formal confines of the county of Poitou: the 'Poitevins' hailed from a region as wide and diverse as the area stretching from the Gascon border (including, sometimes, Gascony itself) to the Breton coast. The Poitevins were dominated by eight or more leading families such as the Castro Novo (Chateauneuf-sur-Charente), Aubusson (of la Marche), Rochechouart (of Poitou), Chabanais (of Angoulême), Rochford (of Saintonge), Bovis Villa (of Perigord and Guyenne) and Chauvigny (of Chateauroux). All these families were connected in some fashion to the Lusignans (whose territories stretched from Thouars in the north of Poitou down to Perigord), most through marriage but the Rochfords, in particular,

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1. pp. 140 ff.

through long-standing clientage.(1) In turn, most other sundry Poitevins were connected directly, or indirectly with one or more of these families or, as often as not, to the Lusignans themselves.

The Poitevin community in England was, therefore, very much the result of Lusignan family and clientage ties. Enough evidence survives to suggest that, after settlement, these ties were kept alive. They are revealed by the witnessing of several of William de Valence's charters by Guy de Rochford and William de Chabanais.(2) Property transactions took place between Poitevins; often these were alienations where Poitevins proved to be an important market for each other's sales, such as in 1255 when Hugh de Nede sold marriage rights over the widow of Gilbert de Segrave to Geoffrey de Lusignan.(3) Other alienations were from Poitevins to the English servants

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1. Boisonnade I p.225. For the relationship of Aubusson, Rochechouart and the Lusignans see Tables B+C. p. xix, xx. For Rochechouart and Chabanais: H. Beauclet-Filleau, Dictionnaire Historique et Genéalogique des Familles do Poitou (Poitiers, 1891-1912) vol.II.p.160; For the Bovis Villa (ibid. I.p.713). Unfortunately, the precise tie of kinship between Bovis Villa and Henry III or the Lusignans remains a mystery. Illegitimacy cannot be ruled out.

2. Guy witnessed 1257 (twice), 1262, c.1265; Chabanais in 1262 and c.1265 (C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.462; 1257-1300 p.120; Cat.Anc.Deeds II A3172; IV A8096.

3. C.R.1254-56 p.377.

of the Lusignans such as sales by William de Sancta Ermina to Geoffrey de Neubald in 1267 and by William de Chabanais to William de Kirketon (1270).[1] Intermarriage between Poitevins in England was, of course, pointless but at least one incident shows that English wards held by Poitevins could be sent over to Poitou for marriage.[2] Connexions with Poitou were, in any case, perpetuated by visitors intent on sharing in their kinsman's good fortune. Two of Elias de Rabayn's family, for example, visited him shortly after his rise to a position of influence at court. Irvas de Rabayn visited in May 1251 and was knighted with ceremony by Henry III and presented with 50 marks in cash as a gift.[3] The following year Elias' brother Geoffrey arrived to transact family business, but he also departed with a gift of £10 from the king.[4]

The political effect of ties within the Poitevin community was probably considerable, although the evidence of the way in which such ties might work lies, for the most part, hidden below the surface and it is not frequently expressed in government records. However,

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1. C.P.R.1266-72 p.117,491.

2. e.g. Elias de Rabayn in the case of the Bayeux marriage. See below p 254.

3. C.R.1247-51 p.450,452; C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.357. Irvas was given 40lb. of wax for his knighting ceremony.

4. C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.59. c.f. C.P.R.1247-58 p.97.

entries referring to Poitevins 'lying ill' together at some royal palace or other as, for example Elias de Rabayn and William de Chabanais remained indisposed at Guildford in September 1249, or William de Monte Revelli and Hugh de Nede at Windsor in March 1257 suggest that domestic arrangements at court could have been designed to allow some Poitevins to share common quarters.(1) Poitevins worked together in the king's service on diplomatic and military business, especially when the mission concerned south-western France(2) and there are numerous instances of Poitevin collaboration during the Gascon campaign 1253-4. Within the court the practice of entering items relating to the payment of fees, robes and the issuing of other grants to Poitevins in clusters on the rolls of Chancery suggest that the Poitevin community operated its own complex forces of patronage.(3) Certainly, at the apex of this lay the

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1. C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.251; 1251-60 p.387.

2. e.g. Guy de Rochford and Peter de Chaceporc to Aragon in 1246 or Peter des Rivaux and Aymer de Lusignan to France in 1257 (C.P.R.1232-47 p.481; 1247-58 p.537.)

3. e.g. entries for Arnold Cotyn in February 1248 followed by one to Segur de Castro Novo (C.Lib.R. 1245-51 p.165), in October 1251 for Arnold followed by Guy de Rochford, in November 1251 by William de Chabanais and Guy de Lusignan and in February 1254, again by Guy de Rochford (ibid. p.379; C.R.1251-53 p.13; 1253-54 p.218.) This was, for the Poitevins, as for the Savoyards, a very common phenomenon.

Lusignans whose assistance and protection could be invoked for their kinfolk and dependants and who, in turn, looked to other Poitevins in England for political support. Often this support came from oblique sources, such as Peter des Rivaux, who first from his background position in the Chancery, then the Exchequer and, finally, the Wardrobe was repeatedly party to royal grants to the Lusignans and once, in 1256 intervened personally to assist Aymer of Winchester in asserting episcopal authority in his diocese.(1) Very occasionally Poitevins together petitioned the king for a particular grant, as William de Valence and his kinsman Simon de Rochechouart petitioned for knighthood on behalf of some Gascons in January 1256,(2) but these instances were rare.

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1. J.P. Traskey: Milton Abbey, a Dorset Monastery in the Middle Ages (Tilsbury, 1978) p.77-81; C.P.R.1247-58 p.103,128,619; C.R.1251-53 p.50.

2. C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.266 discussed below, Ch.5 p.150

(c) The characters of the king's half-brothers

Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan are unlikely to have made much impact outside the royal court. In 1258 two otherwise well-informed chroniclers were openly ignorant of their names.(1) Both were, in any case, often absent abroad. Guy, in particular, received no land from Henry III and, apart from eighteen months continuously at court 1255-57, he might be more accurately described as a visitor with a fundamentally continental outlook rather than as an alien settled in the realm, although he was undoubtedly during this time a member of the king's Council. Matthew Paris asserts in 1247 that he was popular with the English knights on account of his military prowess and - untypical of Poitevins - his constant loyalty to Henry III in the 1242-3 campaign but by 1250 Matthew's remarks about him had become definitely hostile.(2) Geoffrey, who was provided with lands and was more frequently in England was, paradoxically, even less well-known. Matthew Paris fails to record what seems to have

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1. Tewkesbury Annals p.165; Dunstable p.209 where the space left for Guy's name is very revealing.

2. Chron.Maj. IV p.633; V. p.204.

been a widespread opposition to his seisin of the wardship of the lands late of Geoffrey de Lucy in 1252 but instead merely retells a few very unrevealing anecdotes.(1) It is interesting to note the contrast in the barons' attitude to these brothers with Aymer and William in 1258 and the continued ignorance of Geoffrey's enfeoffment in England and Ireland.(2)

Aymer, the elect of Winchester, on the other hand quickly became a well-known and controversial figure. The circumstances surrounding ecclesiastical preferments obtained for him by the king, his election to Winchester at a scandalously young age, his quarrels with the priory of St. Swithun, Winchester, and, after his exile, his consecration by the pope and early death were widely recorded by chroniclers: before 1258 mostly without comment (when they did, it was unfavourable) but after 1258 with bolder criticism.(3) However, one cannot be blind to the fact that Aymer, in spite of personal merits

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1. ibid. V. p.205,329,344-5 etc.; C.R.1251-53 p.152.

2. D.B.M. p.95; cf. C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.453. The baronial Council seems to have chosen to ignore Geoffrey's lands until 1260 (see Ch.7 p.302)

3. Tewkesbury Annals p.138,143,169; Winchester p.92-8; Waverley p.344,349; Oseney p.99, 105-6, 125-6; and, perhaps, Dunstable p.216.

or demerits, received at times a rather unjust treatment by contemporaries. Certainly allegations current in the chroniclers about his unsuitability for ecclesiastical office need modification; for example it is not correct to assert, as Matthew Paris repeatedly did, that he was utterly devoid of education.(1) He spent at least two years at Oxford studying with a reputable tutor, Master Vincent of Tours, which, although hardly a complete education, does indicate some serious approach to his calling.(2) Moreover, in 1258 Aymer is alleged to have contemplated furthering his studies at the University of Paris after his expulsion from England.(3) Like many members of the royal family he was in touch with the Franciscan, Adam Marsh, (from an early period before his elevation to Winchester) and he may then have sought contact with Robert Grosseteste(4) although there is uncertainty whether he could have been responsible for

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1. Chron.Maj.V.p.55,179,183,224,468.

2. A.B. Emden: A biographical dictionary of the University of Oxford to 1500 (Oxford, 1957) p.1179,1889. For an early act of pietas involving Aymer, Vincent and Hales-owen Abbey c. 1247: V.C.H. Staffordshire XVII p.226.

3. Chron.Maj. V. p.702-3.

4. Marsh, Epistolae p.102, 169,175. cf. C.P.R.1247-58 p.522.

the introduction to the diocese of Winchester of Grosseteste's statutes for parochial clergy.[1] Fears that Aymer would be a mere royalist cypher must have been dispelled when in 1252-3 he emerged, a year after consecration, as a spokesman for ecclesiastical liberties against the king's will.[2] Nor was he as close to the interests of Rome as his Savoyard fellow-bishops. His acceptance by his fellow-clergy must, however, have been affected by his status as a mere electus, an increasingly anomalous position in the eyes of the pope and certainly, by this time, unusual in England.[3] Aymer, in fact, delayed his consecration by the pope until May 1260 when he was well over the canonical age, but this possibly reflects his pious scruples over his rather brief education.

The outstanding features of Aymer's episcopate were a vigorous defence of his rights and dues, mainly of a temporal nature such as those of advowson[4] or the building up of the finances of the bishopric depleted,

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1. C.R. Cheney, English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century (Oxford, 1941) p.135.

2. Chron.Maj. V. p.325-333,373.

3. Reg. Alexander IV, I. No.686; R.L. Benson, The Bishop Elect (Princeton, 1968) p. 108-15,149,195f.

4. e.g. the famous dispute with John fitz Geoffrey in 1258 (Chron.Maj. VI. p.408-9) or with the Archbishop of Canterbury described in Chapter 4.

no doubt, by the quarrels between Henry III and his predecessor William Raleigh, which had kept the see in the hands of royal commissioners for six years.(1) Aymer's celebrated quarrel with the cathedral priory of St. Swithun from 1254-56 was over traditional issues of episcopal authority and can be compared with Grosseteste's vigorous handling of his own monks; its adverse political effect can be exaggerated and it should be interpreted as something of an ecclesiastical reform.(2) But it is important to stress from the outset that it was the degree of violence to which Aymer was prepared to go in the defence of his rights which so appalled English political society. Aymer's arrogance, doubtless, was derived from an assurance of Henry III's support, but by 1258 this was by no means automatic.(3)

Aymer's personality and popularity, thus, remain an enigma. As an alien his appointment as bishop was controversial enough and, indeed, some of the king's early attempts to provide him to benefices encountered

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1. Baronial Plan p.57.

2. Winchester Annals p.95; Waverley, p.349.

3. cf. Henry III's repeated interventions 1254-5 on behalf of the monks of St. Swithun and against the bishop-elect (Chron.Maj. V. p.468-9, 537; Winchester Annals p.95).

lay opposition.(1) Aymer, like other alien bishops, had his foreign clerks but there was not the same degree of local violence against his men as shown against the Savoyard bishop of Hereford.(2) Within his own diocese he had in fact by 1258 built up a considerable body of support, as shown by the favourable version of events provided by the Winchester Annals, perhaps the fruits of astute patronage or of heavy-handed episcopal authority, but perhaps due also to a genuine popularity of sorts. Although in many ways a very secularly-minded cleric who was fond of hunting(3) and fighting(4) Aymer acquired a curious posthumous reputation for sanctity. We might expect to read in the Winchester Annals, which had disapproved of his exile in 1258, that miracles were wrought at his heart-shrine, but the later chronicler, Rishanger, who was not generally sympathetic to the Lusignans, wrote that Aymer was 'vir ..... praeclarae sanctitatis'.(5) The local cult of Aymer at Winchester

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1. e.g. C.R.1247-51 p.116 (1248); ibid. p. 348 (1250).
2. See Table 16 p. 438-442.
3. e.g. C.P.R.1247-58 p.176,494.
4. E. Robo, Mediaeval Farnham (Farnham, 1939) p.83.
5. Winchester Annals p.99; William de Rishanger: Chronicon (Camden Soc.) p.8.

stemmed, perhaps, from the generous treatment of his bondsmen.(1) The bishop-elect had had a genuine enough concern for the poor. This is illustrated by a little-known incident dating from early in his career. In November 1247 the city of Oxford was taken into the king's hands after criminals had murdered one of Aymer's servants not long after the king's brother had commenced his studies at the schools. The mayor collected thirty marks to pacify him but when Aymer heard that this money had been extorted from the lesser commune he was, with typical spontaneity, moved to pity and ordered it to be restored to them.(2) We must compare such action with the campaign of vilification mounted against the exiled electus by the baronial government after 1258.

Before 1258 few chroniclers other than Matthew Paris have much to say about William de Valence. He has been relatively well-served by Historians who have emphasized

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1. Robo, op.cit. p.87-90.

2. C.R.1247-51 p.4,25,296; Cal.Inq.Misc.1219-1307 No.238 (c.1257). In December 1260 the king gave alms, in memory of the recently deceased Aymer, to feed 10,000 poor (sic.) at Winchester and Oxford and, on March 12th 1262 to feed 500 poor at Winchester on the day of the interrment of Aymer's heart in the Cathedral. Does this explain the cult of Aymer's heart? (C.Lib.R.1260-7 p.12,13,81.) cf. H. Johnstone, 'Poor relief in the royal households of thirteenth century England' Speculum:4 (1929) p.149-66.

his importance as a new force created by Henry III on the Welsh March in 1247 as well as his martial nature which, like Aymer of Winchester, had an arrogant and violent disregard for social and political convention.(1) He attracted to his service men of ambition - most of them English - and their high-handed behaviour won him a certain unpopularity; in 1251 and 1257, for instance, two of his yeomen were murdered, the latter by the London mob.(2) Denied a serious political rôle before 1258 he gravitated to the world of tournaments and sought friendship with a circle of young magnates of similar violent outlook - John de Warrenne, Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester and, ultimately, the lord Edward and Henry of Almain.

William conducted numerous lawsuits with magnates. Many of these concerned matters unresolved arising from the partition of the Marshal inheritance (1246) involving legal rights and jurisdictions difficult to divide. The clashes between the men of William de Valence and Humphrey de Bohun junior in July 1253 in Ireland in which the king ordered the Justiciar to arbitrate probably resulted from this.(3) William also had the

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1. e.g. F.R. Lewis 'William de Valence' Aberystwyth Studies:13 (1934) p.13-35; 14 (1936) p.72-91.

2. See Table 13 p.429-433. esp. p.432.

3. C.R.1251-53 p.492.

greatest difficulty in asserting his judicial rights in Pembroke. In 1247 and 1249 the earl of Gloucester, in 1250 the earl of Norfolk and in 1247, 1252 and 1256 Humphrey de Bohun junior were being cajoled into performing suits to the county court at Pembroke.(1) Such lawsuits, no doubt, irritated quarrels with the earl of Hereford, de Bohun's father, as in the royal camp in Gascony (1254) and Wales (1257).(2) These disputes may, too, have been instrumental in turning the earl of Gloucester into an enemy of the Lusignans in 1258 but, unlike the litigation with the Bohuns at Haverfordwest which dragged on until the 1280's, nothing more is heard of disputes between William and Gloucester or Norfolk over suit of court at Pembroke - neither of the latter two's pres- tige was as seriously affected as the neighbouring lord of Haverfordwest.(3) The king intervened repeatedly to defend William's liberties in Pembroke and Ireland. In 1250 and 1251, for example, the king's bailiff at Carmarthen was ordered to distrain all tenants to perform suit of court due to the honour of Pembroke(4) and in

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1. P.R.O. K.B.26/159m.6; J.G. Edwards (ed.) Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales (Cardiff, 1935) p.211 (P.R.O. E.159/30m.3 corrects Edwards' dating.)

2. Below, pp. 147, 265

3. J.R.S. Phillips, Aymer de Valence (Oxford, 1972) p.250.

4. C.R.1247-51 p.275,518.

May 1255 the Justiciar of Ireland was ordered to defend liberties enjoyed by William de Valence by virtue of the Marshal inheritance, even if such liberties had lapsed.(1) Such intervention by the Crown anxious to underwrite a loyal power-base cannot have enhanced William's popularity (although in Pembroke it was merely reinforcing acknowledged rights) and it demonstrated that the young Valence's control of his furthest-flung estates was somewhat shaky. William was also involved in the endless litigation between Marshal co-heirs over the provision of dower payments and lands to Eleanor, wife of Simon de Montfort, and Margaret de Lacy, dowager countess of Lincoln. From it he came out well. In common with his fellow co-heirs he showed reluctance to contribute to the dowries. His relations with Margaret de Lacy were particularly poor, with clashes between their men in Wales in 1254 and 1258.(2) William was also notorious in his arrears owing to the king for the dower of Eleanor de Montfort, which Henry III had undertaken to pay his sister on behalf of the Marshal co-heirs. In 1251 and 1257 the king remitted money owed by William for this - a considerable sum of

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1. C.R.1254-56 p.190.

2. C.R.1253-54 p.109,124,129; 1259-61 p.2.

500 marks by 1257.[1] This - apart from a minor dispute with Edward over a whale in Norfolk in 1254[2] - represents the sum total of William's major lawsuits. Apart, possibly, from Simon de Montfort's opposition in 1258 they had no tangible political effect. This is borne out by the surviving records of the baronial régime including the querelae heard before Hugh Bigod in 1258-9 which mainly show redress of wrongs claimed by comparatively minor personages, whereas disputes outstanding from those noted here would surely have attracted wider attention and publicity.[3]

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1. Excerpta e.rot.fin. ii p.109; C.R.1256-59 p.28. cf. M.Wade 'The personal disputes of Simon de Montfort .... with Henry III' (Oxford B.Litt. Thesis, 1939) p.18-21. Other co-heirs owed as much as William and were equally reluctant to pay.
2. C.R.1254-56 p.3.
3. ch.7 pp.307-12

# CHAPTER 4

## From stability to crisis: the Lusignans and politics at the royal court 1247-53

The major event at Henry III's court in 1247 was the arrival in England in the early summer of members of the House of Lusignan, four of his half-brothers and a half-sister, accompanied by sizeable entourages and representatives of the Poitevin nobility. Their careers followed a pattern which was by now very familiar. King Henry rushed to marry off the youngest brother, William de Valence (aged 'between sixteen and nineteen years') to a very wealthy heiress and by the end of the year he had settled on him the wealth virtually of a minor English earl. Aymer, hardly much older and destined for the church, was packed off to his studies at Oxford where he remained until at least 1249; he, too, was quickly loaded with revenues and made 'wealthy as a bishop' with his benefices. Indeed, in 1249 the king attempted, unsuccessfully, to obtain for him the see of Durham, only to succeed in 1250 in securing his election to Winchester. Their sister, Alice, was married in 1247 to the king's young ward, John de Warrenne, heir to the earldom of Surrey and Sussex. Advancement for other Poitevins

followed in due course.(1)

(i) Court politics 1247-52

It was immediately obvious from the tournaments and other marks of respect with which he greeted them that King Henry III had the highest affection for his half-brothers.

As described in the previous chapter, Henry was reviving at this stage something of his ill-fated Poitevin alliance of 1241-42 and it is more than likely that this was a sign of his continuing cool relations with Louis IX and Alphonse de Poitiers which were soon to result in Henry's refusal to accompany Louis on Crusade and his renewal, in Louis' absence, of his claims to Normandy.(2)

Until the mid-1250's Henry III made repeated use of the Lusignans and Poitevins, short of provoking a breach with Louis and Alphonse, but to their evident

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1. Inter alia: Chron.Maj. IV. p.627-633, 640-50; F.R. Lewis, 'William de Valence' p.13-20; H.S. Snellgrove, The Lusignans p.17-28 passim.

2. Above, p.70-4 ; Chron.Maj. V. p.51; Hen.III + L.Edw. p.239.

displeasure[1] and, indeed, within months of their arrival in 1247 Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan were forced to return by Alphonse and go on Crusade.[2] However, the opposition of the English magnates in Parliament to taxation and overseas service ultimately put an end to Henry III's continental ambitions after 1249[3] and so, for the meantime the Lusignans and Poitevins were confined to a mainly peripheral rôle at court.

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1. Boisonnade II p.50 ff. argues that Louis IX did not object to the Lusignans' links with Henry III after 1247, but this is hardly consistent with his own thesis of careful continuing erosion of the Lusignans' position in Poitou by the Capetians after 1242 (ibid. p.3 ff.). It is true that after the death of count of la Marche on Crusade in 1250 the Lusignans faced a minority and so were unlikely to risk rebellion, but their position was, nonetheless, clearly ambiguous. From 1249 Lusignans in England were incorporated by name within the periodic truces between Henry III and Louis IX (C.P.R.1247-58 p.49; Foedera 1(i) p.324) and Guy and Geoffrey required permission from Louis IX to visit England (e.g. C.R.1251-53 p.430). In 1253 Alphonse was nervous about Henry III's use of Poitevin knights in Gascony (Boisonnade II p.53). Even in 1258 Louis IX plotted against the Lusignans (Chron.Maj. V. p.702). Below, p.278, 288-9

2. Boisonnade, II p.5. Henry III may have attempted to prevent this.

3. Chron.Maj. V. p.73. Below, p.278.

It is to the Savoyards, therefore, that we must turn for the main course of court politics for the first few years. As favourites they still reigned supreme. In 1246 a crisis had arisen over their complicity in the ruination of Henry III's plans for Provence and the destruction for the time being of his hopes for plotting an uprising against Louis IX in the south, but the deft diplomacy of the queen's uncles smoothed over the king's anger with astonishing rapidity.(1) From 1246-49 Peter of Savoy was frequently at court and he continued to accumulate large grants from the king such as the Honour of l'Aigle and Pevensey Castle (1246) and custody of the Honour of Eu centring on Hastings and Tickhill castles (1249). In 1247 he made his well-known visit to England with a company of Savoyard youths and ladies which produced the advantageous marriages for his kinswomen with the magnates Edmund de Lacy and Richard de Burgh (1247); during the same period he launched and furthered the careers at court of aspiring Savoyard knights such as Eubule de Montibus, Geoffrey de Joinville, Eubule of Geneva and Stephen de Salines.(2) Thomas of Savoy visited England in 1248

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1. D.T. Williams, 'Aspects of the career of Boniface of Savoy' p.126-132 gives the best account of this.

2. C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.293; Excerpt.e.Rot.Fin. ii p.64; Chron.Maj. IV. p.598,628. For the Savoyards: Montibus (career established:1246-49) C.R.1242-47 p.487; C.P.R.1247-58 p.43; Joinville (1247-52) G.E.C. V. p.628-9; Geneva (1245-47) G.W. Watson, 'The Families of Lacy, Geneva' etc. The Genealogist, new ser.XXI (1904) p.8-11; Salines (?1244-46) C.R.1242-47 p.186; C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.305.

and was high enough in the king's favour to be promised 500 marks p.a. in lands and in 1249 Boniface of Savoy was enthroned at Canterbury and began the first of his provincial visitations.(1) The Savoyards were also continuing to be vital for Henry III's diplomatic aims. These centred momentarily in 1249-50 on the securing of a long truce with Louis IX - and even flirting with peace. In October 1249 Peter of Savoy, Peter de Aigueblanche and Geoffrey de Grandimonte were appointed to prorogue the truce with Louis for a year and at the same time Aigueblanche and Peter de Chaceporc were to treat for peace. The following year (March 1250) it was proposed that Richard of Cornwall, and Peter and Phillip of Savoy should seek to prolong the truce for sixteen years or more and attempt to negotiate peace. This abortive mission was almost certainly connected with Henry III's schemes for a Crusade in 1250 as part of his own devious manoeuvres against the baronage to obtain income without resorting to Parliament. The Savoyards were, for example, given the task of facilitating negotiations with the Papacy for the granting of a licence (amongst other crusader privileges) to levy a tenth from the clergy.(2)

The Savoyards secured at this time an important further victory in their struggle to identify themselves

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1. C.P.R.1247-58 p.9; D.T. Williams, op.cit. p.140-178.
2. C.P.R.1247-58 p.49,50,52,62; Richard of Cornwall p.73-4. For an alternative view, below, p.165-6

with the lord Edward's interests and those of his estates. In April 1249 Queen Eleanor was confirmed as protector ('baillie') of Edward and his lands in the event of the king's death. Two years earlier the county of Chester, along with castles on the Welsh border, had been made over to the queen in dower. This marked a further refinement, in reality, on the moves undertaken earlier in the 1240's, to force Henry III to earmark an appanage for his heir and ward off the designs of Richard of Cornwall on these estates.(1) It was the grant of Gascony to Edward in September 1249 which not only laid to rest any doubts concerning the duchy's part in the projected appanage but also seems to have put the formal seal on Peter of Savoy's role as Eleanor's deputy in the guardianship of Edward. In October 1249 Peter himself was to succeed to the custodianship of Edward's Honour of Eu (still the main source of the prince's revenue) and in February 1250 his appointment to arbitrate, along with Simon de Montfort, in an award to Amauvin de Varreys was to be the first of his many interventions in Gascon affairs.(2) It is interesting to speculate whether de Montfort had, in fact, even been the Savoyards' choice to administer Gascony in 1248. He was friendly enough with them during the 1240's, as we have

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1. C.P.R.1232-47 p.501; 1247-58 p.39. Richard of Cornwall p.73; see above Ch.2 p.63-5

2. ibid. C.P.R.1247-58 p.60.

shown, and they may have been instrumental in persuading him to abandon his intended crusade for this new post.(1) After this, they were to be supportive enough of his rather high-handed treatment of the Gascons, with the sole exception of Queen Eleanor's characteristic intervention in 1250 to secure a pardon for her kinsman, Gaston de Bearn.(2)

It was, however, the misfortune of the House of Savoy to be out of England on the pursuit of their own private interests during 1251 when Henry III's policies, and court politics, took yet another shift. Peter of Savoy was absent on the continent April 1250-c.January 1252, Archbishop Boniface June 1250-November 1252 and Peter of Aigueblanche October 1249-November 1252. In the course of 1251-2 Henry III took definite steps to build up the power and status of the Poitevins in England. His half-brothers Guy and Geoffrey returned from crusade in 1251 and were granted wardships and other gifts with the appearance that they might settle. Aymer was installed with much ceremony as bishop-elect of Winchester in July 1251 and further valuable wardships were granted to William de Valence.(3) It is from this point, too, that the Lusignans began to serve on the council and their

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1. C. Bémont, Simon de Montfort (1930) p.72.
   See above, Ch.2 p.58-9

2. Chron.Maj. V. p.104. The Thirteenth Century p.112.
   It may simply have seemed common sense to mollify Gaston at this point early in de Montfort's lieutenancy.

3. See Ch. 6 p.198

followers began to prosper. Other members of the house of Lusignan visited in 1251 to attend Aymer's installation, notably Isabella de Craon and William de Chauvigny and both were loaded with gifts and fees; the numbers of Poitevins coming to court to receive fees, which had not been large after the initial contacts of 1247, suddenly began to mushroom too.(1) It was no coincidence that 1251 saw the appointment of Poitevin knights to the control of castles: Guy de Rochford to Montgomery and Elias de Rabayn (with the shrievalty of Dorset) to Corfe and Sherborne; and in 1252 William de Chabanais to Porchester.(2)

Henry III began promoting the Poitevins at his court at this stage not simply out of affection for his half-brothers, as the chroniclers insinuated, but because they had again suddenly acquired considerable use for his purposes. The situation in Gascony took a turn for the worse in 1251 and rebellion broke out against Simon de Montfort. Furthermore, the capture of Louis IX during crusade in 1250 had revived talk in England of an expedition to recover the lost Angevin territories on the continent.(3) By advancing the Poitevins Henry was undoubtedly taking sensible steps further to build up contacts with the Poitevin nobility in order to recruit

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1. ibid. p.193 ; below, Table 7 p.243-6

2. Table 2 p.26

3. Chron.Maj. V p.280; c.f. V p.51; Hen.III + L.Edw. p.195.

the military assistance which he would soon require. Poitevins, in fact, intervened in Gascony sooner than might have been expected, for as early as the Spring of 1252 a force of knights led by Geoffrey de Lusignan and William de Chauvigny swept into Gascony in order to save Simon de Montfort's position and restore some semblance of order.(1)

The Lusignans could believe, thus, that they had quite deservingly achieved their position as Henry III's supreme favourites by 1252. Matthew Paris inserted in his writings from this point his most vivid stories of the king's public affection for them and their dependants: scenes of emotional greetings, tales of fantastic gifts, such as the 500 marks per annum grant to the knight, Elias de Rabayn, even horseplay observed in the garden of St. Alban's Abbey, but also sinister accounts of their haughtiness and tyrannical behaviour.(2) Judging by their almost constant attendance at court and by the stream of small gifts and grants made 'by the king himself' or even on orders spoken by the king himself Matthew's comments seem authentic enough.(3) Aymer was the king's favourite brother. Henry had intervened dramatically in person to secure his election to Winchester late in 1250 and family ties were, no doubt, strengthened by the fact that at

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1. C. Bemont, Simon de Montfort p.100-2
2. Chron.Maj. V p.205,240-1,263,283,329,343-5.
3. The most unusual 'sicut Rex dixit viva voce' in a grant of pontificals to Aymer in 1251 (C.R.1247-51 p.413)

Winchester stood one of Henry's favourite palaces which he normally visited twice a year and while there could be lavishly entertained by the bishop-elect; this was from now on to have an enormous effect on Aymer's political influence. It is also worth remarking that, in contrast to the remoteness of Peter of Savoy's favourite castles and manors, the king stayed at William de Valence's principal residence, Hertford castle, five times between 1247 and 1258.(1)

As virtually the sole chronicle source for the Poitevins 1251-57 Matthew Paris did not conceal his dislike for them. His prejudices could well have reflected in part his main supply of information, the court of Henry III. Matthew records the 'dismay of those who truly loved the king' even under the year 1247, the king's outburst of anger at the appointment of his official, Robert Passelewe to a benefice in preference to Aymer in 1249 and the remarks critical of Poitevins related to him by the justice Sir Roger de Thurkilby in 1252.(2) The court had indeed little reason to rejoice at the sudden advancement of the Lusignans. Unlike the well-established and trusted Savoyards, they were newcomers on the political scene with hardly any experience of administration or of working with

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1. c.f. C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.330,365; C.P.R.1247-58 p.30,107, 150,429,441,545. (These are references to Henry's movements rather than grants to William.)

2. Chron.Maj. IV p.650, V p.85,317. I disagree with E.F. Jacob's dismissal of the Thurkilby incident in 'The reign of Henry III', T.R.H.S. 4th.ser.X (1927) p.22.c.f. R. Vaughan, Matthew Paris (Cambridge, 1958) p.13-15, 135-6.

Henry III's curiales (indeed, as much could be said of most Poitevins with the exception of a handful, such as Guy de Rochford). Furthermore, compared with the House of Savoy, with their love of legal form, the wild and lawless behaviour of the Lusignans which came to the fore once they began to enjoy Henry's favour was most shocking. Even their short record of activities before this point had built up a sinister reputation for them. The career of William de Valence well illustrates this point. His early love of tournamenting had driven him into the company of young discontented nobles excluded, for the most part, from influence at court partly by Henry III's dislike of tournaments and partly, even more so, by the well-entrenched establishment which Henry had built up in government since the 1230's.(1) William quickly found unruly friends for himself in the world of tournaments, such as Richard de Clare. The wealthy young earl of Gloucester had been anxious to make a name for himself in politics; in 1247 he had even imitated his forebearers, the Marshals, by spearheading some opposition to the king and the Poitevins at tournaments. Then he decided it was more to his advantage to ally himself with the royal court, but in 1249 when he became friendly with William, he was still on the fringes of power, flirting with Richard of Cornwall's patronage

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.1. N. Denholm-Young 'The tournament in the 13th. century', Collected Papers (Univ.Wales Press, 1969) p.104-7.

(always something of an opposition focus, even in the 1250's).[1] In 1249 de Clare and William won notoriety for themselves and temporary popularity in knightly society by twice defying the king's ban on tournamenting and as a result suffered the due penalty of the confiscation of their estates. The November tournament of 1249, where William was joined by Guy de Rochford, Geoffrey de Gacelin and John de Warenne, may even have been something of a small Poitevin demonstration against courtiers for Matthew Paris styles the knights fighting against them 'bachelarii', a term often used for members of the king's household.[2] Two such knights were, in fact, punished by the king for taking part, the Savoyard Stephen de Salines, and William de Oddingseles who was wounded by none other than William de Valence himself. Oddingseles was constable of Montgomery Castle (1248-51) where, ironically, he was to be succeeded by Guy de Rochford.[3] Even so, King Henry's anger over this affair was, characteristically, short-lived.[4] William was, however, soon in trouble again for

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1. Chron.Maj. IV p.633,649; M.Altschul, A baronial family .... the Clares (Baltimore, 1965) p.67; Richard of Cornwall Ch. 5 passim.

2. Chron.Maj.V p.54,83; C.R.1247-51 p.245,247,345.

3. ibid. c.f. C.P.R.1247-51 p.34,98.

4. All the above-mentioned (except Oddingseles, about whom there is no reference on the rolls) were pardoned within a few weeks. King Henry's grant of the great fitz John wardship to William in August 1249 may have been a response to William's unruliness and an attempt to restrain his tournamenting energies (C.P.R.1247-58 p.46: see Ch. 6 p.198 ) William was back in favour with the king by December 1249 (C.R.1247-51 p.247,249-50 etc.). But were Gloucester's pilgrimages in mid-1248 and 1250 penances for illegal tournamenting? (C.P.R.1247-58 p.12, 61; Annals of Tewkesbury p.137,140).

his high-handed disregard for royal policy. In November 1251 the king closed all the major southern ports to prevent his half-brother from going on crusade without a royal license. William may have been responding to the appeal sent across Christendom for an expedition to rescue Louis IX from captivity such as was brought to Henry III late in 1250, by Louis' brothers in person but Henry III's policy was to prevent crusading activity independent of the English crown and from which it could not profit financially.(1) Most distasteful of all to English courtiers, however, must have been incidents such as William's lawless and drunken raid in October 1252 on the park and estate of his neighbour, Hugh de Northwold, bishop of Ely, at Hatfield 'contra domini regis decretum nuper de communi consilio Anglorum divulgatum' recorded by Matthew Paris, but on this occasion openly unpunished by the king in a scandalous demonstration of favouritism and disregard for justice.(2) As we have suggested in Chapter 6 there is enough evidence to suggest, too, that very quickly during the 1250's Henry's enrichment of the Poitevins came to be at the expense of other curiales, including Richard of Cornwall and other powerful figures such as the stewards of the Household.(3)

The crisis of 1252, now to be described in detail,

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1. C.R.1251-53 p.5,178,191 ; for the havoc this caused: P.R.O. S.C.8/27/13488. c.f. Chron.Maj. V p.103,188.

2. Chron.Maj. V p.343. Northwold had been in the king's service, and may have been friendly with Queen Eleanor (ibid., p.330). I can find no further evidence of this event, even in Judicial records. Matthew Paris cannot surely have invented it?

3. pp.219-221.

illustrates well that relations between the House of Savoy and the Lusignans immediately became very strained once the latter began to encroach on their monopoly, so jealously guarded in the past, as the king's alien favourites. Already by the early 1250's, the Savoyards and the Poitevins formed two distinct and separate groups at court. There is no evidence that they ever co-operated with each other, for example by witnessing each others' private charters or by inter-marriage or by working together on diplomatic missions. In Queen Eleanor's extensive private accounts for 1251-4 there are recorded gifts to all sorts of official and courtier but nothing to the Poitevins.(1) Indeed, there is enough to point to early outbursts of hostility between the two. This may be behind the participation of Stephen de Salines in the 1249 tournament or in the struggles of 1251-2 during which Henry attempted to recover the Craon estates from their Savoyard grantees for his sister, Isabella.(2) The Poitevins' encroachment on the Savoyards' monopolization of the Lord Edward's interests through the appointment of Guy de Rochford to Montgomery Castle (already earmarked for Edward's appanage) may have been a deliberate snub.(3) Nor can Peter of Savoy have

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1. The sole exception is William de Valence's English wife, Joan, to whom at Hertford Eleanor sent messengers in August 1252, March and April 1253: P.R.O. E.101/308/1mm. 1,2.

2. Ch. 6 p.204, 221.

3. Montgomery seems to have been connected with the Honour of Chester as designated dower land for the queen in 1241 prior to its transfer to Edward's appanage (C.P.R. 1232-47 p.244). Guy de Rochford was replaced in 1254 by Eleanor's knight, Bartholemew Pecche (C.P.R.1247-58 p.365) followed swiftly by the Savoyard, Imbert de Montferrand (C.R. 1253-54 p.63.)

been pleased to discover that William de Valence had formed an almost immediate intimate friendship with his brother-in-law John de Warenne, since 1247.(1) The young earl Warenne, typically of William's friends, was discontented with his treatment by the court establishment. He had been Peter of Savoy's ward since 1241 but Peter had dealt harshly with his estates and had dragged his heels over the restoration of them to him after 1248. Warenne joined the Poitevins in their attack on the Savoyards in 1252 and after this his men at Lewes clashed repeatedly with those of Peter of Savoy's neighbouring honour of Pevensey.(2) King Henry III's doting on the Lusignans after 1251, therefore, was to have a de-stabilizing effect on the unity of his court and to encourage the re-emergence of warring factions. The crisis of 1252 was to be a test of Henry's political skill in coping not simply with the English baronage but with forces which had been unleashed by his own hand.

## (ii) The crisis of 1252

The events of 1252 have been almost completely

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1. cf. P.R.O. E.163/1/29 (a record of loans). This is only one example from the mass of evidence to link these two magnates in friendship 1247-72.

2. Peter's wardship of Warenne was to last for ten years from 1241 (C.P.R.1232-47 p.272). Some of his estates were restored to him, however, in 1248 as a special mark of the king's favour (ibid. 1247-58 p.14). Peter still kept some of the Surrey lands in 1252 (C.R.1251-53 p.79). For Peter's abuse of the wardship and later conflicts: Cal.Inq.Misc.1219-1307 No.16; E.F. Jacob, Studies in the period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion p. 112, 364-5.

ignored by Historians save for the famous trial of Simon de Montfort. They reveal, however, an interesting momentary link between Queen Eleanor and her uncles and the forces of baronial political opposition, similar to what happened in 1258, which developed as a reaction to the sudden competition for their influence posed by the Poitevins. As the star of the king's newly-arrived half-brothers had risen at court, so that of the queen indeed had fallen. The causes underlying this are not difficult to discover. Reasons of foreign policy apart, from October 1249, when a papal bull ordered the archbishop of York and Peter of Aigueblanche to investigate allegations of Henry III's pre-contract with Jeanne of Ponthieu, until April 1251, when they pronounced their somewhat unilateral favourable judgement (confirmed by the pope only in August 1252) the validity of Eleanor of Provence's marriage was called into doubt.(1) No chronicler dared to mention this and, indeed, Henry continued to refer in affectionate terms to the queen in public statements and to maintain her household with large grants of money.(2) But, in contrast to the almost constant attendance of the Lusignans on the king, Eleanor was often

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1. Wurstemberger IV, No. 242; Foedera 1 (i), p.277,284.

2. e.g. C.Lib.R. 1245-51 p.362 ('beloved consort and queen': July, 1251); also, injunctions to the clergy to pray for the king and queen: C.P.R.1247-58 p.89 (1249); B.Harvey, Westminster Abbey and its estates in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1977) p.391. (1249).

away from court at one of her castles and manors, such as Windsor.

From 1251-52 Queen Eleanor repeatedly flirted with subtle political opposition. Matthew Paris takes great delight in recording three disputes: over an advowson in 1251-2 followed by the disgrace of one of Eleanor's clerks in 1252 and, finally the great clash between Poitevins and Savoyards, but the first two of these incidents only fit into a wider pattern. The petty but bitter advowson dispute over Flemstead, co. Herts. where Henry attempted to unseat one of Eleanor's clerks in favour of the Burgundian Artauld de Sancto Romano escalated into a great issue of ecclesiastical reform when the queen astutely invoked the support of the ever-belligerent Robert Grosseteste and

Eleanor de Montfort for her cause.(1) Her resistance over Flemstead probably provoked the king's retaliation in the disgracing of another of her clerks, Robert de Ho on a charge of corruption in October 1252.(2) Then King Henry may have attempted financial pressure on the queen. The Dunstable Annals records at this time a rumour that Henry, anxious to make savings for his forthcoming crusade 'praecipue cameram reginae moderavit et multos ejecit'.(3) There is, in fact, no truth about the matter of dismissals, but something is to be said for enforced economies in 1252.(4)

Queen Eleanor's most important act of defiance against Henry III was her open support, along with that of Peter of Savoy, for Simon de Montfort during his trial in 1252, although it is not clear whether their resistance was in this case an indirect response to the Poitevin favourites

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1. Chron.Maj. V p.298-9; Marsh Epistolae CCXXVI p.393-4; C.P.R.1247-58 p.121,140,160; C.R.1251-53 p.15,205. This shows that the dispute lasted Dec. 1251-Aug.1252. For the queen's friendship with Eleanor de Montfort: M.A.E. Green, Lives of the Princesses of England (London, 1849) vol.2, p.95-109.

2. Chron.Maj. V p.345; Dunstable Annals p.186; C.R.1251-53 p.270.

3. Dunstable Annals p. 184.

4. Writs Liberate to the queen amounted to totals of about £1500 in 1250, £1000 in 1251, only £400 in 1252, increasing to £1100 in 1253. By April 1252 the queen's household was in debt (C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.39).

or simply the response of long-standing friends of the earl who were appalled at King Henry's sudden and arbitrary attempts to ruin him. Relations between king and lieutenant deteriorated rapidly in 1251 when complaints against de Montfort's government began to filter through from Gascony followed by rumours of impending rebellion. When the earl returned to court in the Winter of 1251 bringing with him Guy de Lusignan Henry pointedly snubbed him in favour of his half-brother. After this the Savoyards intervened with the king no fewer than three times on Simon's behalf, the first being Eleanor's attempt late in 1251 to prevent Henry from violating his contract through refusing to reimburse de Montfort for his recent expenses in capturing castles to secure the frontiers of Gascony.(1) Then, it seems likely that the return of Peter of Savoy to England in March 1252 enabled him, after a rushed meeting with the queen and the earl under the good offices of Adam Marsh, to intervene in the arbitration, set up at the end of 1251, to secure a verdict (c.16th-23rd March 1252) favourable to de Montfort in the matter of his expenses. Amongst the arbiters were, incidentally, the Lusignans performing their first recorded major act of state.(2)

Queen Eleanor had been unable to prevent Gascons

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1. Bémont, Simon de Montfort (1930) p.97.

2. ibid. p.98-9. Bémont did not, apparently, know of Marsh, Epistolae XLVIII p.151-3 which describes the meeting with the earl, almost certainly belonging to 1252.

from bringing formal charges against Simon de Montfort but throughout his trial before his peers (9th May-11th June) the queen and Peter of Savoy, according to the eye-witness account of Adam Marsh, remained unswervingly loyal to the earl, along with Simon's other old friends, Walter de Cantilupe, the bishop of Worcester, and Peter de Montfort.(1) Much has been made by Historians of the united baronial opposition which, according to Matthew Paris, prevented the conviction of de Montfort but if this was the work of a 'constitutional opposition' obstructing the arbitrary will of Henry III it evidently fed very much on discontented elements. Matthew Paris - who ignores the role of the Savoyards - cites as Simon's supporters Richard of Cornwall (annoyed at the recent reiteration of Henry's grant of Gascony to Edward) and the earl of Gloucester 'in hoc casu comiti S. favorabilis', Gloucester being displeased, perhaps, over signs that the king would soon grant Bristol to his heir.(2) This indirectly supports our interpretation of the Savoyards' support for Simon, but it must be said that Queen Eleanor and her uncle were probably playing at this point an even more devious additional game designed to cover for all eventualities. Matthew Paris was quite right to record that before Simon de Montfort's trial commenced Henry III had, on 28th April, before many earls and the Gascon delegation, repeated his grant of Gascony to Edward. He

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1. Bémont p.105-113.

2. Richard of Cornwall p.75-6; c.f. Tewkesbury Annals, p.152-5.

did this on the advice of none other than Peter of Savoy for the charter containing the grant was specifically handed over to Peter for safe keeping.(1) This was certainly a wise move to pacify the Gascons with the promise of a new regime in the future, rather than a gesture of opposition towards de Montfort: he must himself have realized, anyway, that his rule in the duchy had failed. It also shows again Savoyard concern for the interests of Edward during the crisis in Gascony when the king could, quite possibly, have been persuaded to replace Simon with Richard of Cornwall.

Despite this subtle victory for the Savoyards, the inconclusive result of the trial left bitterness in all directions, with de Montfort nursing anger, in particular, over Henry's sudden changes of mood and full of suspicions (reported by Matthew Paris) of a hostile courtier conspiracy against him. The baronage cannot have been pleased, either, to see the king's continuing victimization of de Montfort even after they had acquitted him. An additional cause of discontent must have been Henry's declaration without consulting the baronage that he would intervene in person to restore order in Gascony by February 1253; this would entail renewed calls for unpopular overseas military service.(2) Henry III, therefore, had every reason to move swiftly to attempt to pacify his courtiers in the

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1. C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.386.

2. Bémont p.110.

months following Simon de Montfort's trial. Richard of Cornwall was 'loaded with gifts throughout the summer' as the king strove to implement his long-standing obligations over Sanchia of Provence's marriage portion.(1) He showed similar largesse to Peter of Savoy, confirmation of liberties in June, a grant of free warren throughout his demesne lands in England in July, the promise of the marriage of Baldwin de Insula for one of his kinswomen in August together with other liberties, promises and gifts.(2) De Montfort's continuing insubordination, nonetheless, led to his removal from office in the Autumn.

It is not clear whether the Lusignans had taken any part against Simon de Montfort. Matthew Paris blames, as always, "the aliens" for inciting the king's anger, but the account of Adam Marsh does not blame them. Bémont, too, suggests that the king's sudden change of mind overnight from accepting the verdict of the 1252 proceedings favourable to de Montfort to one of open hostility towards the earl could have been the result of courtier intrigue formented by aliens.(3)

It is, in actual fact, far more difficult to determine what part the king's half-brothers played. Geoffrey de Lusignan, early in 1252, had helped bring

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1. Richard of Cornwall p.75-6 nn.

2. C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.394; C.R.1251-53 p.109; C.P.R. 1247-58 p.148; c.f. grants to the bishop of Hereford on 4th August (C.R.1251-53 p.135); and Queen Eleanor on 3rd October (C.P.R.1247-58 p.151).

3. Bémont p.108, 112.

about the truce under which the Gascons could bring their grievances before the king.(1) and, the Poitevin Guy de Rochford was one of several royal officials cited by the Gascons to give evidence against de Montfort.(2) Bémont argues that the king's order in August 1252 witnessed by Geoffrey de Lusignan commanding the Gascons to observe the truce at all costs, even if it meant disobeying de Montfort, was part of an attempt to erode the earl's authority in Gascony after the trial,(3) but, there is little more concrete evidence for the Poitevins' attitude to Simon at this date. It is far more important to stress that the crisis in Gascony continued to benefit them politically in England and to strengthen the king's belief that they were indispensable links with south-western France for the solution of the duchy's problems. As we have shown, the Lusignans had profitted enough from this position in their grants from the king and these increased the Poitevins' unpopularity to such a degree that by August 1252 physical resistance was shown in several counties to a grant of a large wardship to Geoffrey de Lusignan.(4) Interestingly enough, the Lusignans had used the situation, too, to revive their family's claims to lands in Gascony and on 28th April part of the island of Oléron was made over to Guy de Lusignan.(5)

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1. ibid. p.100-2.

2. C. Bémont, Simon de Montfort (French edit. Paris, 1884) p.287,296.

3. C.P.R.1247-58 p.161. Bémont (1930) p.114n.

4. C.R.1251-53 p.152 (wardship of Geoffrey de Lucy)

5. C.P.R.1247-58 p.136.

During the autumn of 1252, as Henry III prepared for his expedition to Gascony, political tension mounted in England. Military summonses issued in August and the continuing absence of Louis IX in captivity (together with the death in November of the regent, Blanche of Castille) suggested more and more strongly that the king was proposing to commit himself to military adventures without consulting the baronage. In the October Parliament, both the laity and clergy proved obstructive over consent to taxation and the clergy, in particular, put up resolute resistance to the new scheme to extort a tenth from the church for the next three years under the pretext of a Crusade.(1) At this Parliament the magnates are said to have prevented any further move to disgrace Simon de Montfort and the king's only course of action now was to buy himself out of his contract with the earl for 7,000 marks together with other expensive concessions.(2) But with the earl of Leicester gone there was still the problem of raising and financing a force for Gascony. Throughout the autumn and winter Henry III accordingly strove to build up further contacts with Poitevin nobility through a stream of alien visitors and to show even more favour to the Lusignans.

It was amidst such tension that a quarrel between

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1. Chron.Maj. V p.324-336; M.R. Powicke 'Distraint of knighthood and military obligation under Henry III' Speculum XXV (1950) p.462. c.f. S.K. Mitchell, Studies in taxation under John and Henry III (New Haven, 1914) p.253
2. Bémont (1930) p.115.

Boniface of Savoy and Aymer, the elect of Winchester, broke out and erupted into a major political crisis in which all would certainly not go in the Lusignans' favour. During the autumn of 1252 Aymer had presented one of his clerks to the priorship of St. Thomas the Martyr, Southwark. This was swiftly challenged by Eustace de Lenn, the proctor of the archbishop (who was absent on the continent) on the grounds that the advowson belonged to Canterbury. After some dispute the archbishop's proctor excommunicated Aymer's nominee and imprisoned him at Maidstone. On 3rd November Aymer retaliated, with surprising rashness, by an armed raid on Maidstone, Southwark and Lambeth Palace to rescue his clerk and be revenged on the archbishop. Lambeth Palace was broken into and the archbishop's proctor and another clerk were dragged off to Farnham Castle, kept there two days and then released.(1)

The dispute itself might have remained an isolated ecclesiastical dispute, an example of the rash young bishop-elect's vigorous defence of his rights, but it immediately took on a highly political flavour, for the entire weight of the Lusignan presence in England had been thrown to Aymer's assistance. On 3rd November William de Valence and Geoffrey de Lusignan had left Windsor, where at the end of October the entire Royal Family, with the exception of the Queen, had been in attendance on the king, in all probability to join Aymer's raiding party which also

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1. Chron.Maj. V p.348-53; P.R.O. JUST.1/873m.8.

included John de Warenne, Robert de Aguillon (a knight of William de Valence) Oliver de Sonay (a knight of Geoffrey de Lusignan) and several other knights and servants 'of the household of the elect and William de Valence'.(1)

The king's swift reaction to deprive both sides of funds confirms the view of Matthew Paris that this quarrel immediately escalated and brought to light latent tensions between the king's relations and the queen's relations at court. On 3rd November the council ordered the cessation of payments of crusade money granted William de Valence by the Pope. On the following day Peter of Savoy left court and the king took the surprising step of ordering the confiscation of some of the queen's custodies and revenues and the revenues of the rich manor of Tickhill

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1. Chron.Maj. VI. p.222-5; V. p.359. The Assize Roll, in 1258, asserted that 'many armed men of the familia' of Aymer and William de Valence took part in the raid (JUST.1./873m.8); Matthew Paris alleged that William de Valence, Aymer's other brothers and John de Warenne 'dicebantur illi violentiae interfuisse' (V.p.359, also p.349-50). Boniface of Savoy's excommunication only mentions various Lusignan servants (VI. p.222-5) but he may have been under pressure to omit other members of the royal family (V.p.351). Statements about attendance at the king's court are based on Charter roll witnesses (P.R.O.C.53/45 m.21-2).

held jointly by Eleanor of Provence and Peter of Savoy.(1)

At this stage Henry III probably intended to hold himself aloof from either side. He left Windsor on 4th November for Reading and moved slowly southwards to Clarendon (co. Wilts.) where the court remained 16th Nov.-2nd Dec. Meanwhile the queen, who remained at Winchester, kept up a stream of messengers to Henry III, the archbishop and Peter of Savoy.(2) The Lusignans, however, adopted the subtler tactics of returning to court. By the 12th November Geoffrey de Lusignan was with the king and something of his influence can be seen when on 13th the king granted a fee of 50 marks p.a. to the Poitevin Charles de Rochford.(3) Indeed, the king's brothers may have attempted swiftly to win wider support at court, for on 5th November the king's steward, William de Cantilupe, was granted seisin of the Irish manor of Odagh 'per regem procurante W. de Valencia' which he had been suing from de Valence and on the same day Cantilupe received lands which he had been suing from Guy de Lusignan since November 1251.(4) William de Valence returned to court

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1. C.R.1251-53 p.272-3; C.53/45 m.20-21. At about this time Henry III cancelled his grant (made on 29th October) of the traditional 'third penny' of the county of Surrey to John de Warenne as the mark of his succession to the earldom.(C.R.1251-53 p.266.)
2. Itinerary of Henry III (P.R.O. Round Room typescript); E.101./308/1 m.2.
3. C.53/45 m.20; C.P.R.1247-58 p.164. There was also a grant to Elias de Rabayn on the same day (ibid.)
4. C.R.1251-3 p.274; C.P.R.1247-58 p.163.
See Ch.6 p.220

on 16th November, followed on 19th by Aymer, but their stay was brief, for Aymer left again on 22nd, followed on 23rd and 24th by William and Geoffrey de Lusignan respectively. This time their visit to the king proved unsuccessful - it produced few gifts - and on 23rd November the king in keeping with his policy of neutrality wrote to Guy de Lusignan in France ordering him not to return to England without the license of the king of France, probably a move to keep him away from the conflict.(1)

Henry III then took steps to pacify the house of Savoy. Peter of Savoy was at court again on 23rd November and by 29th November the queen herself had joined the king at Clarendon.(2) During this period the king made them a number of grants. The queen's lands were restored on 27th November and on the previous day Peter of Savoy was restored Tickhill and confirmed in the custodianship. Peter had also been granted rights of free warren on his honour of Pevensey on 24th November and on 27th the king granted him the unusual franchise of the return of writs in his honour of Richmond.(3) Still maintaining his neutrality the king ordered on 27th the payment of money promised earlier to Aymer of Winchester for the executors

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1. C.53/45 m.18-20; C.R.1251-3 p.430. Gifts:- to William Gascelin and William de Chabanais (C.P.R.1247-58 p.165; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.88.)

2. C.53/45 m.19; E.101/349/7.

3. C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.410; C.P.R.1247-58 p.166; C.R.1251-53 p.273,283. There were also small grants to Stephen de Salines and a clerk of the countess of Provence (ibid. p.284-5).

of the count of la Marche but he also cancelled a fee of 100 marks p.a. to the Poitevin Eubule de Rochford.(1) Shortly after this Peter of Savoy and, presumably, the queen left court.(2)

The king's intervention in the affair, however, came too late. Archbishop Boniface himself returned to England on 18th November to join battle with his enemies. Together with his fellow Savoyard Peter de Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford, and the bishop of Chichester he excommunicated Aymer and his accomplices on 26th November at Croydon and then proceeded to Oxford where he attempted to gain the support of the University on 7th December. Both sides appealed to Rome.(3)

King Henry was now confronted with news that important lay magnates were taking sides. On 3rd December the king, who was still in Hampshire, wrote forbidding on pain of loss of all lands the earls of Gloucester, Norfolk, Hereford and Aumâle together with John de Warenne and Edmund de Lacy from taking up arms or permitting their men to take up arms in support of either the archbishop

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1. C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.89. Eubule's fee was granted and cancelled on the same day but confirmed a few weeks later (at about Christmas) when the Lusignans had returned to court (C.P.R.1247-58 p.166,170).
2. Peter of Savoy does not witness another royal Charter until 8th January 1253. He was in Sussex on 1st January (E.101/308/1 m.2). Eleanor was at Marlborough on 5th-13th December (ibid;E.101/349/8) and at Reading on 1st January 1253 (ibid.) She may not have been at court again before 19th January when she was at Windsor (E.101/308/1 m.2). But see below. (p.126n.2)
3. Chron.Maj. V p.348,352-3; VI p.222-5.

or the bishop-elect.(1) Henry, in fact, had on 30th November ordered the earls of Gloucester, Aumâle, Norfolk and Hereford together with Hugh Bigod, Gilbert Segrave and the Mayor of London to seal bonds obliging themselves to pay sums of between 500 and 1,000 marks to Simon de Montfort in Gascony, doubtless in connexion with the king's settlement of 7,000 marks which he had been forced to make with Simon on dismissing him from the Governorship of Gascony.(2) At this juncture these bonds had the effect of keeping the magnates in check, and they were not revoked until Aymer and the archbishop had finally been reconciled. A further move to restore calm came with the king's order (c. 3rd December) to William de Valence, the sheriffs of Kent, Surrey and London to suspend, until further orders, inquiries into brawls between the men of the archbishop and the elect of Winchester.(3)

In spite of this crisis, the king remained in Hampshire, returning to Clarendon (Co. Wilts.) 12th-17th December and moving to Winchester 22nd-29th. The Lusignans now returned to court; Geoffrey on 8th and Aymer on 20th December. They brought several other Poitevins with them. Aymer attended the king on Christmas Day and was given a jewelled mitre

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1. C.R.1251-53 p.431.
2. ibid.
3. ibid. p.432.

which the king had ordered up from Westminster on 10th December. On 17th December the king gave custody of some manors to Geoffrey de Lusignan and, earlier, robes to him and his knights. Although Guy de Lusignan was probably still abroad, his principal vadlettus, William de Borno, and a clerk were at court on 18th December and on 23rd December the king increased Guy's fee by £100.(1) Peter of Savoy and probably the queen remained absent from court, although Henry still attempted to be conciliatory towards them making some grants and, for example, pardoning Eleanor's disgraced clerk, Robert de Ho on 26th December.(2)

It was only at the beginning of January that Henry took decisive action to end the quarrel. Returning to Westminster on 6th he withdrew the next day to Windsor, swearing, according to one account, not to return to Westminster until Boniface and Aymer were reconciled. Peter of Savoy was now approached by the king, according to John of Wallingford, with orders to secure a reconciliation, for Henry was 'perturbatus .... de fratrum suorum infamia et presumptione iniuriosa'. Peter, nevertheless, refused to quell 'procellam .... quae totum regnum iam

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1. C.53/45 m.16-18; Chron.Maj. V p.359 passim; C.R.1251-53 p.434; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.94; C.P.R.1247-58 p.167. Elias de Rabayn, Eubule de Rochford, Ellis Gilberti, William de Chabanais, Alice de Warrenne and other Poitevins were in attendance on the king at this time (C.R.1251-53 p.290,295; C.P.R.1247-58 p.168-9; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.92.

2. C.P.R.1247-58 p.168. It is just possible that the queen was briefly at court for Christmas. Her knight, Matthias Bezill was, for instance, granted a wardship on 25th Dec. (C.R.1251-53 p.435).

concussit' and was banished, in anger, from court.(1) Failing further private attempts at mediation by the queen and Richard of Cornwall (now at Windsor) Henry finally resorted to a council of bishops meeting at London. They agreed, and swore not to leave until they had secured a compromise. With the assistance of Richard of Cornwall an agreement, awarding the advowson to Winchester while reserving certain rights to Canterbury, was concluded by 25th January when Henry returned to Westminster. It is not clear, however, what settlement was reached over Aymer's act of violence against the archbishop. Delays may have been caused by the opposition of Boniface who spoke out publicly against the king's 'un-natural counsellors' or by debates which resulted in the promise to vote the king a tenth provided that ecclesiastical liberties and Magna Carta were confirmed.(2) On 26th January William de Valence, Aymer and the archbishop, a large number of bishops and the earl of Hereford attended the king at court in order to mark the final reconciliation in the king's presence. On 29th January the bonds made by the earls on the king's orders were revoked.(3)

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1. Chronicle of John of Wallingford: E.H.R. 73 (1958) p.72. Peter of Savoy was at court on 8th January; Richard of Cornwall 3rd-8th January; William de Valence 3rd-7th January; Geoffrey de Lusignan 1st-8th January (C.53/45 m.15-16)

2. Chron.Maj. V p. 359-60; John of Wallingford ibid; Marsh, Epistolae CLXXXVIII p.337. Henry III appointed proctors to this conference on 12th January (C.P.R.1247-58 p.171). Another view of this council is given in F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney Councils and Synods ... relating to the English Church 1205-1313 Part I (Oxford 1964) p.467-8.

3. C.53/45 m.13; C.P.R.1247-58 p.174.

This dispute has, obviously, great interest in revealing the workings of the royal court. Here we see King Henry buffeted by two solid factions of alien favourites, moving alternatively to gain access to his person and to sway his decisions and influence his patronage, a situation sadly reminiscent of the worst days of his minority.(1) King Henry emerged, in retrospect, rather shabbily from it all. He had, it is true, attempted at the outset to remain neutral but he can hardly be said to have resolved the crisis with any degree of speed. Furthermore, a legacy of bitterness remained on the Savoyards' side, as seen by the revival of their grievances over the affair after 1258.(2) Henry may have even been considered biased towards the Lusignans in his conduct. There is something to be said for this view. They were obviously more frequently at his side than the Savoyards during the crisis. The king's grants to his half-brothers and his affection for the bishop-elect of Winchester despite his lawless raid had continued undiminished and on 16th January he granted another important manor to William de Valence and, interestingly enough, early in February (2nd and 6th) issued a compre-

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1. The most obvious parallel is in D.A. Carpenter, 'The fall of Hubert de Burgh' Journal of British Studies vol.19 (1980) p.1-17.

2. e.g. in P.R.O. JUST. 1/873 m.8.

him from the Wardrobe and for trespasses of his household to that date. No royal pardon or immediate mark of reconciliation was made to the archbishop. In April 1253 Aymer was also, presumably with Henry's support, to obtain papal protection against lawsuits moved against him in ecclesiastical court.(1)

King Henry's natural inclination to take the Poitevins' side had, nonetheless, been greatly restrained by political pressures from the episcopate and the magnates, as the chroniclers implied.(2)

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1. C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.416; C.P.R.1247-58 p.176; Reg. Innocent IV vol.III No.6470. Adam Marsh (Epistolae CLXXXVIII p.334-5) hints that even on 31st January 1253 Boniface was out of favour with Henry III when the king forbade the franciscan from joining the archbishop's service.

2. See Chron.Maj. V p.348-53;'John of Wallingford' p. 72. Magnate movements, after the revelation in December that some earls were taking sides in the dispute, are difficult to trace. As has been suggested, the timely issue of the ruinous bonds obligating the earls to de Montfort may have prevented them from applying anything more than moral pressure. Nonetheless, they were close enough to the centre of government during the crisis. The earls of Hereford and Gloucester were at court on 12th November (C.53/45.m.20) and the receipt of a grant by Phillip de Fauconberg on 16th November suggests the attendance of his lord, the earl of Aumâle, on this day (C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.409 c.f. B.English, The Lords of Holderness (Oxford, 1979 p.148-9). Gloucester and Hereford, at least, were in the London area during January but their movements are unknown, except that Hereford was at court to witness Boniface's reconciliation before the king on 26th January. These magnates probably attended the council of bishops in London, for Marsh wrote that the proceedings took place in the presence of earls and barons (Epistolae, p.337)

Adam Marsh states that Boniface of Savoy chose Walter de Cantilupe of Worcester and the bishop of Norwich as his "mediatores" in the quarrel; both were significant choices, for Cantilupe was already well identified with Simon de Montfort and Norwich was to be a future ally of the Savoyards in the Sicilian business.(1) There is, however, no evidence of any episcopal support for Aymer. Some comments are possible, too, on the partizanship of the six magnates forbidden by the king to take up arms. John de Warenne was unique, for according to the categorical statement of Matthew Paris he did support the Lusignans in the attack on the archbishop.(2) The others are varying degrees of speculation. Edmund de Lacy, who in 1247 had married a kinswoman of the queen and who maintained close personal links with Eleanor might be expected to have supported the Savoyards.(3) As for the earls of Norfolk and Hereford their loyalties are unknown. Neither had any immediate personal dispute with either side. Norfolk was possibly more sympathetic to the Savoyards; earlier, in March 1252 he had been appointed to act as a substitute for Peter of Savoy in the event of his being unable to take part in the arbitration over Simon de Montfort's expenses in Gascony.(4) William de Valence

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1. Epistolae p.337.

2. Chron.Maj. V p.359.

3. G.E.C. VII p.680-1. Queen Eleanor was very friendly with the Lacys at this time: E.101/308/1m.2; E.101/349/14; E.101/349/8.

4. C.R.1251-53 p.204-5.

and the earl of Hereford may have been rivals on the Welsh March or as fellow co-heirs of William the Marshal. In July 1253 the men of Hereford's son, Humphrey de Bohun junior and William de Valence were feuding in Ireland, but it is difficult to draw any firmer conclusion for 1252 other than to say that William de Valence, as an alien whose interests were scrupulously defended by the king, must have already been unpopular with the other Marshal co-heirs.(1) The earl of Aumâle had, as we have shown, some personal cause for grievance against Guy de Lusignan to whom was transferred at the end of 1252 a claim on his manor of Dartford (Kent).(2) On the other hand, there is every likelihood that the earl of Gloucester sympathised with William de Valence with whom he had been friendly for some time. Gloucester stood as a substitute for William de Valence in the March arbitration and, moreover, in June 1252 he had a series of lawsuits with Peter of Savoy in Suffolk, Essex and Cambridge.(3) But, most significant of all, on 18th January 1253 a marriage contract was sealed between Gloucester's son, Gilbert, and Alice, niece of the Lusignan brothers. This marriage evidently had the full encouragement of the king who, to the criticism of Matthew Paris (who contrasted this with the denial of funds to Simon de Montfort in Gascony) promised

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1. ibid. p.492. See Ch.3 p.92
2. See Ch.6 p.204-5
3. C.R.1251-53 p. 204-5 L ,221.

Gloucester 1,000 marks for the marriage while Aymer of Winchester and William de Valence provided a further 4,000 marks. Early in 1253 William de Valence left for the continent with the earl of Gloucester to arrange the marriage with every appearance of a warm alliance.(1) There is, too, a hint that some support came for the Savoyards from the disaffected Simon de Montfort, now absent in Gascony; on 29th November shortly before the king's injunctions to the magnates his close follower Peter de Montfort was replaced as Keeper of Hoarstone Castle by the more trustworthy Steward of the Household, Ralph fitz Nicholas.(2)

In late 1252, therefore, courtier politics and rivalries had spilled into baronial politics and aligned the greatest magnates of the realm on either side, the balance of the earls being, apparently, decisively in the Savoyards' favour with only the comparatively inexperienced Warenne and Gloucester, old tournamenting allies of William de Valence, supporting the Lusignans. It may be asked, why did this happen? The answer lies in two directions. The first is that a clash between the unpopular new Poitevin favourites of the king and the Savoyards almost inevitably provoked the sympathy of the greater weight of the baronage behind the well-established

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1. M.Altschul, The Clares (op.cit.) p.102-3; Chron.Maj. V p.364-6. C.P.R.1247-58 p.174-5; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.107.

2. C.P.R.1247-58 p.166.

relatives of the queen, unknown quantity though archbishop Boniface admittedly was. It is possible, too, that the sudden confiscation of Eleanor of Provence's revenues in November may have offended the constitutional proprieties of the earls just as they are alleged to have rallied behind de Montfort when threatened with the king's arbitrary action earlier in 1252. It does not take too much imagination to see conservative feudal society reacting in this way. Similar forces were unleashed in 1258, for which 1252 can be viewed as something of a rehearsal, when the magnates supported the expulsion of the Lusignans.

A new view, of course, emerges of the attitude of the baronage towards the king's alien favourites to which the crude propaganda of 1258 should not blind us. By 1252 they had grown to accept a political order at court in which Savoyards featured. The Savoyards represented in 1252 forces of legitimacy and continuity and, what is more - bearing in mind the other disputes of the year - a party which had been wronged. The Poitevins, on the other hand, represented the forces of lawlessness and political provocation - raids on the bishops of Ely and Canterbury. They did not yet threaten to dominate the court and the king's policies, but they were not viewed as the type of councillor that the magnates wanted to see influencing Henry III.

The winter of 1252-3 was, as in 1258, a period of

political and constitutional sensitivity in its own right. After the disputes in Parliament where the magnates had blocked the king's policies regarding de Montfort and refused to consent to taxation - and, ironically, in the October Parliament Aymer of Winchester himself had resisted attempts to tax the clergy [1] - the king, in desperation to raise funds for his continental expeditions and with the military situation in Gascony fast deteriorating, began to experiment in November with highly arbitrary methods of collecting money and exerting pressure on the baronage. Widespread extension was made of the practice of selling royal charters of free warren. On 2nd November a general distraint of debts owing to the Crown was ordered, officials being permitted to enter any liberty. This was followed on 17th November, among other measures, by a severe general distraint of knighthood for the coming Easter on twenty librate landholders and, of course, on the 30th by the bonds committing the earls to pay vast sums to Simon de Montfort.[2] Undoubtedly the government and its proposed Gascon expedition were already unpopular and such acts of provocation by Henry III, which met with at least some immediate resistance, might well have caused the king to fear baronial disturbances in December regardless of any

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1. Chron.Maj.V. p.325-333. Mitchell, Studies in taxation (Op.cit) p.253-63

2. ibid. p.356 (confirmed by a great number of charters of free warren from November 1252 (c.f. D.B.M. p.80-1 c.9); C.R.1251-53 p.424,430; M.R. Powicke 'Distraint of Knighthood' (Art. Cit) p.462-63; G.L. Harriss, King Parliament and Public Finance in England to 1369 (Oxford, 1975) p.34-5 passim.

quarrels between his alien kinsmen. The magnates may have believed, for the moment even, that the real pressures for the Gascon campaign and its accompanying arbitrary methods were coming from the Poitevins in the council whom, as we have shown, had consistently reaped the political benefits in England from the threat of war on the continent.

It is interesting to see, too, that the resolution of the crisis at court seems to have calmed political tempers in the country in general and led to a more co-operative stance by Parliament towards taxation in the early months of 1253. As has been noted, the bishops virtually consented to the levy of the tenth in January and at the Easter Parliament of May 1253 the baronage consented to an aid for the knighting of the lord Edward on condition that the charters of liberties were observed, archbishop Boniface leading the clergy in its demands for the guarantee of ecclesiastical liberties.(1) This was by no means a complete solution to the king's problems of launching an expedition to Gascony but it won Henry III at least a temporary victory.

Throughout the remainder of 1253 Henry III hastened to heal the breach with the house of Savoy. The Savoyards' position as councillors was restored. In the spring they are said to have influenced the king's new measures to deal with compensation for highway robberies which so inflamed local communities,(2) in June

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1. D.T. Williams 'Aspects of the career of Boniface of of Savoy' p.291.
2. Chron.Maj. V. p.373. M.R. Powicke, Art.cit.p.463 n.86.

were
Lentrusted with furthering the diplomatic work of the king's proposed crusade and in the same month Queen Eleanor was appointed regent during the king's absence in Gascony, with Richard of Cornwall relegated to the role of chief, if in the event active, adviser.(1) In July the queen's position as guardian of the realm and Edward was once again confirmed (the need for a repetition of the declaration of 1249 seems very significant) and at the same time the procedure of transferring the letters patent for this over to the keeping of Peter of Savoy confirmed him, as always, as protector of Edward's interests. Had Henry III been killed in Gascony there is little doubt that Peter would have attempted to secure the real power of regency for himself as Eleanor, rather than Richard of Cornwall, was to have seisin of all the royal castles in England.(2) These provisions for the regency, together with the work of the Savoyards in Gascony 1253-4 restored them to the front rank in the English court. Further lucrative grants to them were equally symbolic of royal favour: in May 1253, for example, the franchise of return of writs close from his tenants granted to Boniface of Savoy, an extremely generous settlement in April on Peter of Savoy (ostensibly a contract for his accompanying Henry III on crusade in return for an immediate grant of 5,000 marks over the next

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1. Richard of Cornwall p.77, C.P.R.1247-58 p.197.
2. ibid. p.206. A few months after this, the king's grant of Chester to Edward, together with a declaration of the inalienability of Edward's manors of Stamford and Grantham were enrolled amongst Peter's own records: C.47/9/1.

three years); an additional promise to secure the marriage of the heir of William de Vesci of Alnwick to a Savoyard noblewoman and a renewal of the undertaking to replace Thomas of Savoy's cash fee of 500 marks p.a. with land at the earliest opportunity.(1) Thus, within a year, and with the indirect assistance of English magnates, could the position of the Savoyards at Henry III's court be restored.

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1. C.R.1251-53 p.352; C.P.R.1247-58 p.188-9,195, 197,217.
For the significance of these grants: Ch. 6 p. 208

# CHAPTER 5.

## Aliens and royal government 1253-57.

Between the crisis of 1252 and the months preceding the Provisions of Oxford an overall spirit of continuity with the themes of previous years, rather than any dramatic changes characterize the politics of Henry III's court. The royal Council continued to be dominated by members of the king's immediate family, Richard of Cornwall, Simon de Montfort, the Savoyards and the Lusignans and by the tightly-knit group of professional curiales, led even more so in the 1250's by John Mansel, to whom were added a handful of magnates such as the bishops of Worcester and Salisbury, the earl of Warwick and Peter de Montfort. All of these men, with the exception of the Lusignans, were descended directly from the councillors chosen by Henry III in the late 1230's.(1) The king's Household continued to be staffed by men of a similar vintage and aliens were extremely influential in it.(2) Aliens did not, however,

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1. For some comments on the system of promotions at Court from the late 1230's see above, p.55. For Henry III's Council in the 1250's: Hen.III + L. Edw. p.290 ff B. Wilkinson, Studies in the Constitutional History of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Manchester, 1937) p.142-5. For the bishop of Worcester as a councillor: Foedera 1(i) p.305 (1254); Hen.III + L.Edw.p.290 n.1 (1255). For William of York, bishop of Salisbury (1247-d. 1256): ibid. p.266 n. For Simon de Montfort: Foedera 1(i) p.324 (1255); Peter de Montfort below p.176-7 Richard of Cornwall p.72-85 passim.

2. Tout, Chapters in Administrative History, vol.I p.260-83.

numerically dominate the king's Council itself. There were, before 1257, few surprising promotions in the higher ranks of the king's service overall, and very few spectacular dismissals from it.(1)

Of the king's alien servants, the Savoyards remained by far the more numerous group at Court and in the household. The 1250's brought a new generation of Savoyard knights and vadletti: Geoffrey de Joinville, Eubule of Geneva, Simon de Joinville and Peter de Chauvent.(2) Most of them were well rewarded and they took the lion's share (in the early 1250's at least) of the best marriages and other perquisites.(3) They also held important offices: Artauld de Sancto Romano was keeper of the king's Wardrobe (1254-57), the veteran Imbert Pugeys rose to the stewardship of the king's household (c.April 1257), Imbert de Montferrand became Marshal of the Household early in 1258; another veteran, Matthew Bezill became the queen's steward (1254), Eubule de Montibus was a prominent knight of Edward (1251-58) and Aymo Thurumberd was probably the steward of the lord Edmund.(4) During the 1250's, too, Peter of Savoy and Peter de Aigue-

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1. For promotions to Steward, F.M. Powicke & E.B. Fryde, Handbook of British Chronology (London, 1961) p.74. The dismissals were made all the more spectacular by their rarity: Phillip Lovell (1251) Henry of Bath (1251) and John de Grey (1252-5)(Chron.Maj.V p.26 Richard of Cornwall p.75; D.N.B. John de Grey) but all were swiftly reinstated, including de Grey who was appointed warden of the Middle Welsh March in 1257 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.553).
2. For their careers: above, p.39-41
3. Ch.6 , p.186-7
4. Tout, Powicke & Fryde, op.cit.; C.P.R.1247-58 p.664; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.302,

blanche rose to the height of their power in diplomacy and in Gascony.

(i) The Poitevins and Gascony (1253-54)

The Poitevins, however, remained a much smaller group at Court: never more than four major knights of the king's household dependent on the Lusignans and a handful of clerks, only one of whom, Peter de Chaceporc, keeper of the Wardrobe (1241-54) rose to any prominence. Nevertheless, they headed an ever-mushrooming number of fee-holders on the continent recruited as military allies. The Lusignans were still held, even after the 1252 crisis, in the utmost affection by Henry III and their great opportunity to win glory in his service came when in August 1253 Henry finally set sail to intervene in person in Gascony.

By this stage the aliens had become even more invaluable for the king, as the response to the feudal summons by the English baronage was poor. Henry is unlikely to have taken more than three hundred knights with him to Gascony; several earls failed to appear until late in the

campaign and there was much quarrelling and many desertions - even from knights assigned to the king's bodyguard - as Henry attempted to force or coax magnates to remain overseas with him beyond the limit of their feudal obligations.(1) This was, therefore, to be yet another campaign fitting into the thirteenth century pattern of the decline of the feudal army in favour of loyal and professional Household troops.(2) It is in this context that the value set by the king on the Lusignans can be seen to have been, for once, well-placed. Over one hundred Poitevin knights, together with countless squires (many of whom were knighted on campaign) came to his aid. Important contingents were provided by kinsmen such as the Lusignans, the Rochechouarts, the Castro Novo, the Bovis Villa and William de Chauvigny, lord of Chateauroux as well as by leading Poitevin knights of the king such as Guy de Rochford.(3)

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1. M.R. Powicke, 'Distraint of Knighthood and military obligation under Henry III' Speculum XXV (1950) p.463 ff. For the desertions of Simon de Montfort and the earl of Norfolk: Chron.Maj. V p.443; desertions from the bodyguard: C.R.1253-4 p.295; c.f. ibid. p.218. For the size of Henry III's army (c.300 writs of protection): S.K. Mitchell, Studies in taxation under John and Henry III (New Haven, 1914) p.255 n.7.

2. c.f. R.F. Walker 'Anglo-Welsh Wars 1216-67' (Univ. Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1954) p.71-96.

3. Table 3 ( next page)

# TABLE NO. 3.

## Poitevins serving Henry III in Gascony 1253-54

| Name | Strength of contingent. | References |
|---|---|---|
| William de Valence | 10 or more | C.P.R.1247-58 p. 310 ; C.R.1253-54 p.201,266; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.184. |
| Geoffrey de Lusignan | 18 or more | R.G.I (i)No.3899,3900; C.R.1253-54 p.183,212,249 ; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.259 (including a band of 10 knights for whom he petitioned wages (ibid.p.220). |
| Guy de Lusignan | 7 or more | C.P.R.1247-58 p.317; R.G.I(i) No.2714, 3117, 3050, 3464, 3921; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.220. |
| John Adam<br>Peter Adam | 1<br>1 | R.G.I(i) No.3191 (knighted at instance of Guy de Lusignan |
| William de Aubusson | 1 | C.R. 1253-54 p.214, 231. |
| Maurice de Beauville | 1 | R.G. I(i) No. 3191. |
| Arnauld de Bovis Villa<br>William de Bovis Villa | 2<br>1 | C.R. 1253-54 p.302. |
| Bernard de Bovis Villa<br>Bertram de Bovis Villa | 4 | C.Lib.R. 1251-60 p.302,357. |
| Segur de Castro Novo | 4 or more | C.P.R. 1247-58 p.286;C.Lib.R. 1251-60 p.253 (+ 2 knighted at his request) |
| William de Chabanais | 3 | C.R. 1251-53 p. 289; 1253-54 p.268. |
| William de Chauvigny | 4 or more | R.G.I(i) No.3145, 3297; C.R.1253-54 p.268. |
| Hugh de Chaceporc | 1 | ibid. p.217. |
| Aimery d'Evrecy | 1 | R.G.I(i) No.3191 (connected: M. Beauville) |
| John Grossin | 1 | ibid. No.3220 (knighted at instance of G. Rochford) |
| William de Monterevelli | 1 | C.P.R. 1247-58 p.196,325. |
| (Alelm de Metz | 3 | ibid. p.137, 310,350:fees at instance of Lusignans) |
| Odo de Notheroles | 1 or 2 | R.G. I(i) No.3276; 3288, 3366 |
| Guy Povereau | 1 | C.P.R.1247-58 p.345 (connected: Aymer of Winchester) |
| Everard de Praeles | 3 | R.G.I(i) No.3225 (connected: W.Chauvigny) |
| Ellis de Rabayn | 3 | C.R. 1251-53 p.290. |
| Vicomte of Rochechouart | (large company: over 4) | R.G.I(i) No.3219; C.P.R.1247-58 p. 382; C.R.1253-54 p. 203 242,246,250. |

TABLE NO. 3. (Continued)

| Name | Strength of contingent. | References |
|---|---|---|
| Charles de Rochford | 3 | ibid. p.202. |
| Eubule de Rochford | 5 | C.P.R. 1247-58 p.279. |
| Maurice de Rochford | 3 | (2 knighted with him: 1253) C.R.1253-54 p.199. |
| Geoffrey de Rancon | ?3 | C.R. 1253-54 p.277. |
| William de Sancta Ermina | 1 | ibid. p.225. |
| Bernard de Villa Honoris | 1 | C.Lib.R. 1251-60 p.306. |

Note: This list makes no claim to be exhaustive: Henry III had many Poitevins serving him 1253-4. Special messengers were sent from the army to Poitou on their behalf in March 1254. (C.R. 1253-54 p.221.)

As might be expected, the Savoyards in the royal Household fought in Gascony bringing their contingents. Notable contributions were provided by the Burgundians and, especially, by the Flemish mercenaries of Ingram de Fiennes, but their numbers and activities were probably inferior to their part in the 1242-3 Poitou campaign and they held almost no commands.(1) They fought well enough, but the overall impression is that the king's most vigorous troops were the Poitevins. This impression is confirmed, too, when one looks at the leading Savoyards. Although Peter de Aigueblanche and Peter of Savoy were Henry III's leading councillors throughout the campaign, their work was confined to the commanding heights of administration, finance and, above all, diplomacy rather than fighting. After the Spring of 1254 much Savoyard energy was being deflected towards the beginnings of the Sicilian enterprise.(2)

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1. References to various Savoyards and their contingents: C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.179; C.R.1253-54 p.199,212; the contingent of Ingram de Fiennes: Thirteenth Century p.545n.; C.R.1253-54 p. 177 Peter of Savoy: C.P.R.1247-58 p.274,307,314, 326; C.R.1253-54 p.183,189; Baldwin de Villa: ibid. p.223,249; Savoyards knighted or with horses killed: ibid. 214, ; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.179. It is unknown what Thomas of Savoy's contribution was: (C.P.R.1247-58 p.269). Raymond Pugeys (to whom there is no other reference) was unique as a Savoyard in command of a castle: Coutures until August 1254 (ibid. p.322).

2. For Peter of Aigueblanche and Savoyard diplomacy: Mugnier, les Savoyards p.256-68; and below. Peter of Savoy's sole 'military' task was the munitioning of Meillan castle (C.P.R.1247-58 p.242: Sept. 1253). Other missions and orders: ibid. p.259,317; C.R.1253-54 p.190,245.

The Poitevins, in contrast, took an active part in the fighting and they held many commands. William de Chabanais held the defence of Castel-Jaloux and Segur de Castro Novo led an important skirmishing force out from la Réole in July 1254.(1) William de Valence's knight, Geoffrey de Gacelin (whose brother was killed in the fighting) was appointed constable of la Mothe-Landeron castle (September 1253-July 1254) which he held with a small force including Raymond de St. Martin, knight of Aymer the elect of Winchester and Ingram de Vilers, knight of William de Valence.(2) Elias de Rabayn was appointed keeper of Bergerac and had the important mission of securing the vital border area north of the Dordogne for Henry III.(3) In November 1253, as a reward for his work in its capture the king granted Guy de Lusignan prisoners from Benauges castle and in 1254 Geoffrey de Lusignan took part in the capture of la Réole, exchanging some of his prisoners to obtain the release of some captured English.(4) For some months in 1254 Guy de Lusignan and William de Valence joined other councillors such as Peter of Savoy in settling the border areas of Bergerac and Genzac after the death of Elias Ruddell.(5)

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1. C.R.1253-54 p.221,306. In May 1253 Segur was granted the 'robes of a seneschal' by the king. (C.R.1251-53 p.361) but where he held this office (? in some area of Gascony) is not known.
2. R.G. I(i) No.2082, 3403; C.R.1253-54 p.255,266.
3. C.R.1253-54 p.248.
4. Burton Annals p.317; R.G. I(i) No.3322; C.R.1253-54 p.255.
5. C.P.R.1247-58 p.299; R.G. I(i) No.4301.

During the campaign the king's half-brothers were involved in some important diplomacy. In October 1253 Guy de Lusignan and the earls of Norfolk and Hereford were appointed to a mission to reconcile Simon de Montfort to the king who needed his support for the campaign. The mission was a success, and in December Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan acted with Simon de Montfort in attempted peace negotiations with Amanieu d'Albret, an important ally of the leading Gascon rebel Gaston de Béarn. In February 1254 William de Valence and Geoffrey de Lusignan took part in another peace mission, this time to arbitrate between Gaston de Béarn and Simon de Montfort in their dispute over the southern county of Bigorre.(1)

The importance of the aid given by the Lusignans and Poitevins to the Gascon campaign was not recognized by contemporary chroniclers and so it has been neglected by historians. Matthew Paris, dismissive as always of Poitevins, confines himself to a few vague and caustic remarks about the king's favours towards his brothers which, he argued, produced quarrels in the English army; and he concludes by stating that the cost of the campaign was inflated by the king's gift of 30,000 marks to the Lusignans.(2) The Burton Annals, which have no other material

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1. Bémont, Simon de Montfort (1930) p.90,93,120,126-8, Hen.III + L.Edw. p.221-3,228; C.P.R.1247-58 p.254, 350.

2. Chron.Maj. V. p.450.

on the Lusignans before 1258, included a story that when the king granted to Guy de Lusignan women hostages kept at Benauges Guy treacherously released them to their husbands fighting against the English at la Réole without consulting the king or his council.(1) Matthew Paris includes another hostile story that in about May 1254 the king's half-brothers (he does not say which) took it upon themselves with the bishop of Hereford to punish Welsh troops in the army for ill-discipline. Such high-handed action produced a protest from the earl of Hereford whose feudal office of Constable was gravely infringed.(2) It is Matthew, too, who ascribes to the Poitevins the blame for advising Henry III on a course of attempting to trick the Parliaments of early 1254 into promising financial and military aid by a false report of the imminent invasion of Gascony by the king of Castille. Matthew's story probably conveys more than a grain of truth, but there is no evidence to prove his case about the Poitevins - it is far too subtle for the king's rather rash half-brothers and much more characteristic of the Savoyards.(3) This and the others, however, confirm their active role in Gascony at this period.

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1. Burton Annals p.317. No other evidence exists for this, but it must have been a conciliatory move, misinterpreted in the English army. c.f. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.231.

2. Chron.Maj. V. p.442 cf. L.Vernon-Harcourt, His Grace the Steward and trial by Peers (1907) p.121-8, 136-7.

3. Chron.Maj. V . p.440; Hen.III + L.Edw.p.234-5.

After the fighting had ceased, the Poitevins' active role in Gascony did not continue, apart for a few individual missions. Guy de Lusignan, who accompanied the lord Edward to Burgos for his marriage with Eleanor of Castille in October 1254 remained in France throughout 1255 where he was able to give some aid to the prince in his first taste of government in Gascony 1254-5. Guy loaned Edward £500 (£2,000 tournois) c.July 1255 and in the following October he and his kinsman Segur de Castro Novo went, at Edward's command, to secure the release of a servant from capture by the rebellious border lord of Pons.(1) But there is no evidence in the extensive number of documents surviving from Edward's chancery to suggest that at this date Guy played a major part in Gascon administration, or that he was a member of Edward's Council.(2) This pattern continued for at least the next ten years. The lord Edward's nomination of Geoffrey and Guy de Lusignan as his seneschals in 1258 and 1261 respectively were swiftly terminated.(3) After 1265 when Edward had greater control over his estates he appointed Imbert Guy, Poitevin knight of William de Valence, as seneschal of Perigord 1266-68 but even after this Poitevin influence in Gascony was kept to a minimum until the end of Henry III's reign.(4)

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1. R.G. I(ii) No.4323, 4524, 4571.
2. See below, p.151.
3. Below, p.291
4. J. Trabut-Cussac, L'Administration Anglaise en Gascogne p.352.

This reluctance of Henry III to further the use of Poitevins in Gascony seems very unusual. They were ideally placed to act as local officials. Some of Henry's protégés were members of families holding vital castles situated on the Dordogne itself, such as Limeuil held by one branch of the Bovis Villa family and were, consequently, worth cultivating with offers of office.(1) Other Poitevins in the king's service helped provide channels of contact with Gascon society to smooth the processes of government. The interests of the house of Lusignan, too, straddled both sides of the Dordogne. In the king's half-brothers' service there were several individuals of Gascon origin, such as William de Borno (Born dép. Landes) leading vadlettus of Guy de Lusignan, or Elias de Lavern' (Labenne, Dax) knight of William de Valence or the Cultura family widespread in the king's service which seems to have had close connexions with William (Coutures-sur-le Dropt dép. Gironde).(2)

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1. For the various members of the family (alias de Bouville) kinsmen of Henry III see Table 7 p.243-6. . For Arnold de Bovis Villa (lord of Miramont, dep. Landes, in Henry III's service 1242-53 and his son, Arnold, clerk received in the king's household 1254 C.P.R.1232-47 p.329,510; 1247-58 p.327,471; C.R.1242-47 p.540. (This branch of the family lost lands in Poitou.) For another branch (lords of Limeuil, Dordogne, seized by the French but restored to them under the treaty of Paris) C.P.R.1232-47 p.356; 1258-66 p.86; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.426:- i.e. Raymond, clerk of Henry III c.1251-1279 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.107; 1258-1266 p.142,241-2,249; 1266-72 p.500,568) and his brothers Bernard (yeoman in royal service, 1259) (C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.487) and Bertram c.1263-68 (C.P.R.1258-66 p.381; 1266-72 p.190.)

2. See below Tables 13, 18 p.429f. 444 For other references: C.P.R.1247-58 p.33; 1258-66 p.28; C.R.1251-53 p.160; C. Lib.R.1251-60 p.230,266.

There is some evidence to suggest, too, that Gascons now looked to the Lusignans themselves as one important channel of patronage within the royal government. The king's half-brothers secured several petitions on behalf of individual Gascons for knighthood and for quittance of prise on merchandise, for example, and in 1252, as we have seen, Gascon nobles appealed to the mediation of Geoffrey de Lusignan in settling their disagreements with the king's lieutenant, Simon de Montfort.(1) Edward seems, as king, to have had no hesitation in appointing Poitevins to high office in Gascony, exemplified by the lieutenancy 1279-89 of Maurice de Craon, son of Henry III's half-sister Isabella (and sister of the Lusignans).(2) Edward also made after 1272 repeated use of William de Valence and the vicomte of Rochechouart as military commanders in the border zones of the English territory.(3)

Dr. Studd argues that the conflicts between the lord Edward and Henry III over the control of appointments to

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1. See Ch.4 p.117-18 and C.R.1242-47 p.540; 1254-56 p.71; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.266 (knightings); C.R.1247-1251 p.269; 1251-53 p.99,289 (grants to merchants and towns).

2. J. Trabut-Cussac, op.cit. p.374.

3. Trabut-Cussac, op.cit. p.47-9,62-6,81,266n.,381. C.P.R.1272-81 p.98,100,353. By this period the vicomte's son, Simon, was archbishop of Bordeaux. (c.1274-d.1280) L.V.L. de Rochechouart, Histoire de la Maison de Rochechouart, vol.I (Paris, 1859) p.84; Vol. II p.77.

his estates explains why such restrictions were imposed on the Poitevins, and in most cases before 1265 his analysis fits in well with other evidence of political developments.(1) But it begs the additional question, why Edward used Poitevins and Henry III did not. The answer to this probably lies in a combination of reasons. Certainly, until the mid-1260's Edward was repeatedly under strong Savoyard influence and this could well have meant that in Gascony, as elsewhere in his service, Poitevins were simply excluded through the pressure of numbers of their alien rivals - this being especially true before 1258.(2) An additional factor may have been the understandable reluctance of Alphonse de Poitiers and Louis IX to allow the resurgence of the house of Lusignan in the south-west after they had recently taken such trouble to reduce it; they must have been aware, too, that the Lusignans throughout 1250 had been attempting to use their influence in the English court to recover ancestral lands in the island of Oléron as a means of increasing family income so seriously reduced by the

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1. J.R. Studd, 'The lord Edward and King Henry III', B.I.H.R. 1977, p.4-20.

2. There seems to have been an attempt by the king to place Guy de Lusignan in Edward's council c. 13th November, 1256 but this met with no success (C.R.1256-59 p.107).

punitive measures of the French crown.(1) Well could Matthew Paris record, for example, the rumour that before the 1253 Gascon campaign the French king sent in an army to occupy castles in Poitou and removed all Poitevins from power lest they deserted to the English.(2) Even so, during and after the campaign enough diplomatic contact existed between Henry III and Alphonse to ease any tensions arising between the two over the enormous number of Poitevin mercenaries used by the king. In April 1254 one of the meetings held by their ambassadors to settle infringements of the truce existing between their lands was held at Guy de Lusignan's base at Cognac and in September the truce was formally renewed there.(3) After this, however, as Henry III was soon to be propelled towards making peace with Louis IX, it must have seemed inappropriate and potentially provocative to make widespread use of the Lusignans and their dependants in the sensitive region of Gascony for a number of years. Their local expertise doubtless explains their use in 1263 to supervise the transfer to the allegiance of Henry III of the vicomte of Turenne and other nobles of the border areas made over

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1. I discuss the relations between Louis, Alphonse de Poitiers and the Lusignans on p.98. For the history of Oléron and the Lusignans, whose claims to one-quarter of it were lost in 1226, but revived by their alliance with Henry III in the treaty of Reading, 1242 and later in the 1250's: C. Bémont 'le coutumier de l'Île d'Oléron' Bulletin Philologique et Historique (1917) p.274-76; Boissonade, les Lusignans I p.228.

2. Chron.Maj. V. p.388.

3. R.G. I(i) No.2547; Foedera 1(i) p.305.

to Henry by Louis in the treaty of Paris, but this remains virtually their sole mission.(1) The lack of sensitivity of Edward I in the use of Poitevins can be explained by the renewed breakdown in relations between this assertive successor of Henry III and the French crown.(2)

### (ii) Poitevins and government after the Gascon campaign (1255-57)

After the Gascon campaign the Lusignans rode, understandably, high in the king's favour. In 1255 it was rumoured that Henry proposed Aymer (albeit without success) as archbishop of York.(3) Patronage (and promises of patronage) were showered on his half-brothers; Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan spent increasing periods in the realm and began to struggle for their landed endowment.(4) Nevertheless, the numbers of Poitevins at the English court did not increase remarkably. Henry III only took a handful more Poitevins into his Household, such as Arnold de Bovis Villa (1254) and Peter de Rancon (1256) but they remained, for the most part, insignificant figures. Only four knights became important: William de Chabanais (who left court in 1255), Elias de Rabayn, Guy de Rochford and William de

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1. Foedera 1(i) p.426; C.R.1261-64 p.281.
2. Thirteenth Century p.270 ff.
3. Chron. Thomas Wykes p.108.
4. Ch. 6 p.200 ff.

Sancta Ermina.(1)

Henry III was anxious enough to consolidate the position of his half-brothers and their dependants in England and to give them a wider administrative rôle. Three Poitevin knights held the custody of royal castles and manors and William de Sancta Ermina, who had only entered the royal Household in 1253, rose rapidly to the position of pantler (1255) and chamberlain in about 1258. He came to the notice of Matthew Paris who comments sarcastically about his familiarity with the king; certainly, by this date he was receiving very large grants and seemed poised for further promotion, very possibly to the Stewardship.(2) The work of the Lusignans in government expanded, too, although the evidence for it remains very slight. They were occasionally members of the king's Council(3) and possibly it was through their offices that

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1. For these men: [see Ch.3].

2. See Table 2 p. 26. For William de Sancta Ermina:- C.P.R.1247-58 p.172; C.R.1254-56 p.81; E.101/349/26m.3; Chron.Maj. V. p.678,702. He witnessed royal charters with great frequency.

3. See references cited in the text below. While this certainly establishes their membership of the Council it is by no means certain whether their attendance was anything more than a mere formality. The Poitevins seem in reality to have been fairly ignorant of current council policy before 1258. (see below p.252f. for further discussion). They witnessed very few acta of the Council other than those listed here.

Henry III was reconciled with their kinsman the earl of Gloucester, who entered the king's service as an envoy to Scotland in August 1255 and by the close of that year had become a Councillor. (Although Gloucester's obstructive behaviour over the recent Gascon campaign and the king's desire to ensure his future co-operation, not least with the new rule of the lord Edward on the Welsh March may well be the more likely explanation for this interesting move.)[1] The Lusignans retained an interest, albeit rather passive, in Council activity relating to Wales[2] and in September 1255 when Geoffrey de Lusignan and William de Valence accompanied the king to the North they took a small part in negotiations to strengthen English control in the kingdom of Scotland during the minority of Alexander III.[3]

The following month William, Geoffrey and Aymer of Winchester were part of a council at Windsor which witnessed the king's final acceptance of the terms of the 'Sicilian business' on the arrival of the papal representatives in England to invest Edmund with the kingdom. This council is often cited as evidence that the Lusignans were responsible for advising the king to undertake this disastrous enterprise. However, there is no reference to any further

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1. For the Lusignans and Gloucester, see Ch.4 p.106f. For Gloucester and the king 1253-4, M.R. Powicke 'Distraint of Knighthood' art.cit. p.463n. also: C.P.R.1247-58 p.421,423,424,426,508, etc.

2. C.R.1254-56 p.204 (June, 1255)

3. C.P.R.1247-58 p.424,441; Foedera 1(i) p.329.

Poitevin part in these negotiations which were purely the result of Savoyard diplomacy.(1)

During 1256, however, there was a noticeable increase in the importance of the Lusignans with regard to foreign affairs. At Christmas 1256 Matthew Paris relates, from an eye-witness account, that the king's half-brothers, and especially Aymer of Winchester, were most anxious to urge Richard of Cornwall to accept the crown of Germany, 'asserentes hunc honorem totam Anglicanam nationem exaltare'.(2) The Lusignans' interest in this important piece of royal policy propounded since February 1256 is not clear. In December 1256 some of William de Valence's and Richard of Cornwall's retainers were together at St. Alban's and in April 1257 William de Valence's brother-in-law and close ally John de Warenne accompanied Richard to his coronation in Germany. In all probability, this incident shows that Henry III's half-brothers were becoming more active as advisors for Richard's candidature was a vital step in securing his support for the king after many years of equivocation.(3) It, incidentally, helped to remove an important obstacle to the

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1. Foedera 1(i) p.332; Snellgrove, The Lusignans p.74.

2. Chron.Maj. V. p.602.

3. Chron.Maj. V. p.608., c.f. Richard of Cornwall p.84,90. H.E. Hilpert 'Richard of Cornwall's candidature for the German throne and the Christmas 1256 Parliament at Westminster' Journal of Medieval History. VI (1980) p.185-197 suggests that the Lusignans helped Henry III circumvent baronial opposition to Richard's election.

enrichment of the Lusignans in England and won them a useful ally at court, as the support of Henry of Almain, and even Richard himself was to prove in the 1260's.

The Poitevins also enjoyed a somewhat increased diplomatic role during this period . They only took a subsidiary part, perhaps significantly, in Henry III's negotiations with Louis IX but they were considered useful enough in the affairs of the south-west where, despite the marriage of Edward and Eleanor of Castille relations with Alphonso X continued to fluctuate. In January 1256, when Henry III wrote to John Mansel concerning the affairs of Gascony - negotiations with the king of Castille and the truce with France - he ordered Mansel to take counsel 'if expedient' with William de Valence, Simon de Montfort and the earl of Gloucester.(1) In January 1257 Aymer of Winchester took part in his first embassy to Louis IX, being appointed with his fellow Poitevin Peter des Rivaux and John de Gatesden on 'secret business' to represent Henry III in negotiations concerning breakages of the truce with France. Aymer, in fact, remained in France or Poitou until September and later in January the king was considering him as a possible ambassador to Castille.(2) But whether Aymer did perform any more diplomatic missions

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1. Foedera 1(i) p.331.

2. Chron.Maj. V. p.611, Winchester Annals p.96, C.P.R.1247-58 p.537; C.R.1256-59 p.119.

in 1257 is unknown. Matthew Paris makes him part of an embassy consisting of the bishop of Worcester, the earl of Norfolk and Simon de Montfort sent to France in October to make a renewed demonstration of Henry III's claims to Normandy, but if this mission took place no other record of it survives. Aymer was certainly not part of the June embassy which began negotiations for a peace treaty with France.(1) However, he was part of the council (along with Edward, Peter of Savoy, Gloucester, the bishop of Worcester and others) which in December witnessed the return of schedules concerning negotiations with the king of Castille, business in which he just possibly could have played some part.(2) Perhaps Matthew Paris confused Aymer's October embassy with his work in January 1258 as a negotiator, along with the bishop of Worcester and Simon de Montfort, to amend all friction with France over the levy of tolls at Dover.(3)

By 1258, therefore, the administrative and political role of the Poitevins was still very much in its infancy. Their dealings with curiales in formal acts of government were limited. They supported certain aspects of royal diplomatic policy, but their part in it was small. Between 1252 and 1258 they are not even recorded by the chroniclers

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1. Chron.Maj. V. p.659; Foedera 1(i) p.358.
2. C.R.1256-59 p.149.
3. C.P.R.1247-58 p.610.

as having spoken in Parliament. This was certainly a most disappointing sequel to the Gascon campaign which had promised, for a few months, to make them such a vital instrument of royal policy.

### (iii) The Savoyards and government 1253-57

Outside the king's household, the work of the Savoyards at Court was confined exclusively to two areas: royal diplomacy and the affairs of the queen and the lord Edward. Their effect on other aspects of English domestic government was negligible. During the 1250's they held brief custody of three royal castles. Hadleigh, co. Essex (quite unimportant, and held by a succession of Savoyards 1244-58) was only intended as a means of rewarding loyal service. Oxford (an important castle held by Imbert Pugeys 1253-56) was transferred to a trusted curialis as a security measure during the king's absence abroad on campaign.(1) From 1256-58 Savoyards were

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1. See Table I p. 21. For Hadleigh: H.M. Colvin (ed.) A History of the king's works, vol.II (London, 1963) p.659-60 which traces the neglect of the fabric by successive keepers (e.g., until 1275, since its surrender to the Crown by Hubert de Burgh in 1239) in favour of the profits to be extracted from the attached mill. For royal policy regarding this and Oxford castle: D.A. Carpenter, 'The decline of the curial sheriff in England 1194-1258' E.H.R. 91 (1976) p.27-28.

constables of the Tower of London, a brief five months by the queen's knight Aymo Thurumberd, and eighteen months by Imbert Pugeys.(1) This was a position closely linked (in peacetime) with the domestic aspects of the royal household, such as provisioning, much of which came from purveyance on merchants and shipping, and so it was the natural promotion for Pugeys when he became Steward of the Household specializing in 'domestic' rather than 'political' functions. It was, however, an office of political sensitivity during the frequent quarrels and interventions by the king in the affairs of London when the liberties of the city were sometimes temporarily confiscated and placed in the hands of the Constable of the Tower.(2) One such controversy, involving charges of corruption against officials of the city, occurred during Pugeys' constableship (January 1258) and he was part of the royal commission ordered to investigate, but his role was evidently a minor one.(3) Overall the conduct in office of this alien who had been in England since 1236 was unexceptional and there is no surviving evidence of any complaints against it.

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1. Table 1 p. 21.

2. cf. Liber de Antiquis Legibus p.21-23. Pugeys, apart from brief and unimportant diplomatic work 1257-58 (C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.405; C.P.R.1247-58 p.636) retained an exclusive specialisation in domestic matters (e.g. wines) C.R.1256-59 p.344, 396,422 etc.

3. Liber de Antiquis Legibus p.30-36; C.P.R.1247-58 p.614. Most prominent in the commission was John Mansel.

The brilliant diplomacy of the House of Savoy during the 1250's is so familiar that it does not need detailed investigation here.(1) What does require stressing, however, is the way in which negotiations with the papacy and Louis IX were so closely interlinked with the theme of Savoyard involvement in the administration and estates of Edward. It could also be added that investigation of all the evidence concerning Savoyards in royal diplomacy indicates an exclusive involvement in these three projects; for all their undoubted talents no Savoyards were involved in negotiations involving other powers, such as Gwynedd or Scotland, before 1258 with the sole exception of the brief interference in Scotland in 1254-5 to restore English influence, which Matthew Paris attributes, characteristically, to the urgings of Queen Eleanor anxious to preserve the rights of her daughter, Margaret, consort of Alexander III.(2)

The concentration of Savoyards in the service of Henry III within such narrow aspects of royal diplomacy is a reminder that they acted as a pressure group providing options in policy for the king to accept or reject rather than the direction of the whole. As is well known,

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1. General accounts are: F. Mugnier, Les Savoyards (1890) p.228 ff. Hen.III + L.Edw. (1947) Ch.4-6, 9; E.L. Cox The Eagles of Savoy (Princeton, 1974) p.243 ff.

2. Thirteenth Century p.589-91. There is, however, no other evidence of Savoyard involvement with Scotland at this date.

Savoyard diplomacy embraced two basic and distinct motives, the service of the interests of Henry III and the protection and expansion of the territories of the House of Savoy itself. The complex processes whereby various members of the family of Savoy worked in amazing harmony throughout the major courts of western Europe, some of which they played off one against the other for the family's mutual advantage, need not detain us. It suffices to repeat that the key to Savoyard security lay by the mid-thirteenth century in the maintenance of an elaborate balance of power in Northern Italy between the competing forces of the Empire and the Papacy between which the Savoyards held the vital mountain passes giving access to the plains of Lombardy. Until shortly before the death of Emperor Frederick II in December 1250 the imperial cause in Italy had been almost consistently triumphant and, indeed, Savoy accommodated the Empire by the services given to Frederick by Thomas of Savoy, created in 1248 Imperial Vicar in Piedmont, but counterbalanced this by the refuge and support given to Innocent IV for the majority of his pontificate (1244-51) in exile at Lyons by its bishop-elect, Thomas' brother, Phillip of Savoy and his other fanatically ultramontane brother Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury.(1)

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1. D.T. Williams 'Aspects of the career of Boniface of Savoy' (Univ. Wales Ph.D. thesis, Aberystwyth 1970) p.120-40 emphasises the ultramontane diplomacy and beliefs of the Savoyards.

By the beginning of 1249, however, the pro-papal Guelphic alliance began to reverse the tide against the Hohenstaufen and after the death of Frederick II the fortunes in Italy of his sons Konrad and Manfred went into further decline. This produced the dramatic defection into the papal camp in 1251 of Thomas of Savoy, who married Innocent IV's niece, and the restoration of Innocent himself to Rome bent on the recovery of papal influence in Apulia by the traditional means of an anti-Hohenstaufen crusade. It was the involvement of the Savoyards in these schemes in the 1250's and Thomas of Savoy's desire to consolidate his gains made in the days of Frederick II by the assertion of his lordship over Asti, Turin and the remainder of Piedmont and, perhaps, more of Italy under the cloak of papal service which produced the spectacular Sicilian 'crusade' project into which Henry III was dragged upon the formal offer of the throne of Sicily to his second son, Edmund in the spring of 1254. Thereafter the complex diplomacy binding the fortunes of Henry III with the papacy was controlled almost exclusively by Savoyards, Thomas of Savoy, John d'Ambléon, dean of Chambéry, Guy de Roussillon, archdeacon of Lyons, the archbishops of Tarentaise and Embrun and, above all, Peter de Aigueblanche. These men worked with friendly English curiales, such as John Mansel and Robert Walerand.(1)

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1. Mugnier, les Savoyards, p.266-7.

A number of questions remain unresolved concerning the notorious 'Sicilian business', not least why Henry III allowed himself to be committed to a scheme which so quickly went disastrously wrong and yet persisted with it even when it brought the Crown such little apparent advantage and, indeed, involved considerable financial loss to the English clergy after 1256.(1) Yet, for the study of the aliens' rôle in politics it seems, oddly, to have had little relevance, producing no hostility to the Savoyard community before the Montfortian propaganda of 1263.(2) The major explanation for this was, probably, that the voluminous correspondence, the intrigue of Savoyard clerks and the fantastic promises belonged to the world of secret diplomacy. Before 1258 only a chronicler in close contact with the Court such as Matthew Paris could be dimly aware of the rumours linking Apulia with the House of Savoy and even Matthew had only limited knowledge of events, apportioning the sole blame to Peter of Aigueblanche.(3) In contrast, the Burton annalist copied into his writings uncritically all forms of propaganda concerning the preaching of the Crusade against Manfred of Hohenstaufen, material linking Manfred with the Saracens and even Manfred's plot to assassinate Henry III and his family.(4) Henry III and

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1. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.372-376.

2. Below, p 399

3. Chron.Maj. V. p.511-13,520-1,527,533.

4. Burton Annals p.350-353,395,397-401. The record of the barons' list of reasons for their refusal to support the Apulian expedition (Burton p.387-8) makes no mention of Savoyards either.

his councillors can hardly have regarded the Sicilian venture as more than pawn in their elaborate diplomatic game with the papacy and it was to their misfortune that Alexander IV proved so obstinate after the scheme had paid such handsome dividends as the election of Richard of Cornwall to the throne of Germany.(1) Sicily was used as a bargaining-counter in dealings with the papacy in 1258 by the 'baronial council' and by the king thereafter, but in 1257-58 it was seen only as a Crusading project according to its own merits, and was not popularly linked with the House of Savoy.(2)

The Savoyards sank so much of their reputation in England into this policy for more than mere selfish motives and, indeed, after the capture and imprisonment of Thomas of Savoy by Asti and Turin (1255-57) and his subsequent illness and death (1258-59) they can have held out little hope for much advantage from it.(3) They were genuinely inspired, in part, with the cause of Crusade and Pax Dei through their close involvement with Innocent IV himself. There is more than mere coincidence in the arrival in England at the close of 1249 for his enthronement of the ultramontane Boniface of Savoy, fresh from the

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1. For further evidence of Henry III's use of the Crusade in his diplomacy: Thirteenth Century p.117-122; A.J. Forey 'The Crusading vows of the English king, Henry III.' Durham University Journal, new ser.34 (1973) p.235-245.
2. e.g. Tewkesbury Annals p.170;
3. The Savoyards, however, gained substantially from Richard of Cornwall's election to Germany (Richard of Cornwall p.53-4.)

curia, with the mounting pressure on Henry III to take the cross, which he did in March 1250 under the direction

(1)

Henry III onto the course of peace with Louis IX, as is well known. Peace with Louis formed part of a coherent Savoyard strategy for Gascony and the south of France throughout the 1250's. It remained, however, a purely Savoyard project, supported only, perhaps, by Simon de Montfort, John Mansel and other diplomatic realists at the English court, as Powicke himself has hinted.(1) Until the pressures of financial collapse and baronial revolution engulfed Henry III in 1257 the king maintained, along with other unknown supporters of this policy, his claims to Normany and, by implication, his hopes of reversing by force the gains of Louis IX and his predecessors.(2)

The Savoyards' constant advocacy of peace with Louis IX also stemmed from their interest in, and concern for, Edward and his appanage in Gascony. This was, in many ways, the key to their English policy as has been stressed throughout this thesis. After their struggles during the 1240's to secure an appanage for the prince

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1. Thirteenth Century p.123-5. De Montfort and Peter of Savoy were responsible for negotiating the extension of the truce with Louis for 3 years in June 1255 (Layettes III No.4178) and from 1257-59 they were the most important figures in the negotiations of the treaty of Paris (I.J. Sanders, 'The Texts of the Peace of Paris, 1259' E.H.R., 66: (1951) p.81-97.

2. Sanders, art.cit. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.195.

and to guarantee the rights of guardianship over Edward of Queen Eleanor and Peter of Savoy they exerted their diplomatic and administrative skills to assist him during the formative years of his early manhood when he would have to commence the personal rule of his estates.

The Savoyards' first task was the pacification of Gascony on Edward's behalf. They recognized that in the fate of the duchy lay the crux of Henry III's relationship with Louis IX, the well-being of their protégé Edward and, in some senses, their own self-interest, for no English crusade could be possible until Gascony was secure. Furthermore, in 1250 Gascony could be the spark to start another war in the south, possibly to threaten the position of the Pope still at Lyons. It was to maintain the stability of this region that Savoyard diplomacy had negotiated the marriage of Charles of Anjou to Beatrice of Provence and the French occupation of the county 1245-46 to the annoyance of Henry III.(1) Thereafter the Savoyards direct interest in Gascony began as early as 1250, perhaps as early as 1248, and their policy was one of peace and consolidation. The choice of Simon de Montfort as peacemaker was an error but in 1250 Peter of Savoy was himself involved in an arbitration in the duchy.(2) The situation in Gascony

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1. Williams, op.cit. p.126-132.

2. Ch. 4 p.101.

could also be alleviated by the pacification of its southern borders, most particularly by removing the threat from Castille. The Savoyards may have been preparing long in advance for Edward's marriage to Eleanor of Castille when they secured 1249-51 the annulment of Henry III's pre-contract of marriage with Eleanor's mother, Jeanne of Ponthieu (which brought such unfortunate complications for English court politics). Edward's marriage with Eleanor was finally negotiated in 1254 by Peter of Aigueblanche and John Mansel and it brought Alfonso X's renunciation of his claims to Gascony.(1)

Savoyard activity continued in this vein throughout the 1250's. During the 1253-4 Gascon campaign Peter of Aigueblanche and Peter of Savoy were Henry III's chief councillors. From 1255 until 1257 the bishop of Hereford was virtual viceroy in Gascony pursuing, until illness overtook him, a constant policy of conciliation towards the Gascons themselves together with further diplomatic overtures towards Castille.(2) It was, of course, Aigueblanche who had negotiated the renewal of the truce with Alphonse de Poitiers in September 1254. Matthew

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1. Ch. 4 p. 111. Thirteenth Century p.118; Mugnier, les Savoyards p.256-8.

2. Mugnier, les Savoyards p.256,279-80; Trabut-Cussac, L'Administration Anglaise en Gascogne p.253; C.R.1256-59 p.118; C.P.R.1247-58 p.549; C. Bémont 'Un Rôle de Lettres Closes ..... du Prince Édouard' Bulletin Philologique et Historique (1915) p.92-129 No.96; Trabut-Cussac (p.9,161) provides an illuminating contrast between the severity of Edward and the moderation of Aigueblanche in the pacification of la Réole in 1255.

Paris even recorded a rumour in 1256 that Peter desired to succeed to the archbishopric of Bordeaux.(1)

The Savoyards played a considerable part in the administration of Edward's estates and in the formation of his household and service too. On 14th February 1254 Edward was finally given seisin of his considerable appanage, and provided with a steward, a large familia and a host of lesser officials.(2) From November 1254-October 1255 he enjoyed his brief taste of personal government in Gascony before returning to England to tour his other estates. Even so, his control over his affairs was, as one might expect, at first quite nominal and he remained very much under the protection of the queen, who can be found supervising his English estates until as late as April 1255.(3) In August 1255 it was Peter of Savoy who was sent to solve Edward's first problems in Gascony and to supervise his return to England.(4)

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1. Foedera 1(i) p.305; Chron.Maj. v p.587.

2. J.R. Studd 'The Lord Edward and King Henry', art.cit. p.4 ff. All the major instruments conferring the appanage on Edward in 1254 were witnessed by Aigueblanche and Peter of Savoy (C.P.R.1247-58 p.270-1,317) as was Edward's allocation of dower to Eleanor of Castille in July 1254. (R.G. I No.4277).

3. R.G. I (ii) No.4431.

4. Trabut-Cussac op.cit. p.13. C.R.1254-56 p.219. There had been disturbances (p.8-12) as the result of the prince's mistakes.

Peter of Savoy supervised the appointment of Mr. Bernard de Ayzon, the new constable of Bordeaux and Chancellor of Gascony and, almost certainly it was on his advice that Henry III nominated Stephen de Longespée, the new seneschal of Gascony, a royal kinsman and a curialis friendly towards the Savoyards.(1)

From 1254-58 and thereafter Henry III and the Savoyards pursued a policy of constant interference in Edward's estates and in the choice of his officials. Peter of Savoy witnessed almost every charter of Edward's surviving 1256-59. J.R. Studd argues that this policy sprang from Henry III's drive to maintain his superior lordship over Edward and, among other things, to prevent alienations by the prince from his appanage to the financial loss of the Crown.(2) It is important to add, however, that the study of Edward's familia and officials suggests that the pressures to place restrictions on his activities and, especially in the choice of his servants, sprung as much from curiales themselves. The lord Edward's establishment offered the first major administrative development at the court of Henry III since the provision of a subsidiary royal Household for the queen

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1. ibid., R.G. I(ii) Nos.4554,4597,4670. For Longespée Trabut-Cussac p.373. He was a kinsman of Henry III (G.E.C., XI p.382n. and one of his executors in 1259 was almost certainly a Savoyard, William de Ambliun (C.R.1259-61 p.79.)

2. J.R. Studd, art.cit.

in the 1230's. But both the very size of Edward's appanage and the scale of its military and administrative needs opened far more dazzling prospects for those ambitious to achieve office and advancement than could be offered by Eleanor. Furthermore, it would only be expected that Edward when he succeeded as king would turn for his leading councillors, as he in fact did, to the trusted servants of his own youth, and so here was the golden opportunity for any far-sighted curialis family to provide for its future. The main problem that had to be avoided was tension arising between Henry III and his heir, and between their respective services, to produce conflicts of loyalty and the risk of disgrace for Edward's servants as had happened for those of the 'young Henry' during the reign of Henry II.[1] An additional point to be stressed, too, is that Edward inherited control over estates which had evidently enjoyed some form of collective administrative identity long before 1254 with a common fund of officials who had already enjoyed long tenure of office and moved from one position to the other in almost a promotion system and so were reluctant to be displaced. To take the example of the four most prestigious units of the appanage, John fitz Geoffrey had been Seneschal in Gascony in 1242 before becoming Justiciar of Ireland (1245-56), he also was constable of Bristol Castle

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1. S. Painter, William Marshal (Baltimore, 1933) Ch.3 p.30-60 illustrates well the risks during the reign of Henry II.

(1241-58). John de Grey had moved from the wardenship of the Channel Islands (1229-30; 1252-54) to the Justiciarship of Chester (1245-50) and to the Seneschalcy of Gascony (1253).[1] Many of these were representatives of powerful administrative families, such as the de Greys,who had a vested interest in perpetuating their lines in these offices, as seen most clearly in the way in which Richard de Grey (warden of the Channel Islands 1226-30, 1252-54, Seneschal of Gascony 1253-54) enjoyed frequent joint-tenure with his brother, Richard.[2] Others, such as Alan de la Zouche (justice of Chester 1250-5), whose family had a base at Tong, co.Salop, were men of local standing and some had become so well-established that they began acquiring lands in these areas, such as John fitz Geoffrey and his deputy, Richard de la Rochelle (c.1246-56).[3]

The formation of Edward's service during the 1250's shows that the Savoyards catered well for these complex pressures. Until 1258 Edward's familia was regarded - as

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1. J. Trabut-Cussac, op.cit. p.371-3; H.G. Richardson & G.O. Sayles, The Administration of Medieval Ireland (Dublin, 1963) p.77-8; J.H. le Patourel The Medieval Administration of the Channel Islands 1199-1399 (Oxford, 1937) p.122-4; J. Tait (ed.) The Cartulary of Chester Abbey (Chetham Soc., New Ser.79: Manchester, 1920) p.v. (list of Justiciars of Chester).

2. le Patourel, Trabut-Cussac op.cit.

3. R.W. Eyton, The Antiquities of Shropshire (London, 1854) vol.2 p.221; R.G. I(i) No.3518, Cal.Docs. Ireland 1252-84 No.226; C.P.R.1266-72 p.85.

it had, in fact, been before 1254 - as merely an extension of the queen's household and during the New Year distribution of rings recorded on Eleanor's jewel roll in 1258 grants made to Edward's leading councillors were entered indiscriminately in a group alongside her own knights and clerks.(1) Eleanor's influence had undoubtedly governed the appointment to Edward's service of many of its most important members during this period: Geoffrey de Langley, the ruthless curialis from the Passelewe-des Roches connexion, Edward's first general steward (1254-57),(2) William de Chaeny, steward of the household (1257-9),(3)

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1. E.101/349/26.m.2. For what follows I rely on the list of Edward's officials in J.R. Studd 'A catalogue of the Acts of the lord Edward' (Univ.Leeds Ph.D. thesis, 1971) p.107 ff. Dr. Studd does not, however, trace the origins of Edward's officials and the following notes are based on my own material. The most reliable guide to the Councillors of Edward 1255-57 lie in the following references: Archives Historiques du Département de la Gironde, vol.II (Bordeaux, 1860) p.251; P.R.O.CHES.38/47/1; R.G. I(ii) Nos. 4337,4538,4636; C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.453; J.Trabut-Cussac 'Un Rôle de Lettres Patentes ..... du Prince Édouard' Receuil de Travaux Offert à M. Clovis Brunel (Paris, 1955) vol.II p.599-615 Nos. 65,71,78.

2. P.R. Coss: 'Sir Geoffrey de Langley' Past & Present: 68 (1975) p.18; for Langley and Eleanor: E.101/349/7 (1252) C.47/3/43/6. (1254). In 1257 the queen secured Langley a pardon for misdemeanours in office. C.P.R.1247-58 p.616.

3. Seneschal of Eleanor of Castille 1255 (C.Lib.R. 1251-60 p.243-4) of Edward, June 1257 (E.159/30m.1 schedule) A knight in royal service since 1244 and connected with Gascony and the Channel Islands (C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.244; C.P.R.1232-47 p.313; C.R.1247-51 p.344). In 1259 he reverted to the queen's service: E.101/349/26.m.3.

Stephen Bauzan and Nicholas de Jetingden (knights during the 1250's)[1] and, of course, Michael de Fiennes, Eleanor's alien kinsman, Edward's first chancellor (1255-58).[2] It is no surprise to see a major influx into Edward's service of the young Savoyards who had begun to make their careers at court in the 1250's: the knights Eubule of Geneva (1255), Stephen de Salines (1255), Geoffrey de Joinville (1255-c.1257), Imbert de Montferrand (1254-57) and the clerk William de Salines (1254-62)[3];

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1. For Bauzan and Queen Eleanor: E.101/349/12m.1 (1253) (From a Marcher background to royal service by 1249 (C.P.R.1232-47 p.41; 1247-58 p.44.) Killed fighting in Wales 1257 (Chron.Maj. V p.646).) Queen Eleanor interceded for Bauzan's family after his death (C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.23). Nicholas de Jetingden was a kinsman of Eleanor's valet, Bartholemew.

2. G.P. Cuttino, 'A chancellor of the Lord Edward' B.I.H.R. 50: (1977) p.229-232.

3. Whereas the first three of these witnessed at least one of Edward's surviving acta 1255-57 by no means all remained in his service for long. Eubule of Geneva (knighted only in 1253) quit Edward's service after only staying with him in Gascony in 1255. Stephen de Salines, an important councillor of the prince, and whose brother received a fee from Edward in October 1255 (R.G. I(ii) No.4655) died c.December 1255. He had inter alia been involved in negotiations with Alphonse de Poitiers (C.P.R.1247-58 p.408). Imbert de Montferrand left the service of the bishop of Hereford to become constable of Montgomery for Edward 1254-57 (Table I p. 22 ); Geoffrey de Joinville witnessed Edward's charters regularly until 1257 and 1261-6 was deputy-Justiciar of Ireland. William de Salines was an important figure in Edward's administration 1254-c.1262 (e.g.C.R.1256-59 p.174; R.G. I(ii) p.LXXXIX; C.P.R.1266-72 p.727: probably Receiver.)

and, above all, the knight Eubule de Montibus, Edward's constant companion, chamberlain, or perhaps, steward (1251-58) hand-picked by Eleanor and Peter of Savoy from amongst their most faithful dependants in England.(1) But Eleanor was careful not to flood Edward's establishment with aliens.

The interests of established curiales in Edward's service were well-represented by the emergence of John fitz Geoffrey as Edward's leading councillor from 1255 - he seems to have been favoured by the queen too - by the appointment of Alan de la Zouche as Justiciar of Ireland (1256-58) and, as has been said, Stephen de Longespée to Gascony.(2) Conservative forces produced William de Wilton, a well-established king's justice, Edward's prominent bailiff in 1254 from which position he succeeded Geoffrey de Langley as Steward in 1257, and Ralph de Donjon, keeper of the Wardrobe 1255-59(3) or Peter de

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1. C.R.1251-3 p.18[illegible]; R.G. I(ii) No.4324; Foedera 1(i) p.330; C.R.1254-56 p.130; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.316. Eubule witnessed virtually every one of Edward's charters. In March 1257 Edward granted him a small manor (C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.24).

2. For fitz Geoffrey: W. Dugdale, Baronage I p.706-7 cf. C.47/3/43/6; E.101/349/26m.3.; de la Zouche G.E.C. XII p.932-4 and Table 9 p.418. (later connexion with Peter of Savoy).

3. For Wilton: E. Foss, A..... Dictionary of the Judges of England 1066-1870 (London, 1870) p.747. It is clear that he became General estates Steward in 1257 (S.C.6/1094/11:c.f. Tewkesbury Annals p.158). Ralph de Donjon had been in royal service, as a clerk in Cheshire since 1241 (C.P.R.1232-47 p.267) and, by 1252, in the queen's service as one of the guardians of the royal children at Windsor (C.Lib.R. 1251-60 p.27).

Montfort, Edward's councillor from 1254 and, not merely well-connected with Marcher society, but the major political client of Simon de Montfort who, at the moment of his advancement, was still friendly with the Savoyards.(1) The Greys, despite their temporary disgrace and quarrel with the Savoyards were reinstated in Edward's service in 1257.(2) The pressures of local society were accommodated by the appointment as Justiciar of Chester of Gilbert Talbot of co. Hereford (1255-57) and Roger de Mold (1257-59).(3) The vast majority of less prominent clerks and knights in Edward's service before 1257 came from such curialis origins and many of them were in turn kinsmen or clients of the leading families we have mentioned.(4) Nor were the interests of the men closest to the king who had family ties with areas now administered by Edward to be excluded, for example Robert Walerand, the king's steward, a friend of the Savoyards, a Marcher and former royal official in Wales, who succeeded fitz Geoffrey as the

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1. e.g. R.G. I(ii) No.4334 (1254). De Montfort witnessed most of Edward's charters before 1258 and was appointed sheriff of Salop. and Staffs. in 1257 at Edward's 'request' (C.P.R.1247-58 p.580.) He had a gift from the queen in 1258 (E.101/349/26m.3).

2. C.P.R.1247-58 p.553 (1257) see Ch. 6 p. 218

3. Tait, op.cit.; G.E.C. IX p.12-14

4. e.g. William and Eudo de la Zouche in Edward's service by 1254 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.375-7.) Robert de Beaumes, valet in Edward's service from 1254. (R.G. I(ii) p.LXXVI) was a kinsman of Zouche (Eyton, op.cit. II p.208,242). Walter de Langley's origins are obvious (in Edward's service 1254: C.P.R.1247-58 p.375-7.) There are many more instances of such patronage.

king's chosen councillor for his son.(1)

The emergence of Edward into a political entity 1254-7, the protection of his appanage in Gascony and the construction of a body of officials for his household and estates is, therefore, a perfect example of the harmony existing between the ambitions of curiales and Savoyards prior to 1258. Both desired a conservative policy to prevail in the affairs of the king's heir, the policy of strict control over the prince, and of peace and moderation in Gascony, for example.(2)

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1. D.N.B. 'Robert Walerand' brings out Walerand's unusually close link with Edward. He began witnessing his charters in May 1258 (C.Ch.R. 1257-1300 p.13). Walerand was linked with the Sicilian business. Richard of Cornwall p.84.

2. It could be stressed, once again, that Savoyards fully endorsed the policy of the inalienability of Edward's appanage. At least one deed, declaring the inalienability of the Honour of Eu from the Crown was enrolled in Peter of Savoy's private archives (C.47/9/1). In October 1253 the king swore 'with his hand on the hand of the bishop of Hereford' (Aigueblanche) to maintain Gascony inalienable and intact for the appanage of Edward. (C.P.R.1247-58 p.293). This did not, apparently, conflict with Peter's retention 1254 of his control of part of Edward's honour of Eu situated close to his own honour of Pevensey, namely the manor of Burwash and the Rape of Hastings (co.Sussex) held at fee farm of £80 p.a. from May 1254 until Edward ejected Peter in November 1259 (C.61/1m.4; C.61/4m.5: see below, Ch. 8 p. 345 and Table 1 p. 22-3 )

It was only the growing personal maturity of Edward and his unwillingness to remain under such tutelage which disrupted this settlement from 1257 onward and released the tensions affecting court politics in 1258.

The period 1253-57, thus, continued to emphasize a sharp contrast between the position in the English court of the Savoyards and the Poitevins. The Poitevins were slow to develop an alternative administrative and political purpose after the Gascon campaign of 1253-54 and, possibly were prevented from so doing by pressures which will be described more fully in Chapter 7. The Savoyards continued to be indispensable agents of royal diplomacy and the authors of new initiatives in Henry III's policy, as we have seen in the affairs of Gascony and peace with France. They were the custodians of Edward and they determined, in a masterly and sensitive fashion, the composition of his early Household and administration. Only in Henry III's own household and personal affections could the Poitevins compete with their influence.

# Chapter 6.

## Aliens and Henry III's problems of patronage 1247-65

King Henry III's open-handed liberality to foreigners is a well-trodden subject for Historians. It made him the butt of Matthew Paris' mockery; it helped provoke the crisis of the Provisions of Oxford; provided ample material for Montfortian propagandists bent on proving the king's incapacity to rule without some baronial advice. The Gravamina quibus terra Anglie Opprimebatur, connected with the Mise of Amiens (Jan.1264) asserted that over the past fifteen years Henry III had spent over 100,000 marks on fees mainly to aliens (an average of about 7,000 marks per annum or about one-eighth or more of annual royal income during these years.)

> 'Moreover, certain courtiers, aliens and others, leaguing themselves together and pushing each others' interests, arranged that escheats, wardships and other perquisites of the lord king whereby he ought to replenish his treasury ..... should be conferred upon them in turn ..... they procured grants of so many and such large fees ... that the royal patrimony was almost completely exhausted by fees of this kind; and yet these leading men, not content with their larger fees, obtained for knights and other servants of their households various lesser fees, cheating the lord king of whatever they could by every trick of subtlety. And although the lord king conferred upon some, who held this kind of fee, lands equalling or even exceeding the annual value of their fees, nevertheless, however, so that those fees should be continued to them thereafter, they importuned ceaselessly ..... and often by their importunity succeeded .....'
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> (1)

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1. D.B.M. p.276-7. Throughout this chapter I have benefitted greatly from the invaluable guidelines of G.L. Harriss, King, Parliament and Public Finance..to 1309 (Oxford, 1975) esp. Ch.6 (p.128f)

In fact, the figures of the Gravamina may be rather conservative estimates. From the 1230's Henry provided up to fifty or more Savoyards with annual revenues of one hundred marks or more (the wealth of a substantial knight) no fewer than twenty-two of which were in the form of secular landed estate. Eighty more were given lesser revenues, including some thirty-three fee-holders, seventeen lesser landholders and a host of clergy. Poitevins came ten years later. Twenty-eight of them held annual revenues of one hundred marks or more (1247-72) ten in secular lands. About seventy more Poitevins had lesser revenues, including forty fee-holders, but only three landholders. (2)

R.F. Treharne refuted the view - nonetheless evidently believed by thirteenth century writers - that the aliens had significantly contributed to Henry III's financial ruin before 1258. Compared with the enormous drain of the king's costly failures in foreign policy "it had relatively little effect .... for much of it was exercised at the expense of the Church, and the total value of the custodies, wardships, and escheats, the annual fees at the Exchequer, and the rich presents which Henry gave them, never constituted a really serious drain upon his income". (3)

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2. See tables No.4-5 p.235-238

3. Baronial Plan p.50.

There is much to question in this statement, as in F.M. Powicke's rather optimistic account of Henry III's finances suggesting, in contradiction to Treharne, that there was "no desperate state of affairs", (4) but to do so in full would require a lengthy investigation of the difficult subject of government/finance. The purpose of this chapter, however, is to describe the king's distribution of patronage to his two groups of alien servants as a problem in its own right, to illustrate its complexity and to consider some of its implications. Some discussion will be attempted on the relation of patronage to royal finance but our main concern is to highlight its repercussions on the politics of the royal court. As in other chapters the main question at stake is the expulsion of the Poitevins in 1258. The shortcomings of Henry III's extravagance towards alien favourites was an important issue by the time of the Provisions of Oxford but was never simply a baronial grievance. Finally, there will be a discussion of the general relation of patronage politics and royal finance, themes pursued in greater detail in chapters 7-9.

For Henry III the financing of the aliens was not a straightforward task. They were 'endowed': that is, as servants of the crown they would have to be provided with long-term incomes, at the very least annual money fees but, ideally from everyone's point of view, with more permanent revenues which would not involve a constant drain on the

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4. Hen.III + L. Edw. p.305.

king's ready cash, such as the revenues from wardships and marriages, the custody of royal manors and castles or direct enfeoffment with a landed estate. The method of rewarding aliens varied, however, depending on whether they were laymen or clerics, absentees or permanently settled in the realm. Generally speaking, for those settled in England land was the ideal long-term solution to the problem of endowment, compared with wardships which lapsed when the heir came of age, or marriage-rights which for various reasons might not result in a marriage but be suitable only for selling. Few aliens would remain unless permanently provided for in this method. There was also the threat of inferior social status and legal disabilities facing the landless alien with no stake in the realm. (5)

Furthermore, primary responsibility for their reward lay with the king. Occasionally, the crown's burden could be pushed onto others, for instance the papacy, or ecclesiastical revenues, or the subsidiary communities set up by the leading aliens who rewarded followers from the revenues of their own estates - in the three bishoprics or the secular landowners. These, however, did not fundamentally alter the process of endowment for, excepting the bishops, few aliens could be provided with enough land and revenues to make them immediately independent of the king's patronage when rewarding subordinates and, indeed, surprisingly little is known about such independent grants of William de Valence - or even Peter of Savoy - before 1265. Nor

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5. e.g. contrast the attitude of the barons in 1258 to William and Aymer de Lusignan with that to Guy + Geoffrey : D.B.M. p.94-5.

did the church simply shoulder much to the cost as Treharne implied. The papacy provided very few Savoyards or Poitevins to benefices in England and the majority of benefices received came from the store of ecclesiastical patronage reverting to the crown under its regalian rights from which all royal clerks had to be funded.

None of these methods might, in turn, be satisfactory for the large numbers of Henry III's alien servants and dependants who chose to remain on the continent. Annual money fees were the standard, but expensive, reward for continental allies.(7) Clerics, too, formed a separate category; some desired benefices in England, but some absentees might prefer fees.

It follows that what we are describing is a long term process in which Henry's celebrated 'occasional gifts' - the cash presents, ceremonies et alia - to his favourites form only a small part. The success of the endowment of the aliens depended on the availability of the right sort of revenue for disposal at the right time. Temporary shortages in cash, or wardships or escheated land which did occur from time to time, could cause the king no little embarrassment - perhaps the real financial chaos caused by the aliens. Furthermore, it goes without saying that such patronage was the means whereby the king financed his entire court and offialdom. This, strictly speaking, meant that the distribution of royal patronage was often

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7. B.D. Lyon, 'The money-fief under English kings 1066-1485', E.H.R. vol.66 (1951) p.161-93.

an issue of court rather than baronial or national, politics. After the king's early years, when both de Burgh and des Roches attempted in some way to purchase support from Magnate factions through the distribution of escheats and other perquisites Henry III, as the mark of the new authority of his rule after the mid-1230's, had been able to confine such revenues for the endowment of his growing family and the reward of his servants.(8) King Henry spent freely in the 1230's and 40's but by the 1250's he was experiencing problems in his finances and, consequently, in his patronage. By 1258 signs of collapse had begun to appear on all sides.

This is of no mean interest when comparing the political fate of the Savoyards with the Poitevins. The former had by far the more generous endowment from the king. A number of factors explain this. The most obvious is the greater financial ease of the 1230's and 40's. Over thirty of the total of thirty-eight Savoyards provided with land received their grants before the mid 1250's and about the same proportions of the total of thirty who received marriages and wardships, or, perhaps, of the sixty or more who were granted ecclesiastical benefices. These years released a crop of valuable revenues for the king's disposal. The political crises of the 1230's, for example,

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8. c.f. Richard of Cornwall p.27. This is not to suggest, however, that they were open-handed with such grants to the baronage.

B.P. Wolffe, The Royal Demesne in English History (London, 1971) p.53.

meant that on the ruin of the Marshals Henry could recover the Honour of Pevensey for Peter of Savoy in 1241.(9) The 1240's was also the last decade when the crown had anything like an adequate supply of escheated land, nearly all of it being the terra Normannorum which was subject to a final general confiscation in 1244.(10) A few of the Norman Escheats comprised very large honours and these were given over to providing estates for the king's family including the Honours of Richmond and Pevensey to Peter of Savoy: thus Peter could be endowed, for the essential part, without any of the acrimony and litigation involved in finding lands for William de Valence in the 1250's.

It must not be imagined, however, that the king had an unlimited supply of escheats even in the 1240's. The majority of Savoyards, for example, received only a single manor worth £40 p.a. or less. Whenever possible Savoyards were indirectly endowed with large amounts of land through marriage to heiresses. The fortuitous great mortality of earls and magnates in the 1240's meant that Peter of Geneva could marry in 1244 Matilda de Lacy, a wealthy heiress in Ireland and the Welsh March, and when he died in 1249 Matilda was soon re-married to Geoffrey de Joinville. Similarly, in 1247 Eubule of Geneva married the youthful Irish heiress, Christiana de Marisco. Savoyard ladies married the heirs to the Lacy and (Irish) de Burgh families.

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9. I.J. Sanders, English Baronies (Oxford, 1960) p.137.
10. E.F. Jacob, 'The reign of Henry III: some suggestions' T.R.H.S. 4th.ser., vol.X (1927) p.30-32.

Even the widows of some of Henry III's wealthiest bureaucrats became available for Savoyards. Imbert Pugeys married the widow of Ralph fitz Bernard in 1238 and Eubule de Montibus (soon himself to become steward) the widow of Geoffrey de Crowcombe, Henry III's notorious steward, in 1251.

Even so, there were many more signs of the easy condition of royal finances. During the 1240's, for example, few Savoyards resident in England were endowed within the constraints of the fee system which the financial difficulties of the next two decades forced the king to impose on the Poitevins. And even if they were first allocated fees, their replacement with 'ampler provision' followed very quickly - often within the space of a few months. When, in 1243, the king's kinsman Guy de Roussillon was promised a fee of 200 marks p.a. until he had been provided to 400 marks p.a. of ecclesiastical revenue his fee was within the year replaced by the wardship of the heir of the king's former alien servant Peter de Maulay (which Guy promptly sold off for cash) and in 1244 the king set up a special committee of his council to seek out for him benefices to the tune of a Deanery, three Prebends and five other livings after establishing priority for him over all other claimants for patronage.(11) Henry III was never again able to react with such urgency to satisfy his fee-holders on that enormous scale. The king granted fees to Savoyards even in addition to a continuous process of

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11. C.P.R.1232-47 p.388,389,415,416,418,420,421,423

endowment

by other methods - as in the case of the extremely well-rewarded Stephen de Salines who received a wardship in 1247, an escheat (in hereditary possession 1251) in 1246 £20 p.a. fee for life in 1249 and marriage-rights in 1251 and 1253.(12) Henry was also prepared to countenance the provision for absentee Savoyard pensioners of landed estates in the realm. Whereas only one Poitevin absentee held lay revenues by 1258 six or more Savoyards did so over the period 1240-58 including the Queen's mother, Beatrice of Provence (an escheated manor)(13) and Imbert de Salines, scion of the House of Burgundy, provided in 1244 with escheated manors to the value of over £75 p.a. for a fee of £40 p.a. granted in 1243(14) or to a less exalted level, Uldric Albo de Susa brother of the Archbishop of Embrun who received Colton, co.Yorks. (valued at £6 p.a.) 'for life' in 1243, land recovered from the Jews.(15) Generous ecclesiastical grants could also be made at this period such as the 200-300 marks p.a. promised to Robert de Salines, son of the Count of Burgundy at the instance of the Pope in 1251,(16) and, of course, most spectacularly (if Matthew Paris' figures are to be

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12. C.P.R.1247-58 p.21,51,104,217; C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.305,366.

13. C.P.R.1232-47 p.364.

14. ibid. p.413; C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.277. Eastbourne alone was leased for £55 p.a. in 1249 (ibid. p.340)

15. C.R.1242-47 p.136.

16. Chron.Maj. V p.224; VI p.148-50.

believed) the revenues of over 1000 marks p.a. granted to Phillip of Savoy.(17) The large number of purely absentee fee-holders should also be noticed. Even in the mid-1250's it can be calculated that the king was paying out over £1300 p.a. to them including £400 p.a. to Beatrice of Provence,(18) 500 marks p.a. to Thomas of Savoy(19) and 200 marks p.a. to the counts of Savoy.(20)

During the 1240's the Savoyards were, admittedly, fortunate in having few rivals at court. The impressive scale of their endowment was also quite consistent with their political and administrative importance to Henry III's regime. But above all it testified to the supreme political skill of Queen Eleanor and her countrymen and to the sheer ruthlessness with which they pursued their aggrandizement. Peter of Savoy had before 1248 secured at least half-a-dozen important parcels of land in augmentation of the original grant of Richmond. One of these was a simple land-exchange with a knight of the king's household but five were obtained after legal actions for recovery of terrae Normannorum from their original grantees significantly enough, with the king's support. In one case Henry

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17. ibid. p.442.c.f. C.P.R.1232-47 p.157,159,167,173,377,396,496.

18. C.P.R.1232-47 p.414. Fee paid from revenues of Viponte wardships initially, 1243, for 6 yrs. only but extended 1246 for full period of John de Viponte's wardship i.e. until about 1257. (ibid. p.486)

19. C.R.1264-68 p.366. (Chron.Maj.IV p.20)

20. C.P.R.1232-47 p.469 (1246). The standard fee of the Counts of Savoy, for their homage, for the remainder of the 13th. century.

III bought out a royal official from a manor for 500 marks. But Peter's attempts to improve his landholdings did not cease after the 1240's. After a lull in the 1250's, he conducted in 1262, with the king's blessing, a major land-exchange with the lord Edward to secure the honour of Hastings and so round off his Sussex estates more neatly.(21) Most surprising of all, however, was the amazing success of the house of Savoy itself in securing some large grants from the king even during the 1250's when shortages were forcing a general cutback in patronage. In 1253 the already wealthy Peter of Savoy was promised 10,000 marks, nominally in return for an undertaking to support Henry III's projected crusade; 5,500 m. were almost immediately advanced through the transfer of cash, debts and two major wardships.(22) In 1256 1000 marks were given as a political subsidy to Beatrice of Provence(23) and in 1257 the king donated 5000 marks or more for the ransom of Thomas of Savoy 'qui tot milia marcarum a simplicitate regis et regine et eorum secretis extorserat'.(24) Even early in 1259 the Baronial regime was sufficiently under the Savoyard spell to undertake to pay a sum of several thousand marks in arrears of Thomas of Savoy's fee owing to his heirs.(25)

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21. P.R.O. C.47/9/1.; C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.335.

22. C.P.R.1247-58 p.188.

23. ibid. p.487.

24. ibid. p.540,559,622; Chron.Maj. V p.741.

25. See below, Ch.8 p.329-30

Ironically enough, it was not in the 1240's but during the mid-1250's that Henry III came under the severest criticism for his extravagance to the aliens. Contemporaries highlighted for censure Henry's new favourites, his half-brothers of the house of Lusignan, and other Poitevins. Hardly any major item of patronage bestowed on them before 1258 went unrecorded in the writings of Matthew Paris who often ignored equally spectacular gifts given to Savoyards such as the remarkable grant to Peter of Savoy in 1253. Matthew hardly mentioned Savoyards of less than princely rank, yet his information on Poitevin clerics and knights is surprisingly copious.(26) In 1258 the expulsion of the Poitevins seemed to vindicate his opinions. After the Provisions of Oxford full testimony was available of the enormous wealth given to these aliens by the king; even more tales were available of the frauds and injustices that they had employed in some cases to obtain it, for instance the disinheritance of his wife's sister, the Bayeux heiress by Elias de Rabayn(27) in 1250-3 or the questionable litigation employed by William de Valence to recover manors from several individuals.

Jealousy of the wealth and influence of the Poitevins thus undoubtedly contributed much to their expulsion in 1258. In reality they were, as we have indicated, less numerous and - in overall terms - less generously endowed than Savoyards, particularly in land. It might, therefore, be asked why they became so envied and disliked. The answer

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26. e.g. Chron.Maj. V p.283,678,725.

27. I.J. Sanders, English Baronies p.88-89.

lies, of course, in the political insensitivity of the Poitevins before 1258 but also, we believe, in the financial conditions peculiar to the 1250's, which made the distribution of royal patronage again the explosive political issue that it had become by the close of Henry's minority. The king's half-brothers were far more a victim of these circumstances than their enemies would care to admit; it was their misfortune to have to be created into a power in the realm during such difficult times.

The Poitevins had originally belonged to the ranks of the king's continental allies funded on a system of money fees. As a result of the Poitevin campaign 1242-3 and his military alliance with Hugh le Brun Henry III had granted 400 marks p.a. to the Count of la Marche, 300 marks p.a. apiece to his sons, Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan, some benefices in England to their young brother, Aymer, together with a large number of fees, mostly much smaller, to other members of the Poitevin nobility. These grants, however, lapsed along with those of many other Poitevins, when they deserted Henry III to make a separate peace with the king of France.(28)

In 1247 the Lusignans settled in England and the Poitevin connexion took on a new lease of life. When Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan visited Henry III their fees were

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28. R.G. I. No.338; Boissonade: I.p.240; C.P.R.1232-47 p.309,11.

renewed and their father's was revived in 1249.(29) The number of pensioners began to increase and other Lusignans were granted fees, but appreciably smaller sums than their Savoyard counterparts. Isabella de Craon was promised 100 marks p.a. in 1251, Margaret de Thouars and William de Chauvigny 100 and 200 marks p.a. respectively in 1254.(30) At least twenty Poitevins received fees from 1247 onwards and at least a further 18 fee-holders were created as a result of the 1253-54 Gascon campaign when the king relied on his continental allies for much-needed military support. With all these fee-holders who remained absent - even members of his own family - Henry III pursued a much stricter policy than he had with the Savoyards. No grant was hereditary; Hugh le Brun's fee had to be revived after his death in 1250 for his heir in 1254 and a hereditary grant of 100 marks p.a. to Isabella de Craon in July 1251 was immediately cancelled.(31) Furthermore, only one lay absentee Poitevin was granted any land in England (although a few clergy were given benefices) and that was Isabella de Craon, to whom was issued c.1251 a license to sue for the restoration of her late husband's ancestral lands which had been confiscated some years earlier as 'Norman escheats'.(32)

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29. C.P.R.1232-47 p.502; 1247-58 p.3, 35. In 1254 the count's fee was reduced to 250 marks p.a. owing to the king's expenses over the marriage of Marie de Lusignan to Robert de Ferrars (ibid. p.317.)

30. ibid. p.283; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.40, 208.

31. C.P.R.1247-58 p.101.

32. ibid. p.167, 314.

As with Savoyards, Henry III was generous enough with visiting Poitevins. Matthew Paris' writings are full of them, although it would be wise not to exaggerate their number and to remember that their high-point occurred in 1251-4 when Henry sought through lavish hospitality to cultivate allies on the continent to assist him in Gascony. They were received with ceremonies, knightings and tournaments. Kinsmen and their servants often had large cash gifts, such as the £100 given to William de Chauvigny in 1251 or the rich benefices bestowed, to the disgust of Matthew Paris, on the archdeacon of Thouars 1252-5;(33) the majority of lesser visitors (who were not especially numerous) got much less, £10 or under being the average. Henry could also afford to be munificent towards absentee kinsfolk, but in reality there was nothing on the spectacular scale of Thomas of Savoy; typical examples were the loan of £1000 by Aymer the elect of Winchester on the king's behalf to his sister, Margaret de Thouars in 1254 or even the 1000 marks to aid the proposed marriage of another sister, Isabella de Craon, with the duke of Burgundy in 1257 (the marriage did not take place), or the 200 marks p.a. in benefices conferred in the mid-1250's on Simon de Rochechouart.(34)

Henry experienced little difficulty in settling Poitevin clergy of all ranks in England since the supply of vacant benefices at the king's disposal was always relatively plentiful. On a larger scale, Aymer de Lusignan, Peter

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33. C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.369; C.P.R.1247-58 p.149 (Chron.Maj. V p.329)

34. R.G. I (i) No.4304; Foedera 1 (i) p.338; C.P.R.1247-58 p.290.

des Rivaux, Peter de Chaceporc, Peter of Aubusson and, on a much smaller scale, Aimery de Rochechouart, Arnold de Bovis Villa, Vincent of Tours, Peter and Gerard de Bellac and several more were provided with benefices and other ecclesiastical dignities. From a position of strength in the diocese of Winchester Aymer de Lusignan was, in turn, able to provide for an additional handful of Poitevin clerks.(35) Thus, it seems likely that hardly any of the Poitevin clergy of rank can have gone unprovided with benefices. Lay revenues, however, seem to have always been more difficult for the king to obtain even for lesser knights and vadletti. Most were endowed in a system of annual fees from the Exchequer supplemented, or replaced, by small wardships (although there was sometimes a delay of up to five years before the grant of the 'ampler provision'). Most were given revenues, as far as one can tell (and omitting casual cash gifts from our calculations, for the moment) of 30-40 marks p.a., the average provision for knights of Henry III's household and about the same as the endowment of Savoyards of this rank.(36) They were not, however, an especially numerous class and before 1258 hardly more than ten individuals of this rank received wardships and about fifteen or so held fees. A mere handful received small gifts of land but the £6 p.a. escheat awarded to William de Valence's knight, Stephen de Spineto in 1249 was typical of their value.(37) A few favoured

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35. See below, Appendix table 16, p.438f

36. Table No. 7 pp.243-6 cf. J.E. Morris The Welsh Wars of Edward I (Oxford 1901) p.49f.

37. C.P.R.1247-58 p.51.

vadletti were exceptionally well rewarded for men of their status with cash gifts, such as 30 marks in 1254 to Guy Povereau, yeoman of Aymer, elect of Winchester or 60 marks in 1248 to William de Monterevelli[38] but cash gifts were rare, and normally much less than these sums which represented a year's salary or more. The Lusignans and other important Poitevins at court were accompanied by modest alien households and other clients. Contrary to what is often thought, Henry was, with one or two exceptions, not generous with the alien servants of the Lusignans. None compared with the - admittedly rather exceptional - Geoffrey de Grandimonte, knight of Peter of Savoy, granted land with £40 p.a. in 1249 (in hereditary tenure from 1252) together with a marriage, worth over 100 marks, in 1253.[39] All but one of William de Valence's alien knights had left his service by the early 1250's - perhaps simply as the result of their limited prospects in England; Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan's knights were only slightly luckier.[40]

Henry III faced the greatest of difficulties over the provision of lands for the small group of Lusignans and leading Poitevin knights to whom he owed large fees. In August 1247 the king had sealed a charter to William de Valence promising him £500 p.a. in lands together with 500 marks p.a. revenue from wardships, both these sums to be paid out in annual fees until the full obligation could be

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38. ibid. p.308,345; C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.188.

39. C.P.R.1247-58 p.46,185,274.

40. See below, [Comparing tables 17-18 (p.443-4) with table 7 (p.243-246)]

met. In addition to this the newly-arrived William was hurriedly married off in the same month to Joan de Muntchensi, heiress to £362 p.a. land of the Marshal inheritance in England and £341 in Ireland.(41) Aymer, his elder brother, was promised £2,000 p.a. in lands in May 1248, some twelve months after his arrival.(42) It is an important point to note in both these cases the specific target of money-fees to be replaced with other revenues, a formula virtually unheard of for the endowment of the Savoyards resident in England but symptomatic of the coming atmosphere of financial austerity. Since 1243 Guy de Rochford, disinherited in Poitou, had been in the king's service with the promise of £120 p.a.: Henry had replaced the cash fee with a wardship in 1247 for the time being.(43) By the mid-1250's William de Chabanais' fee stood at £70 p.a.(44) William de Sancta Ermina's basic fee by 1257 was £80 p.a. but he was promised additional revenues of over £200 p.a.(45) Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan began to apply pressure for lands, of course, after 1251 when they began to visit England more frequently. Of these Aymer alone, as has been said, was quickly satisfied - with a shower of ecclesiastical preferrments

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41. C.P.R.1232-47 p.505, C.P.R. 1364-7 p.266-74 (official valuation of Joan's lands: sic.)

42. C.P.R.1247-58 p.16.

43. C.P.R.1232-47 p.395; C.R.1242-47 p.426.

44. C.P.R.1247-58 p.119,174.

45. See below p.215

culminating in the bishopric of Winchester in 1250.(46) The other Poitevins present a picture of a very tortuous and piecemeal endowment.

Although William de Valence's marriage appears at first sight to have been very advantageous - it brought him at a stroke Pembroke and Goodrich castle - it was by no means a satisfactory reward for a young courtier to be given lands so remote (William did not visit Pembroke and his lands in Ireland until the later 1260's) and based on mere rights of marriage. The king can be seen to have conceded this point in making over Hertford Castle and its members, a royal demesne castle near London, to William at pleasure (ultimately for life) in November 1247, a grant which was later to be the cause of no little political friction.(47)

After this the king concentrated, apart from a few relatively small grants, on fulfilling his undertaking to provide William with 500 marks p.a. in wardships. He began this process in 1249 and completed it with two elaborate grants by 1253.(48) In 1249, too, the king began to implement his charter promising William £500 p.a. in lands, but by 1258, after eight separate grants of English manors, Henry had

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46. inter alia. Chron.Maj. V p.240-1. By the end of the 13th century the temporalities of Winchester were estimated to be worth over £3,000 p.a. (J.R.H. Moorman: Church life in England in the 13th century (Cambridge, 1945) p.169.

47. C.P.R.1247-58 p.1; V.C.H. Hertfordshire vol.III p.420,458,492. The castle and its members were officially valued at £92 p.a. in 1297.

48. C.P.R.1247-58 p.46,112,124; C.R.1251-3 p. 357. M.H. Dodds, A History of Northumberland (Newcastle,1926) vol. X. p.66-7.

only found William less than half this - about £192 p.a. according to official valuations. Three of these grants (£100 p.a. income) had been rushed through in 1257-8 when the wardship of the heir of Warrin de Munchensi (worth at least £500 p.a.) which the king had used as a means of fending off William's claims came to an end.(49) It is true that in the meantime William had been investing his own ready supplies of cash in the purchase of land, including for 1,000 marks the Pont de l'Arche estate in co.Hants., Glos. and Wilts. (bought in 1252: worth at least £140 p.a.)(50) but it was not overall a very satis-

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49. See below p.213ff Official valuations, indicating how William's fee was reduced with the grant of each escheat: C.P.R.1266-72 p.193. These official valuations, although a useful guide to the problem of endowment, have to be used with some scepticism. A powerful courtier such as William de Valence could have them adjusted to suit his needs e.g. the fitz John wardship, worth £145 p.a. deduction from the Valence fee in 1249 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.47) but only £121 in 1252 (ibid. p.124). Compare the official valuation of the wardship of de Valoynes at £8 p.a. "at the instance of W. de Valence" in 1255 (P.R.O. E.159/29 m.5).

50. C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.402. For official valuations: V.C.H. Wiltshire vol. IX p.105,120; Hampshire, III p26. J. Hutchings, The History and Antiquities of Dorset (1863) II, p.293; P.R.O. C.132/4/16. William had held the wardship of Pont de l'Arche since 1247 (C.P.R.1232-47 p.505).

factory situation.(51) Similar could be said for the endowment of Geoffrey and Guy de Lusignan. Henry increased Geoffrey's annual fee of 300 marks by a further 300 marks in 1252; he replaced both quickly with large wardships and in 1252 promised to replace one fee ultimately with £200 p.a. in lands. During the 1254 Gascon campaign the king raised this promise to £500 p.a. of the land of Ireland, but after protracted negotiations during which the king obligated himself in large sums in compensation to Geoffrey for delays, including a down-payment of 300 marks (1255) and a cash fee of £300 p.a. (1254-58) Geoffrey had by 1258 only received £300 p.a. in lands (through a concession extracted from the lord Edward in 1256).(52) Guy de Lusignan fared even worse; his fee of 300 marks p.a. was increased in 1252 by £100 p.a. compensating him for lands granted him by the king in 1251 but transferred within a year to another

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51. I am deliberately omitting, for clarity of argument, the exceptional grants made by the king to William at the start of his career in addition to his fees, namely the extensive de Lindsey and Pont de l'Arche wardships, 1247 (C.P.R.1232-47 p.505), the wardship of the manor of Drax (co.Yorks.:1249-c.1272) worth c. £50 p.a. (Early Yorkshire Charters, ed. C.T. Clay, vol. 6 (Yorks.Archaeological Soc., Records Ser.) p.12-13) and the debts of Peter de Brus and Walter de Lindsey,repayable at £400 p.a. 1247-70 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.29,41). William invested in further large purchases of land, it should be noted, in 1257, 1262 and 1269. (ibid. p.543, C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.120-1; Cat. Anc.Deeds, III p.103; IV p. 131.)

52. C.P.R.1247-58 p.3,103,140,148 and see below p.209 Again, I am following official valuations and omitting the numerous occasional gifts: in 1251-2, 1256-7 these are difficult to distinguish from payments to meet arrears on his annual fee.

grantee. As a reward for his assistance in Gascony he was further promised £300 p.a. in Irish lands to replace these fees, but nothing came of this and until 1256 £200 p.a. of the king's obligations were met by the grant of a large wardship; after this date the wardship expired but the king was unable, despite many struggling attempts, to pay Guy anything more than cash fees, heavily in arrears, before 1258.(53) The Lusignans were not alone in receiving unsatisfactory provision for their fees. The king promised William de Chabanais lands in Ireland in 1253 but failed and instead had to increase his fee: William responded to this inadequacy, it would seem, by leaving the king's service and returning to the continent in the mid-1250's. Henry found it difficult, too, to find permanent rewards for William de Sancta Ermina and Guy de Rochford, both of whose fees began to escalate and to fall into arrears, and in 1256-7 he rushed to make them grants of somewhat dubious legality from castles and manors belonging to the royal demesne.(54)

There are several reasons why Henry III could not easily find large estates for the Poitevins. The political climate in Gascony was one of them. As might be expected, the king attempted to endow some Poitevins in the duchy (including those known to be disinherited in Poitou) often in the form of fees and rentes payable at Bordeaux, such as one for £30 bordelais granted to Segur de Castro Novo in December 1253,(55) or in land confiscated in the duchy from Poitevins now in the

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53. ibid. p.83,119,168,196, and below p.213

54. Below p.214-16

55. C.P.R.1247-58 p.257 (If Edward failed to ratify this grant Segur was to be granted £6p.a. from the London Exchequer.)

allegiance of the king of France, for example the lands and rentes in the isle of Oleron granted to Elias de Rabayn[56] and Arnold Cotyn,[57] not forgetting also a grant to Guy de Lusignan in Oléron.[58] But such grants seem never to have become widespread, as far as the evidence for them goes, and they were restricted in number, perhaps, by the opposition of the administration in Gascony, especially that of Simon de Montfort[59] and the lord Edward (whose co-operation in such grants as are known, was occasionally requested). Both Edward and Simon had to rule Gascony with tight financial restrictions laid down by the king, who forbade Edward to make any land-grants without his permission, so that they were unlikely to co-operate willingly in the endowment of royal favourites.

In England, the crown's financial crises resulting from heavy war expenditure created frequent shortages which disrupted the endowment of the Poitevins in the 1250's.

By the 1250's the king's supply of land for patronage was noticeably less than it had been at any point earlier in his reign. The 1250's produced no great windfall of escheats comparable with the demise of the Marshals. The class of Norman and Breton escheats had, for the most part,

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56. ibid. p.97.

57. C.P.R.1232-47 p.499.

58. C.P.R.1247-58 p.136.

59. For Simon de Montfort's opposition to Arnold Cotyn (ibid. p.40, C.R.1247-51 p.237) cf. Bemont: Simon de Montfort (1930) p.75-6, 113 n.3.

already been granted out to an earlier generation of royal servants and dependants and, of course, Henry III was so unwarlike that there were no new royal conquests for redistribution. Nor was the king himself now at liberty, in any case, to dispose of his own lands at will. In the 1250's, with the deterioration in royal finances, there was great pressure from both Council and Parliament to adopt a strict policy in the retention of escheated land for the crown's profit together with a rigid ban on alienations from the royal demesne. There had been Parliamentary pressure for this in the 1240's, perhaps, when taxation was refused on the grounds that the king should live of his own. This resulted in Henry's declaration of 1244 that half the revenues from the recently confiscated terrae Normannorum would be earmarked for the endowment of the lord Edward, although he does not seem to have stuck for long to such restrictions.(60) By the 1250's however, these ideas had most certainly begun to bite. In 1254-5, for example, when the king was at the height of his obligation to William de Valence he was forced to grant him the wardship of Warrin de Munchensi, worth over £500 p.a. in order (as is stated on the Patent Roll) to forestall William's demands for the manors of Gunthorp and Ludham, now assigned to the inalienable crown demesne.(61)

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60. E.F. Jacob: 'The reign of Henry III' (T.R.H.S. 1927) p.30-1; R.S. Hoyt, The Royal Demesne in English Constitutional History (Ithaca, N.Y. 1950) p.161-2.

61. C.P.R.1247-58 p.419.

Some Poitevins had historic claims to English manors which had been confiscated from their ancestors. But it was becoming less easy to recover terrae Normannorum from their new grantees by legal process, even with the king's support. After Henry had granted his sister, Isabella de Craon in 1251 the right to sue for her husband's ancestral manors she was only able to recover half of them, and was successfully opposed by no less an opponent than Peter of Savoy.(62) Henry refused another petition of this type from William de Chauvigny on behalf of his yeoman, Eustace.(63) The political repercussions of conflicting claims to Dartford (Kent) between Guy de Lusignan and the powerful northern earl of Aumâle were more serious. In January 1253 Henry III confirmed a quitclaim by the count of St. Pol to Guy of his claims to the manor. Dartford had long been seized from the Count's family and in 1233 it had been granted by the king to the earl of Aumâle's father as a reward for his support of the regime of Peter des Roches. In August 1241 after Aumâle's death it was resumed and granted to Beatrice the Queen's mother but a few months later, probably in order to stave off baronial discontent, the king restored Dartford to the Aumâle heir. Nevertheless, when Gaucher de Châtillon succeeded as count of St. Pol in 1247, Henry III recognized his claim to the manor, compensating him with a fee of £100 p.a. By January 1253

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62. ibid. p.313, 314.

63. P.R.O. S.C.1/3/40.

however, the king ordered the count's £100 fee to be paid to Guy de Lusignan until Dartford could be restored to his half-brother, for shortly before this the count of St. Pol had made over his claims to Guy. Guy is not known to have attempted to recover the manor, but this transaction may well have influenced Aumâle in his opposition to the Lusignans in November-December 1252 and in 1258.(64) In order to find lands for William de Valence Henry III similarly transferred claims to terrae Normannorum recovered at law - with more success - but with equal acrimony resulting.(65)

Above all, however, the Poitevins were unlucky in that during the 1250's Henry was under pressure to meet his obligations to several important dependants at the very time when he could least afford it. Richard of Cornwall had been owed since 1242 about half the £500 p.a. in land promised as the marriage portion of Sanchia of Provence.(66) In 1248 Henry undertook ultimately to replace the fee of the absentee Thomas of Savoy with 500 marks p.a. in lands.(67) In 1253 a further name was added to the list of claimants when Henry reached a settlement with Simon de Montfort as part of the resolution of their quarrels over the earl's lieutenancy in Gascony. Simon was given

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64. C.P.R.1247-58 p.170,210; C.R.1237-42 p.335; C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.186,261,327. Cf. Baronial Plan p.78.
65. below p.222.
66. Richard of Cornwall p.84, 164.
67. C.P.R.1247-58 p.9.

a fee of £400 p.a. replacable by lands together with extensive compensation in cash. The proved to be only the start of bitter wrangles between the king and de Montfort, for the cash settlement soon fell into enormous arrears and the earl, furthermore, chose to revive his wife's claims to yet more land from Henry by way of dowry which had not been properly assessed since the early 1240's.(68) Finally, by 1254 the king was under the most pressing obligation of all, to provide a suitable appanage for his heir, Edward, now to be married. In addition to the seisin of Ireland, Gascony and other revenues originally earmarked for the appanage Henry sealed a charter in August 1254 declaring that he would grant no-one any patronage-wardships or escheats - until Edward had been provided with a further £2,000 p.a. in lands.(69)

Pressure began to mount so fast to meet these obligations that the king was soon to draw up a list of precedence for the receipt of desirable patronage, claimants having to obtain each other's permission should they wish to override the claims of someone higher on the list. It was clearly the king's original policy to give Richard

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68. M.M. Wade, 'The personal quarrels of Simon de Montfort and Eleanor, his wife, with Henry III of England' (Univ. Oxford B.Litt.Thesis, 1939) p.18-46; Simon de Montfort (1930) p.120n.4.

69. Foedera 1 (i) p.305; J.R. Studd, 'The lord Edward and King Henry III', B.I.H.R., 50 (1977) p.4-20.

of Cornwall overall precedence. In 1248, for example, Henry undertook ultimately to replace the fee of the absentee Thomas of Savoy with 500 marks p.a. in lands "saving the covenant" with his brother Richard (in the event Thomas was never to receive lands in England). Richard's co-operation, however, does not seem to have been mentioned in the king's charters and grants to William and Aymer de Valence 1247-49. Perhaps Richard acquiesced in these grants because the Lusignans, unlike Thomas of Savoy, were living in England and so the king had a stronger case for providing for them, or perhaps he simply felt content for the meantime after Henry had made him the very lucrative grant of the license to undertake the recoinage of England (1247).(70) Nevertheless, we see the full beginnings of a system of preference by 1251 when both Richard and William de Valence were required to add their agreement to the king's grant of the escheated land late of Eustace de Cantilupe to Guy de Lusignan and, in the following year, Geoffrey de Lusignan was promised £200 p.a. in lands only after Richard and William had each been fully provided with their dues.(71) Within a few months, it should be added, Henry attempted to circumvent this undertaking by settling on Geoffrey some land, but in custody only: the manors claimed and recovered for Geoffrey's absent sister,

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70. Richard of Cornwall p.59.

71. C.P.R.1247-58 p.119, 162.

Isabella de Craon: and there seems to have been no formal opposition from the other claimants.(72) The emergence of Simon de Montfort's claims can be seen in 1253 when Henry III confirmed his earlier promise of 500 marks p.a. in lands to Thomas of Savoy, now with the stipulation that Richard of Cornwall, William de Valence and Simon de Montfort should have preference over him.(73)

This system of precedence made the distribution of the king's patronage a nice test of how high the individual concerned stood in the king's favour. Henry III's frequent violation of it in the interests of his half-brothers and their clients led to quarrels, especially during times of shortages. It quickly resulted in clashes with the lord Edward, for the crucial period of Lusignan endowment was in 1253-4 when the king felt most obligated to his Poitevin allies of the recent Gascon campaign. In his first flush of gratitude Henry began to move to increase his provision for his kinsmen only to encounter an unexpected stumbling block in the fact that this was the very moment that he had to complete the appanage for his heir and, one might add, weather the financial problems of post-campaigning. High in the king's affections, the Lusignans provoked the clash with Edward by urging Henry to attempt to find them lands in Ireland, rather than in England where they were obviously

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72. ibid. p.167.

73. ibid. p.195.

having difficulties. On 6th November 1253 the king promised to grant no-one lands or escheats in Ireland until Geoffrey de Lusignan had been provided with £200 p.a. land in Ireland to cover his fee granted the previous year.(74) This, it will be noted, contradicted the king's statement of June 1252 giving Geoffrey only third place in the order of preference for land. (Perhaps land in Ireland was considered exempt from such restrictions.) Two months later (Feb.1254), in gratitude for Geoffrey's services, the king increased his fee to £500 land of Ireland which he took immediate steps to implement.(75) This grant sparked off a protracted dispute between Henry III and Edward, who in the same month had been granted in theory the whole of Ireland as part of his appanage. Although Henry III rather underhandedly ordered that his charter to Geoffrey should be ante-dated so that it would not conflict with his grant to Edward, a long struggle with the king's son and his estate officials was not resolved peacefully until November 1256 when Edward assigned Geoffrey £140 land in Ireland and £160 in England making up the difference, interestingly enough as a demonstration of his own land problems, in cash for the time being.(76) Something of the king's determination to meet his promises to Geoffrey can be seen in July 1254 when it was discovered that in haste Geoffrey had been accidentally

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74. R.G. I (i) No. 2152.

75. For this controversy in detail: Snellgrove: The Lusignans p.48-50.

76. Cal.Docs.Ireland 1252-84 No. 524; C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.453.

assigned dower land belonging to the Queen and so his original charter required modification. Nevertheless, the king still ordered Geoffrey's charter to be ante-dated as before.(77) Bearing in mind these difficulties, it comes as some surprise to see the king promising Guy de Lusignan £300 waste land in Ireland to cover his fee in March 1254. Perhaps Henry III was not all that confident of finding land for Guy on this occasion, for the wording of the grant was to the effect that if land could not be found then the surplus of £100-£200 already being covered by the Hastings wardship would be paid instead of cash.(78) The king's circumspection proved well-founded, for this grant came to nothing. Edward's permission was specifically required but was not forthcoming.(79) The Lusignans were not alone in being baulked by Edward in Ireland. In August 1253 the king ordered the £40 p.a. fee of William de Chabanais to be paid by the Exchequer of Dublin until it could be replaced by 'waste land' in Ireland but William seems to have been equally unsuccessful.(80)

In 1256-7 the endowment of the Lusignans, and other Poitevins became controversial and was seriously hampered by the great financial crisis of these years, finally leading to the

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77. C.P.R.1247-58 p.308.

78. ibid. p.282.

79. ibid.

80. ibid. p.220.

Provisions of Oxford. In April 1257 both William de Valence and Guy de Lusignan were members of a Council before which the king swore to undertake economies including an ordinance whereby the Treasurer was commanded to pay out no further moneys until 20,000 marks earmarked to cover the king's daily household expenses for the year (together with £1,000 for the building at Westminster) had been accumulated at the Exchequer.(81) But such a measure to avoid the king running into any further domestic debts and resorting to unpopular borrowing and prises was bound to spell disaster for those pensioners still dependant on royal patronage in the form of hard cash. Even before the end of 1256 the king had begun defaulting on fees. In December Aymer de Lusignan himself, for example, paid 110 marks arrears on the king's behalf to his sisters, Margaret and Isabel but by October 1257 each was claiming three years' arrears - 300m. - some of which was again paid by Aymer.(82) William de Valence's fee too was in arrears of at least six months throughout 1257, as was that of Guy de Rochford, Geoffrey and Guy de Lusignan.(83) But the greatest casualties of all were the fees of absentee Poitevins, particularly those rewarded, often in theory "for life", for their assistance during the Gascon campaign. Henry was slow enough from the outset in paying these fees-

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81. C.R.1256-59 p.46. For the scale of the 1257 financial crisis: J.H. Ramsay, Revenues of the Kings of England 1066-1399 (Oxford, 1925) vol.I p.363; S.K. Mitchell, Studies in Taxation under John and Henry III (New Haven, 1914) p.260-1.

82. C.P.R.1247-58 p.532; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.401,409.

83. ibid. p.367; C.R.1254-56 p.357; 1256-59 p.29,76; C.P.R.1247-58 p.552,576.

recipients had to send over agents to England to collect them - but by 1257 many were in arrears, or had simply lapsed entirely.(84) Even the king's brother-in-law, William de Chauvigny, had to take his turn (particularly after the 1257 Ordinance) in the payment of his fee, and indeed, from 1255-8 his messengers frequently returned to Poitou empty-handed.(85) In 1258 the baronial reformers in terminating the Poitevin connexion, were merely confirming what had become the existing state of affairs.(86)

For the Lusignans the situation was at this point, ironically, not eased by the king's irresponsibility in driving to honour his promises to them against all odds. Henry had already increased his obligations to Geoffrey de Lusignan in 1254 by a fine of 300m. (increased to 500m. inJuly 1256) together with a fee of £300 p.a. (1255) in compensation for his failure to provide him with land in Ireland. Such sums were, of course, paid very sporadically and were still in arrears in 1258.(87) Even worse was to come when, from mid-1256 the various wardships bestowed earlier on the Lusignans and Guy de Rochford in replacement of their fees lapsed when the heirs came of age, for example, Henry de Hastings (held by Guy de Rochford, Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan) in May 1256 and William de

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84. See Table No. 7 p. 243-6

85. C.Lib. 1251-60 p.203,254,286,319,330,377.

86. See below, Ch.7.

87. C.P.R.1247-58 p. 310,535,621-2;
C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.432,451, etc.

Munchensi (held by William de Valence) in October 1256. Geoffrey de Lusignan's other main ward, Geoffrey de Lucy, was to come of age in March 1258. With what could the king now compensate his half-brothers? Henry moved swiftly, but by the time of the Provisions of Oxford he still aimed somewhat short of his obligations. In 1257-8 he resumed land-grants to William de Valence often using underhand legal chicanery, but as late as March 1257 these still required the permission of Richard of Cornwall[88] and so by mid-1258 he had only found about £80-100 p.a.[89] As for Guy de Lusignan, the king attempted in 1256 first another wardship (which lapsed within five months) and then, in June, Jewish debts belonging to the crown, repayments totalling 550m. p.a. but this grant soon required drastic modification owing to the opposition of Richard of Cornwall.[90] In July, consequently, Henry promised Guy £300 p.a. in wardships but with the stipulation that he could only have them after the lord Edward had been provided with his dues or with his permission, but it seems that Edward refused to co-operate, for nothing more came of this. Other debts, therefore, had to be found for Guy.[91] Similarly, Geoffrey de Lusignan's arrears were paid in 1257 by transferring to him various fines owed to the king together with marriage

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88. C.P.R.1247-58 p.545.

89. C.P.R.1266-72 p.193. William's annual fee was reduced from about £380 p.a. in 1256 to £308 p.a. in 1258 (C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.325,432). These figures seem, however, to have been very generously adjusted.

90. C.P.R.1247-58 p.466,485; C.R.1254-56 p.303,357,432; 1256-59 p.7,27,79,113,122,126.

91. C.P.R.1247-58 p.485, and the previous note.

rights over a widow, entirely short-term expedients and no solution to the basic problem of replacing Geoffrey's enormous fees.(92) There is no doubt that the king's transfer of debts on this scale to his alien half-brothers materially increased their unpopularity and hastened their downfall, but it is difficult to see what other course of action he could have followed or what other revenues he could have found them.

The other victims of the 1256-7 financial crisis were Guy de Rochford and William de Sancta Ermina; the king rushed, or was forced to make them settlements of dubious legality which soon were to cause trouble for the Poitevins. There can be no doubt that the life-custody of Colchester castle, town and hundred granted to Guy de Rochford in June 1256, to provide him with £62 p.a. together with other arrears of fee owing, was nothing less than a desperate attempt at a solution to the problem of the endowment of a valued and trusted knight in difficulties after the recent lapse of his main source of income, the wardship of Henry de Hastings, and under circumstances where it was difficult to grant anyone other than Edward wards.(93) King Henry was similarly indiscreet in his treatment of William de Sancta Ermina in May 1257. By 1257 Henry's rather piece-

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92. C.P.R.1247-58 p.536; C.R.1254-56 p.377.

93. C.P.R.1247-58 p.482,534; C.R.1256-59 p.199.
The evidence for the life-grant is discussed in Ch.7 p.255.

meal provision for William, who had moved rapidly since 1252 into a position of great favour at court, was showing (thanks to William's extravagance) signs of inadequacy, despite three marriages and two wardships (one wardship, in January 1255 granted 'not withstanding the king's covenant with Edward').(94) William had fallen so much into debt in 1255 that his 40 mark annual fee had to be anticipated a year in advance in 1255 and 56 to satisfy his creditors.(95) In December 1256 he was, accordingly, promised £300 in marriages, but this either must have been a difficult figure to meet with great speed or William desired other forms of revenue, so in May 1257 the king instead promised 300 marks p.a. in wardships and on the same day granted him the farm of the demesne manor of Havering (Essex) for seven years in order to supply an annual fee of 120 marks for himself and his wife.(96) This grant of Havering was on extremely generous terms - and it may have been intended ultimately to make it a life-grant, for William was permitted to use the king's large house on the estate as his own residence 'at pleasure', together with hunting-rights in Essex forests "for life"(97) and the Poitevin also quickly set about purchasing neighbouring tracts of land.(98)

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94. C.P.R.1247-58 p.394,398; C.R.1251-3 p.420; 1253-4 p.225; 1254-6 p.31.

95. C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.260,331.

96. C.P.R.1247-58 p.533,552.

97. ibid.p.552,634; V.C.H. Essex VII p.11.

98. ibid.p.66; C.P.R.1247-58 p.617; C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.119

P.R.O. E.159/31 m.13.

But if the grant of Havering on such terms was unwise, the king's undertaking in May 1257 to provide William with 300 marks p.a. in wardships valued at less than 50 marks p.a. during such a period of shortages was disastrous. Small wardships may have been of no interest to the lord Edward, but they were vital for the rank-and-file of Henry III's court. The king's grant even seems to have carried some force of precedence for his favourite, for as late as November 1257 Henry declared that he could not find a wardship worth £20 p.a. for another Poitevin, Hugh de Nede, until William de Sancta Ermina had received his dues.(99)

After Henry III's drive against all odds to provide for his Poitevins during the financial crisis it is small wonder that they became regarded as dangerous parasites and aroused intense jealousy on all sides at court. It would be absurd to claim that they monopolized royal patronage even in these years, but they had the capacity, thanks perhaps to their political conduct, to arouse the feeling that they could make other individuals' claims on patronage more difficult to realize. Who, for instance, received much-coveted manors from the king more freely in 1257-8 than William de Valence? One wonders what bearing this had on his repeated quarrels with Simon de Montfort at this time. After the departure of Richard of Cornwall for Germany in 1257 the two outstanding claimants for the

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99. C.P.R.1247-58 p.552, 605.

replacement of their fees with escheats were de Montfort and Valence, as the Chancery Rolls show. Both were by Easter 1257 pressing Henry to repay debts and arrears. Henry was openly rushing to satisfy William in 1257 but was still prevaricating with Simon.(100)

Some Savoyards may have shared de Montfort's resentment against the Poitevins. Not all were as fortunate as Thomas of Savoy; by 1258 several important knights held fees and, while more of these went unpaid or fell into arrears, their replacement with 'ampler provision' was overdue. Eubule de Montibus, for example, although he had admittedly made a rich marriage in the early 1250's, was provided with very little escheated land and very few wardships although he had a large money-fee to be replaced. By 1258 there were also fees still to be replaced by lands or wardships owing to Imbert Pugeys, Imbert de Montferrand, Geoffrey de Joinville (101) and Peter de Chauvent (to whom in August 1254 the king had made the bold promise of a marriage of a woman with an estate of between £200 and £500 p.a.)(102) Even deserving soldiers such as the banneret Simon de Joinville, who had been granted an annual fee of 50 marks

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100. ibid. p.562, £,610; C.R.1256-59 p.29; cf. P.R.O. E.159/30m m 14d., 16. (William de Valence); 4d., 15, 19 etc. (Simon de Montfort).

101. See Table 6 p.240-2

102. ibid; C.P.R.1247-58 p.320. Peter's claim ranked only third in precedence after Robert Walerand and Baldwin de Villa.

'for life' in 1254 had been treated no more generously. No Savoyard had been given preference in the receipt of patronage since Guy de Roussillon in 1244. There were also other niggling grievances. Very few Savoyards received wardships and marriages after 1252 and almost none grants of land from the king. Yet even those who received such revenues were often now unable to enjoy them in peace. In August 1251, before the full force of Poitevin competition began to bite, the king granted the ambitious and well-rewarded Stephen de Salines the lucrative marriage-rights over Joan, widow of the king's steward Paulinus Piper but the Dunstable Annals record that in order to escape from forcible marriage to an alien she eloped with another prominent courtier, John de Grey. John was heavily fined by the king for his actions and forced to leave court - and one assumes that Stephen de Salines was compensated.(103) Conversely when, in 1256 Henry III conferred on Peter de Chauvent the extremely desirable marriage of Joan de Mohun, a Marshal co-heiress and she eloped with the grasping Sir Robert de Aguillon, Aguillon escaped lightly with a compensation of only 200 marks to the Savoyard. He had powerful connexions in that his lord was William de Valence.(104) It was not until the later 1260's that Peter found a rich heiress. The contrast with

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103. Annals of Dunstable p.182-3; D.N.B. 'John de Grey'.

104. C.P.R.1247-58 p.495.

Henry III's resolute defence of Poitevin claims in the 1250's cannot have gone unnoticed.

Queen Eleanor also clashed with Poitevins during 1257-8. She had prior claims to various sums of debt owing to the king and she interfered with at least one grant from the Jewry to Guy de Lusignan.(105) Queen Eleanor suffered loss through other grants. She had a particular interest in the wardship of William de Longespée's heirs and thus she may have resented the grant of the marriage of Maud de Longespée to Geoffrey de Lusignan in 1257. The Queen probably intervened, too, to terminate in September 1256 the wardship of the heir of Henry le Chamberlain held since May by Guy. The Queen was acting on behalf of her daughter Margaret, queen of Scotland, who desired the marriage for her maid. It had been granted by Guy to his servant, who had in the intervening months hawked it around the court.(106)

In the atmosphere of heightened competition for patronage at court the Poitevins quite possibly made themselves powerful enemies even before 1257. Richard of Cornwall suffered several irritations. In 1251, for example, William de Valence was granted wardship of the dower land of Ada de Balliol where he had an interest.(107) He was

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105. C.R.1254-56 p.361.

106. C.P.R.1247-58 p.536; C.R.1254-56 p.354; 1256-59 p.27.

107. C.P.R.1247-58 p.112.

especially sensitive over attempts to trespass on his rights in the Jewry. From 1253-5 he fought a battle with William de Sancta Ermina to reverse a grant of a Jew's houses in Hereford.(108) Poitevins also clashed repeatedly during the 1250's with other courtiers of lesser rank. There are so many of these cases that only the briefest selection can be given here. King Henry was fond of transferring desirable perquisites from his servants (who were sometimes, but not always, compensated) to provide endowment for the Lusignans. Both Guy and Geoffrey gained at the expense of the king's stewards. When Henry granted Geoffrey de Lusignan the marriage rights over Maud the widow of William de Longespée in 1257 he seized it from Robert Walerand, who had a long-standing claim to the first available marriage in the king's gift. Walerand was promised the next available marriage but his annoyance can only be imagined.(109) Similarly, in 1251 the king granted Guy de Lusignan the escheated land of Eustace de Cantilupe claimed by his kinsman William de Cantilupe. Within two years William had paid Guy a fine to have this land.(110) William's relations with Guy are interesting. In 1252 he purchased the marriage rights over Henry de Hastings from him but by the time of his death in 1254 Cantilupe was described as owing many debts to the king's half-brother.(111)

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108. C.R.1251-53 p.375; 1254-56 p.12; Cal.Inq.Misc.1216-1307 No.328.

109. C.P.R.1247-58 p.536-7.

110. ibid. p.119, 196.

111. C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.390; C.R.1253-54 p.98.

Whether these were for loans or for money owing for the two purchases is not clear. Two manors were transferred from Robert Walerand to William de Valence, at a price, by Royal command in the 1250's.(112) Even Savoyards could lose out by such transactions. In 1252 for example Henry recovered a wardship from Stephen de Salines for Alice de Lusignan and in the same year it was from Eubule de Montibus and Geoffrey de Joinville that Isabella de Craon recovered her ancestor's manors.(113) All three were compensated, but with less desirable fees.

It was not just at such an exalted social level that competition for the king's patronage was fierce - although there was less point in it for lesser servants. As early as 1249 the presentation of Gerard de Bellac to the benefice of Medbourne, co.Leics. was contested by the king's clerk, Sampson de Sandford who attempted by deceit to obtain a new writ appointing himself to the living.(114) Interestingly enough, Poitevins did not invariably win this sort of dispute. In 1252 Aymer de Rochechouart, for example, was replaced as the candidate for Faccombe by the Burgundian Artauld de Sancto Romano.(115)

Many of Henry III's attempts to obtain land for his half-

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112. C.R.1253-54 p.86, 255; Cat.Anc.Deeds.II,A.3258

113. C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.92; C.P.R.1247-58 p.218.

114. ibid. p.39.

115. ibid. p.88.

brothers involved him in transactions of dubious legality and the exercise of arbitrary royal power. For example, Dunham (co.Notts.) granted to William de Valence in 1257 was obtained from the estate of the late king's steward, Ralph fitz Nicholas, who died in 1257. His young heir, Robert, was forced to sell and quit claim the manor (worth £50) to William de Valence before he came of age in January 1258. This case had every flavour of malpractice. Robert had claimed Dunham as his inheritance in a lawsuit against the king who claimed that Ralph fitz Nicholas had only been granted it for life. Henry III, nevertheless, arbitrarily decreed in December 1257 that even though Robert were to be successful in his lawsuit he could only sell the manor thereafter to William de Valence. Against such force fitz Nicholas capitulated.(116) The case of the manors of Gainsborough and Offington (co.Lincs.) may also have involved malpractice. William (with the consent of Richard of Cornwall) was given permission to sue Gerard Talbot for these manors as terrae Normannorum in 1257. Talbot later quitclaimed Gainsborough to William de Valence but was allowed to retain it for life with reversion to William if he died without heirs, an agreement overturned by the 'baronial' council in 1261.(117) The most questionable case

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116. ibid. p.609; Cat.Anc.Deeds. II A.3172; Excerpt.E. Rot.Fin. ii p.269 cf. Annals of Burton p.409.

117. C.P.R.1247-58 p.545; C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.1; C.R.1259-61 p.349. Gainsborough, however, was held by William de Valence's heirs: J.R.S. Phillips, Aymer de Valence (Oxford, 1972) p.309.

of all was the king's confiscation of Grafton Underwood (Northants.) from William de Insula, Sheriff of Northamptonshire, on trial for abuses in office 1256-7. Insula's land was evidently seized in anticipation of his conviction. Some was granted to Richard of Cornwall and some to William de Salines (probably on behalf of the lord Edward), . Grafton was assigned at the same time to Geoffrey de Lusignan but it soon was transferred either by Geoffrey or the king to William de Valence. By December 1257 the king relented of his earlier haste and ordered all de Insula's property to be restored while he stood a fair trial. William, however, defied the king's orders and had once again seized Grafton by February 1258 .(118) This case has a passing similarity to one where the king in March 1258 sued some fairly small tenements from Richard Savage in co.Sussex and Gloucester in settlement of the debts to the crown of his father, Robert Savage, late Sheriff of co.Bucks. and Bedford. In the presence of the king's council Savage quitclaimed the contested land to William de Sancta Ermina.(119) These cases won Henry III and the Poitevins enemies from the heirs of former royal officials, several of whom later became Montfortians.(120)

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118. C.R.1256-59 p.174,293. De Insula had also committed offences against William de Valence himself: (ibid. p.65; Chron.Maj. V p.577,580).

119. C.P.R.1247-58 p.619.

120. cf. C.H. Knowles 'The Disinherited' (Univ.Wales Ph.D. thesis, Aberystwyth 1959) part II p.17-19. Ralph fitz Nicholas' son became a Montfortian rebel: W. Dugdale, The Antiquities of Warwickshire (2nd. edit: London, 1730) vol.I p.50.

The grievances of courtiers against the inequities of Henry III's patronage began to be reflected in various schemes for the reform of the realm and its government during the financial crisis of 1257-8. In 1257, for example, we have already seen the attempts to restrict royal spending in order to improve household finance. At about the same time (or shortly before) the scheme drawn up by the crown for the reform of the council, preserved under the year 1257 in the Annals of Burton, provided that no member of the council 'or those who surround the king' should solicit any gift or accept one without the consent of the whole, or the majority of, the council on pain of exclusion from the council and a fine of £100. Unfortunately, too little is known about this scheme of reform to say whether it was formulated by a party aiming to restrict the influence of the Poitevins.(121) The Provisions of Oxford, as is well known, repeated, in more specific form, the proposals of 1257. Now the Chancellor could seal no writ disposing of a major item of patronage without the consent of the council. Furthermore, there were proposals for the resumption of castles and other items allegedly alienated by Henry III from the royal demesne. A close study of the events of 1258 shows that this was certainly a move aimed specifically against

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121. Hen.III + L. Edw. p. 336-7.

the Poitevins. It was bitterly resisted by them, and they were expelled from the realm.(122)

The period of 'baronial reform', however, failed to solve Henry III's problems of patronage.(123) Nor were the hopes of the Poitevins' rivals that they would simply benefit from their expulsion realized. The movement of 1258 was led originally by conservative and property-conscious magnates - including Peter of Savoy - who were undertandably nervous about the arbitrary confiscation of revenues, even those of the disgraced Poitevins. There was disagreement whether the Lusignans were permanently exiled or should be allowed eventually to return, and so their property was to be maintained in good order rather than dispersed in an unseemly selfish scramble. Only a handful of minor confiscations - and compensations - were permitted and yet it is interesting to see that some of the better pickings went to the important royal officials who had earlier competed with the Poitevins for patronage, John Mansel, Henry de Wengham and Peter de Montfort. A few minor tenements went to less important officials, mainly connected with Queen Eleanor.(124)

Savoyards, with the exception of the heirs of Thomas of Savoy, were fairly unlucky. While the baronial council,

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122. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.383-4; Baronial Plan p.93. Also, see below, Ch.7 p.283ff.

123. I discuss in more detail much of what follows in Chapters: 7-9.

124. See below, Ch.7 p. 304 ff

short of cash, moved rapidly to replace the fees of Eubule de Montibus (1258) Imbert de Montferrand, Imbert Pugeys and Peter de Chauvent (1259) with wardships and marriages and Simon de Joinville's fee even with an escheat (1259),[125] Montferrand and Chauvent were unable, in the face of determined resistance from Maud de Kyme to have seisin before 1261 of the marriage and wardship of her daughters, the heiresses (ironically?) of the Poitevin William le Fort;[126] and within two months or less the council had forced Simon de Joinville to surrender his escheat, replacing it with his old fee.[127]

There are several reasons for this. Underlying everything was the fact that no real solution to the king's financial troubles could be found while the baronage failed to consent to taxation. The council instead attempted to impose economies on the king's household. Patronage could, therefore, never be plentiful, but matters were not helped by the fact that the new regime pursued a mass of irreconcilable objectives and, politically an amalgam of courtiers and baronage, it could be bent to the will of a powerful magnate such as Simon de Montfort. De Montfort's settlement of his patronage claims extracted from the council in

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125. C.P.R.1258-66 p.15,38,62;

126. C.R.1259-61 p.9,38,88,274. C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.520; C.P.R.1258-66 p.146, 212. Their seisin seems doubtful even in 1261.

127. C.Lib.R.1260-67 p.68.

1259-60 so strained the available resources of escheats that even Simon de Joinville had had to give up his new manor to provide for the earl.(128) Other magnates, notably Gloucester and Norfolk, also attempted to take some pickings, further reducing the chances of courtiers.(129) Some of the greatest potential restrictions on patronage came from the attempts of the régime to impose financial reform. Some policies, such as the more efficient farming of royal manors or the reform of the administration of the shires were the work of the Exchequer and quite consistent with its work before 1258. Prevention of alienation from the royal demesne, too, was a well-established shibboleth of the Exchequer, as was restrictions on the alienations of the lord Edward.(131) Other schemes, however, stemmed from the insensitivity of the baronage to the problem of patronage in the face of its obsession that the king should live of his own - the ultimate objection raised to demands for taxation. It was surely the baronage rather than the courtiers and Exchequer which pressed for the scheme of selling wardships for profit in 1259.(132) The full expression of baronial disdain for the sordid business of patronage can be seen in the Montfortian propaganda cited at the beginning of the chapter. Even from 1258 the council had attempted to impose stricter

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128. ibid: See also: below Ch.8 p.331.

129. For the complexity of the problem see: D.B.M. p.196-9 c.9-11.
Below, Ch.7 p.304f.

131. Inter alia: D.A. Carpenter 'The decline of the curial sheriff in England 1194-1215', E.H.R.91 (1976) p.1-32; J.R. Studd, 'The lord Edward and King Henry' op.cit. p.7 ff. Hoyt, The royal demesne p.162-167 passim.

132. D.B.M. p.150-3, clauses 8, 14, 17. G.L. Harriss op.cit. p.140-1

valuations on such perquisites and rigid accountability to the Exchequer for any income beyond the limit imposed in the original grant.(133) Given the realities of politics these schemes were clearly unworkable and unpopular as R.F. Treharne shows; Henry III was forced by his servants and officials to modify and evade them repeatedly from the outset. But restrictions on royal patronage remained to aggravate the breakdown between the court and the baronage in 1261.(134)

Aliens and courtiers may by this date have felt even more threatened by the publication of demands from more radical elements in the baronage (but quietly shelved by the council) for sweeping reforms in the two most vital elements in medieval royal patronage, wardship and marriage.(135) It was, perhaps, the sensitivity of this issue especially in connexion with aliens which prevented the council from taking more effective action to assist Peter de Chauvent and his colleagues in the pursuit of their brides and wards in 1259-61. This was a lean period for the endowment of the aliens, too, because King Henry was again probably under some popular pressure to take a tougher line against absentees with lands in the realm as a result of the belief

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133. e.g. the accountability to the Exchequer of the earl of Norfolk for a wardship in August 1258 (C.R.1256-59 p.254) cf. the rigid limits imposed on the Savoyards' profits from their wardships in 1259.

134. Baronial plan p.196,210-11,235,243,246. cf. D.B.M. p.218-19 c.24.

135. Baronial Plan p.137-8 n.2., 181.

that aliens were guilty of exporting coin from England. This would explain why Peter of Savoy undertook in 1259 to make Queen Eleanor, and not some foreign kinsman, his immediate heir to the Honour of Pevensey, in default of his own male heirs.(136) It would explain, too, why Simon de Montfort took precedence over Simon de Joinville for the receipt of escheated land in 1259. Peter of Savoy's mainly absentee knight, Geoffrey de Grandimonte, was definitely subject to some harrassment from the local escheator for his Lincolnshire tenement in 1259-60.(137) Pressure of this sort, in addition to a host of political and financial considerations, contributed to the elaborate and embarrassing transactions of the same period by which Henry III attempted to avoid granting lands in England to his son-in-law, John of Brittany.(138)

During the period of 'baronial' reform, therefore, continuing financial difficulties causing shortages perpetuated the importance of royal patronage as a theme in court and national politics. The vitriolic hatred of Simon de Montfort built up in some court circles, especially aliens, after his success in forcing the king to settle enormous amounts of land on himself and countess Eleanor

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136. P.R.O. C.47/9/1. Discussed below: ch.8 p.335.

137. C.R.1259-61 p.227,264. cf. C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.17: the renewal of the king's grant to Geoffrey 'by the consent of the council'.

138. Below, Ch.8 p.332ff, 357ff

1259-60 is testimony to these tensions. So is the rivalry between Peter of Savoy and John of Brittany or between the lord Edward and the earl of Gloucester. It was, doubtless, the belief that Henry III had learned from his previous errors and could offer more justice and better prospects in patronage than the baronage which led to the almost monolithic support given by curiales to the overthrow of the Provisions of Oxford in 1261.

After 1261 royal patronage nonetheless remained in short supply. From 1261-65 Henry III made very few grants - and modest ones at that - to aliens, Savoyard and Poitevin alike. He was slow to compensate his returning half-brothers for their losses and niggardly in his treatment of the absentee Isabella de Craon, for example. Continuing financial difficulties are not the sole explanation. Court politics, still in a state of flux before 1264 played its part; yet even more significant was the extraordinary situation in national politics during these years. King Henry of sheer necessity spent his limited revenues 1261-3 in a wide distribution of fees and emoluments to recruit and reward loyal elements to his cause in England and to purchase the services of mercenaries abroad. Family and favourites and those who could not tip the balance in his favour had to take second place. This did not always have happy consequences for the royalist cause.(139)

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139. Below, ch. 9 (see especially William de Valence: pp. 394, 401)

It was only after 1265 that the king could afford to return to the normal processes of the endowment of the court and the aliens. The king's finances were still liable to disruption and cash reserves in particular were under pressure in the years immediately after Evesham but two important blockages to patronage were now removed; with the restoration of royal power there were plenty of wardships and rebel estates to be doled out. King Henry distributed the last two quite freely among both Savoyards and Poitevins(140) and in a shower of munificence to royalist supporters and curiales who had had to suffer years of austerity. Some problems, however, deserve notice. For courtiers - and aliens - there was the balance between self-interest and questions of morality and political expediency which produced characteristic tension during discussions of the Dictum of Kenilworth, although royalists did well enough out of the redemption of the lands of the disinherited.(141) For aliens, there remained the vexing question of the future direction of royal policy. The government was now subject to new, and more prudent influence and the political controversy surrounding the aliens in the 1260's could not

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140. A few examples: C.P.R.1258-66 p.471,514 ,529, 539,624,680; 1266-72 p.17,116,350,351,492,620.

141. E.F. Jacob 'The reign of Henry III: some suggestions' p.29-30; E.F. Jacob, Studies in the period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion (Oxford, 1925) p.147-221; C.H. Knowles, 'The Disinherited' op.cit.

be lightly forgotten. Much though Henry III desired to reward aliens for their help during the civil war, especially in 1265, he was now more careful to minimize his long-term obligations to them than he had been in the 1250's. Those already established in the realm were well catered for and the processes of their endowment completed satisfactorily but few new careers were launched at court for the remainder of Henry III's reign.(142) There was also an interesting tendency to reach a settlement with the handful of visiting or absentee Savoyards and Poitevins who attempted to revive their fees (often heavily in arrears), whereby they were terminated in return for a lump sum (or, in a few cases, a wardship rather than land). After years of only sporadic payment or non-payment of their fees, many aliens must have been happy enough with such terms.(143) It remained for Edward I to work out his own policies with regard to the reward of aliens and continental allies.(144)

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142. See below, Tables 4-7 pp.235-246

143. See Tables 6+7 pp.239-246 Noteworthy examples of quitclaim of fee are Poitevins: William de Chabanais, Oliver de Chalais and Guy de Lusignan (C.Lib.R.1267-72 No.1054) and the Savoyard Simon de Joinville. This did not necessarily terminate their connexion with the English crown.

144. For which: Hen.III + L.Edw. p.694-5,698-700,722 n., B.D. Lyon 'The money fief' pp.165,183 etc. Lyon cites (on p.183) only influential Savoyard and Poitevin kinsmen of Edward I and ignores the heavy casualties in Poitevin fees after 1258. Edward did not automatically continue his father's fees even to kinsfolk e.g. dowager queen Eleanor's petition on behalf of Isabella de Craon and Margaret de Thouars (P.R.O. S.C.1/16/202). For Edward I's policy in patronage: T.F. Tout, Chapters in Medieval Administrative History, vol.II p.27 ff.

In the 1250's, therefore, King Henry III faced a difficult situation, the scale of which historians have been slow to appreciate. There were many claims on his patronage, from those of a fast-growing royal family requiring extensive endowment to those of a large body of ambitious officials. With dwindling finances and an ever-narrowing freedom of action imposed by parliament, the administrators and the very growing scale of the problem itself, here was a severe test on the political skill of even the most gifted medieval king. But King Henry was beset with his love of, and need of aliens. Fortunate circumstances largely enabled him to escape the consequences of the endowment of the Savoyards, between 1252-58 his judgement, never impeccable, was distorted by his desire to endow the Poitevins so vital to his purposes. His half-brothers and their adherents paid the price for this. Their expulsion from the realm, however, was only the symptom of a general malaise over the kingship of Henry III and was no solution to the root problems of patronage. After 1258 the question became an even more complex one and was bound up in bitter debates over finance, taxation and the very ethics of patronage unleashed by the so-called 'baronial' movement. It could not be resolved fully 1261-5. Only conditions of relative plenty after Evesham added to a more prudent management of government enabled the king to minimalize the problem: it could, of course, never be fully resolved. Even post-1265

had its difficulties, one suspects.(145)

Through the theme of patronage, therefore, we see an important aspect of political developments in the court of Henry III, and the role of the aliens.

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145. The distribution of rebel estates after 1265, for example, begs the question of which class of courtier benefitted most, and with what result. And what is one to make of the ever land-hungry lord Edward after 1265?

TABLE NO.4.

Savoyards with revenues of over 100 marks p.a. in England 1236-72.

(Rough estimates given when value known:absentees marked (*))

Eleanor, queen of England (Dower lands: 1236 etc.; other grants)

William of Savoy : £1,200 p.a.+ (lands etc. 1237-39)

Peter of Savoy : £2,000 p.a.+ (lands, wards, castles etc.)

Boniface of Savoy : (Archbishopric of Canterbury)

(*) Phillip of Savoy : ? 1,000m. p.a. (benefices)

(*) Thomas of Savoy : 500m. p.a.+ (fee + cash gifts)

(*) Beatrice of Provence : 400m. p.a.(lands + fee,1244-57)

(*) Amadeo IV of Savoy : 200m. p.a.+ (fee + cash gifts, 1246-53)

Peter de Aigueblanche : (Bishopric of Hereford & other grants)

Aimery de Aigueblanche: probably (precentorship of Hereford etc.)

Mr. James de Aigueblanche: probably (archdeaconry of Salop. etc.)

John de Aigueblanche : probably (deanery of Hereford etc.)
(two further kinsmen held high office in Hereford; fifteen or more aliens held prebends and other benefices)

(*) John de Ambliun : 100m. p.a.+ (benefices)

Alice, widow of John de Burgh. (dower lands after 1248)

Peter de Chauvent : probably (after 1262: lands, wards, fee)

(*) William de Chauvent : probably (benefices)

(*) Archbishop of Embrun : 100m. p.a. (at least 1262-5:fee)

(*) Ingram de Fednes : 300m. p.a.+ (lands, wards)

Michael de Fednes : probably (benefices)

(*) Amadeo de Geneva : 100m. p.a. (benefices, 1243)

Eubule de Geneva : £160 p.a.+ (lands, ward etc.)

Peter de Geneva : £100 p.a.+ (lands, ward etc.)

John de Grailly : probably (after 1265: escheats & fees)

TABLE NO. 4 (Continued)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Otto de Grandison | : | probably (after 1265: rebel estates) |
| | Aimery Gychard | : | probably (archdeaconry of Winchester) |
| | Geoffrey de Joinville | : | £100 p.a.+ (lands, fee, castles, etc.) |
| | Alice de Saluzzo, widow of earl of Lincoln (Lacy) | : | (dower lands after 1258) |
| | Guy de la Palud | : | 100m. p.a. (benefices) |
| | Imbert de Montferrand | : | probably (after 1265: lands, wards) |
| | Eubule de Montibus | : | 100-200m.(after 1262: lands, p.a. wards) |
| | Margaret de Savoy, widow of earl of Devon (Redvers) | : | (dower lands after 1262) |
| ?(*) | Guy de Roussillon | : | 400m. p.a. (benefices) |
| (*) | Imbert de Salines | : | £75 p.a.+ (lands) |
| | Stephen de Salines 'I' | : | possibly (lands, wards) |
| (*) | Robert de Salines | : | 200m. p.a. (benefices) |
| | Agnes de Saluzzo, wife of John de Vesci, lady of Alnwick until 1265. | | |
| | Bernard of Savoy | : | possibly (lands, wards) |
| ?(*) | Nicholas de Villa | : | ?100m. p.a. (1261-72:benefices) |

# TABLE NO.5

## Poitevins with over 100 marks p.a. revenues in England, 1247-72.

(Rough estimates : absentees marked (*) )

### (a) Settlements 1247-1258:-

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | William de Valence | : £2,000p.a.+ | (lands, wards etc. castles) |
| | Aymer of Winchester | : £3,000p.a.+ | (bishopric, benefices, castles) |
| ?(*) | Geoffrey de Lusignan | : £ 700p.a. | (lands, fees, wards) |
| ?(*) | Guy de Lusignan | : £ 400p.a. | (fees, wards etc.) |
| | Peter of Aubusson | : £ 100+ | (benefices) |
| | Raymond de Bovis Villa | : (probable) | (benefices) |
| | Fulk de Castro Novo | : ( " ) | (fee, wardship 1243-d.1246) |
| (*) | Segur de Castro Novo | : 100 M. p.a. | (fee) |
| | Peter de Chaceporc | : (probable) | (benefices, offices) |
| | William de Chabanais | : 100 M. p.a.+ | (fee, castle) |
| (*) | William de Chauvigny | : 200 M. p.a. | (fee) |
| | Alice de Clare | : (wife of earl of Gloucester's heir) | |
| (*) | Isabella de Craon | : 200 M. p.a. | (lands, fee) |
| | Marie de Ferrars | : (wife of earl of Derby) | |
| (*) | Count of la Marche | : 400 M. p.a. | (fee) |
| | Elias de Rabayn | : £100p.a.+ | (land, wardship,castle) |
| | Peter des Rivaux | : (probable) | (benefices, offices) |
| (*) | Simon de Rochechouart | : 200 M. p.a. | (benefices) |
| (*) | Eubule de Rochford | : 100 M. p.a. | (fee) |
| | Guy de Rochford | : £170p.a. + | (fee, wards, castle) |
| | Maurice de Rochford | : £200p.a. + | (lands, fee, castle) |
| | William de Sancta Ermina | : £200p.a. + | (lands, wards, fee) |
| | Peter de St. Omer | : (probable) | (benefices) |
| (*) | Archdeacon of Thouars | : £100p.a. + | (benefices) |
| (*) | Margaret de Thouars | : 100 M. p.a. | (fee) |
| | Alice de Warenne | : (wife of earl of Warenne) | |

TABLE NO.5. (Continued)

(b) Settlements after 1258:-

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ?(*) | Fulk d'Archiac | : (probable) | (m.?c.1276 Mabel de Kyme) |
| (*) | Maurice de Craon | : ( " ) | (post 1275: wards, fee) |
| (*) | Guy de la Marche | : ( " ) | (1266: ward) |
| ?(*) | Guy de Rochechouart | : ( " ) | (ante. 1276 m. Sibyl de Kyme) |
| ?(*) | Aimery IX, Vicomte of Rochechouart | : ( " ) | (c. 1268-9 m. Maud de Kyme) |

TABLE NO. 6

Fees held by Savoyards 1236-72, with approximate extent of duration

(a) Absentees

| name | amount p.a. | remarks/duration of fee | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Peter d'Aigueblanche jnr. | 40m. | 1263 only | C.P.R.1258-66 p.251 |
| John d'Ambliun | 20m. | June 1253: Until provided with 50m. p.a.(increased to 100m. in Oct.) in benefices.d.1254. | C.P.R.1247-58 p.197,246,269. C.P.R.1232-47 p.469. |
| Imbert de Châtillon | £20 | 1254-5 only. | C.P.R.1247-58 p.314. |
| Reginald fitz Artaud de Durthe | 10m. | 1243-4 only (until replaced by 40m. p.a. in benefices) | C.P.R.1232-47 p.384,417. |
| Archbishop of Embrun | 100m. | (1262-66 at least). Attempts, 1262,1266, to replace fee by lands. | C.P.R.1258-66 p.565;1266-72 p.730; C.R.1261-64 p.156. |
| Ingram de Fiennes | £20 | (1247-61 at least). Inherited from father. | C.P.R.1247-58 p.274. |
| Hugh de Grandimonte | £20 | 1254 (paid 1257-60) | ibid. p.307; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.357. |
| Peter de Grandison | £20 | 1245-57 (frequent arrears).d.1257. | C.Lib.R.1240-5 p.309. |
| Beatrice of Provence | £400 | 1244-57 (revenue from Viponte ward-ship) | C.P.R.1232-47 p.414,486. |
| Guy de Rousillon | 200m. | 1243 only (replaced by 400m. p.a. benefices | C.P.R.1232-47 p.388,418. |
| Ernald de Salines | 10m. | 1262 only (fl. 1260-2) | C.Lib.R.1261-7 p.96. |
| Imbert de Salines | £40 | 'for life' (1243); replaced by lands (1244) | C.P.R.1232-47 p.413 |
| Stephen de Salines 'II' | £20 | 1256-1261 or later; fl.1281. | C.P.R.1247-58 p.487. |
| Amadeo IV of Savoy | 200m. | 1246-53:'for his homage'. | C.P.R.1232-47 p.469. |

TABLE NO.6 (Continued)

(a) Absentees / Cont ...

| name | amount p.a. | remarks/duration of fee | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amadeo V of Savoy | 100m. | (in 1270); by 1302 his fee was 100m. p.a. | C.P.R.1266-72 p.487; Moor, IV p.164 |
| Thomas of Savoy | 500m. | 1240-59.(d.1259) | C.R.1264-68 p.366. |
| Archbishop of Tarentaise | ? | (1246-62 or later) presumably he and other agents in the Roman curia received fees. | (e.g. C.P.R. 1258-66 p.112.) |
| William, archdeacon of Vienne | 60m. | 1239-43 (pension from a benefice) | C.P.R.1232-47 p.266. |
| (Hospital of St. Antoine, Vienne) | 20m. | 1243-72:pension | ibid. p.381 C.P.R.1266-72 p.660. |
| Baldwin de Villa | 20m. | 'From the chamber' (1253-67) | C.P.R.1247-58 p.243; 1266-72 p.119. |

(b) Savoyards resident in England:
(those returning soon to the Continent marked *)

| name | amount p.a. | remarks/duration of fee | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Peter de Anesy | £15 | 1242-55 | C.P.R.1232-47 p.334,359; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.220. |
| Aimery Bezill | 20m. | Until 1266 when replaced by a wardship. | C.P.R.1258-66 p.599. |
| Peter de Chauvent | £40 | 1254-64: partly(1262) entirely (1265) replaced by lands and wardship. Additional fee: £50 p.a. 1262 (replaced by wardship, 1262) | C.P.R.1247-58 p.320;1258-66 p.206,220; C.R.1261-64 p.131; C.Lib.R. 1260-7 p.185. |
| *Mr. John de Dya | £20 | 1241 only. | C.Lib.R.1240-5 p.28. |

TABLE NO.6 (Continued)

(b) Residents / Cont ...

| name | amount p.a. | remarks/duration of fee | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Peter of Geneva | £100 | From Wardrobe 'until ampler provision' (1242);replaced by marriage etc. 1245. | C.P.R.1232-47 p.306,450. |
| Henry of Ghent | 20m. | Replaced by benefices (60m. p.a.) mid-1240's. | ibid. p.251. |
| John de Grailly | £20 | 1262 only (replaced by a wardship) | C.P.R.1258-66 p.211. |
| Geoffrey de Joinville | 60m. | 1254-56 only: replaced by farm of a royal manor, 1256. | C.P.R.1247-58 p.338;C.Lib. 1251-60 p.322. |
| *Simon de Joinville | 50m. | "for life" 1254-1266:quit-claimed for a wardship,1266 | C.P.R.1247-58 p.276;1258-66 p.616. |
| Imbert de Montferrand | £20 | 1256-59 (replaced by ward) | C.P.R.1247-58 p.501. |
| | 50m. | 1262-70 (replaced by wards) | 1258-66 p.36,207 |
| Eubule de Montibus | 40m. | (1249-50);increased to £50 p.a. 1250 and replaced by wardships etc.1251. From 1254-58 paid 50m. p.a. for manors resumed by the king: this fee mostly replaced by a ward in 1258. | C.P.R.1247-58 p.43,63,102, 167,308; 1258-66 p.15. C.Lib.R.1260-67 p.187. |
| *Guy de la Palud | 40m. | 1243 only:replaced by benefices | C.P.R.1232-47 p.372. |
| Imbert Pugeys | 40m. | 1257-59:replaced by wardship. | C.P.R.1247-58 p.547;1258-66 p.84. |
| Robert Pugeys | £20 | 1267 only:probably replaced by other revenues. | C.P.R.1266-72 p.61. |
| Stephen de Salines 'I' | £20 | 1249-d.1255. | C.P.R.1247-58 p.51. |

TABLE NO.6 (Continued)

(b) Residents / Cont ...

| name | amount p.a. | remarks/duration of fee | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Guy de Sathenay | ? | Received (yeoman's) wages until retired abroad in 1266 after 'long service'. | C.Lib.R.1260-7 p.216. |
| *Stephen de Sathenay | £36 | c.1244-49. 'wages'. | C.Lib.R.1241-5 p.245. |
| *Dulcelina, wife of Bernard of Savoy | 20m. | 1242-3 'for her maintenance while in the realm'. | C.P.R.1232-47 p.280. |
| Mr. Henry of Savoy | £20 | 1240 only. Replaced by benefice. | C.Lib.R.1226-40 p.498. |
| William de Wisery | 20m. | 1261-62 (retired abroad c.1263?) d.1266. | C.P.R.1258-66 p.147. |

TABLE NO.7

Fees held by Poitevins 1247-72, with approximate extent of duration

(a) Absentees:

| name | Amount p.a. | remarks/ duration of fee | reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| William de Aubusson | 40m. | 1253-56 (lapsed) | C.P.R.1247-58 p.169. |
| Arnaud de Bovis Villa (lord of Miramont) | 50m. | 1255 only:"expenses" | C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.217. |
| Itier de Burdilla | 30m. | 1254 only (lapsed) | C.P.R.1247-58 p.318. |
| Segur de Castro Novo | 50m. | (1248-53); £50p.a. (1253); 100m. p.a. (1253-58) | ibid. p.5, 194, 257. |
| Geoffrey de Cerys | 15m. | 'for life' (1254-6):lapsed | ibid. p.301. |
| Theobald Chabboc | 30m. | (1253); 40m. p.a. 'for life' (1254):lapsed | R.G. I (i) No.2203; 3899 |
| Oliver de Chalais | £100 | 1246-53 (Quit-claimed, 1269, in great arrears). | C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.88. C.P.R.1266-72 p.337. |
| Hugh de Chaceporc | 30m. | 1242, 1247-55:lapsed | C.P.R.1232-47 p.311, 502. |
| William de Chauvigny | 200m. | 1254-68 (with arrears:in his wife's name) | C.P.R.1247-58 p.283. |
| William de Cryanges | £10 | 'for life' (1247-48) lapsed. | ibid. p.3. |
| Isabella de Craon | 100m. | (1251-4); 160m. (1254-57); probably revived 1265. | ibid. p.101, 313; C.Lib.R. 1267-72 No.1709. |
| Peter de Cultura | £10 | 1248-58:lapsed | C.P.R. 1247-58 p.33 |
| John de Cultura | 20m. | 1261-70 (quit-claimed) | C.P.R. 1258-66 p.193; 1266-72 p.408. |
| Bertram de Cygony | £20 | 'for life' (1252-56):lapsed | C.P.R.1247-58 p.125. |

TABLE NO.7 (Continued)

(a) Absentees (continued)

| name | Amount p.a. | remarks/ duration of fee | reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hugh Gaunch | £9 | (from wardship: 1251-56); cash 1256 | ibid. p.103. |
| Albert de Guarait | £25 | 1242, 1247 only | ibid. p.2. |
| Herbert de Guarait | £25 | 1247-8 'by the hand of W. de Valence' | ibid. p.15. |
| Count of la Marche | 400m. | 1249 (renewed 1254); paid 1254-57 (perhaps revived 1266) | ibid. p.35,233, 317. |
| Stephen de Noylac | 15m. | paid 1249; lapsed | C.Lib.R. 1245-51 p.229. |
| William de Noylac | 40m. | 'for life' (1254-5) | C.P.R.1247-58 p.284. |
| Aimery du Plessis | 20m. | 1247-58: lapsed (from wardship: 1251-6) | ibid. p.3. |
| Hugh de Prissay | 30m. | 1247-48 lapsed. | C.P.R.1232-47 p.502. |
| Simon de Prissay | 15m. | 1247; increased to £30 1248; lapsed | C.P.R.1247-58 p.16. C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.127 |
| Aimery, vicomte of Rochechouart | 60m. | 'until ampler provision'. Fee (otherwise untraceable) quit claimed for 300m. in 1267. | C.R.1264-68 p.404. C.Lib.R.1267-72 p.587. |
| Simon de Rochechouart | 50m. | 1254-55 (until provision of 200m. p.a. in benefices) | C.P.R.1247-58 p.290, 299 |
| Aimery de Roche | 30m. | 1254: lapsed | ibid. p.317. |
| Charles de Rochford | 50m. | 1252-55: lapsed | ibid. p.164. |
| Eubule de Rochford | 100m. | 1252-56: lapsed | ibid. p.166. |
| Peter de Rupe | £15 | 1248-58: lapsed (from wardship 1251-6) | ibid. p.12 |
| Peter le Rus | 15m. | 1254: lapsed | ibid. p.317. |

TABLE NO.7 (Continued)

(a) Absentees (continued)

| name | Amount p.a. | remarks/ duration of fee | reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Peter de Salebreche | 10m. | 1249-52: lapsed | C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.240 |
| Margaret, vicomtesse of Thouars | 100m. | 1254 (probably continued to 1275 at least) | C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.208. S.C.1/16/202. |
| Geoffrey de Tyrenel | 20m. | 1247-48: lapsed | C.P.R.1232-47 p.503. |
| Bernard de Villa Honoris | £30 | 'for life' (1251-57): lapsed | C.P.R.1247-58 p.118. |

(b) Poitevins resident in England:
(those returning soon to continent marked * )

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Peter of Aubusson | £20 | 1247-53 (replaced by benefices) | C.Lib.R.1248-51 p.150 |
| Arnaud de Bovis Villa | 10m. | 1247 (?lapsed); 1256 (benefices) | C.P.R.1232-47 p.510. 1258-66 |
| Bertram de Bovis Villa | £25 | 1265-72 (replaced by other revenues) | C.P.R. p.567. |
| * William de Chabanais | 10m. | (1248-51); £70 (1253-67); quit-claimed 1267? | C.P.R.1247-58 p.119, 174; C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.182 S.C.1/3/88. |
| * Arnaud Cotyn | £20 | 1251-4 (?died) | C.P.R.1247-58 p.103. |
| * Imbert Guy | 30m. | 'for life' (1254); also paid 1261; replaced eventually by other revenues | ibid. p.308. C.Lib.R.1260-67 p.49 |
| Bonacio Lumbard | 30m. | 1254: at 'instance of' Lusignans | C.P.R.1247-58 p.316. |
| William de Monterevel | £25 | 1246-53 (at least) | ibid. p.196 |

TABLE NO.7 (Continued

(b) Poitevins resident in England (continued)

| name | Amount p.a. | remarks/ duration of fee | reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| * Guy Povereau | £20 | 1251-56:lapsed | ibid. p.121. |
| Aimery de Rochechouart | 10m. | 1247-52 (benefices replace fee) | Emden,p.1581-2 |
| Guy de Rochford | £120 | (replaced by other revenues: 1246); £50 p.a. increment: 1248 (replaced by ward-ship:1251). £100 p.a. fee paid in 1263. | C.P.R.1232-47 p.310, 385; 1247-58 p.14; C.Lib.R.1260-67 p.135. |
| Maurice de Rochford | £10 | 1251 (replaced by other revenues) | C.P.R.1247-58 p.91. |
| William de Sancta Ermina | £20 | (1253); increased to 40m. (1254); 120m. (1257); 1257-70 other revenues £100 p.a. | ibid. p.172, 305, 552. |
| * Stephen de Spineto | 20m. | 1247-51:lapsed. (wardship revenue: 1251 at least) | C.P.R.1232-47 p.511 |
| * Vincent of Tours | 40m. | 1247 (replaced by benefices) | Emden, p.1889. |

# CHAPTER 7.

## Court politics and the exiling of the Poitevins (1257-58)

### (i) The King's Council and the Poitevins (1255-57)

No contemporary chronicler of the Parliament at Oxford in June 1258 failed to mention the expulsion from the realm of the king's half-brothers. Indeed, the vast majority made this the most prominent, even the sole noteworthy feature of the great revolution they described, which is the more astonishing since prior to 1258, as we have shown, most chroniclers had nothing to say about the Poitevins, in common with their virtual neglect of political events at Westminster. The accounts differed considerably in their explanation of the Poitevins' fate. Some chroniclers believed that the Lusignans had been exiled on account of the misdeeds of their bailiffs[1]; some pointed to their enrichment by the king[2]; some actually claimed that the Poitevins were about to poison the king and all the magnates and seize power in the realm[3]; others high-

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1. Waverley p.349-50; Dunstable p.209; St. Andrew's, Northampton p.100.

2. Tewkesbury p.165; Walter of Guisborough p.185; Waverley p.349; Chron.Maj. passim (e.g. Ch. 6 p. 191 )

3. Chron.Maj. V. p.702; Annales Cambriae p.96; Waverley p.349; Flores Historiarum ii p.417-18.

lighted their contempt for law and justice and the Dunstable Annals state categorically that Aymer of Winchester had been exiled 'for homicide'[1]; but most of the reliable chorniclers stressed the simple point that the king's Poitevin kinsmen had refused to swear to the Provisions of Oxford.[2]

Most Historians have tended to use such material rather uncritically. The pages of R.F. Treharne, H.S. Snellgrove and F.R. Lewis are full of lists of the Lusignans' crimes, mostly derived from the anecdotes of Matthew Paris. Moreover, all of them assume that the misdemeanours of the king's half-brothers went disregarded and unpunished before the English baronage brought them to book under the revolutionary movement of 1258. Indeed, following Matthew Paris, they see the Poitevins as one of the outstanding examples of the weakness and folly of Henry III's misrule before his rescue by the wisdom of the magnates and the Provisions of Oxford.[3] Even Sir Maurice Powicke, who shows that he is more aware than the other three of the treacherous nature of the evidence that he has before him, writes that the young and 'irresponsible' Lusignans 'though they were not popular'

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-119

1. Oseney p.118; Annales Londonienses p.51; Dunstable p.216.

2. e.g. Dunstable p.209; Flores Historiarum ii p.417-18; Chron.Maj. V p.697-8; Liber de Antiquis Legibus p.38; Gervase of Canterbury ii p.207.

3. Baronial Plan p.45,49,53,76-79; H. Snellgrove, The Lusignans p.78-90; F.R. Lewis, William de Valence (pt.I) p.22-27.

for their 'insolence and exploitation of Henry's good nature' were not 'marked down until they resisted the process of events at Oxford'.(1)

We may be sure that the conduct of the king's half-brothers in England after the 1252 crisis was in reality no less unattractive than portrayed by Treharne or Matthew Paris. With the possible exception of Aymer of Winchester, and with the inclusion of the other Poitevins in the king's service in England the non-chronicle evidence provides few or no redeeming features to their characters.(2) Their chief role in Henry III's policy before 1258 was a military one and there is no sign that their tasks in the king's service expanded far beyond these horizons; their conduct and outlook, consequently, never rose above the standard of mercenaries nor, perhaps, was it ever expected to. Members of Henry III's family and a host of other favoured courtiers enjoyed liberties on their estates and, doubtless something of the same immunity from prosecution allegedly exploited by the Poitevins; they were ruthless with their wards' estates, they dabbled with the Jewry and speculated in debtors' estates and their bailiffs were cruel and arbitrary. All these were the normal privileges enjoyed by those closest to the centre of authority in the

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1. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.384; Thirteenth Century p.137-40.

2. I discuss Lusignan misdemeanours throughout this Chapter, but see, especially, pp.307ff.

mediaeval state.[1] The Poitevins were, however, a startling degree worse. They defended their territorial liberties with physical violence against intruding royal bailiffs, they abducted heiresses, disinherited minors and, most shocking of all to property-conscious thirteenth century society, they allowed lawsuits to escalate into lawless armed raids against wealthy and well-connected neighbours.

The Poitevins, however, have to be kept in due proportion. What we are considering here are merely a handful of the worst excesses of a handful of courtiers: three or four members of the House of Lusignan and three or four prominent Poitevin knights and their retainers. Furthermore, it is important to contrast the Poitevins with what is otherwise known about Henry III's rule during the 1250's. This has come in for considerable re-assessment since the days of Powicke and Treharne. For example, in the crucial matter of royal finances, as they tottered after the costs of the Gascon campaign unsupported by taxation consented to in Parliament, so there began a furious drive, in typical Angevin fashion, towards more ruthless financial policy. Intensive pressure was placed on sheriffs to yield more from their offices and curiales

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1. Inter alia: c.f. P.R. Coss 'Sir Geoffrey de Langley and the crisis of the knightly class in 13th century England', Past and Present, No.68 (1975) p.3-38; D.W. Sutherland 'Peytevin v. la Lynde' Law Quarterly Review: 83 (1967) p.527-546. Also see Introduction, p.14

who could hope to evade the pressures of the Exchequer were deliberately excluded from the management of the shires. In 1255 royal justices conducted a detailed survey of forests, the condition of the demesne, royal castles and their value, the resources of royal patronage (including wardships and benefices) and many other aspects of the king's income with a view to its more exacting exploitation. Indeed, it was the royal Exchequer which had the plans ready laid for the financial reforms normally attributed to 'baronial' revolution of 1258.(1) Moreover, it would also be incorrect to assume that Henry III's councillors, an intelligent (and by the 1250's experienced) body of men were unaware that by perpetually driving such sources of income hard they were laying up for themselves a dangerous fund of unpopularity and resistance. Indeed, there is every sign that before 1258 they were pressing hard for an accommodation with the critics of the king's rule on many points short of giving way to the traditional constitutional demands of the magnates voiced in Parliament. The 1250's are full of promises of reform. After 1250 King Henry was, theoretically, a king committed to going on Crusade and might be expected to put his own house in order. The confirmation of the charters in 1253 in return for the promise of taxation was a sign of compromise.(2) It may not

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1. Burton Annals p.337-9; D.A. Carpenter,'The decline of the curial sheriff in England 1194-1258' E.H.R. 91 (1976) p.1-32.

2. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.368-9.

be unreasonable to see in Henry's acute 'sacramental view of the king's office' offered the hope of justice against the excesses of his own servants and officials too. This is surely implied in the king's words spoken in exhortation to the sheriffs at the Exchequer in Michaelmas 1250 or in the last clause of the articles of the great inquisition of 1255 which ordered an investigation into corruption and misdeeds amongst royal officials in the shire to be followed by justice to the aggrieved parties.(1) And, indeed, in 1256, we see in the disgrace before the Council of William de Insula, the evil sheriff of Nottingham, one of the fruits of this. Here was, doubtless, the vision of strict but paternalistic rule which Henry III wanted his subjects to have of him.(2)

King Henry III's Councillors, especially the Savoyards, were no friends of the Lusignans and, as we suggested in Chapter 5 it was probably the pressure of the former which kept the king's brothers administrative participation in Gascony and elsewhere to a minimum after 1254.(3) It is interesting to note, therefore, that the Poitevins

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1. Burton Annals p.339; M.T. Clanchy 'Did Henry III have a policy?' History:53 (1968) esp. p.203-216. Dr.Clanchy shows that Henry was (as one might expect) both an autocrat and a paternalist.

2. Dunstable Annals, p.199; Chron.Maj. V p.577-580 c.f. Redress over charges of extortion brought against sheriffs of Cambridge, Michaelmas 1256 (P.R.O. E.159/30m.5d.) and royal bailiffs in Surrey, Hilary, 1257 (ibid. m.9d. + sched.), the last moved by Simon de Montfort.

3. Ch. 5 p.151 especially.

at every turn used their influence to push Henry III into the violation of guidelines laid down by his officials in the interests of prudent and economical government. In the last chapter we gave several instances of the infringement of current financial policy by the king for the endowment of the Poitevins, and it is worth repeating some here, for example the 'system of preference' over the receipt of major escheats, or the incident where resistance was shown (doubtless, by the Council) to William de Valence's attempts to circumvent the doctrine of the inalienability of the royal demesne. So, too, one could point to the protracted dispute between Geoffrey de Lusignan with the 'lord Edward' 1254-56 and the attempts to prevent the king's grants to Geoffrey and other Poitevins from eroding Edward's income in Ireland - and, indeed, Gascony. We may be sure here, too, that it was not the young prince himself resisting Poitevins at this stage, but curiales, Savoyards and others who had striven so hard and so long to press Henry III into earmarking an inalienable appanage for his heir.(1)

The same may be said for the handful of the Poitevin knights in the king's service. Henry III appointed, most unusually, Elias de Rabayn, to a shrievalty (Somerset and Dorset October 1251-October 1255.) The Exchequer, in the light of what is now known about its policy on curial

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1. pp. 203, 208-10.

sheriffs can hardly have been enthusiastic over the sudden promotion of this newcomer (Elias is not known in England before December 1248) and Rabayn proved to be the worst of his type. By 1255, when he was finally eased out of office, his anomalous position was virtually unique. The king's officials were, however, not able to prevent Henry III from permitting him after dismissal to retain Corfe Castle to his profit or the king's pardon at Easter 1257 of 50 marks' debt after a vigorous pursuit by the Exchequer.(1) But in 1258 it was discovered (if it was not already known) that Elias had abused his office to disinherit his wife's sister, the Bayeux co-heiress through her abduction to the continent and forcible marriage to an obscure Poitevin noble to the loss, as the Fine Roll significantly states, of the Crown's rights over the marriage and wardship. The scandal of the pious Henry III offering to stand surety for the fate of Joan de Bayeux after her abduction from Sixhills Priory, co.Lincs., in the face of Grosseteste's excommunication must have seemed even worse.(2) But Rabayn was hardly an exception. His colleagues Guy de Rochford and William de Sancta Ermina were little better. TheExchequer may not have cared much that Rochford, loyal soldier that he was, was a cruel administrator (qui) 'comprovinciales et maxime sibi

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1. Carpenter, art.cit. p.24-26; E.159/29m.16d; E.159/30m.13,20d.

2. Excerpt.e.Rot.Fin. ii p.286; I.J. Sanders, English Baronies (Oxford, 1960) p.88-9.

subjectos oppresserat enormiter'[1] but it must have considered the king's life-grant of Colchester castle, town and hundred to him in June 1256 as setting a very dangerous precedent.[2] Not only did it disrupt the efficient workings of local government to the loss, doubtless, of the king's revenue but it was also a complete reversal of the current policy of financial reform promised in the recent great enquiry of 1255.[3] Similar objections

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1. Chron.Maj. V. p.725. It is otherwise unknown what his conduct was like at Colchester. The evidence for his custody of Montgomery (1251-54) suggests that he was harsh and quarrelsome: C.R.1251-53 p.128,142,185,189. The Exchequer was pursuing him for debts of office in 1256 (ibid. 1254-56 p.287.)

2. Henry III's grant of castle, hundred, demesnes and the farm of the town on 12th June 1256 is not specifically described as a life-grant in C.P.R.1247-58 p.482. However, the life-grant of a fair at Colchester on 26th December 1256 is suggestive (ibid. 534). So is Matthew Paris' statement that Henry granted Guy the castle 'and Honour' 'by charter' (Chron.Maj. V. p.725.) Unfortunately, the Charter Roll for 40.Hen.III (1255-6) is missing. However, the Exchequer thought that Guy had a life grant of the farms in 1256 (E.159/29m.20). Such a grant to a mere knight was surely unprecedented.

3. At Colchester, although the sheriff of Essex could enter the town to levy the king's debts (E.159/29.m.20) felons were only received into Colchester castle now 'by the concession' of G. de Rochford (C.R.1254-56 p.349) cf. D.B.M. p.85 c.20. for a variant of this complaint.

could be raised to the lucrative grant of Havering to William de Sancta Ermina in May 1257 which was tantamount to the long-term alienation of a valuable demesne manor from the Exchequer's control.(1) It could be argued that the grant of Hadleigh castle co.Essex to a succession of profit-seeking Savoyards since the mid-1240's was but another example of this process of alienation, but Hadleigh was only a minor bailwick compared with major fortresses such as Colchester and Corfe; it was far less lucrative than Havering and Savoyards had not yet succeeded in obtaining life-grants of this nature. No Savoyard of comparable rank became so dependant for his income on the custody of a royal castle or manor that he was forced into the well attested arbitrary conduct of Poitevin keepers; most Savoyards, it could be added, at least had other land by which they could be distrained by the Exchequer if token pressure needed to be put on them before the inevitable royal pardon.(2) No Savoyard was a sheriff before 1258.

When the 'baronial' Council, the majority of which consisted of Henry III's previous councillors, stated, therefore, in its propaganda to the papacy in 1258 that Henry III's half-brothers 'so vindicated him alone that

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1. Ch. 6 p. 214-5 Sancta Ermina abused his position to assert rights of wardship over land held in socage (P.R.O. JUST.1/1187m.3)

2. Above, p. 181f ; below, p. 293-4 cf. Carpenter, art.cit.

they withdrew him absolutely from the usages of the commonwealth ..... For they whispered to him that a prince was not subject to laws .....'[1] they may, with good reason, have had in mind not simply the events of the Parliament at Oxford but an entire history of arbitrary conduct encouraged by the king's Poitevin favourites. The origins of this are, indeed, not difficult to discover and they lie in Henry III's autocratic nature - which fully suscribed to the theory of the princeps legibus solutus of Roman law, as is well known.[2] King Henry was strongly influenced, too, by his desperate dependance on Poitevin military resources and it is clear that his belief was not to be quickly dissipated. It is no mere coincidence that the worst cases of his half-brothers and their adherents' excesses occurred during times of acute military and financial emergency .Indeed, King Henry ordered the patent sent to the bishop of Lincoln condoning Elias de Rabayn's violation of the sanctuary of Sixhills priory in July 1253 as he waited at Portsmouth to set sail for Gascony not

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1. Burton Annals p.463. (transl. Clanchy, art.cit. p.209). Powicke, (Hen.III + L.Edw. p.387-90) thinks that this tract was composed by John Mansel's clerk, John Clarel. I disagree with Dr. Clanchy's view that an attack on the Poitevins on this account in 1258 was a mere diplomatic convenience.

2. Clanchy, art.cit. p.207 ff. There is little in Henry's rule, however, to suggest that his 'Roman law' theory of kingship was much different from the earlier Angevins.

knowing whether his feudal forces would materialize.(1) The same situation, doubtless, arose in 1257-58.(2)

## (ii) Court politics and the 'Baronial Movement' 1257-58

The attention given to 1258 had hidden the point that some steps were taken in 1257 from within the Council to curb the activities of the Lusignans. By the middle of 1257, in addition to its own growing financial crisis, Henry III's régime met a number of political setbacks. From the Winter of 1256 a serious war broke out against Llywelyn ap Gruffydd who quickly proved impossible to crush without a considerable display of force. In addition to this Henry came throughout 1255-6 under increased diplomatic pressure from the new pope, Alexander IV to commit himself to the Sicilian business and when in the Parliament held in March 1257 he attempted to secure approval for the Apulian candidature he was met, as is now known, by the

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1. C.P.R.1247-58 p.237 (cf. Ch. 5 p. 140-1 ) This could be compared with the assault on the king's bailiff and his imprisonment by the men of William de Valence's manor of Moreton, co.Glos. in 1254 (C.R.1253-54 p.72). For other liberties usurped in this area by William in 1252: Cal.Inq.Misc.1219-1307 Nos.143,164. Geoffrey de Lusignan was granted in 1254 the exceptional liberty of immunity from the jurisdiction of royal bailiffs on lands he held in wardship. (R.G.I (i) No.3231.)

2. e.g. William de Valence's interference in the course of justice in Kent 1257-58 to protect from prosecution (for the abduction of an heiress etc.) Roger de Leyburne and Guncelin de Baddlesmere, both of whom fought for him in Wales c. 1257 where Guncelin's brother was killed. (P.R.O. JUST.1/873m.18d.; JUST. 1/1187m.7) See Table 13 p. 430-1.

obstruction of the magnates.(1) Political unrest greeted, too, the departure from the realm for Germany of Richard of Cornwall who was, perhaps, thought to be something of a counter-balance to the Poitevins' influence over the king.(2) It was in the face of such problems that Henry's councillors seem to have attempted to speed up the processes of financial reform and to have offered further political concessions to the magnates, doubtless with the hope of securing some consent to sorely-needed taxation for Wales or, at the very least, greater co-operation over the forthcoming Welsh campaign. After the March Parliament dispersed an unusually solemn assembly of Councillors, including Edward, William de Valence, Guy de Lusignan and Peter of Savoy witnessed the promulgation of a comprehensive plan for the reform of household finance, setting up a reserve fund and imposing strict controls on the king's spending. This dates from 10th April, the very day of Richard of Cornwall's departure from London.(3) At about the same time, possibly in May when at the end of the month another Parliament to put more pressure on the magnates was held, the new councillors' oath, transcribed

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1. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.370-3.

2. cf. refusal of magnates to agree to the Sicilian venture in 1257 'minoratio potestatis regni Anglie in consilio, pecunia ...., per recessum R. comitis cornubie' (Burton Annals p.387.)

3. C.R.1256-59 p.46.

into the Burton Annals was published.(1) This was more than a mere oath, as it contained definite promises of reform :for example, what appears to be a promise that new sheriffs would soon be appointed, that corrupt and evil persons would be purged from the Court and the king's service, and elaborate measures to prevent Henry from disposing of patronage without the consent of the Council. Richard of Cornwall's attorney, the bishop of London, was added to the Council to increase its popularity.(2) Furthermore, in May Henry issued declarations forbidding grants from various royal forests which had been damaged by previous liberality.(3)

It was in this context that the beginning of a series of disputes between various Poitevin half-brothers of the king and prominent councillors should be considered.

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1. Burton Annals p.395-7. c.f. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.336-8. No direct reference to this oath exists in Chancery Rolls. The Burton Annalist transcribes this oath at quite some distance after materials relating to the March Parliament. Matthew Paris ignores the oath, but perhaps by 1257 his powers as a chronicler were failing. (R.Vaughan, Matthew Paris (Cambridge, 1958) p.8-9). Dates of Parliaments, throughout March 1257 and in the last fortnight of May are suggested by the attendance at court at these points of a large number of earls and bishops (P.R.O. C.53/47.m.5,7)

2. Burton adds that the bishop of Worcester was 'elected to the Council' too. This is difficult to interpret, since he was already a member (above, p.138 ) It is possible that this reflects some importance of Simon de Montfort. For Fulk Basset, bishop of London: Richard of Cornwall p.90. It is interesting to see in this oath a strong clause guaranteeing the rights of the queen and Edward. This suggests possible Savoyard influence (Peter of Savoy was at court throughout 1257 until June: C.53/47.m.4-12.)

3. C.R.1256-59 p.131.

The first was a public dispute between William de Valence and Simon de Montfort before the king and 'many magnates' at London placed by Matthew Paris in his narrative at about May 1257. Their estate officials had indulged in local feuding and when the case was brought before Henry III William accused Simon of being a traitor and they came to blows. Paris, in his usual fashion, fails to say whether the case was resolved. He merely declares "nec postea inter eos potuit faex suscepta inimicitiae exinaniri". Much doubt has been cast on this incident, not least by Bemont,(1) but there is, in fact, corroborative evidence to support it, oddly not in the Chancery Rolls, but on the Memoranda roll. On 28th May the king's stewards, Robert Walerand and the Savoyard Imbert Pugeys, entered the Exchequer and, before the bishop of Worcester ordered the Exchequer [ 'tam de domino W. de Valence et omnibus aliis fratribus suis quam de aliis omnibus plenam de cetero iusticiam exhibeant' (2). The mention of Worcester, the friend of de Montfort suggests that Henry had indeed ordered an arbitration between de Montfort and his half-brother.

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C. Bémont, Simon de Montfort (1930) p. 49n.

1. Chron.Maj. V. p.634. [ It is possible that William and Simon had come to blows partly over their competition for royal patronage (Ch. 6 p. 216-17 ). Henry III's remission in February of William's debt to the Exchequer of 400 marks' contribution to Eleanor de Montfort's dower may also have been a sore point (C.R.1256-59 p.34) cf. M.M. Wade 'The personal quarrels of Simon de Montfort with Henry III' (Oxford B.Litt.thesis, 1939) p.18 ff.

2. E.159/30m.15d.

The significance of this and other similar incidents was more than the mere private disputes might suggest. The timing of the stewards' declaration that from now on the exchequer shall provide 'full justice to all' and the specific inclusion of the Lusignans (not just William de Valence) indicates that it belongs to the promises of moral reform and punishment of evil-doers enshrined in the recent 'councillors' oath', especially the declaration "nullam personam suspectam de illegalitate procurabunt admitti in familia regis, et maxime ad officia." Here in the stewards' declaration is almost a tacit admission that either the king's brothers had been exceptionally guilty of crimes or that they had enjoyed unusual immunity against prosecution. It brings to mind Matthew Paris' repeated assertion that in the Autumn of the previous year Henry III had issued an order forbidding any writ to be taken out in chancery prejudicial to the Lusignans. While Matthew actually notes in 1256 that this royal protection (otherwise unknown) was extended to Richard of Cornwall, Peter of Savoy and the earl of Gloucester and so implies that (if it existed) it was meant to be some special favour enjoyed by the most influential of Henry III's favourites, it is self-evident from what is known about the complaints against the Lusignans made public in 1258 that they had repeatedly benefitted from it more ruthlessly than the others.(1)

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1. Chron.Maj. V. p.594,689 (c.f. Richard of Cornwall p.84-5) E.F. Jacob, Studies in the period of Baronial Reform (Oxford, 1925) p.61. Attempts were made by the Council on 13th June to reverse the injustice done to the disgraced sheriff William de Insula 'contrary to the custom of England' by William de Valence and Richard of Cornwall (C.R.1256-59 p.65) c.f. Ch.6 p.223

De Valence's accusation that Simon de Montfort was a traitor is less easy to explain in mid-1257. Here the chronicler may have written in later events connected with the Welsh war. Conceivably, however, it may have alluded to a current controversy in Parliament or the Council. It is well known that by the Spring of 1258 there existed a faction in the Council which favoured a diplomatic settlement with Llywelyn and another, most prominent in which was William de Valence, which favoured direct military action. With so much of his - still limited - landed income derived from the honour of Pembroke Valence, who was aggressive and martial, had more to lose from the Welsh than any member of the Council other than Edward or Gloucester. His men were already fighting for their lives by the Spring of 1257.(1) Moreover, before leaving for Germany Richard of Cornwall had himself offered diplomatic mediation for the Welsh. This may have been at the instigation of some councillors anxious to avoid an expensive full-scale war (or, during the political turmoil of 1257 an unpopular general feudal summons) and it was typical, certainly, of the Savoyards' attempted solution to Edward's problems in Gascony.(2) De Montfort would almost certainly have supported it too at this point. It was on his advice and that of Peter of Savoy that Henry was

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1. J.E. Lloyd, A History of Wales (London, 1911) vol.II p.720-1 c.f. Grant of munitions to William de Valence's men in February 1257 (C.R.1256-59 p.32).

2. Lloyd op.cit. p.720.

pushed at the end of June into exploring the possibilities of peace with Louis IX; this was to be used as a means of fending off the mounting pressure of Alexander IV over the Apulian candidature, but it was also, doubtless, an intelligent response of a faction (already committed to peace with Louis) to the inescapable fact that Henry now lacked the finances to risk the further break-out of hostilities in Gascony, the likelihood of which seems to have increased after the sudden elevation of Richard of Cornwall to Germany aggravated a temporary deterioration in relations with Alfonso of Castille and Louis IX.(1) There are enough reasons, therefore, why the young William de Valence, who had little interest either in peace with the Welsh or with Louis could have, in the middle of his private disputes branded de Montfort as a traitor.(2)

Henry III did not adhere for long to the restraints imposed upon his freedom of action in May and June 1257. De Montfort and Peter of Savoy were abroad on diplomatic work from the end of June until October and December respectively(3) and in the meantime Henry abandoned the

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1. The truce with Louis IX had been renewed in April 1257 by the bishop of Hereford (C.P.R.1247-58 p.549). For the peace negotiations (ibid.p.565-8,594.) The addition of the bishop of Worcester and, unusually, Adam Marsh to the peace delegation may indicate Simon de Montfort's influence again.

2. c.f. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.380-1.

3. Simon de Montfort next witnessed a royal charter on 22nd October 1257 (c.53/47m.1) For Peter of Savoy's movements C.R.1256-59 p.149; C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.3. He and Simon were at Paris in the summer.(He had secured 4000 marks from Henry III for the ransom of Thomas of Savoy through an elaborate transfer of debts owed by Louis IX to Henry for the castles lost in Provence: C.P.R.1247-58 p.559)Peter was in Savoy in October: Wurstemberger IV, No.468.

course of negotiations and proceeded stubbornly with the attempt to reduce Llywelyn with a feudal army. This failed to achieve more than a temporary containment of the Welsh followed by a short truce as the result, partly, of the king's sudden illness. Rumours of Marcher treachery were, however, rife.(1) It was possibly the king's conviction that William de Valence was proving to be one of his few remaining loyal power-bases on the March which explains Henry's persistence in further grants to his half-brother and to the Poitevins for the remainder of the year; some of these grants were, as has already been remarked, of somewhat dubious legality and were possibly imposed on the Council.(2) William de Valence also felt indispensable enough repeatedly to flout the Council's rulings in the case of the ex-sheriff William de Insula. King Henry may even have attempted to give him a command in the royal army assembled at Degannwy because the Chronicle of John of Wallingford asserts that the young de Valence had another quarrel with the hereditary Constable, the earl of Hereford, an interesting parallel with the recent Gascon campaign.(3) Moreover, in order to pay for the Welsh war the king began to experiment with various forms of prerog-ative taxation which reversed any general good-will which

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1. T.F. Tout, 'Wales and the March during the Barons' Wars'. Collected Papers, vol.II (Manchester, 1934) p.54-5 illustrates that many English chroniclers (and, perhaps, English magnates?) thought that Llywelyn's cause was a just one.

2. Ch. 6 p.221f., for example. None of these grants was witnessed, even after their return, by de Montfort or Peter of Savoy.

3. John of Wallingford p.76. For de Insula, above, p.262n.

had been generated by the reforms promised earlier in the year.(1)

King Henry's independent political attitude continued throughout the Winter and Spring of 1257-58. Peter of Savoy and Simon de Montfort can hardly have rejoiced over Henry's unrealistic re-assertion of his claims to Normandy at the close of 1257 which was met with predictable French refusals (no matter how anxious Louis himself may have been for peace); the reply of the French parliament of mid-Lent (c. 6th January 1258) proposed comprehensive renunciations by Henry's family to the lost Angevin territories and no further discussion of the treaty could proceed until Henry had been forced to agree to the principle of renunciation at the beginning of May. Furthermore, the truce with Llywelyn was precarious and relations began to break down with Castille and Scotland only to be followed in the middle of March 1258 by Alexander IV's severe reply to the attempts of the previous year to extricate the king from the Sicilian business.(2)

While the great crisis of 1258 began to gather momentum Henry III's half-brothers blundered into further quarrels with his Council. They were, no doubt, cheered

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1. Tewkesbury Annals p.158 bemoans the heavy scutage. S.K. Mitchell, Studies in taxation under..... Henry III p.286 shows that the yield from it was poor
2. P. Chaplais 'The making of the Peace of Paris' E.H.R. 67 (1952) p.239; Hen.III + L.Edw. p.380; Baronial Plan p.380.

by further demonstrations of the king's personal affection for them in the continuing advancement in the Household of William de Sancta Ermina, the recovery at the close of 1257 of his old office as keeper of the Wardrobe by the veteran Peter des Rivaux, and by an interesting grant in December permitting the newly returned Aymer the elect of Winchester to construct a castle at Portland.(1) It was no doubt Aymer's great confidence over his position at court which led him into his fateful quarrel with Henry's veteran Councillor John fitz Geoffrey. On 1st April 1258, shortly before Parliament commenced, a lawsuit with the elect over the advowson of the church on fitz Geoffrey's manor at Shere (co.Surrey) erupted into an armed raid by Aymer's new archdeacon of Surrey on the manor followed by robberies and the murder of fitz Geoffrey's clerk.(2) This invasion became one of the great controversies of the 'baronial movement'. It was the basis of Aymer of Winchester's subsequent outlawry by the Council on the grounds of his refusal to appear for justice on a charge of homicide. Aymer's men were still requiring royal pardons as late as 1266.(3) The immediate importance of the case was, however,

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1. T.F. Tout, Chapters in Administrative History, vol. I. p.279-81. C.P.R.1247-58 p.601,617,619,634. In November 1257 William de Valence lent the king 1100 marks (ibid. p.603) which further emphasizes Henry's dependance on him at this time.

2. P.R.O. JUST.1/1187m.1.; Chron.Maj. V p.708; VI p.409; V.C.H. Surrey III p.113-20. cf. W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, V p.696. The bishop of Winchester's case in the matter of advowson was evidently quite sound.

3. e.g. C.P.R.1258-66 p.544; British Library, Royal MS. 10.AV. fo.151-3. (The Baronage's reply to the papal nuncio, Velascus, in mid-1259 on his demands for the restoration of Aymer to Winchester. See Ch.8 p.324 )

a simple matter of court politics. Fitz Geoffrey appealed to Henry III for justice against the elect of Winchester at the Hoketide Parliament (1st April) and the king refused, apparently out of partiality for his half-brother. Henry was rejecting no ordinary suit, but one from his sworn councillor.(1)

Other events intervened, as is well known, to exacerbate the political situation. In April the truce with Llywelyn ended and the Welsh of Cenmaes raided Pembroke itself. At the Hoketide Parliament William de Valence, therefore, demanded that the king avenge him and again, he charged de Montfort with treachery in dealings with the Welsh adding, this time, the names of other magnates and councillors, including the earl of Gloucester.(2) He was almost certainly acting as the mouthpiece of Henry III's suspicions and was, no doubt, encouraged by the knowledge that since early March Henry III had begun preparations (including on 14th the summons of a feudal host) for a military expedition of unprecedented scale, by land and sea, against Llywelyn. The king also had a vision of a simultaneous attack against Llywelyn's new allies in Scotland. This was entirely impractical, as the current

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1. Chron.Maj. V. p.708. Allegation repeated in: JUST.1/1187m.1.

2. J.E. Lloyd, A History of Wales vol.II. p.723; Thirteenth Century p.138; C.R.1256-59 p.210; Chron.Maj. V. p.676-7; Tout, 'Wales and the March' op.cit. p.55; M. Altschul, A baronial family .... the Clares (Baltimore, 1965) p.78-9 assesses the validity of the charges against Gloucester.

economic hardship caused by severe famine added to the repeated imposition of heavy feudal obligations and four years of extortionate rule by the Exchequer had precipitated a breakdown between Crown and communitas.(1)

When de Valence challenged de Montfort and Gloucester in Parliament he may well have been challenging the advice they had openly given the king to negotiate, rather than to fight in Wales. King Henry's experienced councillors - including Peter of Savoy - must have sensed the mood of rebellion in the April Parliament. They were not prepared to risk the threatened feudal boycott, written of by Matthew Paris. Nor were they prepared to jeopardise their own positions by permitting an uncontrolled magnate rebellion and, of course, still less, to violate their own oaths to the king by resisting him alone. The result of their deliberations was a decision to repeat their actions in the Spring of 1257 but to enter for safety's sake into a firmer compact with the English magnates. The famous 'sworn conspiracy' of 12th April 1258 between Gloucester, Peter of Savoy, Simon de Montfort, Peter de Montfort, John fitz Geoffrey and the earl of Norfolk discovered by Bémont indicates this.(2) When Henry III demanded on 28th April a 'burdensome' tax on movables from Parliament for his

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1. C.R.1256-59 p.294-7; Chron.Maj.V p.677,696; Baronial Plan p.64.

2. C. Bémont, Simon de Montfort (1930) p.152. cf. Chron.Maj. V. p.689.

needs the conspiracy of councillors and magnates became a reality. On 2nd May when the magnates stormed into the king's hall at Westminster the hereditary Marshal, Norfolk, was tactfully made the spokesman. He may have made a verbal attack on the Poitevins, prompted no doubt by fitz Geoffrey and the others, and Henry was forced into agreeing to reform the realm before Christmas in return for which consent to taxation might be forthcoming.(1)

The involvement in this scheme of the Papacy and the Sicilian business, which was so misunderstood by chroniclers and has so misled historians, was nothing more than an elaborate diplomatic convenience. It displays an excellent harmony of interest between Council and the baronage. To shackle an anointed king within the conventions of mediaeval society required the blessing of the church. Alexander IV's moral and diplomatic pressure could neatly be turned by inserting not merely peace with Louis IX but also the 'reformation of the realm' before the promised English crusade could begin and, of course, the burdens on feudal society, too, now had some chance of being lightened. It is no mere coincidence that in 1258,

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1. Bémont, op.cit. p.152-5. D.B.M. p.72-7. There is no evidence to suggest the general anti-alien movement described in Baronial Plan p.65-7 and, indeed, Henry's appointment of two of his half-brothers as plenipotentiaries to France in May shows that they could still rely on the king's support (below, p.289)

as in 1257, promise of reform in England was followed immediately by the re-opening of the peace negotiations with Louis IX under the direction of Peter of Savoy, Simon de Montfort, and others, including the Savoyard clerk of the Roman curia, the archbishop of Tarentaise, displaying the same moral victory for the 'peace and diplomacy' faction in Henry's Council.(1)

An important factor governing the attitude of Henry III's councillors was the friendship which had developed quickly from mid-1257 between the lord Edward and the Poitevins.(2) This arose from an alignment of interests between the young prince and his cousin William de Valence over the war in Wales where both could not understand why the king had failed to come to their rescue more effectively; both, too, resented the schemings of magnate politics and the treachery of the Marchers. As the war dragged on, its burdensome weight on Edward's finances began to tell, throwing him into financial undertakings

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1. Layettes, III No.4418-20; V No.687; Hen.III + L.Edw. p.378; I.J. Sanders 'The texts of the Peace of Paris' E.H.R.: 66 (1951) p.81-4. Baronial Plan p.68.

2. Edward's friendship with the Lusignans may have commenced as early as March 1257 when the king granted him a wardship during a visit to William de Valence at Hertford (C.P.R.1247-58 p.545.)

with the Lusignans early in 1258.(1) By June 1258 this friendship had become a strong political alliance which would unite Edward and the Lusignans in opposition to the Provisions of Oxford and his reaction to threats against his uncles by appointing them to the seneschalcy of Gascony and other positions in his estates.(2)

Edward's friendship with the Poitevins was not simply an alliance born of military and financial necessity, it was an expression of his emergent political personality. By the 1258 Oxford Parliament he had reached his nineteenth year. He had already begun to display an independence of mind and a personal dissatisfaction with the constant interference of Henry III and his Councillors in his estates. Moreover, he disliked being saddled with officials not of his personal choice.(3) There are signs that in 1257 when Edward had to increase the size of his

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1. e.g. Edward's demise of his great manors of Stamford and Grantham to William de Valence in return for a loan c. April 1258 (Chron. Maj. V. p.679). Unfortunately, no further record of this transaction survives. It may have been connected with a further settlement between Edward and Geoffrey de Lusignan on 10th March 1258 (C.R.1279-88 p.180). However, it is known that Edward pledged another part of the honour of Eu to Aymer of Winchester (?1258), Tickhill (C.P.R.1247-58 p.644) but, again, Edward's deed has not survived. See below, p. 305

2. Below, p. 291. The Lusignans began witnessing Edward's charters in April 1258 (Brit.Lib.Add. Ch. No.46918; C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.13).

3. J.R. Studd 'The lord Edward and King Henry III' B.I.H.R. 50 (1977) p.7 ff.

retinue, of necessity recruiting more knights to fight Llywelyn, he deliberately went beyond the closely-knit network of curiales and Savoyards which dominated the higher echelons of the original household. It is, for example, impossible to see the hand of any curialis in the recruitment of the clerk Robert Burnell, from the Welsh March[1] or of the East Anglian knights, Robert de Ufford[2] and John de Vaux,[3] all in the prince's service from 1257. Even new knights recruited through the channels of courtier patrons, such as the Marchers Roger de Clifford, formerly in the service of the earl of Gloucester[4] or Hamo Lestrange, from a family long in royal service[5] tended to be wild and ambitious. In the choice of his noble friends from the court Edward began, similarly, to attract to his side

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1. D.N.B. 'Robert Burnell'; R.W. Eyton, The Antiquities of Shropshire, vol.VI. p.121-7. The earliest reference to him: C.P.R.1247-58 p.589.

2. ibid. p.586; D.N.B. 'Robert de Ufford'

3. C.P.R.1247-58; W. Dugdale, The Baronage of England (London, 1675) vol.I. p.525-6.

4. C.P.R.1247-58 p.12,61,377,529,659. Clifford had been granted a fee by the king in 1246 only (C.P.R.1232-47 p.494). He possibly had a connexion with Guy de Lusignan in 1256 (C.R.1254-56 p.357) cf. Dugdale, Baronage I p.337.

5. Hamo had a fee from the king from 1254-56 C.P.R.1247-58 p.293; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.301. His connexion with Edward began with his appointment to Montgomery Castle c.1257 (C.R.1256-59 p.88). H. le Strange, le Strange Records (London, 1916) p.100-48.

the young Edmund de Lacy (1256), Baldwin de Redvers (1260) and, probably at the end of 1257 when they returned discontented from Germany where they could see no future for themselves in the service of Richard of Cornwall, Richard's young heir, Henry of Almain and John de Warenne, both hitherto politically and administratively undistinguished.(1) As early as 8th May 1258 Warrenne's former knight, Robert de Tibetot had entered Edward's service.(2)

These young men formed together with the Lusignans the nucleus of the prince's personally chosen servants for the rest of Henry III's reign and, indeed, they became his most trusted officials when he succeeded as king, as is well known.(3) In the context of court politics in 1258, however, Edward's conduct, while hardly to be unexpected, was viewed with great suspicion. As has been described, considerable pains had been taken to prepare the king's heir for manhood and to provide him with responsible counsel within the policy of the inalienability of his appanage. Now Edward was gravitating to

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1. For Baldwin de Redvers, below, p.359. Edmund de Lacy (d.1258) to whom Edward leased c.1258 the wardship of John de Longvillers (G.E.C.VII p.680-1; E.368/36m.6d; C.P.R.1247-58 p.586). For the others: Richard of Cornwall p.92-3 and in the text below.
2. E.159/31m.14; D.N.B. 'Robert de Tibetot'. For his connexion with Warrenne: C.P.R.1247-58 p.331, 375.
3. e.g. Hen.III +L.Edw. p.698.

the most irresponsible faction available, the Lusignans, and almost immediately they were to obtain a grant of Oléron from him, in defiance of the cherished doctrine of inalienability.(1) For both the king and his heir to succumb to such pressures was intolerable. Furthermore, as John de Warrenne and Henry of Almain began to play a greater part in politics it was not difficult to see a dangerous and growing new faction of youth emerging which soon would demand its share in royal patronage and influence in the Council. It is no coincidence that one of the first of the king's letters patent to be attested by Edward or Henry of Almain had been the king's license to Aymer of Winchester in December 1257 permitting the fortification of Portland.(2) King Henry's choice of the Lusignans and these young courtiers as his representatives for the weighty task of the 'reformation of the realm' early in May 1258 is, of course, but another

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1. Studd, art.cit. p.8.

2. C.P.R.1247-58 p.607. This was not witnessed by Peter of Savoy, Simon de Montfort or the earl of Gloucester.

manifestation of this trend.(1)

Such political developments help to explain, too, why Peter of Savoy joined the 'sworn conspiracy' in April 1258. It could be argued that, in view of the conduct of the other Councillors, there seemed little point in resisting the coming tide; indeed, this would be the expected response of pliable Savoyard diplomats. But to do so is to ignore the evidence which links the Savoyards with the affairs of Edward where they had consistently upheld those policies endangered by the alliance of the prince with the Lusignans and others in 1258. Not a small element of active self-interest may have come to the surface in Peter of Savoy's thinking in 1257-58. Edward's turning in his desperate borrowing for the Welsh war from negotiations with the queen and

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1. D.B.M. p.101. This mentions only eleven of the king's nominees. R.F. Treharne thought that the twelfth was Boniface of Savoy. This is most unlikely, since he was not a councillor before 1258. It is curious, too, that Henry nominated Guy de Lusignan as his representative when he was absent on the continent but ignored Geoffrey who was at court (cf. D.B.M. p.72-3; P.R.O. C.53/48m. 2-4). Powicke is certainly correct in suggesting Geoffrey as one of the king's 'twelve' (Hen.III + L.Edw. p.384) but there remains the problem of Guy. Powicke suggests that here the texts of the Provisions may have been defective, or there may have been confusion over the extent of the king's support, since Gloucester was believed at one point to have been one of the king's twelve. (ibid.) Powicke is certainly correct in showing that in May Henry found it difficult to find any support at court wider than the circle of Edward and the Lusignans (Thirteenth Century p.139) so that 'Guy' must be an error for 'Geoffrey' and Henry may simply have lacked a suitable twelfth man.

his Savoyard uncles early in 1257 to later deals with the Lusignans was indicative of a fundamental change in his affections typical of this period - there may well have been some truth in Matthew Paris' allegations that Queen Eleanor and the Savoyards spent too freely on Thomas of Savoy's ransom and could not afford, consequently, to assist Edward after 1257.(1) The ranks of the Savoyards in Edward's household had thinned visibly by 1257 as the prince, very probably, had begun to ease them out of his entourage.(2) Moreover, with Henry III's financial crisis it was becoming less easy to launch new Savoyard careers at court.(3) In the king's own household it was clear that Henry's favours were being monopolized increasingly by Poitevins such as William de Sancta

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1. Chron.Maj. V. p.597,678,741. For Edward's sale of the Ferrars wardship to the queen and Peter of Savoy for 6,000m. and his loan of £1000 from Boniface of Savoy (June-July, 1257) C.P.R.1247-58 p.554,569. Eleanor and Peter were hard pressed to find their money in 1257 (ibid. p.557). For other possible transactions between Edward and Richard of Cornwall and the queen (1256-7): Chron.Maj.V. p.593,597,612). Eleanor's financial problems may explain why her ruthless steward came to the notice of Matthew Paris in 1258 (ibid. p.716). She may have begun to exert financial pressure on Henry III, too, for from October 1256-January 1258 she was granted seven wardships by the king. One of these was a sale from the Crown but in the others there may be rather a belated compensation for the financial loss to the queen's estates when lucrative custodies such as the Honour of Eu were recovered by the king in 1254 and assigned to Edward's appanage (C.P.R. 1247-58 p.503,529,536,539,540,614; Excerpt.e.Rot.Fin. ii p.264).
2. Above, Ch.5 p.175
3. Above, Ch.1 p.34

Ermina and so the Savoyards, too, may even have believed that the time had come in 1258 to put a halt to Poitevin influence wherever it threatened, around the king or Edward.

Furthermore, it is extremely important for an understanding of Savoyard attitudes in the Spring of 1258 to appreciate that in the 'baronial' propaganda of 1258 against the Poitevins there existed a charge that the Lusignans had again, as in 1252, turned Henry III's affections away from the queen. This theme was taken up in the contemporary narrative of Matthew Paris, who asserts that after their exile the Lusignans were denied hospitality in France, thanks to the intervention of Eleanor of Provence's sister, Marguerite, queen of France

> 'quia regina Franciae gravem de Pictavensibus illis reposuerat querimoniam quod enormiter scandalizaverant et diffamaverant sororem suam reginam Anglie; addens quod propter facinora sua ejecti essent turpiter ab Anglia'
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> (1)

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1. Chron.Maj. V. p.703.

And in the account of the otherwise independent Waverley Annals it is even stated:

> 'praeterea haec quidem provisio (i.e. Oxonie) imprimis placuit reginae, dum quidam barbari sibi displicentes Angliae cogerentur valefacere'
>
> (1)

Another independent chronicle, that of Battle Abbey, bears the mark of it, too.(2) The source of such rumours was undoubtedly Peter of Savoy and his friends on the Council. In January 1260, in one of a series of letters which the baronial council was to sent to Alexander IV against Aymer, the elect of Winchester, it was declared, in the king's name, 'praefatus Aymerus nos contra consortem nostram multipliciter provocavit'. This was written on the advice of Peter of Savoy, John Mansel and a few others when Henry was in France and away from magnate influence and, supposedly, even plotting against it.(3)

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1. Waverley, p.355. See: A.Gransden, Historical Writing in England c.550-c.1307 (London, 1974) p.412-16. Waverley is not, apparently, contemporaneous before 1264 and the quotation cited here is from a summary (under the year 1264) of the causes of the barons' wars. It fits awkwardly into the text and may (since it goes on to condemn the queen and Mansel for deserting the Provisions) be partly influenced by the anti-Savoyard propaganda of c.1263 (see below p. 390f )

2. Chronicle of Battle Abbey (fragment) p.373. A very corrupt text: 'interveniente igitur reginae, et Ricardo comite Gloverniae (rectius: cornubiae?) amittente, omnes alienigenae ... ab Anglia eliminantur' Battle, like Waverley, then launches into an attack on the queen in the 1263 mould. Gransden, op.cit. p.422.

3. C.R.1259-61 p.263; Baronial Plan p.217-18. Below, Ch. 8 p.360.

It is impossible to find evidence directly to substantiate this charge, other than the report later in 1258 of Boniface of Savoy's grievances against the elect of Winchester for his violence in 1252 in both one of the querelae cases against the Lusignans and in an embassy sent by the baronial Council to the pope.(1) Peter of Savoy had, nonetheless, been active enough on his own political account in the months preceeding the crisis. The Dunstable Annals reported a popular story that in the Summer of 1257 the earl of Gloucester deserted his command of part of the army summoned against Llywelyn in order to visit the queen. The subject of their interview was undoubtedly the negotiations of the marriage of Gloucester's daughter, Isabella, to the Marquis of Montferrat, a kinsman of the House of Savoy, the arrangements for which were finalized in December 1257.(2) In the light of Gloucester and Peter of Savoy's subsequent political co-operation throughout 1258-60 it is not unlikely that here we see the beginnings of a timely new alliance of the ambitious and powerful de Clare. Moreover, from friendship with William de Valence in previous years Gloucester became in 1258 the leading, and a most implacable, opponent of the Poitevins. He

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1. P.R.O. JUST.1/873m.8; Chron.Maj. VI. p.405-6. The king's rather slow and, perhaps, inadequate, financial provision for the queen 1256-8 just described, together with some clashes over patronage may have aggravated relations between the queen and the Lusignans 1257-8. See Ch. 6 p.219 inter alia

2. Dunstable p.203; C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.3-5.

may, of course, have begun to fear the rivalry of de Valence on the Welsh March. He could certainly see his hopes fading of a settlement over Bristol with the headstrong and warlike lord Edward. It is interesting to note, too, that one Chronicler attributed to the Savoyards the start of the elaborate poisoning rumours eagerly exploited by the baronial Council, claiming that Gloucester and other magnates had been poisoned immediately after the Oxford Parliament by Edward and the Lusignans at Winchester. (1)

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1. Walter of Guisborough p.187 says that the charge of poisoning originated from the Countess of Devon. At this time this would be Peter of Savoy's niece, Margaret de Redvers (G.E.C. IV. p.320-1). For the poisoning propaganda see above p. 247 and note. c.f. Tewkesbury p.165, which says that Edward poisoned the de Clares, with Matthew Paris (Chron.Maj. V. p.747) who blames William de Valence. The origins of the latter charge lay with the Council in a (?propaganda) letter to the pope c. October 1258 (ibid. VI. p.407-8). But this charges Aymer of Winchester with the poisoning.

## (iii) The aliens and the Provisions of Oxford

The events of the Parliament which commenced at Oxford on 11th June 1258 are known only from four sources to which other accounts add little of value: Matthew Paris; a letter supposedly composed by 'a member of the king's court at the Parliament at Oxford' transcribed into the Burton Annals; the great constitutional texts (the Provisions themselves and the petitio baronum); and the statements of baronial propaganda. All these pose considerable problems of interpretation in any discussion of the aliens. To take, for example, the petitio and the Burton letter, both have a clear propaganda content and, perhaps, purpose and exploit popular anti-alien sentiment, with subtlety in the first and openly in the second.(1) They both grossly exaggerate the extent to which the Oxford Parliament moved against the aliens and fail to discriminate between the Poitevins, who were demoted and exiled, and the Savoyards. Matthew Paris' account and baronial propaganda are, however, more discriminating but

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1. D.B.M. 91-7. The Burton letter, for instance, misleadingly declares that nearly all the king's castles were in the hands of aliens in 1258 and that aliens are generally to be purged from the royal household (see p.292-3 for a further discussion.) For the petitio and aliens, D.B.M. p.81-5 c.4,5,6,15 also c.26 p.87-8. Alien marriages are discussed on p.19,286.; castles (c.5,15) on p.16,159-60,284-295.

the former is still based, with additions, on propaganda reports, perhaps another version of the Burton letter.(1)

All accounts concur on the point that the king's half-brothers were expelled from the realm for refusing to agree to the programme of reform proposed at the Oxford parliament and for encouraging Henry III and Edward to do the same. Moreover, at some point 25th-27th June they had fled from the Parliament 'like men forsworn' without asking permission to depart and this was proof enough that they were domini regis et communitatis seductores.(2) It is clear, however, that at the Parliament the Lusignans came under immediate pressure, perhaps from the Councillors with outstanding lawsuits against them, Simon de Montfort, Gloucester and John fitz Geoffrey. This would explain (rather than the later querelae) the prominence given in propaganda almost immediately to the misdeeds of their bailiffs as the justification for their exile.(3) But it must,

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1. Chron.Maj. V. p.695-8. The circulation of the Council's letter to the pope concerning Aymer and other matters (c. August 1258) suggests propaganda (Tewkesbury p.170; Burton p.457-60; Chron.Maj. VI. p.400-405.)

2. D.B.M. p.92.

3. Above, p.247 It is interesting to see how quickly a story concerning the evil Lusignan steward, William de Bussay, gained a wide circulation (e.g. Chron.Maj. V. p.738-9; Robert of Gloucester p.360, line 438.) Who was responsible for this? (See p.312 ).

furthermore, be stressed that the account of the Burton letter (if it is the earliest and best account) is specific only on the point that the real quarrel of the Lusignans with the reforms was over a measure agreed by the twenty-four requiring the surrender of castles and lands alienated from the Crown, a view elaborated by Matthew Paris.(1) This was undoubtedly part of a package of financial reforms proposed, doubtless, by the Exchequer or by councillors, in the mould of 1257, to encourage the baronage to consent to taxation under the promise of household economies and stricter controls over royal spending. It brings to mind the Councillors' oath over the Royal Demesne of 1257. The complete capitulation of the Council to the traditional constitutional aspirations of the magnates in the election of irremovable Great Officers of State, councillors and castellans was certainly part of this same process. Recipients of previous royal liberality - even from the demesne - may only have been required to make a token surrender of their grants pending investigation of their custody and examination of charters to ensure that no more than a life-grant 'in tenancy' had been made. Such a view

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1. D.B.M. p.91-3; Chron.Maj. V. p.697-8.

would explain why Simon de Montfort subsequently retained control of Kenilworth and Odiham castles.(1) In the light of what is known about Henry III's process of endowing the Poitevins, however, it is likely that William de Valence and, perhaps, Guy de Rochford, felt that the hour had come for the destruction of their vital and lucrative power-bases in England. Elias de Rabayn (whose custody was not in the same legal category of a life-grant) had recently been toppled with ease from Corfe.(2) It is interesting to see that Matthew Paris gives the lead in the attack on de Valence over royal castles to the arch-curialis and alien Simon de Montfort himself.

A second observation could be made that there was very little else in the 'baronial' programme of reforms which threatened the Poitevins as such. Enough is known about the activities of other courtiers and magnates to show that Poitevins, though hardly blameless, by no means enjoyed a monopoly of misdeeds in the areas traditionally highlighted by scholars as the abuses criticized by the

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1. G.L. Harriss, King, Parliament and Public Finance p.137-8 cf. D.B.M. p.197-9 c.9,11; C. Bémont, Simon de Montfort (1930) p.32,161.

2. C.P.R.1247-58 p.638 (June 22nd.)

reformers of 1258.(1) However one clause of the petitio baronum might be construed as a particular attack on the Lusignans. Clause 15 demanded that 'no-one shall be allowed to fortify a castle on a harbour, or upon an island enclosed within a harbour except by consent of the council of the whole realm (de consensu consilii tocius regni Anglie) since many perils might arise therefrom'.(2) Notoriously, Aymer of Winchester had on 12th December 1257 received the king's license to re-fortify Portland Castle on an island overlooking Weymouth harbour in a council of a rather partisan nature.(3) It is easy to see why such a grant could arouse opposition. Not only do we learn from at least one subsequent querela (by the Abbot of Cerne Abbas) that Aymer's bailiff of Portland had begun to levy obstructive tolls on shipping(4) but that a

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1. D.B.M. p.81 c.6 (That Englishwomen are disparaged by marriage to aliens may, however, be a direct attack on William de Valence (m. Joan de Munchensi).) Otherwise, one wonders at the logic of this complaint, since Simon de Montfort's position depended much on his marriage to the king's sister, Eleanor.

2. ibid. p.83 c.15. clause 5 (p.81) can only have referred to Henry's earlier custody of Porchester to the Poitevin, William de Chabanais (1252-55): Table 2 p.26.

3. C.P.R.1247-58 p.607 discussed above, p.275.

4. P.R.O. JUST.1/1187m.2d.

powerfully positioned Portland Castle would complete a chain running from Elias de Rabayn's manor at Lyme Regis through Weymouth to Corfe Castle (held by Elias de Rabayn) which would hold the Dorsetshire coast in a Poitevin vice. Although the Lusignans failed to make full use of their military resources in resistance to the baronage in 1258 (the Dorset redoubt being as yet incomplete) Portland Castle marked the beginnings of an unusual concentration of alien power in a county bordering on Aymer's base at Winchester and the important royal palaces in Hampshire. If there was any clause which might provoke the resistance of the bishop-elect to the petitio baronum, it was this attack on his castle-building activities.

The subsequent virulence of baronial hatred expressed against the Poitevins stemmed, as we have stressed, from their abuse of their position as royal favourites repeatedly to flout the processes of law, and reform proposed by the royal Council and their repetition of this conduct at Oxford in June. The difficulty of fettering Henry III when his heir and his faction, perhaps even Richard of Cornwall, were captivated by such anarchic influence is seen readily enough in the problem in achieving baronial unity at the Parliament and, of course, by the twelve-year custodies

guaranteed to the castellans nominated by the Provisions of Oxford.(1) In the past, however, Henry had been able to justify the retention of his Poitevin favourites on the grounds of simple military expediency, as argued at the beginning of this chapter: they had proven value in both Wales and Gascony. It is worth pointing out, therefore, that it was no mere luck that the toppling of the Poitevins coincided with the removal for the time being, of the very justification for their position in royal favour. Although Welsh envoys were given safe-conduct to parley with the king on 2nd June - their escort being Peter de Montfort - and although Imbert Pugeys renewed the truce in the king's name on 17th June - significant choices - it was only at the last possible moment, on 28th June, immediately after the Poitevins' flight, that Henry III could be persuaded to abandon his cherished Welsh campaign which he had still hoped to prosecute on 10th, doubtless on the advice of William de Valence and Edward.(2) Furthermore, the Lusignans can not have been unconscious of the fact that during May Henry III's negotiators (two of whom were, rather curiously, Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan) had

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1. D.B.M. p.103 c.8. For disunity at Oxford: Chron.Maj. V. p.697.

2. Foedera 1(i) p.372; C.R.1256-59 p.231,241. J.E. Lloyd History of Wales p.722-3.

managed to complete an arrangement for peace with Louis IX.[1] This treaty, although its terms were still conditional, promised the very death-knell of the mainly military Poitevin connexion which the recent difficulties over payment of Exchequer fees to continental Poitevin clients had, as has already been remarked, made redundant enough.[2]

The Lusignans' enemies took swift revenge against them. On 27th June, after the king's half-brothers had taken to flight, they were summoned to appear 'without further essoin or delay', before the king's court to answer complaints at Winchester on 3rd July.[3] On 1st July at Winchester John fitz Geoffrey obtained before Hugh Bigod the Justiciar a hearing of his querela against Aymer, among the very first cases heard, although it was not until November that he received compensation of 300 marks for his losses.[4] As for Simon de Montfort he

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1. P. Chaplais, 'The making of the treaty of Paris' p.241-2. Henry's appointment of Guy and Geoffrey to the recent embassy may have been something of an act of defiance against the magnates, or even Louis IX. They played a very subordinate part in it: Layettes III No.4416, 4417,4418,4420 + n. and the main rôle fell to Peter of Savoy, Simon de Montfort and Hugh Bigod.
2. Above, p.212
3. C.P.R.1247-58 p.664.
4. Baronial Plan p.113; C.P.R.1258-66 p.5.

had had his revenge on William de Valence in the matter of demesne castles but, perhaps in frustration that they had escaped so lightly, Henry de Montfort, his son, later pursued 'vel ignaro patre vel invito vel forte connivente', the exiles to Boulogne bent on revenge for the insults to his father at the Parliament in London.(1) The earl of Gloucester, too, was prominent in the expulsion of the Lusignans. On 6th July, shortly after their capitulation Gloucester was given custody of Portland Castle, followed the next day by Elias de Rabayn's principal manor of Lyme Regis.(2) Gloucester is also said to have taken the lead in negotiations with the Chapter of St. Swithun's Winchester, first forcing the re-election of Andrew of London as prior on 12th July and then plotting moves to depose Aymer from his see.(3) Gloucester's nephew, Oliver de Tracy, eventually in January 1259 replaced Aymer's nominee as archdeacon of Surrey and the earl was chosen in August to head the investigation into rumours that Aymer had smuggled more cash than his allowed pension out of the realm.(4)

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1. Chron.Maj. V. p.703.

2. C.P.R.1247-58 p.640.

3. Winchester Annals p.97. At the Parliament of Oxford Gloucester's ill-fated brother, William de Clare, was made custodian of Winchester Castle (D.B.M. p.112 n)

4. C.P.R.1247-58 p.651; 1258-66 p.10.

Two further aspects of the Oxford Parliament relevant to the aliens and the court deserve notice. The support given by Edward and his faction to the Lusignans is well known as, indeed, is the point that the prince opposed the Provisions because they threatened to re-impose on him the very controls which he had resisted hitherto. The flight of the Poitevins from Oxford was followed by immediate measures forced on Henry III on 28th June and 11th-12th July to prevent 'unauthorized' appointments by Edward on behalf of Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan to Oléron and Gascony.(1) Such steps are not surprising in view of the large numbers of Edward's councillors (of the type imposed on him since 1255) given prominent positions under the Provisions of Oxford, not least Peter of Savoy, John fitz Geoffrey and

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1. J.R. Studd 'The Lord Edward and King Henry III' p.8. The precise date of Edward's appointment of the Lusignans is, unfortunately, not known. Although Henry III declared in December 1257 that the king was about to appoint a new seneschal for Gascony (C.P.R.1247-58 p.608) the letters patent of 28th June 1258 and 11th July ordering resistance in Gascony, Ireland and Oléron to Edward's irregular appointments do not mention the Poitevins and merely state Edward's intent. (ibid. p.639,641). It is unknown, too, whom Edward had designated for Ireland. Henry III repeated this charge in 1261 'et ponit seneschallum in Wascon' et justiciarium (? in Ireland) et alios ballivos contra voluntatem domini regis' (Durham, D.+ Ch.Mun.Locellus I No.62).

Peter de Montfort.[1] This merely underlines the essential conservatism of the Oxford Parliament which we have stressed throughout.

Finally, not too much needs to be made of other anti-alien themes running through the various accounts and texts of the so-called baronial reform movement in 1258. The rather vague promises of reform in the households of the king, queen and Edward (which the Burton Annals letter, at least, interprets as directed against the aliens) did not affect Savoyards.[2] The Provisions of Oxford, similar to the reforms in 1257, respected the dower rights of the queen and re-appointed her Steward, the alien, Matthew Bezill, to the custody of Gloucester Castle from which position he was not subsequently

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1. These three and Richard de Grey sworn to the Council; John de Grey and Roger de Mold chosen to the twelve of the 'cummun'; these and Richard de la Rochelle (fitz Geoffrey's deputy in Ireland) and Stephen de Longespée appointed castellans (D.B.M. p.105,113). Also: Edward's councillors designated in 1258 were men of a traditional type, with the sole (and curious) exception of John de Balliol, who probably was ineffective (below, p. 339-40 ). Similarly, the appointment later in 1258 of Longespée to Ireland and Drogo de Barrentino to Gascony were very conservative. (Studd, art.cit. p.8-9.

2. D.B.M. p.111 c.20, c.f. p.95.

disturbed.(1) Although Edward quickly made difficulties over the remaining Savoyards in his establishment the interest in his affairs of Peter of Savoy is shown by his continuing to attest, invariably, the prince's charters and his retention, for example, of the rape of Hastings at lease.(2) In the king's household Imbert Pugeys was retained in office as one of the stewards, as were the Marshal, Imbert de Montferrand and other Savoyard knights and clerks.(3) The two Savoyards, Pugeys and Eubule of Geneva offered no resistance to their removal from the custody of royal castles.(4) Pugeys could hardly have expected to retain the Tower of London after the recent crisis and national emergency had restored the office of the Justiciar. Eubule of Geneva had attempted

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1. ibid. p.113. The Provisions do not mention Windsor Castle, even though it was in 1258 kept by an alien, Aymo Thurumberd (Table I p. 23. ) A complaint in the petitio baronum concerning the abuse of queen's gold (D.B.M. p.79 c.1) was not acted upon until October 1259 (ibid. p.153 c.14). Eleanor of Provence's income from this source was certainly somewhat greater than that given in T.F. Tout Chapters in Administrative History V. p.265 (e.g. £172 in 1255: C.P.R.1247-58 p.452) but there is no further mention of this issue 1258-65.

2. See p .178

3. e.g. a supplementary fee in 1259 of £20 p.a. to Imbert 'appointed Steward by the counsel of the magnates' (C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.478) or promise of a wardship to Matthew Bezill: C.P.R.1258-66 p.63. For other examples of patronage, Ch.6 p.226

4. On June 22nd, 1258. C.P.R.1247-58 p.638.

improvements on the estate at Hadleigh for which he was honourably compensated by the Council in August 1258 but he may have been ill and already about to retire from court. He made his will at London in May 1259 and died shortly afterwards.(1) Savoyard castellans and, indeed, Savoyard involvement in English local government had hitherto been so unusual that any reversal of this trend in the Provisions of Oxford would have been most startling.

Nor is it surprising that the chroniclers ignore the rôle of Peter of Savoy in the Oxford Parliament. As we have suggested, his astute political mind may be seen operating in the manner in which he secured his adherence to reforming factions in 1257 and 1258. He had embedded himself carefully in private alliances with de Montfort and Gloucester and had played an intelligent if shadowy part in the disgrace of his Poitevin rivals. His careful avoidance of receiving confiscated Lusignan wealth was undoubtedly a wise move to allow him a later reconciliation, if need be, with the king, but his subsequent career on the Council was to be one of consistent enough opposition until 1261 to the return of

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1. C.R.1256-59 p.256; G.W. Watson 'The families of Geneva, Joinville ....' p.8-11. There is no reference to suggest Eubule's attendance at court 1256-8 other than the queen's gift to him on 1st January, 1258 (E.101/349/26m.3).

the exiles. Thus, the Provisions of Oxford upheld the position at court of the prudent Savoyards while destroying that of the Poitevins.

## (iv). The aftermath of the expulsion of the Poitevins (1258-59)

The speed and completeness of the revolution which within a month of June 1258 could usher in the Provisions of Oxford and exile the Lusignans was remarkable. It was remarkable, too, that the king's half-brothers had been toppled from power with such a meagre show of resistance. This was due in part to the unity achieved, not without difficulty, by their enemies. Also, the Lusignans' weakness in the lack of a strong land-base in England had been exposed. All the king's brothers could attempt was flight into Hampshire where Aymer of Winchester had built up some local support. They made no attempt at drastic resistance such as the seizure of Corfe Castle but, perhaps, aimed merely at getting to the coast as quickly as possible to secure the best terms they could. Matthew Paris believed that the Lusignans planned to obtain support from the continent, but the magnates reacted so swiftly that, in fact, there was no time for this to materialize.(1) Certainly, a retreat into Wales where William de Valence had the resources to resist at length was ruled out: the risk of crossing enemy territory of the earl of Gloucester may have been considered too great.

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1. Chron.Maj. V p.698.

With the exiling of the Lusignans all other immediate opposition to the baronial movement ceased. The hostile account of the 1258 revolution related by the Winchester Annals seems to confirm that there remained a residue of support for Aymer in his own diocese as does, indeed, evidence of clerical resistance and dismissals, but this never had much practical effect.(1) Joan de Valence, William's wife, opted for exile in December 1258 despite some provision made for her by the Council - a highly interesting demonstration of loyalty by an Englishwoman to an alien spouse.(2)

With Joan's departure the only supporters left for the Lusignans in England were the lord Edward and his allies. But for the first few months of the baronial regime Edward's cause was in disarray: his very movements are not easy to discover.(3) Henry of Almain was easily stifled by the Council and John de Warenne L, William de Valence's constant supporter, lay ill in October 1258, stricken, perhaps, by the epidemic which had broken out in the Winchester Parliament.(4)

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1. See below, p.323

2. Baronial Plan p.129-30. ('John de Valence' is a mistake for Joan). Treharne admits that the Council's provision for Joan was deliberately kept very meagre. Her own inheritance was worth £700 p.a. but she was only offered £400 p.a. (Matthew Paris Chron.Maj. V p.726 notes this, interestingly). Provision was made, too, for the wife of Elias de Rabayn, but only £40 p.a. in co.Lincs. in May 1259 (C.R.1256-59 p.382) increased by £30 p.a. from co.Dorset, September 1260 (C.R.1259-61 p.109). She, presumably, did not flee abroad.

3. J.R. Studd Ph.D. op.cit. (Itinerary of Edward p.804)

4. C.R.1256-59 p.274. For Almain, see below p.303

The expulsion of the Lusignans also marked the ruin of the Poitevin community in England for the next three years. There followed what amounts to a general purge of Poitevins from positions of influence. At court the three leading Poitevin knights, Guy de Rochford, Elias de Rabayn and William de Sancta Ermina were stripped of their offices, imprisoned and exiled as was Peter des Rivaux who was immediately removed from control of the Wardrobe (c. 7th July) although, perhaps, not exiled.(1) Several more Poitevins disappeared from court after June 1258; their exact fate is unknown but exile is the most likely explanation. They ranged from the relatively minor figures such as the king's cousin, Arnold de Bovis Villa or the knight Peter de Cultura to important and well-endowed knights and vadletti such as Hugh de Nede and William de Monte Revelli.(2) Another likely exile was the king's cousin Segur de Castro Novo; he had recently visited England and was paid off with arrears of fee in November 1258 prior to a probable escape to the continent in the following month in the entourage of Guy de Rochford and the others.(3) The purge almost certainly extended,

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1. Baronial Plan p.78,125-6; T.F. Tout, Chapters in Administrative History, I p.282-3. Rivaux was replaced by at least one alien, Aubrey of Fécamp.

2. Bovis Villa was replaced in his living at Brill, co.Bucks. in January 1259 by a royal clerk, Roger de Messinden (C.P.R.1247-58 p.471; 1258-66 p.9. Nothing further is known of him until 1265. Peter de Cultura received his household robe until 1258, but not thereafter. (C.R.1256-59 p.58,216). There is no reference to Hugh de Nede between 1257 and 1261 (ibid. p.9; 1261-64 p.12) or to William de Monte Revelli between 1257 and 1266 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.596; 1258-66 p.680).

3. C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.439. There is no further reference to him again in England.

too, to Poitevins who were members of the Lusignans' own households, including Imbert Guy (William de Valence) and John of Antioch (Geoffrey de Lusignan) but the only direct evidence we have is of those exiled from Aymer's Household - which included, as we have remarked, both English and Poitevin servants.(1)

The most obvious motive behind the removal from office and exile of the lesser Poitevins was political - it was an essential step in the complete elimination of Lusignan influence from the realm. This was made a good deal easier by the fact that the leading knights had been corrupt and arbitrary in their conduct and so it was easy enough to formulate charges against them. It is inconceivable that they were any worse than the normal standards of thirteenth-century curiales, but the power of protection of their patrons having now been broken, they were left exposed to the full force of their enemies' revenge. Indeed, investigation of the leading Poitevins commenced immediately after the Lusignans had been toppled and (along with William de Sancta Ermina) exiled. The coincidence of the dates is remarkable and shows clearly how the Poitevin faction's destruction was deliberately planned by the Council. On 3rd August half of Elias de Rabayn's land was confiscated for his part in the Bayeux fraud. The same

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1. Tables 13-18 p. 429-444 (esp. 438-41 for Aymer).
The evidence for these men is non-existent, and I base my remarks merely on the observation that they were in England in 1257-58, but not thereafter.

day William de Sancta Ermina lost the custody of the lands of Richard de Dover of Havering for his abuses of the wardship ('pro mala custodia') and on 4th Guy de Rochford was deprived of Colchester. Whether in the Oxford Parliament or in the following month querelae had flooded in against these knights or whether a convenient excuse had to be found to justify the political inevitability of their exile is difficult to say. In Guy de Rochford's case the Justiciar's investigation was ordered three days after his removal and Elias de Rabayn's treatment shows similar signs of haste.(1)

While the propaganda of the Provisions of Oxford already contained a strong element of the general anti-alien sentiment which later became very widespread and effective during the period of the barons' wars, it is clear that in 1258 simple xenophobia did not lie at the root of the expulsion of the Poitevins. This is demonstrated by the fact that a few Poitevins were allowed to remain in England. For example, Peter of Aubusson, the king's illegitimate cousin is known to have lived on quietly supported by his many benefices as an academic at Oxford: he was even allowed a small gift from the king in 1259. A handful of Poitevins were allowed even to remain

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1. Excerpt. e. rot. Fin. ii p.286; C.R.1256-59 p.254; C.R.1256-59 p.254. The speed of the writ concerning Rabayn is illustrated by a slight inaccuracy in it. It alleges that Rabayn defrauded the Crown of wardship of one of the Bayeux heirs. The original patent implies that Rabayn had custody of both.(C.P.R.1247-58 p.62,65.) For Guy de Rochford: JUST.1/1187m.5 d.

at court, such as the clerk Raymond de Bovis Villa and his brother, Bertram, who were both in the royal entourage during Henry III's visit to France in 1259-60.(1) One remaining Poitevin, at least, was subject to harassment. Attempts were made in 1260 to deprive William de Valence's Poitevin chaplain, Peter de Bellac, of his benefice of East Woodhaye (co.Hants.) But even in this case we can see that the king still retained enough freedom to lend his protection to Poitevins, for in May 1260 Henry was able to confirm Peter in office and in the following month to grant him a writ of protection to last until Christmas.(2)

After the expulsion of the Lusignans provision was made by the new Council reasonably quickly for the administration of the widely-scattered estates of William de Valence and the bishopric of Aymer of Winchester. The new administration was for the most part fair and its avowed intention was to conserve and centralize the revenues of Lusignan lands while maintaining existing estate officials. William's revenues were all carefully to be deposited at the New Temple in London in order to prevent any unauthorized cash being sent abroad to aid the exiles: there were several false alarms about this, but the govern-

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1. F.R. Lewis, 'Peter of Aubusson', E.H.R. 55 (1940) p.419-23; Bovis Villa, see especially Ch.5 p.149 C.P.R.1258-66 p.55,86,108.

2. C.P.R.1258-66 p.72,75. He was still active in William's service, perhaps (C.R.1259-61 p.171).

ment's vigilance seems to have been quite effective.(1)

However, impressive though the Council's action might seem at first sight, there were enough anomalies to suggest that these arrangements were very rushed and hardly designed to facilitate a smooth return of the Lusignans. No formal arrangements were made for the administration of the considerable holdings of Geoffrey de Lusignan in East Anglia and Yorkshire until February 1260 when Geoffrey's Norfolk revenues, at least, were ordered to be deposited in the New Temple at London, and up to this point it seems that some of Geoffrey's other manors had been seized by local escheators.(2) The fate of William de Valence's extensive lands in Wales and Ireland, and Geoffrey de Lusignan's land in Ireland, is unknown; it seems probable that the Justiciar of Ireland would have taken control. The most immediate interest taken in William de Valence and Aymer of Winchester's property by the new regime seems, in fact, to have been in raising 'loans' from their revenues. In both cases large sums were effortlessly diverted. William de Valence,

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1. Baronial Plan, p.126-30. Arrangements, with the co-operation of sheriffs, were not completed for William's estates until March 1259. Some of his officials may have refused to co-operate (e.g. Sir Robert de Crepping: see Table 13 p. 429 ) Similar resistance was shown by Aymer's officials, too. (Table 16 p. 441-2.

2. C.R.1259-61 p.28; C.Lib.R.1260-67 p.93.

as we have observed, relied on cash fees and other temporary revenue for about half his annual income so that he would inevitably have plenty of cash on deposit.(1) Not counting the 3,000 mark pension granted him on exile in 1258 the Council by 1261 had taken for its own use a total of 1,500 marks from the New Temple. This included a 900 mark levy in August 1258 from money connected with the Munchensi wardship. £100 'loaned', rather significantly, to Henry of Almain in May 1259, probably in an attempt to purchase his support for the Provisions of Oxford and, from May 1260 the annual debts paid by Peter de Brus and Walter de Lindsey were commandeered for the use of the Wardrobe.(2) In all, allowing for the fact that during this period William's fees would be in abeyance, these measures must have used up most of de Valence's available cash. From the revenues of Winchester the government took even large sums. In 1258 Aymer had been allowed a pension of only 1,400 marks possibly on account of the rumour that he already had money on deposit in Paris.(3) In August the Council borrowed 1,000 marks of silver on security of 100 gold marks to pay off various royal debts and to finance an embassy to Rome in order to secure Aymer's deposition.(4)

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1. Ch. 6 p. 198-9.

2. C.P.R.1258-66 p.223; C.P.R.1247-58 p.643; C.P.R.1258-66 p.22 (repeated 20th July) p.33; ibid. p.68.

3. C.P.R.1247-58 p.640.

4. ibid. p.643; Chron.Maj. V p.713.

In March 1259 this loan was transformed into a levy when the gold security was seized for the use of ambassadors bound for Paris to conclude negotiations for peace with France. Aymer's revenues were also (ironically) diverted to fund the lord Edward's struggle against the Welsh, 2,000 marks being "borrowed" in November 1258. In March 1259 £120 was taken by the Wardrobe for the king's expenses and in August 1259 an annual income of 2,000 marks was assigned to Andrew of London, the candidate elected to replace Aymer as bishop.(1) These large sums testify to the successful management by Aymer de Lusignan of Winchester finances. Moreover, from January 1259, the Crown exercised its right of presentation to various benefices as if the see of Winchester were already vacant; there was some resistance from diocesan officials, but since many of those presented were royal clerks there was little point in prolonging a struggle.(2)

An important redistribution of certain holdings took place after the expulsion of the Lusignans. There was no obvious scramble to divide up the exiles' lands; indeed, this would almost certainly have shattered the uneasy unity of the new regime, as the territorial confiscations 1263-5 were to demonstrate. Nevertheless, a

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1. C.P.R.1258-66 p.6,14,15,36.

2. C.P.R.1258-66 p.18,71-74; C.R.1259-61 p.279.

significant proportion of the available spoils found their way into magnates' hands. The earl of Gloucester, as we have shown, did well out of the estates of Aymer of Winchester and Elias de Rabayn.(1) Peter de Montfort received the London houses of William de Sancta Ermina 'until he returns' and Stephen de Longespée replaced Elias de Rabayn at Corfe.(2) The earl of Norfolk replaced Guy de Rochford at Colchester Castle (October 1258) and in August Norfolk was appointed to farm a wardship confiscated from William de Sancta Ermina.(3) Some important curial officials benefitted from the Poitevins' expulsion for, indeed, the royal household had actively played its part in the administrative aspects of the June-July Parliament in 1258.(4) Tickhill, which the lord Edward had in 1258 leased to Aymer of Winchester, was quickly confiscated in August and instead of being restored to Edward was placed under the custody of John Mansell.(5) Similarly, it may be significant that the Council's first choice to

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1. See p.290

2. C.P.R.1247-58 p.638,653.

3. C.P.R.1247-58 p.655; C.R.1256-59 p.254. The phrase 'pro mala custodia' endorsing and justifying the confiscation from Sancta Ermina may be unique. One wonders why Norfolk would be any better. No querela from this alleged victim or his family survives.

4. Robert Walerand is a case in point. (see Ch.6 p.220 etc.) He was sent on 5th July and 2nd August to confiscate Lusignan money held on deposit (C.R.1256-59 p.317; C.P.R.1247-58 p.643). Goods of Geoffrey de Lusignan were deposited in the New Temple under his seal (C.R.1261-64 p.118.)

5. C.P.R.1247-58 p.644. See below p.345

replace Aymer as bishop of Winchester was the king's clerk, Henry de Wengham, the new Chancellor.(1) Three members of the royal Household connected with the queen also received some Poitevin land. In August 1259 tenements at Todham (co.Sussex) confiscated from William de Sancta Ermina were granted to Henry de Lovell, the queen's cook.(2) Another of Eleanor's clerks, Nicholas de Havering, was granted Sancta Ermina's land at 'la Walde' in Havering in March, 1260.(3) The Savoyard, Imbert de Montferrand, Marshal of the king's Household, at the beginning of 1261 was enfeoffed with and given the custody of some manors which had been bought and leased by the late Aymer of Winchester, a grant contested fiercely by Aymer's successor and others.(4)

Some of these grants outlined above were occasioned by an ostensible desire to do justice, for example the wardship seized and given to the earl of Norfolk, but it is interesting to see that, even so, such pickings went to the leaders of the 1258 baronial regime, the greatest magnates, some of whom, notably the earl of Gloucester,

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1. Below, p.323

2. C.P.R.1258-66 p.37. On 20th December 1259 Sancta Ermina confirmed this grant: almost certainly in return for money which he needed during exile. (ibid. p.110.)

3. C.R.1259-61 p.249. This may have been restored to the Poitevin in 1262 (C.R.1261-64 p.65; C.Ch.R. 1257-1300 p.119.)

4. C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.35; C.R.1259-61 p.333. See C.R.1261-64 p.370 (1263 revolt)

were not always disinterested reformers. It is possible, too, that the essential support for the Council of important curiales such as Mansell and Wengham was strengthened by such grants; the influence of royal household officials over the land and patronage market seems, in any case, to have continued even after 1258.

The baronial regime upheld its promise at Oxford to do all men justice and grievances against the Lusignans were soon considered. Great magnates received swift satisfaction. In October 1258 the archbishop of Canterbury obtained from the Council a promise of compensation against William de Valence who had, when granted the wardship of Warrin de Munchensi by the king, occupied a knight's fee in Preston held by Munchensi from the archbishop.(1) Similarly, in November 1258 John fitz Geoffrey obtained an award of 300 marks' damages against Aymer of Winchester.(2) The less influential Margaret, dowager countess of Lincoln, had to wait until October 1259 for jutice against the men of William de Valence in Pembroke who had occupied and fortified in William's name her manor in Tenby during the Welsh war.(3) However, these seem to have been the only important magnates receiving formal justice against the

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1. C.R.1256-59 p.276.
2. C.P.R.1258-66 p.5.
3. C.R.1259-61 p.2.

Lusignans. A number of lesser claimants were satisfied; these were normally persons claiming rights over part or whole of wardships. One of these was Isabella, widow of Roger fitz John, wardship of whose son was held by William de Valence. Isabella had long claimed possession of Corbridge, which had been held by William too, and in March 1259 the Council transferred it to her.(1) Another similar example was the manor of Hingham held by Geoffrey de Lusignan after wardship was transferred to him in 1258 by the lord Edward as part settlement of his obligations; this manor was also restored to the widow of its former owner soon after 1258.(2)

In general, however, surprisingly little major redress was attempted. The rather dubious arrangement whereby Gerard Talbot was induced in 1257 to make over Gainsborough to William de Valence was only reversed in February 1261, and probably then only because Talbot's daughter and heir was married to a knight in the king's service.(3) Furthermore, the baronial regime does not

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1. M.H. Dodds, A History of Northumberland (1926) vol.X. p.66-8. Isabella had contested William's wardship of Corbridge on the grounds that it was held in Socage. An alien, such as William, might be expected to ignore the complexities of this antiquated form of tenure. William, nonetheless, did not reverse the judgement after 1261. (ibid.)

2. C.P.R.1258-66 p.171. It was simply a favour to the wards' kinsmen to give them custody during Geoffrey's exile and after 1261 the custody was restored to him. (ibid.)

3. See Ch.6 p. 222 The knight concerned was Robert fitz Robert 'le Normand' de Stuteville (C.R.1259-61 p.153,349; C.Lib.R.1260-67 p.32.)

seem, in practice, to have been always indulgent towards persons whose debts were transferred to William de Valence. Although in November 1258 the Council at first reduced drastically the annual payments owing from Peter de Brus and Walter de Lindsey from 300 and 420 marks respectively to 100 marks, by October 1259 the Justiciar ordered the levying of two years' arrears of debt at the original rates from these and from other debtors, John fitz Matthew (50 marks p.a.) and Roger Bertram (60 marks). In 1260, however, the two main debtors paid their arrears at the rate of 100 marks.(1) Especially in the case of wardship one would expect the baronial regime to be conservative (indeed conservatism and self-interest was one of the main charges soon levied against the leading magnates) and a radical approach to property was not to be expected. Much of the proceedings against the Lusignans after 1258 is a reflection more of the absence of these lords abroad, and, therefore, an inability to protect and defend their interests, rather than a fundamentally new approach.

The same conservatism can be shown in the handling of the querelae proceedings heard against the Lusignans by Hugh Bigod. These cases, mostly very petty, reveal that the king's half-brothers had been harsh landlords

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1. C.P.R.1258-66 p.4,68,96; C.R.1259-61 p.441.

and that their bailiffs were guilty of disseisin(1) extortion(2) arbitrary raising of rents(3) and other arbitrary actions such as the forcible erection of tollgates.(4) There were complaints, too, from wards of the Lusignans, most prominently Geoffrey de Lucy against Geoffrey de Lusignan.(5) A surprising number

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1. P.R.O. JUST.1/1188m.7 (William de Valence: see below p.312 n.1 ); ibid. JUST.1/1187m.1d. (case against William dismissed); ibid. JUST.1/873m.7: case where Geoffrey demised the manor of Hammes, co.Surrey which he held in wardship in the name of his sister Isabella de Craon since 1252 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.167) to a certain 'Lambert de Leyes' at 9 years lease (1256)whereupon Aymer of Winchester, shortly afterwards, obtained the lease from Isabella herself and ejected de Leyes. This case was not resolved. In 1260, the custodian of Winchester still held Hammes when it was restored to Isabella (C.R.1259-61 p.309); ibid. JUST.1/1188m.11d.: Aymer of Winchester against his debtor, William de Coleville, over suit of court. Case adjourned. (c.f. C.R.1254-56 p.429: 1256-59 p.24).

2. ibid. JUST.1/1188m.14 (small sums by William de Valence's bailiffs co.Bucks. Two bailiffs (one a native of co.Norfolk) punished); ibid. JUST.1/876m.6. (small sums from peasants of manor of Bisley, co.Surrey.)

3. E.F. Jacob, Studies in the Period of Baronial Reform (Oxford, 1925) p.56 (mainly Geoffrey de Lusignan on land held in wardship.)

4. JUST.1/873m.7d. (Aymer of Winchester at Esher, co. Surrey, to the loss of king's bailiff of the hundred. The Gates were ordered to be destroyed); Placitorum Abbrevatio (Rec.Comm., 1811) p.148: William de Valence in co.Herts.

5. JUST.1/873m.6, 6d., (Lucy claimed over £100 damages from Geoffrey); ibid. m.19 petty suits against William de Valence by Denise, widow of Warrin de Munchensi.

of these cases, however, were simply adjourned by the Justiciar because Crown rights, or difficult points of law were raised.(1) Occasionally, it would appear, debtors with a grievance attempted, without success, to be revenged on the exiled Lusignans.(2) Two cases, at least, were dismissed as false claims including a challenge by men of Southampton in their age-old dispute with bishops of Winchester over the rival St.Giles' fair protected with such diligence by the bishop-elect.(3) In fact, there were very few brought against Aymer of Winchester even though Bigod took his eyre to Hampshire by the end of May 1259; one might compare this with the numerous suits brought against Boniface of Savoy in Kent.(4) The net result of the querelae was as inconclusive as the disappointingly narrow range of counties visited by the Justiciar.(5) A few Lusignan bailiffs were penalized but

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1. Jacob, op.cit. p.56,65.

2. e.g. case of Aymer's debtor, William de Coleville (see above.)

3. JUST.1/1187m.d. (William de Valence); ibid. JUST.1/1188m.10d. (Aymer of Winchester: c.f. C.P.R.1247-58 p.105,529.)

4. Jacob, op.cit. p.57-62; Baronial Plan p.155nn: R.F. Treharne exaggerates the number and seriousness of the cases against Aymer here. Most were trifles apart from the 'political' cases discussed in the text earlier.

5. Jacob, op.cit. p.36,63-65. Bigod only visited counties in easy access of London. Had he gone into the far North there would, doubtless, have been as many cases against Peter of Savoy and Simon de Montfort as were brought against the earl of Gloucester in co. Kent and elsewhere (Baronial Plan p.155nn.) Cases were dismissed 1258-7 against Peter of Savoy in co. Surrey (JUST.1/873.m.5d. 6) and Simon de Montfort in co. Rutland (ibid. JUST.1/1187m.15).

little was achieved in reality.(1) The most important casualty was William de Bussay, steward and 'principal adviser' of William de Valence and Geoffrey de Lusignan.(2) He appears to have been imprisoned in the Tower in about December 1258 and was put on trial shortly afterwards, certainly before the bulk of the querelae proceedings were heard. Bussay's trial was sufficiently public to come to the notice of Matthew Paris who gives rather a melodramatic account of it. It is possible that Bussay was, in fact, arraigned as a result of the charge of Geoffrey de Lucy against the steward of Geoffrey de Lusignan heard by the Justiciar in Surrey in the Autumn of 1258 and adjourned to the first Parliament of 1259.(3) Bussay was also notorious for his raid on the land of Simon de Montfort in 1257 and this may, more than anything, explain the harshness with which he was treated. He languished in the Fleet prison until at least the end of 1260 but seems never to have been formally pardoned, and died, very probably, in debt.(4)

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1. Not many Lusignan bailiffs are known to have been punished. Robert, William de Valence's bailiff of Bampton (co.Oxford) was gaoled for the ejection of Gilbert de Elsfield from some land and for causing an enormous £100 worth of damages. (JUST.1/1188m.7) Two other bailiffs of de Valence in co.Bucks. took to flight (ibid. m.14) for much smaller offences.

2. Tables 13+17 p. 432, 443.

3. Chron.Maj. V p.737-8; JUST.1/873m.6.; Baronial Plan p.125.

4. C.R.1259-61 p.420,483. In 1264 Alice, his heir, had to sell off his land in Trumpington (co.Cambs.) C.P.R.1258-66 p.364.

The aftermath of the Lusignans' expulsion must have seemed a surprisingly disappointing conclusion to the political events of 1258. The number of cases pursued thoroughly against the king's half-brothers and, what was more important, the amount of redress awarded was actually very small. The magnates of the Council proceeded cautiously in remedying abuses while indulging in settling political scores as thoroughly as they could be settled and securing, especially in the case of the earl of Gloucester, some additional revenues for themselves from the goods of the exiled Poitevins. This is not to say that the Lusignans were innocent of some serious crimes, but rather that, in matters such as estate-management, the magnates of 1258 may have realized that their own interests were more closely entwined with Poitevins than their own propaganda directed towards inferior elements in society would imply.

# CHAPTER 8

## Court politics during the period of the Provisions of Oxford (1258-61)

The politics of the royal court 1258-61 were dominated by the working-out of the themes of 1258, but now within the changed environment of the Provisions of Oxford. As we argued in the last chapter the achievement of the new régime of the Provisions in 1258 was very much the result of the co-operation of courtiers and baronage both with a common interest to arrest political developments inimical to them. The question was now how long would this alliance last? The view was laid down by R.F. Treharne that courtiers rapidly became disenchanted by the Provisions in the course of 1259 when radical legal and social reforms were debated and enacted.(1) It is also the theory of E.L. Cox that Savoyards began to quarrel with the new régime in 1259 when it became more hostile to aliens.(2) There is certainly much to be said for both views and we have ventured in chapter 6 the idea that by the middle of 1259 the court and the aliens were under some pressure from the baronage in the matter of patronage after attempts to reform royal finance.(3) In this chapter we propose to develop this view further. Pressure on patronage (and from other reforms) there may have been, but, as far as the evidence

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1. Baronial Plan p.137 ff.
2. E.L. Cox, The Eagles of Savoy (Princeton,1974)p.308-10.
3. pp.225-9

for the aliens goes, there was no serious threat to courtiers from developments in 1259, at least, which they were not able to overcome. The point on which the relationship between the court and the Provisions balanced was, in fact, precisely the capacity of the new régime to deal successfully with those very matters dearest to the hearts of the king and his family and favourites: the maintenance of political stability, the control of the political emergence of Edward, the exclusion of the disgraced Poitevins, and matters of foreign policy, the treaty of Paris, Wales and Gascony. In 1259 some successes were achieved, if not without difficulty, but by 1260 the new régime could increasingly be found wanting; by the close of 1260 its repeated failures doomed the Provisions to be overthrown by a courtier conspiracy in 1261 in which the aliens played a prominent part.

The main underlying reason for the failure of the régime of the Provisions lay in the very cumbrousness of the 1258 constitution. A theoretical check had now been imposed on the king by the creation of an enlarged, all-powerful Council representing both the curiales and barons; it was meant to exercise a collective control over government but, in practice, this happened only during very limited periods, if at all. The real exercise of power still (even more so, now that the council was larger and the scope of initiative left the king by the Provisions so reduced) depended on the collaboration of factions of courtiers on the Council, allied with magnates such as the

earls of Norfolk and Hereford (now almost constantly at court as a reminder of the new political forces ...) But politicians on the Council had to reckon with two additional factors. The first was that of Henry III himself and tensions between the king and the Council. Much remains unclear about the personal rôle of Henry between 1258-61, for example, how much even his limited influence could still make or destroy the power of the leading councillors who emerged under the new system, such as the earl of Gloucester. Although royal propaganda of 1261 stated that the king had been reduced to a cypher by the Provisions it can still be shown that there were officials who were prepared to act under his direct orders, such as during the plotting 1258-60 over the fate of the Poitevins, or that the figurehead of the king was still the vital trump-card for any faction, such as that of Gloucester during the lord Edward's rebellion. The second factor, however, was even more dangerous and unpredictable. The Provisions gave great importance to consultation with the Community of the Realm and to the three meetings of Parliament in the year. R.F. Treharne showed that these assemblies were often well-attended by the baronage; all major business of state was now promulgated at them and they had the power to, and occasionally would, put a check on the activities

of the Council itself.(1) In these popular assemblies there lay a major weakness, for there was a temptation for courtiers and councillors to exploit them for personal and political gain through the use of propaganda and the embracing of popular causes. These were, it is to be argued, the tactics of Simon de Montfort and Edward in 1259-60, and it was by such methods that they destroyed the constitutional equilibrium reached in 1258 and, ultimately, the Provisions themselves.

### (i) The aliens and the re-alignment of the factions on the Council 1258-59

Such difficulties, were, however, not immediately apparent in the early months of the new regime. Major initiative in government was wielded by the Council, itself dominated by the tightly-knit junta of courtiers who had helped engineer the Provisions. An analysis, for instance,

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1. Baronial Plan p.86-8. The composition of parliaments under the Provisions of Oxford has always been the subject of some debate. The provisions themselves imply that some sessions were intended to be better attended than others. (D.B.M. p.110-11, c.22). Those of October 1259 and 1260 are definitiely known to have been large assemblies; by October 1259 there were fears of brawls between armed retainers at Parliament (ibid. p.150-1 c.4). The attendance of justices, exchequer officials and even occasionally by citizens of London is argued by H.G. Richardson and G.D. Sayles, 'The Provisions of Oxford, a forgotten document' Bulletin of the John Rylands Library XVII (1933) p.295-99.

of attendance at court (especially those periods when there was no full council) illustrates the prevailing influence of the Justiciar, the earls of Norfolk, Hereford and Gloucester, Simon de Montfort, Walter de Cantilupe and a handful of curiales such as John Mansel and Robert Walerand, as opposed to the more infrequent attendance of strictly 'baronial' councillors such as Roger de Mortimer and James de Audley.(1) Peter of Savoy belonged, of course, to this inner ring, in contrast even to Boniface, the archbishop of Canterbury who was characteristically more concerned with diocesan work than politics.(2) Savoyards continued to be

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1. The decrease in attendance is well-illustrated by the witness-lists of the king's charters 1258-60: C.53/49 m.1-5; C.53/50 m.1-6. The reality of the domination of government between parliaments by a handful of councillors is admitted in the 'Provisions of Westminster' of 1259 (D.B.M. p.150-1 c.7).

2. ibid. Boniface does not, therefore, play an important part in politics 1258-61. His work in the church is traced in detail by D.T. Williams 'Aspects of the career of Boniface of Savoy' p.165-352 (and in politics p.422-4.) L.E. Wilshire ('Boniface of Savoy, Carthusian and Archbishop of Canterbury 'Annalecta Cartusiana 31. (1977)p.57-65) attempts a case that, in his zeal for the liberties of the church, the archbishop had joined the opposition to the king. There is not much to support this view, but it underlines the archbishop's ecclesiastical preoccupations. In the light of Peter of Savoy's political dealings, there may be some importance behind the series of rushed agreements reached over territorial and other local disputes between Boniface and the earl of Gloucester May 1258-Jan.1259 (Williams, p.345-53). The archbishop's attempt c. Jan.1260, with papal support, to recover for Canterbury, Rochester and Canterbury castles from the Crown was the revival, to no effect, of a traditional dispute by a worthy successor of St. Thomas. (Foedera I (i) p.393; E. Hastead, The History .... of Kent (Canterbury, 1778) vol.II p.14.)

important in the royal household and to receive patronage.(1) Peter of Savoy, himself, was still invaluable in his work of diplomacy. He went abroad repeatedly in 1259 to secure the final stages of the treaty of Paris and in August 1258 he even had the additional task of working with Simon de Montfort and John Mansel towards the restoration of good relations with Scotland finally achieved in 1259.(2) The Council's principal agents in the Papal curia 1258-59, too, were the archbishops of Tarentaise and Embrun.(3) But it must not be forgotten that even the bishop of Hereford was reconciled with the régime and employed in diplomacy. Aigueblanche was delayed for several months on the continent convalescing after an illness and in the meantime he was able - perhaps thanks to the influence of Peter of Savoy - to negotiate with the Council for what amounted to a virtual acquittal on charges of financial misconduct arising from the 'Sicilian business'.(4) By June 1259 Peter was back in England and was appointed, along with seven other Marcher barons, headed by the bishop of Worcester, to negotiate an extension of the truce with the Welsh (ratified on 26th July). On 1st November he was

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1. See above, pp.293

2. inter alia. C.P.R.1247-58 '.645; 1258-66 p.14,38; Chron.Maj. V p.732; Foedera I (i) p.384,391. Peter received gifts from the Crown: e.g. in November 1258 30 oaks to build a manor-house, some hawks for himself and wood for his clerk (C.R.1256-59 p.340,342,344.)

3. Baronial Plan p.103-4; C.P.R.1258-66 p.51,266 etc.

4. C.R.1256-59 p.321-2,459,462; Baronial Plan p.103. Treharne does not note that the Council was, nonetheless, satisfied enough with the accounts of Michaelmas 1258 and that it granted Peter a further postponement of the case until the quinzaine of Easter in view of his illness. Was the case dropped?

even more prominent in negotiations with Llywelyn. This time the ambassadors, who were professionals rather than barons, were to respond to Llywelyn's peace overtures and the bishop of Hereford alone was entrusted with secret instructions to induce the prince into renewing at least the truce by the secret promise of marriage with a niece of the king. This was the sort of work at which Peter excelled and was reminiscent of his negotiations with Castille in the 1250's. In the end, however, only a truce was agreed upon.(1)

In the light of such participation by the Savoyards in the new régime it is hardly surprising that one of the principal concerns of the group of leading courtiers in the Council continued to be the struggle against the Poitevins, now in exile. The years 1258-60 were full of scares that the king's half-brothers would attempt to force their return to England, relying on the fact that the king still held them in open affection and that their alliance with Edward stood firm. Quite what the Poitevins could have achieved by their return is open to mere speculation, but the elect of Winchester, at least, was now in a position to do considerable moral and diplomatic damage to a régime dominated by his enemies, for the Council had resolved at about the time of Aymer's exile to work for

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1. C.P.R.1258-66 p.27,34,57; C.R.1259-61 p.4-5.

his deposition from Winchester, by way of completing the removal of Poitevin influence from the realm. This immediately entailed litigation at Rome for by the mid-thirteenth century the status of the papally-confirmed bishop-elect had become formalised and he could now only be removed by the pope himself. Alexander IV's response to the Council's petition deserves a more sympathetic treatment than that given by R.F. Treharne.(1) He insisted on following correct judicial procedures in order to be fair to both sides. The case dragged on nonetheless for nearly two years and it is worth looking at it in some detail. It illustrates neatly the cohesiveness of the courtier-Peter of Savoy group in the Council in the face of a common enemy, the elect of Winchester and, in the event, King Henry III himself.

In August 1258 the Council hastily sent an embassy, which included the veteran Savoyard diplomats, the archbishops of Tarentaise and Embrun, to request at the Roman curia the deposition of Aymer. The diplomats were rather pointedly (and publicly) supplied with 1,000 marks "borrowed" from the elect's treasure to enable them to expedite proceedings.(2)

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1. R.L. Benson, The Bishop-elect; a study in mediaeval ecclesiastical office (Princeton, 1968) p.149. Treharne (Baronial Plan p.107, 132 etc.) gives this a very unbalanced treatment.

2. C.R.1256-59 p.326-7 Baronial Plan p.103.

Fictions were deliberately adopted to conceal the partisan nature of the elect's exile, for instance in the earliest surviving letter from the Council to the pope against Aymer: 'Scituri vero, quod si dominus rex et regni majores hoc vellent, communitas tamen ipsius (i.e. electi Wintoniensis) ingressum in Angliam nullatenus sustinerent.'(1)

This was obviously meant for popular consumption at home, but even when the Council wrote more secretly it maintained repeatedly that although Henry III himself desired the return of Aymer to Winchester his council and the 'universality of the realm' would have none of it.(2)

This embassy elicited from Alexander a guarded, if hopeful, reply but it was clear that the pope would do little until Aymer had stated his own case in Rome. The signs from Rome soon became more promising, for on 10th December Alexander, in a move which would undermine Aymer's position as a bishop, elevated Andrew of London, re-appointed by the magnates to St. Swithun's in July 1258, to the rank of mitred prior and by indulgence allowed him to hold episcopal office 'if canonically called to it'.(3) The Council, in their haste, however, destroyed their position by blundering into a premature

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1. Tewkesbury Annals p.173. (Its transcription in the chronicle suggests it was circulated for propaganda.)

2. C.R.1256-59 p.490; 1259-61 p.263.

3. For Alexander's reply in 1258: Chron.Maj. VI (esp. pp. 415-16). I disagree with Treharne who asserts that the reply was 'virtually a refusal of co-operation' (Baronial Plan p.107). Also: Reg.Alexander IV, II No.2704.

response. On January 2nd, 1259, at about the same time that Aymer appealed in person to Rome, they went ahead and secured the election of Henry de Wengham to Winchester. News of such moves insultingly anticipating a papal judgement only served to precipitate a breakdown in relations. On 29th January Alexander wrote instructing his nuncio, the franciscan Velascus, to secure the return of Aymer to his bishopric and in March the pope, in another letter, declared that Aymer was to receive full consecration as bishop.(1)

But there were delays on both sides. Aymer, on the one hand, was characteristically either unwilling or unable to undergo a swift consecration. On the other hand, in England scruples began to appear over the legitimacy of the Council's actions. Henry de Wengham, the Chancellor, was a respectable choice to replace Aymer, and perhaps a sop to the curiales, but he himself was reluctant to press his suit. There existed a good residue of loyalty remaining to Aymer in his diocese (2) and the king, for his part, (and it seems that Wengham shared these scruples) was reluctant to confirm Wengham until a legal verdict had been reached in Rome.(3) Significantly, even the Council itself made no moves to give Wengham seisin of his temporalities; Winchester continued to be administered as a

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1. Winchester Annals p.97; Reg.Alexander IV, III No.2851, 2855.

2. For acts of defiance against the Council 1258-60 by Aymer's officials in Winchester, Walter de la Croce and Geoffrey de Feringes: C.R.1256-59 p.279; C.P.R.1258-66 p.66,74,122,134,282.

3. Baronial Plan p.132.

vacancy and its revenues and benefices disposed at will.

On 16th August Henry III sought to precipitate matters by gaining entry into the realm for Velascus who harangued an assembly of barons with papal demands for Aymer's reinstatement.(1) The incident illustrates well enough the extent of Henry III's remaining influence and his fanatical devotion to the Poitevins, but it was, in reality, an entirely pointless move. Wengham had already given up claims to Winchester in June and had been elected to London, and on 29th July the king had been forced to give assent to the election of Andrew of London to Winchester.(2) Nor were Aymer's enemies in any mood to give way to papal threats. On 3rd August a Council consisting of the earl of Gloucester, Peter of Savoy, Hugh Bigod, John Mansel and Phillip Basset rewarded Wengham with a gift of a large number of Aymer's cattle (with curious provision 'if Aymer should recover his see') and on the previous day the same councillors granted Andrew of London a revenue of 2,000 marks p.a. from Winchester to fight his cause against Aymer in the Curia. John Clarel was sent to assist him 'for the defence of the realm' against the 'former elect of Winchester'.(3) This

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1. R.F. Treharne 'An unauthorized use of the Great Seal' E.H.R. 40 (1925) p.403-11.

2. C.P.R.1258-66 p.35.

3. ibid. p.36,41; C.R.1256-59 p.418.

resulted in slightly improved relations with Rome. The ever-resourceful Andrew of Winchester had, in fact, succeeded by virtue of enormous bribes (1414 marks) in obtaining some headway even by 21st August, for Alexander IV now appointed him a papal chaplain and he and an army of diplomats, including Savoyards, managed to re-open and prolong the litigation for many months.(1) The council, too, persisted in its diplomatic efforts; in January 1260 Gloucester, Peter of Savoy, John Mansel and the earl of Aumâle were still urging Alexander at least to transfer Aymer to another see and as late as June 1260 the Council allocated Andrew of London 500 marks for his continuing struggles in Rome.(2) These moves, in the end, came to little effect. Prompted, perhaps, by news of Edward's rebellion which might produce the conditions (or the disruption) suitable for the Lusignans' return, Aymer made the final effort in the Spring of 1260 and on 13th May he was fully ordained to the priesthood and consecrated bishop of Winchester by the pope.(3)

Another striking political development in the new Council had been the increased importance of the earl of Gloucester. Gloucester's influence in favour of the Provisions of Oxford had been decisive, and it is likely

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1. Reg.Alexander IV, III No. 2933-4.
2. C.P.R.1258-66 p.113; C.R.1259-61 p.61,263.
3. Oseney Annals p.126.

that after July 1258 his colleagues on the Council, including almost certainly Peter of Savoy, encouraged his aggrandizement both in order to ensure the loyalty of the wealthiest magnate to the new system and to use him, perhaps, as a counter-balance to the many enemies of the régime.(1) They probably saw in him a resolute defender of order and property against irresponsible idealism, too. Gloucester readily accepted his new rôle and exploited its benefits to the full. He ensured, for instance, that his gains at the expense of the exiled elect of Winchester were not sacrificed to any mis-placed idealism. The chapter of St. Swithun's petitioned for the return of the island of Portland and on 26th October the Parliament ordered Gloucester to return it to them. However, on 7th February 1259 Gloucester's influence in the Council was such as to reverse this order, for letters patent were issued on the Council's authority permitting the earl to continue the building of a castle for himself on the island.(2) In a similar vein, Gloucester obtained benefices and other favours for his family and servants throughout 1258 and 1259 and, it transpired usurped liberties on his estates.(3) Even in January 1259 his

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1. Gloucester's wealth would be something of a counter-weight to the opposition to the Provisions of Richard of Cornwall, Edward and the Poitevins.

2. C.P.R.1247-58 p.654; 1258-66 p.11.

3. No magnate benefitted more from the property of exiled Poitevins (ch.7 p.290 ) or obtained so much patronage, in general, for himself. For Gloucester and his liberties: Rotuli Hundredorum I p.100,191; II p.132, 666.

increasing prestige made him the natural choice (upstaging even the earl Marshal) to administer the oath to the Provisions of Oxford to the returning Richard of Cornwall;(1) and on 14th March it was to Gloucester's protection that the lord Edward appealed in his attempt to get the Council to restore him the control of his lands.

The promotion of Gloucester was undoubtedly a sign of the inherent weakness in the baronial movement and, once its more obnoxious consequences became apparent, it was a major cause of political instability generated during 1259-60. Gloucester's own position was in itself a weak one; his relations with the king were not cordial, owing to Gloucester's hatred of Aymer de Lusignan, and within the Council he had enemies jealous of his new power. When in February 1259 Gloucester spearheaded a move to modify or delay the Ordinances of the magnates promising redress against baronial officials motivated by his dislike of the summary querelae procedures and fears of the erosion of seigneurial liberties, he encountered the concerted opposition of Welsh Marcher barons, led by his old rival the earl of Hereford, and was forced to back down under humiliating circumstances.(2)

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1. Chron.Maj. V. 735. Peter of Savoy was sent to meet Richard too (ibid. p.732) but Gloucester outshone him.

2. Baronial Plan p.140. cf. M. Altschul, 'A baronial family, the Clares 1217-1314' (Baltimore, 1965) p.95, 146-52.

Gloucester's new-found power brought him into a bitter rivalry with Simon de Montfort. De Montfort, as is well-known, has been desperately attempting to obtain a settlement from the Crown over Henry III's many obligations to him for more than the past ten years. With the recent political crisis and the new regime, which he joined, came his golden opportunity for revenge. He lost no time in exerting pressure on his fellow-councillors, and, indeed, had achieved some headway in 1258, but either out of fears of more treachery at court or simple over-confidence in the new strength of his position, he blundered into the fatal lever against the Council of threatening to withhold his wife's renunciations required under the treaty of Paris.(1) In the following months, despite frequent absences on the continent, he began to drum up support for his cause. His gifts as a populist were unparallelled in magnate society and his ability to sway Parliaments was formidable; this was seen, perhaps, even in October 1258 when he had himself elected, along with his friends, the bishop of Worcester and Lincoln (together with the earl of Norfolk) to attend the abortive Treaty of Paris negotiations at Cambrai.(2) During the

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1. M.W. Labarge, Simon de Montfort (London, 1962) p.157 f.f.:M.M. Wade, 'The personal quarrels of Simon de Montfort ... with Henry III' (Oxford B.Litt.thesis 1939) esp.p.18-46.; I.J. Sanders 'The texts of the Peace of Paris' E.H.R.66.(1951) esp.p.88-9; P.Chaplais 'The making of the Treaty of Paris'. E.H.R.67.(1952) p.235ff . It is still not known whether Simon de Montfort deliberately instigated the insertion into the treaty negotiations in early 1258 the controversial renunciation clauses which he so exploited.(Chaplais, ibid., p.235-6).

2. Chron.Maj. V p.720-1; Chaplais, p.242. One wonders why Peter of Savoy, such an expert in Anglo-French relations was not sent? For de Montfort's friends, see his will (1st January 1260): Bémont (1930) p.276-8.

February Parliament of 1259 he made a dramatic return from the continent and joined in the attacks against Gloucester over the Ordinances of the magnates. This may have formed part of the attempt to exert pressure on the Council in his personal disputes.(1)

The earl of Leicester's wayward political behaviour swiftly drove him into a deep quarrel with his former co-conspiritors of the Provisions of Oxford. From the February Parliament until October 1260 he boycotted Council meetings and began to adopt the rôle of external critic of the régime and leader of those other elements which quickly became discontented with it.(2) His quarrel with Gloucester may have been complicated by genuine differences of opinion with the earl over the rate of proposed reforms, but it quickly became a personal competition for political prestige. De Montfort's wrecking tactics over the treaty of Paris and his obsession with his own financial settlement also drove a sudden wedge between himself and his former friends, the Savoyards. This is, perhaps, seen as early as 16th March 1259 when he opposed the Council's proposed 3,000 mark settlement with the heirs of Thomas of Savoy, managing, in this case,

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1. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.406-7. Powicke asserts that the quarrel was resolved, but the Coke MS. which he cites only further illustrates the prime position of the two rival earls at this point.

2. De Montfort did not witness a single royal charter between March 1259 and October 1260.

to win the support, perhaps, of the earl of Norfolk.(1) The Council, for its part, had just responded to Leicester's pressures in February by appointing, on 10th March, Peter of Savoy, Gloucester, John Mansel, John de Balliol and Robert Walerand (a significant choice) to arbitrate over his claims. They moved with alacrity to placate the earl, and by 20th May they were offering him a generous partial settlement of £400 p.a. in land, a formidable undertaking under the prevailing shortages affecting royal patronage.(2)

The effect of this was, therefore, to create early in 1259 a re-alignment of factions in the Council to produce a new group which throughout the rest of the year strove to assert its dominance over the government. The 'diplomats', Peter of Savoy, John Mansel and the curiales were drawn together even more firmly by their common aims to secure the treaty of Paris and conservatism in reform, and by common foes, such as the Poitevins and Edward and, to an increasing degree, de Montfort. They were joined, perhaps by the Justiciar, but certainly by Gloucester. Gloucester, in turn began to demonstrate an obsession for diplomatic work (which he had not hitherto shown) and for the treaty of Paris. From April 1259 he joined the various embassies sent over to negotiate with Louis IX where he lent his full weight to the schemes to obtain

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1. C.P.R.1258-66 p.16-17. Thomas' heirs had their money by July, however, and from the revenues of the 'vacant' see of Winchester. (Ibid. p.30)

2. M.W. Labarge. op.cit. p.157-60; C.P.R.1258-66 p.18. C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.18,20.

the required de Montfort renunciations.(1) On 25th June, for their part Peter of Savoy and John Mansel sniped from Paris at the rushed settlement offered to de Montfort, stating that their consent to it was only conditional: 'sauve le serement qui nos avons feit a nostre seignur le Roi de ses demeisnes'.(2) This statement demonstrates more than Peter of Savoy and his colleague's concern over the inalienability of the royal demesne and their misgivings over the fiction arrived at in order to attempt to pacify de Montfort (at a time when land was so short that only demesne could be found) that the manors settled on the earl were to be held in 'tenancy'. Peter was well aware that some of these demesne manors could be obtained only by the Council's dispossession of their Savoyard incumbents and this doubly added to the bitterness released by de Montfort's actions.(3)

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1. ibid. p.14,18. Gloucester had not been abroad since June 1256 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.481). c.f. Chron.Maj.V p.745.

2. M.M. Wade, op.cit. Appendix IV p.121-2. The other negotiators did not swear specifically in this manner. Controversies raged over the various grants to de Montfort in February 1260 (C.R.1259-61 p.237) and, of course, at his 'trial' in July 1260 (D.B.M. pp.196-7 c. 9-10).

3. See Ch.6 p.226-7. It could be added that Peter de Aigueblanche suffered loss over the grant of Dilwyn, Lugwardine and Marden to de Montfort in the early summer (C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.18,20). He had been granted the latter two manors at farm for ten years in August 1254 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.324). Geoffrey de Geneville was to have held Dilwyn at farm for 5 yrs. from 1256 (ibid. p.412). Both now had to come to terms with the earl. (E.159/33.m.2).

In most respects the 'diplomats' and their allies emerged victorious from the struggles of 1259. By October they had successfully circumvented de Montfort's continued opposition to the treaty of Paris and had settled the peace terms by omitting the contentious renunciation clauses. After this they could afford to be more dilatory in their treatment of Leicester's further demands.(1) Peter of Savoy achieved an additional notable success over the negotiations surrounding the proposed marriage of Henry III's daughter, Beatrice, with Jean, son of the duke of Brittany and where Peter avoided a serious challenge to his landed fortunes in the realm. The first mention of the proposed marriage scheme occurs on 10th March, 1259, when letters patent were issued to Gloucester and John Mansel to begin negotiations, acting, presumably, upon a decision made in the current Parliament.(2) There was nothing remarkable as such in the choice of a marriage alliance with Henry III's long-standing ally, the duke of Brittany (nor was it a move aimed against Louis IX having been suggested, apparently, by the queen of France).(3) But by October 1259 it had produced complications because the duke of Brittany, who had always retained for himself the title of earl of Richmond, chose the moment of imminent peace between England and France, when a settlement over terrae Normannorum might follow, to revive his family's historic

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1. M.W. Labarge opcit. p.160 f.f; I.J. Sanders art.cit. 90-1; Chaplais art.cit. p.246.

2. C.P.R.1258-66 p.18.

3. Diplomatic Documents. No.313.

claim to Peter of Savoy's northern lordship.(1) There is no suggestion that this complication had been in any way forseen:as early as May 1259 the queen of France and Peter of Savoy had themselves in fact been included in the negotiations of the marriage.(2) However, by October the Breton marriage placed to the test again the political influence of Peter of Savoy and Queen Eleanor to avoid any losses. Peter had no great personal attachment to Richmond but under the current political circumstances his enemies, such as de Montfort or any anti-alien elements in the baronage, might choose to make matters difficult for him; in any case, there seemed to be no immediate prospect of the Council being able to afford to find him revenues in compensation should he be forced to surrender Richmond. But, for the time being, Peter's alliance with Gloucester held firm. On 1st October the duke of Brittany's emissary was told that although the queen of France, Gloucester and Mansel had decreed that a settlement was due over Richmond nothing could be done without the consent of Peter of Savoy, who had now gone abroad.(3) Peter then

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1. For the titles of the duke: Dom. P.H. Morice de Beaubois, Mémoires pour servir de Preuves à l'Histoire .... de Bretagne (Paris, 1742) vol.I. Col.972. There was little love lost between the duke and Peter of Savoy. After 1259 the monks of Jervaulx appealed for his help in a dispute with Peter of Savoy (Shirley, Royal letters ii p.29). Peter had quarrelled with Jervaulx in 1252 (Chron.Maj. V p.356). Was it partly for the sake of this business that the duke's emissaries visited England in March 1253 and given safe conduct at the instance of Aymer the elect of Winchester? (C.P.R.1247-58 p.180).
2. C.P.R.1258-66 p.25.
3. Foedera 1 (i) p.391; c.f. Flores Historiarum ii p.435-6.

chose to stand by the large number of charters whereby Henry III had guaranteed Richmond for himself and his heirs, and by December he was able to secure an agreeable solution to the dispute. At Paris, when Henry III met Louis IX to complete the peace, pressure was put on the duke of Brittany to accept a compromise which bound the marriage intimately with the success of the treaty of Paris. On 13th December the duke renounced Richmond for himself and his heirs and in return was promised the revenues of the Agenais ceded to Henry III under the treaty, together with other revenues, all to be settled on the duke's son and Beatrice. This arrangement was dependant on the speedy valuation of both Richmond and the Agenais and if, by the end of six years, the duke's son remained unsatisfied he would be granted other lands by Henry III or, indeed, restored Richmond.(1) This complex arrangement was typical of devious Savoyard diplomacy and it soon proved unworkable to the dissatisfaction of all sides.(2) But it saved Richmond for Peter of Savoy for the time being, albeit at the cost of heavy financial loss for Henry III or acute embarrassment at not being able to provide for his daughter and son-in-law. It should, however, be placed in context with Peter's settlement on 3rd November 1259 of the succession to the honour of L'Aigle (Pevensey) in a final concord drawn up

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1. Wurstemberger IV No.526; Diplomatic Documents No. 307; 308 (3); 308 (5). See also: introduction, p.14

2. See below pp. 357-8

before a great gathering of magnates in Parliament. Here 'at the petition of the king' he named Queen Eleanor as his heir in default of any direct male heirs of his own. This document is difficult to interpret for, while it merely repeated the terms of Peter's 1255 will naming Eleanor as heir to all his lands in England, its very restrictions, from now on difficult to alter, appeared to contradict the earlier spirit of the king's grants to Peter of estates (including Pevensey) under the stated terms that he could bequeath them to anyone - even persons overseas - at will. The public nature of this declaration may reveal an attempt to win Peter more popularity from the baronage, or support over the matter of Richmond, or it may simply have allayed baronial unease over the alienation of yet more England land to continental absentees. It was, however, by no means immediately disadvantageous to him and it confirmed his possession of Pevensey under favourable terms of knight-service.(1)

The period 1258-9 saw, therefore, a re-alignment of forces within the Council established in 1258. Gloucester and Peter of Savoy quarelled with Simon de Montfort. Both sides secured allies in the Council and scored victories over the other; the close of 1259 brought the apparent advantage to the 'diplomats'. The immediate fruits of

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1. Wurstemberger IV No.407; C.47/9/1. The Exchequer obviously considered Peter liable for a heavier knight service (e.g. C.R.1259-61 p.302: November 1260).

these manoeuvres was the further erosion in the income of the Crown which now seemed to be at the mercy of these magnates and their ambitions. The baronage viewed such division amongst courtiers with alarm; attempts were made in the October Parliament of 1259 to curb the power of the magnates in the Council. Correctly, it had been realized that in all this grave danger was posed to the survival of the new régime.(1).

(ii) The lord Edward's rebellion 1259-60

The origins of Edward's rebellion are not difficult to discover. From the moment of the sealing of his undertaking on 15th October 1259 to give aid and counsel to Simon de Montfort it was an alliance of powerful elements discontented with the Council and the directions that its policies were taking under the direction of Gloucester, Peter of Savoy and the 'diplomats'. Edward's grievances took a number of forms. His most immediate worry was the growing influence of Gloucester. Their long-standing dispute over Bristol, which probably helped drive them into opposite political camps over the Provisions in 1258 soon rose to new heights as Edward began to suspect that Gloucester might use the powers of the new regime to restore

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1. Baronial Plan p.189.

him the contested Honour.(1) An additional source of irritation came in 1259 with Gloucester's new intervention in the negotiations of the treaty of Paris. One chronicler could now assert, therefore, that hostility had arisen between Edward and the earl 'propter venditionem terrae normannie quae penitus eidem (i.e. Gloucester) imputabatur'.(2) It is well known that Edward, like Simon de Montfort, had been reluctant to co-operate in the making of the treaty of Paris. Edward (unlike de Montfort) had, in fact, much to lose by the treaty and its renunciation clauses, for instance his claims to Normandy and the other lost Angevin territories made over to him by Henry III in 1254, whereas in Gascony his own status and independence would be eroded by the new overlordship given to the French king.(3) The only comfort that the prince could take was that the proposed treaty, and the 'sale of Normandy' that it entailed, was not generally popular.(4)

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1. ibid. p.193. Edward's dispute with the earls of Gloucester over Bristol, lasting from 1254-76 is related in M. Altschul, A baronial family ... the Clares, p.26,77,83,127.

2. Gervase of Canterbury ii p.210.

3. Chaplais, art.cit. p.244; Foedera 1 (i) p.296; Hen.III + L.Edw. p.254-7. For an early appeal to the Court of France undercutting Edward's administration in Gascony: C.R.1259-61 p.232.

4. It has not been generally noticed that many (otherwise unrelated) chroniclers were opposed to the renunciation of English claims to Normandy. Who was responsible for the propaganda which coloured their views? (Burton Annals p.487; Waverley Annals p.350-1; Liber de Antiquis Legibus p.43; Gervase of Canterbury ii p.210.

Under the Provisions of Oxford the parties interested in restricting the political plottings of the king's heir, such as Peter of Savoy, the curiales and, perhaps Gloucester, had taken considerable care to thrust him into subjection under the control of a fixed council; this, and other measures worked effectively enough for a few months. But by the beginning of 1259 it had begun to break down. The continuing military problem in Wales alone may have made it almost unworkable. Furthermore, after a brief period of docility Edward began sniping away at the officials imposed on him by the Council in his unceasing quest to create a household of his own choosing. His pressure was sufficient to prevent a revival of Savoyard influence in his affairs; indeed the months after 1258 quickly saw it diminish significantly. Peter of Savoy continued to witness Edward's charters[1] but Edward began to purge the leading Savoyards from his service. Even at the end of October 1258 he had probably managed to rid himself of his chancellor (appointed in 1255), Michael de Fiennes, a kinsman of Queen Eleanor.[2] At about the same period

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1. e.g. Cal.Ormonde Deeds. vol.I p.55 (3rd August 1258) and Brit.Lib., Addit. Ch. No. 20442 (8th August 1259): a curious list mixing Peter with Councillors of the king and Edward. Gloucester was suitably absent.

2. G.P. Cuttino, 'A chancellor of the Lord Edward', B.I.H.R., 50 (1977) p.229-232; J.R. Studd, 'Chancellors of the Lord Edward, a supplementary note', ibid. 51 (1978) p.181-3. I disagree with Dr. Studd who states that Fiennes was still serving Edward on 23rd July 1259 (his reference P.R.O. CHES.38/47/1 definitely should be dated 20th July 1256: it even mentions John fitz Geoffrey who died at the close of 1258). On about 29th October Fiennes, styled interestingly enough dilectus clericus regis left England never to return to Edward's service. (C.R.1256-59 p.334; Cuttino, Studd, art.cit.)

Eubule de Montibus, so close to the Prince during his youth, left his service.(1) Although, as is well-known, a promise to reform Edward's household existed in the Provisions of Oxford, the removal of these Savoyards was hardly the work of the Council: they were not victimized in any way but still honourably treated and employed in the king's service.(2) The chief reason was simple bad luck which thwarted the aims of Peter of Savoy. John fitz Geoffrey, doyen of Edward's administration, and Peter's ally of 1258 died in November of that year. His death and the pre-occupation of Peter of Savoy and Peter de Montfort with foreign diplomacy and the struggles with Simon de Montfort reduced the pressure on the Council for a detailed surveillance of the activities of the Prince. The permanent council imposed on Edward under the Provisions soon proved to be a broken reed; of the four

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1. For Eubule and Edward: see above Ch.5 p. 176. He witnesses his surviving charters constantly since 1256, but not after 7th May 1258 (C.Ch.R. 1257-1300 p.13.) He next witnessed on 13th May 1263 (ibid. p.147). By January 8th 1259 he had gone abroad 'on the king's service' (C.P.R. 1258-66 p.8) and again in March (ibid. p.15). There is nothing, therefore, to connect Eubule and Edward 1259-61.

2. Below p. 356. and substance of the previous two notes. For Edward and the Provisions: Richardson & Sayles 'The Provisions of Oxford, a forgotten document' p.299. It is worth repeating that the Provisions promised reforms in the households of the king and queen which we have shown (in the case of the aliens) to be ineffective. It would be absurd, therefore, for the Council to have purged the Savoyards from the prince's household.

councillors appointed the baronial representative John de Balliol failed to witness a single surviving charter of the prince and so probably never held office, John de Grey (probably owing to his family's traditional involvement with the affairs of Edward's estates) did not resist Edward's attempts at rebellion and Roger de Mold and Stephen de Longespee were men of declining powers; the former witnessed Edward's charters only sporadically and not after 29th October 1259 and died in the following June, and the latter witnessed regularly only until March 1259 and died a year later.(1)

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1. For these officials' careers see Ch.5 p.171-8 and notes. Statements on the witnessing of Edward's charters are based on the collection of his surviving *acta* in J.R. Studd 'A catalogue of the acts of the lord Edward' (Univ. Leeds Ph.D. thesis, 1971). Dr. Studd, however, does not publish the charter witness-lists and so reference has been made to the relevant original sources: e.g., *Calendar of Ormonde Deeds* vol.I p.55; *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society of Lancashire & Cheshire*, vol. 103 (1951) p.52.
Roger de Mold, whose efficiency may have been deteriorating, was replaced (by Edward) as Justiciar of Chester on 1st November 1259 (Studd, *op.cit*. Docs. 703,709,711-12.) For John de Grey and Edward's rebellion, see below p.353.
Longespée was not very effective in Ireland either: J.R. Studd 'The lord Edward and King Henry III', *B.I.H.R.* 50 (1977) p.9. It is interesting to see Roger de Mold replaced in Edward's entourage in the Autumn of 1259 by his younger kinsman, Adam de Mold. He may well have been more pliable for the prince's purposes: in December Edward granted him a wardship. (P.R.O. C.61/4.m.5; Studd, Doc.756).

But the most serious threat to the settlement of 1259 came from within the royal Council itself, in the famous private agreement reached on 14th March 1259 between Edward and Gloucester in which their personal disputes would be placed before arbitration and in return Gloucester promised to secure the return to Edward's personal control of his lands and castles and to ensure that the king's charters concerning his estates in England and abroad were observed.(1) Although the earl included in this agreement several councillors, including the Justiciar and the earls of Norfolk and Aumâle there was, significantly, no mention of potentially most interested parties, such as Peter of Savoy, or of his collaborator, John Mansel. Moreover the list of Edward's twelve sureties, or 'alliez' reveal how far the prince had moved since 1258 in building up an independent household for himself. Absent are the Stewards and chancellor imposed on him by the king(2) (indeed the document is,

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1. Report on the MSS. of Lord Middleton preserved at Woollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire (Hist.MSS.Comm., 1911) p.67-9. Various points of diplomatic deserve notice. The document was hardly formal, or meant to be perpetually binding, being drawn up in informal French and sealed only in white wax by Gloucester, Warrenne and Almain. The inclusion of fealty to the king and the common oath was necessary to prevent any charges of plotting against the Provisions. The elaborate arrangements for arbitration are well summarized by Powicke, Hen.III + L. Edw. p.397-8.

2. Michael de Fiennes, the chancellor, had, as has been described, been deposed in 1258. He had been replaced by Ralph de Donjon in November 1259 (J.R. Studd, 'Chancellors of the Lord Edward' p.182). Where were Sirs William de Wilton and William de Chaeny, presumably still Steward of the estates and household respectively? Wilton witnessed Edward's next extant deed (8th August 1259: Brit.Lib.Addit.Ch.No.20442) but had been replaced by Roger de Leybourne at some point during 1259. Chaeny next witnessed, once on 2nd November (P.R.O.C.61/4.m.5) before deserting Edward entirely.Both are discussed briefly below pp.352, 359.

curiously, not witnessed by any of Edward's clerical officials). New prominence is given to the young, unruly knights of his own choice, such as Roger de Clifford, Hamo Lestrange and John de Vaux, the nucleus of retainers who supported him in moments of independence, such as the forthcoming rebellion.(1) Some knights witness for the first time.(2) Indeed, the agreement is, in fact, the first of Edward's _acta_ not to be witnessed by a preponderance of royal councillors; it was sealed on Edward's behalf by his allies of 1258, Henry of Almain and John de Warenne.(3) It is also the first indication of the spectacular rise in the prince's service of a recent recruit, Sir Roger de Leybourne, from the service of the exiled William de Valence, and soon (if not already) to become the prince's steward and the instrument of further clashes between Edward and his former master's enemy, Gloucester.(4)

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1. For these knights, all of whom had joined Edward's service as recently as 1257 when it began to expand, see above, ch. 7 p. 273

2. e.g. William de la Zouche (he entered Edward's service _c_. 1256.) Probably the youngest of this celebrated administrative family in Edward's service (_C.P.R.1247-58_ p.513; _G.E.C._ XII p. 934 n ); and Warrin de Bassingburn (in Edward's service since _c_. 1255

3. The addition of the councillors Phillip Basset, Robert Walerand, and Stephen de Longespée to the list of Edward's sureties (they would be more reliable for Gloucester than the others) does not detract from the revolutionary nature of this document.

4. _Baronial Plan_, p.193. Since Leybourne witnessed every one of Edward's surviving charters from this date onwards, mid-1259 seems to be a reasonable date for his appointment as Steward.

Gloucester may have been tempted into such a unilateral agreement with Edward by feelings of his own political insecurity and fears of the consequences of further violence between himself and the prince or even by hopes of winning Edward's friendship. But, at the height of his dispute with de Montfort over the treaty of Paris, Gloucester also probably hoped to win Edward's co-operation over the renunciation clauses - at the price of placating the prince's naive ambitions - and thereby claim the credit for himself of advancing the treaty on which he had put at stake so much of his personal reputation. Edward, in fact, made the necessary agreements to the treaty shortly afterwards - certainly before 20th May - and repeated them on 25th July.(1)

If this was Gloucester's intention, he had made a great mistake. By 8th August 1259 Edward was no freer from political tutelage than before, for his charter of that date was witnessed by Peter of Savoy and the usual type of royal councillor with Roger de Leybourne as Edward's only personal representative far down the list.(2) In addition to this, on 8th July, after an interval suggestive of protracted negotiations, the sensitive vacancy at Bristol castle was filled by none other than the arch-curialis,

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1. Chaplais, 'The making of the treaty of Paris' p.244-5.

2. Brit.Lib.Addit.Ch. No.20442. Leybourne is the penultimate name, oddly placed between two former stewards of the prince, William de Wilton (? still the official steward) and Wilton's predecessor Geoffrey de Langley.

the steward Robert Walerand whom Edward failed to accept and, indeed, soon attempted to remove from office.(1) Edward, no doubt, felt duped by Gloucester and it was his frustration with the Council for whetting his desire for independence and then crushing it which led to his rebellion. He began to register his discontent during the October Parliament of 1259 when, in a celebrated incident, he swore to stand by the communitas bachelerie Anglie, in defence of tenantry against the magnates and in what the chronicler implies was a demonstration against Gloucester and the magnates' opposition to the Provisions of Westminster.(2) At the same time discontented parties joined forces in Edward's well-known compact with Simon de Montfort, again witnessed by Henry of Almain, John de Warrenne and Roger de Leybourne.(3) Peter of Savoy may never have forgiven Gloucester for foolishly causing Edward's rebellion.

After this, Edward lost no time in acting against the Council. Henry III, Peter of Savoy, Gloucester, Mansel

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1. C.P.R.1258-66 p.29,32; J.R. Studd 'The Lord Edward and King Henry III' p.9. There is no direct evidence, unfortunately, of the precise author of this appointment, since the Patent Roll merely records the "ratification" of "Edward's" nomination of Walerand. We may be sure, however, that neither Edward, nor the king, was responsible at this date.

2. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.407-8; Baronial Plan p.164. Treharne's interpretation is preferable. The famous appeal of the 'bachelors' to Gloucester emphasises, once again, his extraordinary influence.

3. Bémont, Simon de Montfort (1930) p.173,287.

and other councillors were bound for France to publish the treaty of Paris and sailed from England on 13th November. By this time Edward had already begun to seize control of his estates; on 4th November he had replaced John Mansel at Tickhill by Roger Stok, an official of minor importance (1) and on 13th November he removed Peter of Savoy's bailiff from Hastings.(2) He also quickly descended on Bristol, for on 11th and 13th November Henry III wrote, characteristically, by the counsel of John Mansel, ordering Walerand not to yield up Bristol castle to anyone save the nominee of the Council and ordering Edward to wait patiently for justice upon the king's return from France.(3) Edward, nonetheless, proceeded to replace Walerand with Sir Roger de Leybourne on 7th December.(4) Suddenly his administration sprung into an independent life of its own; Edward began to distribute fees, gifts and, against royal policy, land-grants to a household now dominated by Roger de Leybourne, Roger de Clifford and Hamo Lestrange.(5) Further admin-

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1. J.R. Studd 'A catalogue of the acts of the Lord Edward' doc. 715.

2. ibid. doc. 734.

3. C.P.R.1258-66 p.63-4.

4. Studd, doc. 742.

5. e.g. Charters 2nd November 1259-13th May 1260 repeatedly witnessed by this group (P.R.O.C.61/4m.4-5; C.Ch.R.1157-1300 p.147). Also: a manor to Roger de Clifford, 27th December (Studd, Doc.752.) Other fees 6th-26th November: (Docs. 720-736.)

istrative changes followed; the castles of Skenfrith, Grosmont and Whitecastle were probably placed under Roger de Clifford, Drogo de Barentino, the baronial nominee, was confirmed as Seneschal of Gascony but for only one year and under Edward's terms and receiving his fee (6th-12th November)[1] and by December Roger de Leybourne presided over the county court of Chester as lieutenant (locum tenens) of the lord Edward.[2]

The main events of Edward's rebellion are too well-known to merit retelling. They received coverage from

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1. The date of Clifford's appointment is not known. It may have occurred before the start of Edward's surviving patent roll (C.61/4) in November 1259. Clifford's predecessor was probably John fitz Geoffrey, whose executors, perhaps, controlled the three castles among the other castra wallie and for which his son, John fitz John, specifically accounted in 1262 (C.R.1259-61 p.350; E.159/36m.13.) Since Clifford was removed deliberately after Edward's rebellion his appointment was more than likely illegal. For Barentino, J.R. Studd 'the Lord Edward and King Henry' p.9.

2. Calendar of County Court, ..... and Eyre Rolls of Chester, ed. R. Stewart-Brown, (Chetham Soc., New Ser. vol. 84; Manchester, 1925) p.2. 'Lieutenant' may have been a circumlocution to avoid Leybourne styling himself as steward. He was never officially recognized as such on the king's Chancery rolls.

several chroniclers.(1) Historians have, however, been less clear about the scale of the rebellion and the nature of the support given to Edward. The interpretation of the rebellion has also caused problems. R.F. Treharne sees Henry III as the villain who used his stay in France 1259-60 to wrestle free from the shackles of the Baronial regime; Simon de Montfort in England was the idealistic defender of Parliament and the Provisions. For Treharne the rebellion was the turning-point in the history of the Provisions; it shattered the unity of the Council, allied the king with the Gloucester faction and disillusioned the realm with the viability of idealistic magnate rule.(2) Sir Maurice Powicke regarded the whole affair with less seriousness; it was a 'domestic rather than a political crisis', the product, indeed, more of Henry III's feverish paranoia in grossly exaggerating the importance of Simon de Montfort's actions rather than a serious threat.

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1. The main detailed narrative (which can hardly be improved on) is in: Baronial Plan p.220-235, criticized by Hen.III + L.Edw. p.411-16. Seven contemparaneous chronicles (together with the later Thomas Wykes) comment on the rebellion. Tewkesbury p.168-9, St.Andrew's, Northampton p.101, and Gervase of Canterbury ii p.210 dismiss these events in less than a sentence, merely commenting on the hostility between Edward and Gloucester. The fuller accounts of Dunstable p.214-5, Flores Historiarum ii p.443-449 and Thomas Wykes p.123-4 are also very vague. Precise details, but only for the climax of the revolt in London, April 1260, can only be found in the London-based chroniclers: Liber de Antiquis Legibus p.43-4, Annales Londonienses p.54-5.

2. Baronial Plan p.379-80.

The majority of the Council, and the baronage even, remained loyal to the king. But he concludes by following Treharne; the king remained vindictive and, as the Baronial régime broke down under the weight ot its own impracticability, Henry seized power and destroyed the Provisions in 1261.(1) Powicke later revised his views somewhat. The entire crisis had arisen over the impracticability of the Provisions - no-one could have foretold that Henry would have been forced to dally on the continent and arbitrarily break the constitution laid down in 1258 - and it thus so exemplified the shortcomings of the very Baronial system that it led naturally to its destruction in 1261.(2)

When the rebellion is viewed from the aspect of court politics and the role of the aliens it seems that these traditional 'constitutionalist' interpretations do ignore - as we have already suggested in relating the causes of the revolt - a good deal of evidence concerning the role and motivation of the personalities concerned. Powicke was correct when he described it as a 'domestic' crisis. It was very much a courtier crisis fought over the degree of political independence to be allotted to the king's heir; over the dower settlement to be made to the king's sister and brother-in-law. When Edward and de

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1. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.412-19.
2. Thirteenth Century p.155-162.

Montfort pressed for Parliaments to be held in the king's absence it was probably so that they could lay their cases before the baronage and obtain fairer treatment than could be obtained from the Council now dominated by their enemy Gloucester and his allies now safely in France. Both hoped to woo, or bribe support. When their retainers clashed with those of Gloucester, who had returned from the continent with a small force of alien mercenaries of his own, in London, or possibly even in a tournament, it emphasised the personal nature of the dispute. It was still possible to contain Gloucester and Edward's activities by barring the gates of London to them in April.(1)

But there is evidence that the rebels attracted wider support. In April, as is well known, Henry under the influence of Gloucester, made a dramatic propaganda appeal for loyalty from the men of London, York and the Cinque Ports, indicating that he considered this was one of the major crises of the reign, and warning that groups of armed men were planning to converge on London and disrupt the realm; in the same month Henry also bid for the support of the feudal host.(2) The king's own military preparations were thorough, and he arrived in England at the end of April, collecting local levies on the way, at the head of over one hundred alien mercenaries which he

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1. Richard of Cornwall p.102; Baronial Plan p.228-30.

2. C.R.1259-61 p.253-4; D.B.M. p.180-3.

took pains to keep by his side for a number of months, the last leaving after 25th July.(1)

Edward certainly took his own military steps. Both he and Simon de Montfort attempted to recruit mercenaries and purchase equipment from the continent and Edward raised large loans from certain sources.(2) Edward may have attempted to plot with Marcher barons and knights; his charters at Bristol in December were witnessed by Marchers such as Humphrey de Bohun junior and Maurice de Berkeley(3) and in May 1260 the king's writs allude to rebels on the Welsh March.(4) Rebellion may have spread, too, to the fenlands, for in May Henry ordered the entrances to the Isle of Ely to be fortified against unauthorized persons.(5) Almost the sole magnate whose support for Edward is well

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1. Baronial Plan; esp. p.228. Treharne is wrong in implying that most of the mercenaries were paid off on 17th May (p.234). More were brought over on 10th May, one band left on 15th but Geoffrey de Burlaymont was still in England adter 4th June. Gifts were still being made to the bulk of mercenaries until 12th June and several bands (e.g. of Gerard de Rhodes and the count of Gisnes) were kept until 22nd July (C.P.R.1258-66 p.68-9; C.R.1259-61 p.42; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.504; E.101/349/26m.1-7.)

2. R.G.I (ii) p.LXXXIX No.8; C.R.1259-61 p.285-6. For Edward's loans see below.

3. P.R.O. C.61/4.m.3-4.

4. C.P.R.1258-66 p.70-1 Co. Salop, Stafford, Hereford.

5. V.C.H. Cambridgeshire vol.II p.390; C.R.1259-61 p.37.

documented is the abbot of Peterborough who was punished by the king after the rebellion for assisting the prince in raising a large loan, although what the abbot's personal interest in Edward's cause was is not clear.(1) After leaving Bristol, Edward joined de Montfort in the London area and both remained there until early August. Both plotted with the Council - possibly even with the remaining curiales or Richard of Cornwall.(2)

The rebels met with varying degrees of success in the government in England. There is some evidence that there was initial treachery, or at least much confusion in the Council over Gloucester's quarrels with his enemies. The Justiciar and his colleagues, for all their professions of loyalty to Henry III were slow to send his advisers on the continent money - and inadequate sums at that - and were curiously incapable of showing initiative in taking

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1. Flores Historiarum ii p.448. This is confirmed by the close rolls: upon the king's return some Peterborough manors were confiscated (returned 20th July) as a punishment. The Abbot may have helped Edward because he had a grudge against the Crown over current lawsuits arising from forest offences where 'rex non proposit dicto Abbati aut conventui vel suis graciam aliquam facere (C.R.1259-61 p.51-2, 87; E.159/33m.11). Later (October 1261) Henry III was to learn that Edward had mortgaged his inalienable manor of Grantham to the Abbot in connexion with loans raised from Sienna merchants (C.R.1259-61 p.448).

2. Henry III's letter to Richard (18th April 1260) ordering him not to let Poitevins land on his estate suggests this (D.B.M. p.186-9). Richard's pose of studied neutrality during the affair is also interesting (Richard of Cornwall p.102-3).

military precautions for themselves against rebels, acting only on the instructions sent over from France.(1) It could also be pointed out that de Montfort brought back to England at least two sympathetic councillors with him, Peter de Montfort and Richard de Grey when he deserted the treaty of Paris negotiations at the end of 1259 and together they had made some political headway with their colleagues during the Spring.(2) After the rebellion an extensive reshuffle

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1. Faced by pressure from the rebels and Gloucester Bigod must have been playing a waiting game. No writs concerning the crisis emanate from his side of the Council. For evidence to corroborate Henry's complaints of being starved of finance by the Justiciar: Baronial Plan p.221,228. Treharne's final view of the Justiciar's actions is, however, more favourable (ibid. p.224). The rebels' plotting with the Council are related during de Montfort's trial. He had, inter alia, persuaded Bigod not to send Henry money (D.B.M. p.208-11 c.39 etc.). Most interesting is the loan (c.Feb.1260 and before Gloucester's return) of 400 marks from the Justiciar to Roger de Leybourne. (C.R.1259-61 p.154). The sureties were Henry of Bath, Phillip Basset, (the Justiciar's deputy) and William de Wilton (Edward's ex-steward). Of these, the ex-justice Bath (also very important in the administration) had been granted a fee by the prince (Nov.1259) and witnessed no fewer than seven of his charters thereafter (before his death c.Oct.1260). (Studd, doc.736; C.61/4m.1-5; D.B.M. p.153-7). His heir, John of Bath, became a Montfortian rebel. (C.R.1259-61 p.362;C.P.R.1258-66 p.558.)

2. For their movements: C.P.R.1258-66 p.110; C.R.1259-61 p.273; Layettes III No.4566. For their relationship with de Montfort: D.B.M. p.201 c.16. Both became prominent Montfortians (ibid. p.285). Both, and Simon's friend the bishop of Worcester, witnessed Edward's charters repeatedly in the Spring of 1260 (C.61/4m.2-4.)

of the custody of royal castles was ordered and suspected supporters of de Montfort were dismissed.(1) The reason for this political uncertainty is that the rebellion was very much a test of Gloucester's ability to survive. Here was a perfect chance for rivals in the Council to plot the disgrace of the all-powerful earl. If Gloucester had his way it was only because he had organized matters [illegible] in such a superior fashion on the continent where friends around the king issued writs and helpful p raised the loans and brought home enough mercenari crush the opposition.(2) De Montfort was building of a campaign to accuse Gloucester, Peter of Savoy other 'diplomats' of treachery against the Provisi Yet Gloucester's final trump-card was his complete of the king. King Henry's appeals for loyalty and in his propaganda of investing Bigod the Justician supreme legitimate authority must have been an inc advantage - and it probably tipped the balance in

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1. The majority of those appointed in 1258 (Baron Plan p.237). Prominent casualties were later Midlands and E. Anglian supporters of de Montf Gilbert de Gaunt, William Bardolf, Ralph Basse Sapcote, Peter de Montfort (and, for the time being) John de Grey (C.P.R.1258-66 p.70 c.f. D.B.M. p.285.

2. Gloucester left for England at the start of Ma Henry's main military activities were arranged this point onwards. I find no evidence to sup Treharne's assertion (Baronial Plan p.225) tha Justiciar advised Henry to collect an army on continent.

3. Inter alia: the charge over the Provisions an holding of Parliaments (D.B.M. p.207 c.31). F Gloucester himself: below p.362 ; Peter of Sa p.357.

Bigod's support in the end.(1) Gloucester's power is neatly illustrated by the point that, whereas during the crisis at Easter the Justiciar and Richard of Cornwall (who had suddenly recovered his political usefulness) attempted to appear impartial and expel the warring followers of Gloucester and Edward from London, the earl took pains (not surprisingly) to arm himself with a royal writ ordering his admission.(2) Gloucester had even supplied himself with the king's barge in order to return to England in triumph in March and, whereas orders were sent from the Council in France to prevent the rebels importing mercenaries, Gloucester was allowed free passage for his alien henchmen.(3)

Who were Gloucester's friends around the king who had been so well organized on his behalf? The Savoyards and curiales such as John Mansel probably lay at the root of his support. Edward, according to the author of Flores Historiarum had to be reconciled after his rebellion with both the king and the queen(4) and the Dunstable Annalist states even more categorically that reconciliation with the prince was necessary because Queen Eleanor 'causa

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1. cf. wording of Henry III's famous appeal. Baronial Plan p.231. Other writs preserve the fiction of Henry's personal power. If Henry had been in control, why did he not use his army to destroy the Provisions in 1260?

2. Richard of Cornwall p.103; D.B.M. p.185,191.

3. C.R.1259-61 p.245; C.P.R.1258-66 p.119.

4. Flores Historiarum ii p.449.

totius malitiae extiterat'.(1) Whether the chroniclers were merely repeating anti-alien propaganda is difficult to say. (Both the earl and, ironically, 'royal' propaganda had generated enough public hostility over bringing armed aliens into the realm.(2) Here, it could be added, was probably the start of the chroniclers' campaign against the Savoyards, which reached its climax in 1263.) But there is some basis to support their suspicions over Eleanor's activities. Her jewel roll for this period demonstrates clearly that it was her contacts with the nobility of Flanders and Picardy which were instrumental in raising the vital mercenaries.(3) It also shows Eleanor, characteristically, in the very throes of the diplomacy in France where her sister, Louis IX's consort, could have been instrumental over supplying Henry with the vital advances on the treaty payments to finance his troops.(4) Henry also used Savoyard emissaries, in his

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1. Annals of Dunstable p.215: curiously misunderstood by Powicke (Hen.III + L.Edw. p.414; Thirteenth Century p.159).

2. For de Montfort's propaganda, especially D.B.M. p.209; c.38-9.)

3. E.101/349/26 m.1-7.

4. Baronial Plan p.225-6. Eleanor's jewel roll (m.2-8) show a distribution of rings to most of the main household of the king and queen of France at Christmas 1259.

accustomed manner, to convey some of the most important writs directed against the rebellion, and to conduct vital negotiations.(1)

The Savoyards' interest in supporting Gloucester stemmed from many reasons. Both Peter of Savoy and John Mansel had been removed by Edward from custody of his manors at the start of the rebellion.(2) They could well see Edward's actions as the crisis-point in his bid for independence and this point seems to have been underlined by the fact that the king's entourage in France contained those Savoyards who recently had been expelled by the prince from the highest positions in his service, Eubule de Montibus, Geoffrey de Joinville and Michael de Fiennes. It was no coincidence that the king had sent Edward's former chancellor, newly-rewarded with a benefice, as his messenger to England.(3) The Savoyards also had specific grievances against de Montfort. In his thirst for vengeance at his failure to obtain total victory over the

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1. Imbert de Montferrand, the household marshal, was sent to England c. 24th January 1260 (C.R.1259-61 p.236.) He was probably the bearer of the first letter prohibiting Parliaments in the king's absence (D.B.M. p.164 ff). Peter de Chauvent went to England c. March 2nd. (C.R.1259-61 p.246; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.505). He may have had communications for the Lord Edward? (D.B.M.p.174 ff). For Michael de Fiennes' mission see below (p.360 ). Montferrand was sent to Louis at the end of May 1260 with 'news' and to solicit more money. (C.P.R.1258-66 p.74,81; C.R.1259-61 p.167).John Mansel's clerk was also important at this time (D.B.M. p.177).
2. See above p.345.
3. e.g., C.R.1259-61 p.284; C.P.R.1258-66 p.116.

'diplomats' in the affair of the treaty of Paris Earl Simon had, according to the text of his subsequent trial, spoken to upset the Breton marriage. De Montfort asserted in reply that Henry III could not give any land away with the hand of his daughter without the approval of the Council. De Montfort's reply shows that there was doubt that could be generated over Peter of Savoy's recent brilliant diplomacy, whereby he had saved Richmond from the claims of the duke of Brittany. It was a rushed settlement, of course, heavily committing Henry III to part with revenue (which had in the past been so loath to lavish on the de Montforts) and it had been concluded unilaterally by Peter and his ally Gloucester and the other diplomats in France almost certainly without the prior approval of the rest of the Council, a point which has hitherto gone unnoticed.(1) The grant of the Agenais revenues to Jean de Bretagne may never have been recognised thereafter by the Council. It was certainly not properly enrolled in the Chancery.(2) Also, the Council failed Subsequently to co-operate in the valuation of the Agenais and could be accused of this by Henry in mid-1261.(3) In March 1260 Henry

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1. D.B.M. p.204-5. c.23. Above, p. 332-3

2. The agreement in December 1259 (including one chyrograph and two royal letters patent) is not regularly entered on the Patent roll but preserved, in a series of drafts, in Chancery, Diplomatic Documents 29/1/21: printed by P. Chaplais Diplomatic Docs. No.308 (1-6). The originals (including two patents of the duke of Brittany) were sent to the queen of France for safe-keeping. All royal patents are witnessed: earl of Gloucester, Aumâle, John Mansel, Peter of Savoy "and others of the council" (deliberately unnamed) and 'by the king himself'. "Other councillors" attending Henry III at Paris were certainly not party in name to all this.

3. D.B.M. p.232-5 c.22.

wrote to the duke of Brittany and to the Council that he was delayed in France partly over the affair of the Agenais.(1)

Difficulties over the Breton marriage intimately affected the fortunes of Peter of Savoy and it must have been on the grounds of the unpopular agreement reached in France that Simon de Montfort (and Edward) campaigned during the illegal Candlemas Parliament (February 1260) for his removal from the Council. De Montfort alleged in his trial that Peter had resigned from the Council during the negotiations of Christmas 1259, but these were doubtless words spoken in anger and used out of context by Peter's clever adversary.(2) Peter, admittedly, left Henry III's entourage at the end of January 1260 to return to Savoy and did not return to England until the close of the year, but this was on account of vital family business.(3)

The Savoyards - and indeed other interested parties - reacted sharply to the events of Edward's rebellion because it resurrected the very political dangers which they had striven to overcome in 1258. Edward was supported during

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1. D.B.M. p.172-5; C.R.1259-61 p.277. It should be added that from 24th October 1260 (a significant date)Jean de Bretagne was paid an enormous cash fee of 2,000 marks p.a. In 1261 the king blamed the Council for leaving him no alternative.(Durham, Dean & Ch.Mun., Locellus I. No.62) See below p.392-3
2. D.B.M. p.206-7 c.33.
3. Peter's movements are deduced from Chancery rolls: see also below p.377 E.L. Cox, The Eagles of Savoy p.296-301 for his important visit to Savoy.

his revolt by the same junior elements at court, led by Henry of Almain and John de Warenne and, perhaps, joined by the young earl of Devon; the first two were subjected, along with other members of Edward's household, to frantic offers of bribes from Gloucester and the Council during and immediately after the rebellion, but to little avail.(1) But, most important of all for the Savoyards, Edward's rebellion was linked, in the propaganda war at least, with an attempt forcibly to effect the return of the exiled Poitevins. From 12th November 1259 when, in conjunction with a move to foil Edward's seizure of Bristol castle the mayor was ordered not to allow Poitevins to land at the port, until May 1260 when Breton sailors were forbidden to transport the king's half-brothers without license (an order to last until Michaelmas) there were no fewer than five occasions when various letters were issued ordering resistance to a potential Lusignan landing. Unfortunately, direct evidence is still lacking over Poitevin movements, but the number, variety and specific detail of these orders suggests that they should not be

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1. For some bribes: Baronial Plan p.227. The only important desertion from Edward's service, apart from the Savoyards, was his former steward, Sir William de Chaeny who fled to Queen Eleanor's service in France (c. Dec.1259: E.101/349/26m.3.) I have no evidence for Devon's actions other than his part in Edward's deal with Gloucester in 1259 (Devon was married to a kinswoman of Queen Eleanor in 1257). Grants to the outer fringes of Edward's men: Warrin de Bassingburn (15th June 1260), Geoffrey de Nevill (1st Aug.) and William de la Zouche (3rd Aug.), some made 'per ipsum regem', may have been bribes or rewards? (C.R.1259-61 p.56,76,90; C.P.R.1258-66 p.85.)

dismissed as mere propaganda.(1) They were sent to Richard of Cornwall, Louis IX, Alphonse de Poitiers and the Countess of Flanders as well as issued generally - and the letter to Richard of Cornwall was carried by Michael de Fiennes.(2) Fears of an alien landing were uppermost in more general 'royal' propaganda, too.(3) Furthermore, Peter of Savoy and his allies had more specific worries to act upon. Aymer's consecration was imminent. In January 1260 Peter, Gloucester and Mansel had written to the pope, urging him to transfer him from Winchester at least to another see. They declared that in the past Aymer had provoked the king against the queen and that he had made Edward rebellious 'in continuam nostrae et regni nostri tranquilitatis turbacionem.'(4) But their entreaties were to no avail and, indeed, on 13th May Aymer was consecrated to Winchester. He himself may have foiled the plot for his own return by delaying consecration but the continuing crisis (illustrated by the orders as late as 7th July to resist the entry of undesirable papal agents into England) shows that, too late, he began on his own account to apply the pressure again.(5) His brothers may have anticipated this by

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1. C.R.1259-61 p.138,259-61,263,285-6; C.P.R.1258-66 p.68.
2. C.R.1259-61 p.287.
3. e.g. C.R.1259-61 p.253-4.
4. ibid. p.263.
5. ibid. p.181.

plotting with English allies his, and their own, return. We know of the private agreement reached at Paris in the winter of 1259 between Simon de Montfort and William de Valence 'against the king's will and that of his council and of the community of the realm' according to the propaganda wording of the 'trial' in July 1260.(1) The resolute military action on Edward's behalf by William de Valence's former knight, Roger de Leybourne, is most suggestive, too.(2)

### (iii) The aftermath of Edward's rebellion May - Dec. 1260

The immediate aftermath of the crushing of Edward's rebellion was apparently a decisive victory for the alliance of Gloucester, the Savoyards and their supporters. This was the height of Gloucester's power. Exceptional

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1. D.B.M. p.205 c.25. Unfortunately, nothing further survives of this agreement. (It may have been worded in a similar manner to de Montfort's earlier alliance with Edward, to avoid charges of treachery to the Provisions (c.f. Bémont (1930) p.173,287.)) De Montfort hardly denied the charge, but replied that he acted on the king's urging. Was Henry III already plotting (on the Poitevins' behalf) with Gloucester's enemy?

2. e.g. in fortifying his castle in Kent early in 1260 (C.R.1259-61 p.283.)

honours were heaped on him. Already, on March 18th 1260 there were plans to allow him the unusual franchise of return of writ in his Honour of Clare[1] and, even more unusually at the close of May, after the earl of Aumâle died, the author of Flores Historiarum reported a rumour that the king had bestowed the wardship of the lands and heirs on Gloucester for fifteen years. There is no surviving record of any such grant which, had it been made, would have emphasized Gloucester's complete domination of the Council.[2] There were grants to prominent Savoyards of the households of the king and Edward May-July and during the same period there were favours, too, for the queen and her servants.[3] The Savoyards were also safe, for the time being, from the embarrassment of the claims of John of Brittany. Some attempt may have been made to exclude him from the realm in May, but when he landed at Dover at the close of June to visit his bride

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1. C.P.R.1258-66 p.99. The Crown normally resisted such grants, except for members of the king's family: M.T.Clanchy 'The franchise of return of writs' (T.R.H.S. 5th.Ser. Vol.17:1967) p.64-8.

2. Flores Historiarum ii p.450. A most unusual grant: wardships of this scale were always reserved for members of the royal family under Henry III. The chronicler portrays the earl as a would-be violator of the Provisions. All this is, doubtless, the propaganda of de Montfort.

3. The executors of Lady Willhelmina (30th May), Hugh de la Penne (30th May), the queen herself (16th Aug.) (C.R.1259-61 p.50,103); Peter de Chauvent (28th May), Geoffrey de Joinville (26th July), Imbert Pugeys and Imbert de Montferrand (both 27th July). Gloucester personally assisted a grant to Montferrand on 2nd August (ibid. p.88; C.P.R.1258-66 p.83-4; C.Lib.R. 1251-60 p.505,520). A grant to Stephen, his kinsman, followed on 8th August (C.R.1259-61 p.100).

he was received courteously enough, but no hopes were offered to him of a swift solution over Richmond and the Council played for time over the next few months with a protracted survey of the Honour.(1)

Gloucester's victory, however, did not last long and within a few months his power had collapsed. Indeed, cracks had immediately appeared in the position of the earl and his allies. They failed to achieve anything more than a check on the lord Edward in May. While the king was not surrounded by a full council in May and June but most business seems to have been handled by the Justiciar, John Mansel and few magnates apart from the earls of Gloucester and Norfolk(2) they did not dare to impose a partisan settlement onto Edward's household and estates. On 15th May they were able to force the replacement of three of Edward's inner ring of knights from control of his main castles: Roger de Leybourne by Phillip Basset at Bristol, Hamo Lestrange by John Lestrange at Montgomery and Roger de Clifford by Gilbert Talbot in the Three Castles.(3) These new castellans were (apart from Basset) Edward's, not Gloucester's, men and, in fact, the choice of Basset for the disputed fortress of Bristol may well

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1. C.R.1259-61 p.63; C.P.R.1258-66 p.68,82,87. Had the repeated orders to the duke of Brittany and his subjects not to assist the Lusignans during the recent crisis been an attempt to forestall the alliance of discontented parties?

2. e.g. C.53/50m.5. No friends of de Montfort witnessed during this period e.g., the bishop of Worcester.

3. C.R.1259-61 p.42. Immediately obeyed by Edward (Studd, docs. 790-5).

indicate the influence of Richard of Cornwall, the arbiter in the personal quarrels between Edward and Gloucester. Richard of Cornwall's arbitration of June was also not unfavourable to Edward; it declared a cancellation of disputes on both sides and re-affirmed the agreement reached in March 1259.(1) At this point Edward may even have been restored partial control of his estates, for the remainder of his personally-chosen officials continued to function and he toured Chester in person in August and September and even made appointments to minor castles on the Welsh march.(2) Nor was there any further attempt to purge Edward's household of undesirables or to reinstate, for instance, the Savoyards. The witness-lists of Edward's surviving charters drawn up in the London area on 13th May, 20th July and 5th August were consistently witnessed by Simon de Montfort and his allies.(3) The position of Roger de Leybourne and his fellow-knights was not reduced. Indeed, although according to one account, Leybourne needed a special pardon of his own, his position in Edward's entourage seems thereafter to have been tacitly recognized by the Council (in one of the few writs hostile to the prince) by his inclusion in the

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1. C.P.R.1258-66 p.79 endorsed 'per J. Mansel'; Richard of Cornwall p.117. For the Bassets & Richard ibid. p.90.

2. e.g., Studd, docs. 853-4 (Hawarden & Degannwy) Itinerary of Edward (ibid. p.808.)

3. C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.147; C.61/4.m.2. This shows that the traditional view of Treharne, Powicke and others that Edward deserted de Montfort after the rebellion is quite incorrect. Nor was the earl now shorn of powerful supporters, as Treharne states (Baronial Plan p.233).

commission appointed on 1st August to investigate the condition of the prince's estates and to report on alienations.(1)

Gloucester's hands were tied, most probably, by his appreciation of the considerable popular support gathered by de Montfort and Edward during their rebellion and by fears of further armed reaction by the baronage against his influence at Westminster. Even in June rumours of violence were still in the air.(2) It has not been generally realized how powerful the forces released by the rebellion were. We have already suggested that de Montfort had advanced quite far in his plotting against Gloucester and Peter of Savoy in the Council. The chroniclers are, unfortunately, unhelpful over naming his supporters since they glossed over the embarrassing revolt, and because of the propaganda was on either side it may have been unclear which side was disloyal to the Provisions.(3) The only guide to survive is a list of major debtors of the Crown, to be coerced into repayment, compiled immediately after the rebellion possibly as a

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1. Annales Londonienses p.55; C.P.R.1258-66 p.103. c.f. J.R. Studd 'The Lord Edward and King Henry' p.10-12. Leybourne's colleagues were Henry of Bath, William de Wilton and Gilbert Talbot, all important in Edward's service. There is no sign that this commission achieved anything.

2. Baronial Plan p.238.

3. c.f. the refusal of Flores Historiarum to name Edward's supporters (ii p.446). The chronicler knows more than he is prepared to say. Dunstable Annals p.214 takes up a similar theme of dismissing all as 'false rumours'.

reprisal; if it is of significance it well confirms other evidence of abortive risings in the Welsh March and East Anglia as well as highlighting potential support for de Montfort from the traditional area of Warwickshire-Leicestershire.(1) As in the later period indebted knights may have been behind de Montfort, for at some point before 6th May, shortly before Edward was reconciled with the king, the Wardrobe of the Jewry at the Exchequer was broken open and some records stolen.(2) The rebels may have attempted to exploit hardship arising from the continuing famine, or to revive the earlier movement of the communitas bacheleriae Anglie.

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1. Baronial Plan p.236. Examination of the Memoranda roll (E.159/33m.11d.) produces an interesting list: Roger de Clifford, John fitz Alan, Reginald fitz Peter, Robert de St. John, Warrin de Bassingburne, John Verdun, Peter de Nevill, Phillip Marmion, Earl of Hereford, Maurice de Berkeley, Humphrey de Bohun junior, William de Grey, Richard de Grey, John de Grey, Peter de Montfort, Gilbert de Gaunt, William Bardolf, Phillip d'Arcy, William de Beauchamp, Bishop of Worcester, William de Braose, Nicholas de Segrave. Many of these were merely respited after a few weeks (e.g. the earl of Hereford, Richard de Grey: ibid. m.26d. Roger de Clifford: C.R.1259-61 p.55,92.) Here we have some of the most politically active magnates of the period. They divide exactly in half as Montfortian/Royalist in 1264 (D.B.M. p.283-5). In the meantime, King Henry had been careful (in 1261) to cultivate men like Bassingburne, William de Grey, John de Grey, Braose, Marmion, fitz Peter, and Berkeley onto his side with offices and fees in 1261 (C.P.R.1258-66 p.147,159,163, etc.) See below p.386-7,391-2.

2. E.159/33m.10. cf. C. Roth. History of the Jews in England (2nd.ed.: Oxford, 1949) p.59-61.

De Montfort continued to defend his actions in terms of the defence of the letter of the Provisions of Oxford and this, doubtless, released enough popular sympathy to protect him and his supporters from any wide-spread reprisals attempted by Gloucester. This also meant that Gloucester thought it safer to give way to pressure from the Justiciar and others to settle with de Montfort and Edward by elaborate arbitrations. The most celebrated of these turned into a propaganda victory for de Montfort, for in July, in a full Parliament the baronage acquitted the earl after a 'trial' where he expressed his aims in emotive terms.(1) This Parliament also seems to have adopted a new policy for Wales. Hitherto the 'baronial' regime, especially Gloucester and the 'diplomats', had advocated a system of truces with Llywelyn pending the completion of peace with France. Recent violation of such agreements by the prince of Wales had disgraced this policy. On 1st August the feudal host was summoned to assemble for war in September, possibly at the urging of Edward who had most to gain from swift reprisals against the Welsh. It was even rumoured that his ally, Simon de Montfort, was to lead one of the two forces (an interesting reflection on the extent to which he had quickly been rehabilitated by baronial pressure) whereas Gloucester was

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1. Baronial Plan p.239-242. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.415-16. Powicke exaggerates the importance of the king of France's intervention.

to captain the other.(1) On 10th August, however, after the king had left for Windsor and the Parliament had broken up and when he could now fall again more under the influence of Gloucester and Mansel, the war policy was abruptly reversed and a delegation was sent off in the usual fashion to negotiate with the Welsh. While Edward prepared for war in Chester they reached a truce - omitting Edward's name, and refusing offers of tribute from the Welsh - with Llywelyn on 22nd August and on 1st September the military summonses were revoked.(2)

English politics, thus, continued to be dominated by a battle at court between Gloucester in the inner circles around the king and Edward and de Montfort with their ability to sway Parliaments to their own ends. In the autumn of 1260 Edward was again on the attack at the great October Parliament to make the translation of St. Edward, and one which seems to have been exceptionally well-attended. He and his friends had already, perhaps, been attempting to restore their position at court, for in advance of the prince's return at the end of the month from Chester Henry of Almain was with the king on 20th September and John de Warenne joined them with Edward

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1. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.416-7. Edward may also have pressed for revenge because the Welsh had even ravaged as far as William de Valence's town of Tenby, co.Pembs.

2. C.53/50m.3-4; C.P.R.1258-66 p.88-89; D.B.M.p.233 c.21. Well might Gloucester draw a veil over this incident. His men offered the truce, in their haste, for nothing.(Durham,Dean & Ch.Mun.Locellus 1.62. Also: Studd, Docs. 839,842-50. Edward was unable, however, to obtain revenge against Roger de Mortimer over the recent loss of Builth castle. He may have repudiated the council's Remissio to Mortimer in October. (Hen.III + L.Edw. p.417.)

a week later.(1) They now proceeded to embarrass their opponents with a display of their strength and popularity during the Parliament. In a calculated snub to the king Simon de Montfort, who for some reason could not be present, chose the opportunity to insist on his rights to act as Steward during the festivities of St. Edward and appointed Henry of Almain as his attorney. In spite of Henry III's bitter objection in 1261 and claim that the earl was not to serve unless expressly summoned, de Montfort had his way, and this unusual transaction was ratified by the Council in the presence of Edward.(2)

It would be misleading, however, to argue, as Treharne did, that this marks the complete retirement of the earl from English politics for the remainder of 1260. Simon de Montfort arrived at court shortly before 20th October and witnessed royal charters with the other councillors almost daily until December 2nd.(3) What is more, the feast itself was a triumph for the earl and his allies and it obtained for them a new sway over the Council and Parliament, albeit not as long in duration as that of

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1. C.53/50m.3; C.R.1259-61 p.100,123. For Almain to witness a royal charter at this time was quite extraordinary. Humphrey de Bohun junior and the earl of Hereford were at court too. Gloucester was still in attendance on the king.

2. C.P.R.1258-66 p.96; Durham, Dean & Ch.Mun. Locellus 1. No.62. This Parliament was well attended by many barons; preparations for it were extravagant (e.g. C.R.1259-61 p.113) and it included a great ceremony of knighting.

3. C.53/50m.1-2; C.53/51m.3-4.

Gloucester. Shortly before the king gave the accolade to John de Bretagne in a lavish ceremony, Edward knighted two of Simon de Montfort's sons. On 20th October de Montfort himself, along with Henry of Almain, witnessed one of Edward's charters.(1) On 18th October it was undoubtedly their influence which secured the grant by the Council to Edward of the wardship of the lands and heirs of the earl of Aumâle, so useful financially and, if chronicle rumours of the original grant to Gloucester were correct, such a reversal in the fortunes of the earl.(2)

Edward and Simon de Montfort's most surprising influence in the October Parliament, and something which has hitherto gone quite unnoticed, was over the election of the three new great officers of state on 18th October. It is not true, as has sometimes been asserted, that these men were 'politically neutral' and that their appointment heralded the decline of the baronial Council. Apart from the new chancellor, Nicholas of Ely, later a staunch Montfortian, both Hugh le Despenser, the new Justiciar and the abbot of Peterborough, the new treasurer, had strong personal connexions with de Montfort and Edward. Despenser's was the loyal henchman of the earl, re-appointed by him to the Justiciarship in 1263 and 1264 and his follower to the death at Evesham in 1265;

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1. Flores Historiarum ii p.456; C.61/4m.1.

2. C.P.R.1258-66 p.97.

he was also a neighbour, even a retainer of de Montfort, so closely allied to him personally that, along with Peter de Montfort and Ernaut du Bois, he was an executor of his will in January 1259.(1) Despenser was also connected with Edward; he was the prince's tenant in Chester and from July 1260 (along with many Montfortians) he had suddenly begun to feature prominently in his entourage. By 6th September 1260 he was even a member of the prince's household.(2) As for the abbot of Peterborough, few can have been closer to Edward at this time; he had only a few months previously been punished for helping the prince to finance his rebellion. Nor did the Council's power diminish during these months. Its political power may have increased, for contrary to the usual practice of short 'full council' sessions followed by the real power devolving within weeks onto a smaller 'presidium' dominated by curiales, the full council sat this time for an unusually long period lasting until the beginning of December.(3) During this period considerable efforts were made to place a check on the king's growing independence, if Henry's grievances published in March 1261 are to be believed.(4)

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1. Bémont (1930) p.276-8; c.f. a charter of de Montfort: Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Dugdale 13, f.256. No biographical material on Despenser brings out this connexion. He and the other officials were (conveniently) chosen by five men sworn to secrecy: D.B.M. p.223 c.4.
2. C.61/4 m.1d.
3. C.53/50 m.1-2; C.53/51 m.3-4.
4. Baronial Plan p.245-50. Treharne shows some modifications in policy, but can hardly prove that the baronial regime had collapsed. Despenser was a Justiciar in the Bigod mould (p.249) hearing Querelae.

Furthermore, a long session may have been necessary in order to protect Despenser's position. The new Justiciar was by no means well qualified for his post and King Henry seems to have put up resistance to his appointment, for Despenser was not recognized by the Chancery until November.(1) In the March 1261 grievances against the Councillors Henry repeated his objection that the new officials were unsuitable and that they had been appointed in defiance of the king's own nominations, a charge which hardly made sense against the Justiciarship of Hugh Bigod, but which rings true enough in the light of the October Parliament of 1260. The Despenser regime doomed itself to its early overthrow by its very partisanship with Edward and de Montfort.(2)

As the earl of Leicester and his friends returned to the Council events moved quickly towards the downfall of the baronial régime. No attempt was now made to bridle Edward. The prince himself marked his triumph with a bold and confident tournamenting expedition to the continent in late October at the head of a large following of knights - including John de Bretagne and the sons of Simon de Montfort - and, most significantly, a sizeable household which continued to be independent of the king

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1. ibid. p.245 n.1.

2. D.B.M. p.223 c.4. Although he came from an administrative family (G.E.C. vol.IV p.259 f) there is no evidence of Despenser's formal judicial experience before his appointment as an assistant justice in eyre in 1259 (D.B.M. p.165.)

and dominated by Leybourne, Warenne L and Almain.(1) This entourage also shows Edward's friendship beginning with Jean de Bretagne, Peter of Savoy's rival and (perhaps of significance for politics) a kinsman of the house of Lusignan.(2) On 27th November he met William de Valence, Aymer the bishop of Winchester and their two brothers at Paris where they witnessed his grant of the valuable manor of Elmham (Kent) to Roger de Leybourne in defiance of the king's previous ban on alienations.(3) The reason for this concentration of the Lusignans at Paris was almost certainly to discuss with Edward plans for another attempt to restore Aymer (who had received full consecration by the pope) to Winchester. Alexander IV had granted Aymer's former tutor, Vincent, archbishop of Tours, the position of Apostolic legate with full powers to lay England under an interdict if the Council refused to admit Aymer and he and the franciscan Velascus were seeking entry into the realm when, on 4th December, Aymer quite unexpectedly died in Paris.(4) Henry III seems, however, to have been in no position to give his half-brother's agents safe-conduct

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1. For Edward's entourage: C.P.R.1258-66 p.98,126,181, supplemented by Flores Historiarum ii p.456 and Edward's charter of 27th November.

2. See Table B p.xix . The continuing close relationship between the Houses of Brittany and Lusignan is brought out well in Boissonade II p.12-18.

3. E.368/94 m.47.

4. Oseney Annals p.126; Flores Historiarum ii p.460; Baronial Plan p.250.

into England until 18th December, the day that he heard of Aymer's death.(1) But by this date the political complexion of the court had changed, to one of hostility towards the Poitevins.

It is interesting to speculate whether a few weeks earlier Aymer might have been able to force his way into England. The Council had certainly been far less rigid against Poitevins for the past months that it had been for some years. On 1st December it restored "to the king's dear sister" Isabel de Craon lands which she had pledged to Aymer and which had been confiscated on his exile. Three days before this William de Valence's servants had been granted the right to tollage some of his manors and there had been gifts recently to the wife of Guy de Rochford.(2) It is easy enough to attribute this change in attitude to the influence of Henry III but it is often forgotten that Simon de Montfort himself was still friendly towards the Lusignans. In August 1260 Edward had taken the bold step of employing William de Valence, Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan in the administration of Gascony on no less a mission than the seizure of Lourdes castle and the city of Tarbres as a move to thwart the invasion of Simon de Montfort's

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1. C.P.R.1258-66 p.132; C.Lib.R.1260-7 p.12. Treharne's dates (ibid.) are faulty.

2. C.R.1259-61 p.307-8. The writ of 6th November actually grants deer to Guy de Rochford himself (ibid. p.294). This must surely be a mistake.

county of Bigorre by his old enemy Esquivat de Chabanais allied with the count of la Foix. In the truce arranged between Simon and Esquivat at Tarbres on 2nd October William, Geoffrey and other officials of Edward acted on Simon's behalf.(1) It is true that on 25th November the first document was drawn up in Paris in what was ultimately to be a protracted and bizarre legal wrangle between the countess of Leicester and the house of Lusignan for her claims to lands in the county of Angoulême but at this stage the Lusignans may have simply been attempting to court de Montfort with the hope of a swift settlement by arbitration.(2) It may also even have been connected with Aymer's attempt to return to England at this time. Furthermore, on 12th November 1260 none other than de Montfort's henchman, Peter de Montfort, was hastily despatched to lead the delegation of 'loyal men' to intercept the archbishop of Tours and Master Velascus as they were on the point of sailing from the continent to England. But if Peter was Simon de Montfort's agent, his mandate can hardly, in all events, have been more than to discuss Aymer's return in secret rather than to effect it.(3)

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1. R.G. I (supplement) Nos. 21,23; Recogniciones Feodorum in Aquitannia ed. C. Bemont (Paris, 1914) p.152-5; C. Bémont, Simon de Montfort (1930) p.181-3; Hen.III + L.Edw.p.220-5.

2. M.M. Wade 'The personal quarrels of Simon de Montfort' p.57-60.

3. C.Lib.R.1260-7 p.5.

After Aymer's death William and Geoffrey de Lusignan retreated to Poitou to attend to the arbitration with Eleanor de Montfort in March. Edward toured his relations, meeting according to one account Phillip of Savoy at Lyons and the duke of Burgundy.(1) He had proceeded, however, to take another bold step to advance the house of Lusignan's ambitions in Gascony. Contrary to the Provisions of Oxford, and in open defiance of the king's policy, he promoted Guy de Lusignan, this time, to the position of his lieutenant in the duchy. On 1st February 1261 Guy was styled 'tenens locum carissimi nepotis nostri domini Edwardi in Vasconia', a most irregular appointment which was soon to be terminated.(2) At about the same time Guy was yet again confirmed by Edward in his possession of Oléron in defiance of the 1258 settlement.(3) These appointments, together with Edward's first personal visit to Gascony since 1255 and signs of further efforts to cast off his father's tutelage to his rule in the duchy are a good indication of the continuing work of the Poitevins in court politics in encouraging the emergence of a polit-

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1. Gervase of Canterbury ii p.211. (J.R. Studd, 'Acts of Lord Edward' itinerary p.809.) The chronicle is very inaccurate at this point, and so it is difficult to interpret the significance of this visit.

2. Gascon Register A: Series of 1318-19; ed. G.P. Cuttino. (London, 1975-6) vol.I No.99 (7). cf. J.R. Studd 'Lord Edward and King Henry' p.16-17. Nothing more is known about Guy's "lieutenancy", indicating that he was removed well before the date that his successor is known to be in office, 6th December 1261. (J-P. Trabut-Cussac, L'Administration Anglaise en Gascoigne p.220.)

3. C.P.R.1258-66 p.141; Foedera 1 (i) p.404. We only know of this appointment from the king's writs resisting it.

ically and administratively independent role for Edward and his estates.

While Edward continued to rally the Poitevins and his powers on the continent it was the turn of the house of Savoy to attempt to regain its position in England. The Savoyards had considerable ground to make up, for since the middle of 1260 there is hardly any evidence of their activity in the royal household and, indeed, with the continued absence of Peter of Savoy from court their influence must have been on the decline.(1) - as indeed were other members of the 'diplomat group' after the October Parliament. Peter of Savoy had almost certainly returned in person to court by 16th-19th November but he either returned soon to his estates or was denied entry to the Council by the new forces at play in politics, for he witnessed no royal charters.(2) But as the Council session began to come to an end at the beginning of December Peter of Savoy once again re-appeared at court. Simon de Montfort last witnessed a royal charter on 2nd December, and Peter of Savoy (who had almost certainly returned by 28th November when the king "and council" paid one of his knights an instalment on his annual fee)

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1. Excepting Archbishop Boniface (at Council, mid-Oct. until c. 16th Nov.)

2. Peter was party on 16th November 1260 to an oath to protect the queen of Scotland while in England for the birth of her child. The others swearing were Richard of Cornwall, Gloucester, Mansel and curiales, but Despenser and de Montfort himself were absent. (Foedera 1 (i) p.403) c.f. C.R.1259-61 p. 216, 295, 302.

began witnessing on 3rd December. The curious timing of events is an interesting reflection on the cool relations between these two magnates by the close of 1260.(1) The other main councillors, such as the justiciar (who departed on eyre) and the earl of Gloucester, left on about 4th December and for the rest of this critical month Henry III was surrounded only by hisfamily - such as Queen Eleanor, Richard of Cornwall, Peter of Savoy and the queen of Scotland - or by household knights and clerks.(2) Savoyards began to appear in numbers, and included men of a military stamp such as Baldwin de Villa, Ingram de Fednes and Simon de Joinville.(3)

Amidst such a gathering of aliens Henry III plotted the overthrow in the following Spring. Those around him had plenty of grievances. The baronial régime had, thanks to the plotting of Gloucester, Edward and de Montfort, descended into the depths of uncontrolable faction and political instability. Savoyard influence over Edward and all royal policy towards the prince stood in ruins.

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1. C.53/51.m.3-4. It also suggests, too, that Peter was no longer officially recognized as a member of the Council.

2. ibid. m.3; Richard of Cornwall p.106-7. Attendance at court at Windsor on 1st January 1261 is reflected in the queen's jewel roll (E.101/349/26.m.5,8). The queen pointedly omitted the customary New Year gift to the Justiciar, in contrast to usual practice in Bigod's time (ibid.m.1). Despenser was next at court, briefly, from 7th January.

3. C.P.R.1258-66 p.181; C.R.1259-61 p.313,319,339,454, 456; C.Lib.R.1260-7 p.9,10,12.

The events of 1260 had also, probably, forced Peter of Savoy off the Council and turned anti-alien propaganda, hitherto so brilliantly exploited against the Poitevins, against Savoyards. Nor could curiales such as John Mansel and Robert Walerand derive much hope from Edward and de Montfort's triumphs, as we have shown. Peter of Savoy was, no doubt, further spurred on by the discovery that, from 12th December until early February 1261 the new Justiciar was occupied in Sussex in an elaborate eyre, on the model of the type undertaken until the end of 1259 by Bigod and reviving the procedure of querelae, in Sussex. This eyre inevitably entered Peter's jealously guarded liberty of Pevensey and revived several smouldering controversies concerning the high-handed conduct of Peter's bailiffs (some of ten years or more vintage) and even more sensitive clashes between Peter and powerful neighbours such as John de Warenne. By February 1261 Peter was able to get several of the more contentious cases adjourned to London where he was in a better position to defend his liberties in person against the Justiciar and the offensive querelae actions but it is difficult to escape the suspicion that Despenser's eyre had been an act of political provocation encouraged by Simon de Montfort and his friends in order to complete their triumph in October with the ruin and disgrace of the king's remaining prominent alien favourite with the propaganda that could be made out of the unsavoury findings of the Justiciar's court. It was

only the sudden distraction of the more momentous events in the Spring of 1261 which prevented the success of this stratagem.(1)

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1. E.F. Jacob, Studies in the period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion (Oxford, 1925) p.109-17, 353-365.

# CHAPTER 9

## Aliens and the development of the Royalist Party 1261-65

When in February 1261 King Henry III began to manoeuvre against the baronial council he was fighting a regime which threatened to inflict irreparable damage on his kingship and to replace it with uncontrollable magnate faction. Over the next months it was the king's simple objective to effect a restoration to normal mediaeval government: to break free from the oaths which placed him under magnate tutelage and to re-assert his control over his court and the shires. By the close of the year total success had been achieved and the magnate opposition appeared to be shattered.(1)

Many factors explain Henry's success in 1261. The superior organization of his finances and his intelligent deployment of mercenaries, the subtlety of Henry's political actions and his propaganda all gave him a decided advantage over the magnates. Not the least

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1. Throughout this chapter I base my analysis on the detailed narratives of Baronial Plan p.250 ff; Hen.III + L.Edw. p.419 ff.

important was the very unity achieved within the royal family and court which, to a considerable degree, robbed the magnates of a legitimate figurehead and enabled the king to deploy his full resources against the opposition.

It has not hitherto been appreciated that a major task faced by Henry III during these months was the simple accommodation onto his side of forces which during the previous year or more had been in opposition to royal authority. It is true that at the end of February 1261 Henry III took decisive action to gather armed supporters and to take refuge in the Tower of London in order to avoid the forthcoming Parliament falling under the domination of the de Montfort faction but the outcome of events was an elaborate formula for arbitration, announced probably on 14th March in which the king's grievances against recent actions by the Council could be heard.(1) Royal propaganda contained declarations that Henry 'loved the magnates and the community of the realm' and that 'above all' he wished the Provisions of Oxford to be upheld.(2) It is possible that, although Henry had already taken the precaution of obtaining the Papal Bull

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1. Baronial Plan p.252 f. corrected by: D.B.M. Doc.30 (p.210f.) 9th March, 1261 and Durham, Dean + Ch. Mun.Locellus 1.62. (?propaganda) news-letter attached to a version of the king's grievances against the council which praises the arbitration.

2. ibid.; cf. Hen.III + L.Edw. p.421. The Durham text shows clearly that Henry III offered a private arbitration between himself and de Montfort at the same time as the public one with the baronage.

of absolution from the Provisions he was for the moment genuinely hopeful of reaching some negotiated settlement with the magnates. The 14th March 1261 is also the date on which Simon de Montfort assented to the submission of his private disputes with Henry III to the arbitration of Louis IX, or his nominees, a settlement which Henry had already been offering him since 11th January.(1) Personal attacks against de Montfort, Gloucester and others contained in the early text of the king's published grievances were dropped during the arbitration in March in order to improve the prospects of compromise.(2) That relations between the two sides quickly broke down and that Henry resorted to treachery by mid-April is well known, but de Montfort and Gloucester, no matter how slow they were to counter the king's moves effectively may, in turn, have begun to move into rebellion. It is interesting to see that Gloucester himself had gone into opposition and forged an alliance with his old enemy de Montfort, to the wonder of the chroniclers, by the end of February 1261

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1. C. Bémont, Simon de Montfort (1930) p.196n.

2. Comparison of Durham, Locellus 1.62 with D.B.M. Doc.31 p.218 ff where clauses, accusing de Montfort of his deeds during the October Parliament of 1260 and de Montfort and Gloucester of resistance to private arbitrations offered to the former, are dropped.

and it is probable that the reason for this lay in Gloucester's (well-founded) suspicions that the king's recovery of personal power would inaugurate a régime at court hostile to the earl on account of his great ascendancy during 1260. It can only have been a sense of insecurity which drove Gloucester to cling rigidly to the Provisions.(1)

The extent of Henry's power is shown by his control over the court. His brother, Richard of Cornwall, was now cultivated as an ally and the appointment of Phillip Basset as the new Justiciar at the end of June was both a further sign of this alliance and, perhaps, an astute move to win baronial waverers over through the continuation of the office.(2) King Henry's plentiful supplies of money from Louis IX also enabled him from the end of March until July to distribute over fifty grants of fees, mainly to existing knights of the household, but also to add to them elements from outside the court.(3)

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1. Baronial Plan p.251 c.f. Flores Historiarum ii p.467.

2. Richard of Cornwall p.107-8 ignores the significance of Basset.

3. C.P.R.1247-58 p.147-8,156,158-9,163. M. Gavrilovitch, Étude sur la Traité de Paris de 1259 (Paris, 1899) p.57-8.

The most astonishing feature of the king's power was his rapid reconciliation with the lord Edward. Edward's rebellious conduct 1258-61 was repeatedly censured in the earliest texts of the king's gravamina in March and attempts were made on 27th March to prevent him from returning to England with William de Valence. When they did return at the end of April his loyalty was still in doubt.(1) But by the end of May he and his men were receiving gifts from the king. Edward remained loyal during the crisis in June-July when Henry declared his absolution from the oath to the Provisions.(2) Even during the Autumn crisis before the 'treaty' of Kingston the king hoped to obtain his heir's military support.(3)

Since the position of Edward at court seems to lie at the root of royalist politics 1261-3 it is worth considering the terms on which he was accommodated by the king in May. Financial troubles undoubtedly explain

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1. D.B.M. p.217 c.20-1 (also Durham, Locellus 1.62) C.R.1259-61 p.467. Flores Historiarum ii p.466. Although Edward landed at the end of April, the king's rolls do not mention him until the close of May.

2. J.R. Studd 'A catalogue of the acts of the lord Edward' (Univ.Leeds. Ph.D. thesis, 1971) Itinerary, p.809 shows that Edward was at Winchester on 9th June, 1261 (c.f. Baronial Plan p.261).

3. P.R.O. C.47/2/1/12: 50 knights of Edward (? from Gascony) c.f. Baronial Plan p.270. This force was never assembled in 1261.

his reluctance to continue in rebellion. His reconciliation with the king was marked with a series of grants of wardship and grants from the Jewry and profits of the eyre and in August the king repaid on his son's behalf a loan of £4000 Tournois lately received 'in urgent necessity' from Louis IX.(1) The recent rebellion, the war in Wales, the policy of the inalienability of the appanage (which prevented sales to raise cash) and a certain degree of mismanagement had probably reduced the prince to the position of virtual bankruptcy. It is interesting to see in June 1261 the king's permission given for alienations from the great Aumâle wardship.(2) This, and other transactions were the prelude to the great demise in June 1262 of the bulk of Edward's estates in England to the king for three years in return for the revenues of the Jewry.(3) Moreover, Edward was now clearly incapable of supporting a large household. From the late 1250's few of his knights had received fees or gifts from the king, but from the close of April 1261 royal largesse was once again directed towards them.(4)

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1. C.P.R.1258-66 p. 156,170; C.R.1259-61 p.396.
2. C.P.R.1258-66 p.158,161.
3. ibid. p.177,233; C.R.1259-61 p.448.
4. e.g. C.P.R.1258-66 p.309,147,191,192; C.R.1259-61 p.390; 1261-64 p.11,16,166; C.Lib.R.1260-7 p.32.

Indeed, in July King Henry III found considerable use for Edward's knights, for in his appointment of twenty new sheriffs to reimpose royal control over the local-ities he chose four were knights in Edward's service 1258-60, William de la Zouche, Adam de Gesimuth, Adam de Mold (Monte Alto), John de Grey to whom can be added, perhaps, Alan de la Zouche and Phillip Marmion otherwise connected with Edward.(1) Some of these had stood by Edward during his rebellion but were now carefully cultivated by the king, as were other knights such as Reginald fitz Peter and Maurice de Berkeley.(2)

Edward's new-found co-operation with Henry III from mid-1261 was the prelude not to power but to gradual political eclipse 1261-63 in the face of his own financial difficulties and his father's superior grasp, for once, of the strings of patronage. His movements become difficult to follow and his Chancery fell into disarray.(3) His entourages were small compared with the great retinues of 1260.(4) Furthermore, his authority over his own

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1. C.P.R.1258-66 p.163-64. For these men, above, p.176f . Phillip Marmion (W. Dugdale, Baronage I. p.376) was in Edward's service in Gascony in 1260 (R.G. 1(ii) p.XCii No.20).

2. Above, p.350,366; C. Moor, Knights of Edward I I. p.83 (but Moor confuses the loyal Maurice senior with his rebellious son); II p.52-3.

3. J.R. Studd, Ph.D. op.cit. p.145, 809-11.

4. C.P.R.1258-66 p.162,222.

household had dangerously decreased. This is shown by the fact that after May 1261 Edward parted company with the front-rank of his allies and servants of 1258-61, Henry of Almain, John de Warenne, Roger de Leybourne, Roger de Clifford and their group.(1) Most of them were readily enough absorbed into the king's patronage for the time being in May, although Warrenne moved into immediate rebellion and Leybourne was demoted from the stewardship almost certainly at the same time.(2) Their places in Edward's service were taken by royal appointees.(3) This was followed by the public disgracing of Clifford, Leybourne and others as the result

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1. None of this group witnessed Edward's (surviving) charters 29th May 1261-13th July 1263 (e.g. G. Ormerod, The History of the County .... of Chester (1882) vol.III p.74 On.; C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.41,147; Cal.Docs. Ireland 1252-1284 No.1976.)

2. e.g. grant to Leybourne (June 1261); Clifford (July 1261) (C.P.R.1258-66 p.158; C.R.1259-61 p.403. Edward's next Steward, John le Breton, is only known in office in November 1261 (C.P.R.1258-66 p.191) but there is no further reference linking Leybourne and Edward after June. For the others: C.R.1259-61 p.379,445; C. Bémont, Simon de Montfort (1930) p.192.

3. e.g. J.R. Studd 'The Lord Edward and King Henry III' B.I.H.R.:50 (1977) p.9. This is the starting-point of the connexion between Robert Walerand and Edward (D.N.B. 'Robert Walerand').

of a great inquiry at the Exchequer into the management of Edward's finances which began in Hilary 1262. J.R. Studd argues that the enquiry was the result of co-operation between Edward and his father but there is little to support this view.(1) The order to begin came from Henry III at Michaelmas 1261 when Edward was abroad and the exacting thoroughness of the inquiry reflects Henry's surprise over his son's poverty and typical Angevin concern over mismanagement: generations of Edward's officials past and present were now called to present accounts.(2) When Edward returned he could do little to prevent the downfall of Leybourne and Clifford, the former before the king present in person at the Exchequer.(3) Here was not co-operation but capitulation to tutelage on a scale seen at no other point in Edward's career after the mid-1250's.

The resurgence of Henry III's personal authority and its fruits in the eclipse of Edward provides the essential context for the study of the aliens 1261-5.

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1. Studd, art.cit. p.12.

2. P.R.O. E.159/36m.4d.,5d. 8-17.

3. E.368/36m.10. For the pursuit of Clifford (debt of £300 owing the king and £239 arrears of accounts to Edward): ibid. m.11,11d.,15d. cf. C.R.1261-64 p.170.

During 1261 Henry undoubtedly relied much on the Savoyards. The chroniclers were very conscious of this; whether their views were coloured by opposition propaganda it is difficult to say. They repeatedly name Peter of Savoy amidst a small circle of the king's 'secret councillors' and the tradition soon grew up that the queen won Edward and certain barons over in mid-1261 and even the earl of Gloucester in the Autumn.(1) There is some evidence to support these views. Savoyards were high in the king's favour 1261-3 and for a time two of the king's stewards and several other household officials were Savoyards.(2) Queen Eleanor was again instrumental in the recruitment of mercenaries in 1261.(3) Furthermore, the full force of Savoyard diplomacy was at the king's disposal throughout the year. According to one account Peter de Aigueblanche returned out of virtual retirement to take part in negotiations with the opposition in November but before this even Boniface of Savoy had assisted the king in the recovery of control

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1. Tewkesbury p.175, Oseney p.128; Henry of Silgrave p.103; Robert of Gloucester p.361 (lines 493-4); Battle Chronicle p.374; Flores Historiarum ii p.467; Annales Londonienses p.57; Gervase of Canterbury ii p.211.

2. e.g. Stewards: Eubule de Montibus (c.January 1261-May 1263); Imbert Pugeys (1257-Sept.1262); Imbert de Montferrand (Marshal of the Household 1258-c. 1272); Henry de Ghent (Keeper of the Wardrobe: 1261-65). (See references given in Ch.1.)

3. E.101/349/26m.5-8. (Burgundians and Flemings).

over some of his castles in August.(1) Peter of Savoy's influence was considerable, too. Henry III's appointment of the recently-returned Eubule de Montibus to the embassy sent to Louis IX in January 1261 is an indication that the offer of arbitration made at that time to Simon de Montfort over their personal quarrels was the product of Peter's fertile mind.(2) Peter may (but here there is no direct evidence) have been an influence in Henry III's resort to arbitration with the magnates in March. The statement of the king's gravamina against the councillors, with its bias towards the criticism of failure in diplomacy and the control of Edward certainly reflects Peter's interests.(3)

Through the chance survival of Peter of Savoy's letter to the king urging him to reward William and Eudo de la Zouche, Reginald fitz Peter, Adam de Gesimuthe, Robert de Nevill and Warin de Bassingburne "so that other

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1. Oseney p.129; Foedera 1(i) p.408. For the activities of the diplomat William de Chauvent: C.R.1259-61 p.491-2, C.Lib.R.1260-7 p.80. Archbishops of Tarentaise and Embrun: C.P.R. 1258-66 p.155; 1266-72 p.730,736. As is well known Henry III attempted to revive the Sicilian business in 1262 probably as an attempt to win the support of Urban IV (Baronial Plan p.277-8.)

2. Bémont, Simon de Montfort (1930) p.196. Henry's agent in this business by 1262 was Imbert de Montferrand (ibid.). The use of the queen of France as an arbiter is another sign of Savoyard involvement. (see below, p.395-6)

3. D.B.M. Doc.30 (p.210f) c.1,14,15,20 etc.

faithful men may, by this example, be drawn to the strengthening of your side" we know that there is some basis to the chroniclers' account of 'the queen's' role in winning over Edward in May 1261; that Peter rather than Edward was the author of this letter is but a further greater indication of the prince's diminished personal influence.(1) The revival of royal tutelage over Edward was, of course, a policy consistent with Savoyard influence and there is even some sign that Savoyards began again to be placed in Edward's service 1261-3.(2) Peter of Savoy himself personally benefitted from the reduction of the prince in 1262 when Edward was induced into making an elaborate land-exchange with his uncle in which Hastings and its castle, long coveted by Peter, was added to his estates in Sussex.(3) Nor did Peter fail to benefit from the divorce of Edward from Jean de Bretagne, even though the latter returned in his entourage in April, for in the following months he wrested

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1. P.R.O. S.C.1/5/26. Unfortunately undated - but it must belong to c. April 1261 when most of these men received their fees.

2. e.g. Geoffrey de Joinville (deputy Justiciar of Ireland 1261-6); John de Grailly (in Edward's service from 1261): see Ch.1. Henry de Cousances, Seneschal of Gascony Dec.1261-March 1264 was probably a Savoyard. J.Trabut-Cussac (L'Administration Anglaise en Gascogne) p.373; ibid. p.25n, 142 etc. disputes this view of his origins, but c.f. C.L. Kingsford 'Otto de Grandison' T.R.H.S. 3rd ser. vol.III (1909) p.181-2.

3. C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.42, an interesting reversal of 1259-60 (above, p. 345 )

from Henry III the most unequivocal confirmations of his rights to Richmond.(1)

Savoyard power was unable, however, to prevent the restoration of the Poitevins to England from April 1261. This was undoubtedly King Henry III's price demanded from his courtiers during the revival of his personal power.(2) The Savoyards were, however, able to force the returning Lusignans to make declarations of their future good behaviour to Eleanor of Provence's sister, the queen of France(3) and their political rôle until 1263 was kept very limited although Henry probably had desired to make some military use of them during 1261.(4) Knights such as Guy de Rochford and William

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1. C.P.R.1258-66 p.161; C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.41. Jean de Bretagne had left England by July 1261 and did not return until after 1265 (cf. C.P.R. 1258-66 p.187.)

2. Baronial Plan p.256-7. William de Valence and Elias de Rabayn definitely returned in April 1261; Guy de Rochford was at court in May (C.Lib.R.1260-67 p.34); Imbert Guy in July (ibid. p.49) and Hugh de Nede and William de Chabanais inDecember (C.R.1261-64 p.12). William de Sancta Ermina did not return until June 1262 (ibid. p.65) Geoffrey de Lusignan was in England, probably, only in March-April 1262 (C.R.1261-64 p.118, C.Lib.R.1260-67 p.93: he witnessed no royal charters) Guy de Lusignan visited England Winter 1262-Spring 1263 (C.R.1261-64 p.167, 193,230; C.P.R.1258-66 p.254).

3. C.R.1261-64 p.467; Diplomatic Docs. No.325 (August 1261). Treharne (Baronial Plan p.256-7) is wrong to think that this was merely a temporary expedient of early 1261.

4. William witnessed few royal charters in 1261, but more in 1262. (C.53/51m.2:June 18th, 1261; C.53/52 m.3-5 e.g.mid-Jan.-early Feb.1262 and throughout May. Few Poitevins witnessed royal charters before the end of 1263. Also: Baronial Plan p.270; Diplomatic Docs. Nos.324,339; P.R.O. S.C.1/3/39.

de Sancta Ermina returned to court but were not re-admitted into the innermost circle of the Household where Savoyards reigned supreme. The king's rewards to the Poitevins 1261-3 were well below the largesse they were accustomed to receive before 1258[1] and Henry was, similarly, subdued in his treatment of the Lusignans. His apparent refusal to revive the fee of Isabella de Craon was particularly significant, as was his reluctance to provide swift compensation for the money borrowed by the Council 1258-61 from the treasuries of William de Valence and the late bishop of Winchester.[2]

During the period 1261-3, therefore, political life at court was still dominated to a great extent by Savoyards. This was the heyday of the influence of John

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1. e.g. (the most generous examples) only 20m. p.a. fee for William de Sancta Ermina, increased to 40m. in April 1263 (C.Lib.R.1260-67 p.100; 1267-72 No.2306); £50 p.a. settled on Guy de Rochford only in March 1262, doubled to £100 p.a. in June 1263. (C.Lib.R.1260-67 p.82,135; C.P.R.1258-66 p.265.

2. Foedera 1(i) p.418-19 (Isabella: mid-1262). Henry only began the process of compensating William and Aymer in mid-1262, but final settlements were only reached in July and January 1263 respectively. C.P.R.1258-66 p.205,215,218,223, 268; 1266-72 p.732; C.R.1261-64 p.152,169,196.

Mansel and Robert Walerand, as Treharne, Powicke and others have shown, and these were men who had always been associated with Peter of Savoy. In contrast, the lord Edward, the Poitevins, Henry of Almain and even Richard of Cornwall were kept in the background.(1) The achievement of 1261 could very much be regarded as that of an establishment at court which had its roots in the 1230's and 40's.

From 1262-65 Savoyards serving Henry III played a dual role in politics. On the one hand it could be said that they increasingly withdrew - that is, apart from the household knights - from the English scene to the continent where they became absorbed in royal diplomacy. Although Peter of Savoy actually succeeded to the county of Savoy in June 1263 and so did not return to England, his influence and that of his family remained paramount in the negotiations with Simon de Montfort over his personal disputes with Henry III which brought the king to France in 1262 and 1263. In 1262 the Savoyards continued to be hopeful enough of winning over the earl and it was only the failure of the 1262 arbitrations(2)

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1. Richard of Cornwall p.109-118.

2. C. Bémont, Simon de Montfort (1930) p.196-9 and nn. During Henry III's visit to France in 1262, he was surrounded by a largely Savoyard household. Other members of the house of Savoy were in attendance too (E.101/349/26m.8-9). Peter of Savoy's attendance was considered essential by the king (C.R.1261-64 p.131).

and, indeed, de Montfort's stubborn rejection of the middle path and his complicity in the 1263 rebellion which finally turned the queen and her uncles into his implacable opponents. Well could the chroniclers credit the Savoyards with having turned Louis IX against the earl and his cause at Boulogne and Amiens 1263-4.(1) After Lewes it was the queen and Peter of Savoy with their army mustered in Flanders which posed the immediate threat to the Montfortians, but after the collapse of their efforts the queen remained an active enough agent against the Montfortians on the continent.(2)

On the other hand, however, there is the evidence which suggests that the rebellion in England of mid-1263 was one directed against the Savoyards in order to break their hold over the king. Here a return to the chroniclers casts fresh light on the familiar narrative of de Montfort and his use of the rebellion of Gilbert de Clare and other young members of the baronage, led by Roger de Leybourne, Roger de Clifford, Hamo Lestrange and other former knights of Edward.(3)

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1. Tewkesbury p.177; Dunstable p.225-7; Rishanger: Chronicon (Camden Soc.) p.17; Gervase of Canterbury ii p.224, N.Trivet: Annales p.253-4.

2. Robert of Gloucester p.368 (line 865) J. Trabut-Cussac, L'Administration Anglaise en Gascogne p.28-29.

3. For this rebellion: Baronial Plan p.284-328.

Almost without exception, the rebels are portrayed as having concentrated their attacks on the queen and the Savoyards 'whom he (Simon de Montfort) called aliens' and in apparent revenge for their rôle in the overthrow of the Provisions.(1) Leybourne's part in the revolt arose from his recent disgrace at court, which the Kentish chronicler attributed to the machinations of the queen, anxious to be avenged on Edward's former steward for having enticed her son into rebellion 1259-60.(2) Leybourne, Clifford and their group made an alliance with other discontented forces and, in the name of the Provisions of Oxford, proceeded to take revenge on their enemies. The addition of John de Warenne and Henry of Almain to the rebellion makes it seem even more like a movement of men expelled from Edward's household of 1259-61. While a wide variety of the king's servants who had assisted in his recovery of power after 1261 were attacked and had their manors occupied, special emphasis was given to the leading Savoyards, to their allies at court, such as John Mansel, and against knights and servants of Edward who had

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1. W. Rishanger: Chronica et Annales (Rolls Ser:) p.17-18; Furness &Stanley p.540; Winchester p.100 and others. FLORES HISTORIARUM ii p.481 describes a personal feud between the queen and Henry of Almain.
2. Gervase of Canterbury ii p.220-21.

survived the purge of 1261-2.(1) Leybourne roused the gentry of Kent against Boniface of Savoy, Clifford, Lestrange and others roused the discontented Marchers and directed their fury against the bishop of Hereford.(2) Roger de Clifford was responsible for attacks on the queen's manors of Marlborough and Ludgershall and John de Vaux, another former knight of Edward attacked the East Anglian holdings of Peter of Savoy.(3) Although Savoyards and other curiales had local enemies and debtors enough who could be stirred against them, the primary object of the Leybourne rebellion was a political demonstration against an unfriendly court. Eubule de Montibus was attacked, for example, at Carshalton (Surrey) and Ketton (Rutland) by his debtor William de Coleville but in Cambridge by Sir Baldwin de Akkeny, a retainer of John de Warrenne.(4) Leybourne and his supporters, such as the gentry of Kent were saddled enough with debts to

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1. The best list of the victims of 1263 is in C.R.1261-64 p.242-53, 57-65. From this, and the standard chronicles a list of seventy or so victims of rebel attack (mainly occupation of property) can be drawn up. Most were curiales. Fifteen or more were Savoyards or connected with them, nine were connected with Edward, including his knights which had defected to the king's service in 1261.

2. Bodleian Library, Bodleian MS.91,fo.136; Baronial Plan p.301. Boniface of Savoy had been abroad since mid-1262.

3. Table No. 1 p. 22. ; C.R.1261-64 p.369-70.

4. Cat.Anc.Deeds III. D.342, C.R.1261-64 p.245; 1264-68 p.45; P.R.O. JUST.1/83m.19d. J. Watson, Memoires of the ancient earls of Warren and Surrey (Warrington, 1782) p.298,300.

Jews and the citizens of London for them to be able to make a popular cause out of a courtier struggle.(1)

The success of the 1263 revolt and the anti-alien hysteria generated by it for example, over the Sicilian business, put an end to the last phase of Savoyard power at court and it forced the issue of the return of Edward to a position of political status.(2) Attempts had been made to effect this throughout the Spring of 1263 but this had met with little success, since the forces around the king opposed to allowing the prince a free hand in the recruitment of his household, such as the queen herself, were probably still powerful enough to prevent it.(3) But the Summer rebellion was such a widespread statement of discontent that after the humiliation of the queen, Mansel and their supporters - some of whom took to flight - the revival of Edward's power could no longer be delayed. In August 1263, as is well

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1. e.g. C.R.1261-64 p.376; Cal.Jewish Plea Rolls vol.I p.162. Kentish gentry came over en masse to the king after the revolt (C.P.R.1258-66 p.311).

2. Thomas Wykes p.134; D.B.M. Doc.37c (January,1964) is the first piece of propaganda to attack the bishop of Hereford by name.

3. Baronial Plan p.299. If Edward's force in the spring contained many alien mercenaries, it was nonetheless supplemented greatly by knights of the king's household C.P.R.1258-66 p.252-3,256,286 and Edward seems still to have lacked much of an active household force of his own.

known, he began in secret to revive his links with Warrenne, Almain, Leybourne, Clifford and their supporters and by the Autumn these had been won over to the royalist side. They were greeted with offices and gifts by the king, but, above all, with grants from Edward, now liberated from the restrictions of inalienability and enabled to exercise good lordship on his own behalf.(1)

It is only from the Autumn of 1263, therefore, that it is meaningful to write about a unified royal court, or even a 'royalist' party. The rebels of 1263 could claim a certain legitimacy and, indeed, they may even have enjoyed the tacit support of elements from within the court who had no love for the Savoyards and their adherents. The rebellion of Henry of Almain explains why the estates of Richard of Cornwall were left unscathed.(2) While Edward had languished on the continent 1261-3 Almain had been friendly with William de Valence. Together they had interceded on behalf of

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1. e.g. the future career of Leybourne in A. Lewis 'Sir Roger de Leyburn and the Pacification of England' E.H.R. 54 (1939) p.193-214. For Edward's grants (1263): John de Warenne (Placita de quo Warranto p.429; Henry of Almain (Rishanger: Chronica et Annales: R.S. p.12); Roger de Clifford (C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.246) Baronial Plan p.328.

2. Richard of Cornwall p.122-3.

the earl of Gloucester's heir, Gilbert de Clare, in July 1262 but forces at court seeking revenge from the de Clares prevailed, driving Gilbert into rebellion in 1263.(1) William de Valence himself may have been restrained from rebellion only by the king's timely grants to him in the Spring of 1263.(2) His estates were left unmolested by the rebels even though they lay across their path. No other Poitevins were involved in the movement of 1263.

From the Autumn of 1263 through to Lewes, Evesham and beyond Henry III's court became dominated by the lord Edward and his adherents, amongst whom William de Valence enjoyed a prominent position, and after 1265 a new generation of youth and tournamenting centred on the king's son came to the fore around the king.(3) It was a generation largely indifferent to the old distinctions between the aliens which had been so apparent before 1263. By 1272 it mattered little whether a courtier was a Savoyard or a Poitevin: the all-important question was

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1. Gervase of Canterbury ii p.216 cf. Foedera 1(i) p.422: C.R.1261-64 p.177; Baronial Plan p.284-5.

2. C.P.R.1258-66 p.268 over £500, interestingly from the wardship of the lands of Gilbert de Clare (8th July, 1263).

3. Roger de Leybourne and Robert de Aguillon (both knights connected with Willian de Valence) became Stewards of the king's Household in 1263 (see Table 13 p.430.) For post-1265: Hen.III + L.Edw. p.503f; F.R. Lewis 'William de Valence' pt.1. p.32-35, II p.79 ff. N. Denholm-Young 'The tournament in the 13th.century' Collected Papers (Cardiff, 1969) p.112-17.

whether you belonged to the new ruling order building up around the future king. Indeed, for the rest of the 'barons' wars' after 1263 politics for the aliens in England quickly became a question of taking common action in the face of a common threat from the rump of remaining Montfortians who chose to brand all aliens as royalists and took revenge on them indiscriminately.(1) Thus, perhaps in the Autumn of 1263, ended the rôle of the aliens in English court politics (1247-65) and began the myth of thirteenth century English nationalism and the opposition to foreigners during the reign of Henry III.

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1. Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernwell (ed. J.W. Clark) (Cambridge, 1907) p.151; Thomas Wykes p.140; Hen.III + L.Edw. p.541.

# CONCLUSION

The influence of the aliens in the English court lasted for just over 25 years (1236-63), a long time in politics - mediaeval or modern. When the first Savoyards came to court in the 1230's and 40's they came into the service of a mature and ambitious king at the height of his powers. By the mid-1260's when Peter of Savoy, Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, and Peter, bishop of Hereford retired to the continent from an active rôle in English affairs they left behind them a fast-changing political scene. They were veterans of the political order created in the 1230's and, indeed, were part of a fast-decreasing generation of survivors from it in company with men such as the Greys and John Mansel and, ironically, Simon de Montfort. The late 1250's took a heavy enough toll of the old generation of curiales in its own right[1] and this process was completed in the late 1260's with surprising thoroughness - including the leading members of the House of

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1. William de Kilkenny, Peter Chaceporc, Robert Passelewe, John le Franceis (1255-56); Artauld de Sancto Romano, John of Lexington, Ralph fitz Nicholas (1257); John fitz Geoffrey, Phillip Lovell (1258).

Savoy itself.[1] In many respects Edward I's reign could begin on a new footing prepared for him by Nature herself.

An insight into thirteenth century politics can be derived from tracing the fortunes of rival factions of aliens and others at the court of Henry III. We learn that the decision-making processes in mediaeval government were infinitely complex and what appears on the surface, for instance, to be a straightforward view of Henry III's misgovernment during the 1250's careering to disaster in 1258 is a distortion of the truth, which is that Henry was surrounded by a number of influences - some informal from his family and favourites and some more formal from the Exchequer and Council - from which a royal policy would have, in the end, to emerge. King Henry's councillors - including aliens - gave him sound advice which he ultimately rejected, bringing down upon himself and his realm the ill-fated Provisions of Oxford.

The influences surrounding the king we have shown to be governed by factions springing ultimately from the royal family and a handful of favourite curiales. The

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1. Peter of Savoy and Peter of Aigueblanche (1268); Boniface of Savoy (1270) also Eubule de Montibus (1268) cf. Henry de Wengham (1263), John Mansel (1265) Robert Walerand (1273).

structure of the court, especially the composition of the household of the king, queen and Edward, was governed by the same forces. The factions also had a bearing upon the English baronage and through this court politics became inextricably mixed with 'baronial' politics in 1252, 1258 and 1263. The aliens themselves can be said to have been "rehabilitated in English history" as the result of this discovery. They were neither all-good, all-bad or even all-powerful, but they took a normal part in the process of court faction and politics. It might cautiously be added that the Poitevins seem to have merited their expulsion in 1258, although it becomes clear on closer study that rivals at court had made free use of propaganda against their opponents, not least with the anti-alien propaganda used by alien against alien.

How otherwise do aliens and courtiers help us to understand the reign of Henry III? First of all, it seems clear that the aliens were inextricably bound up with the financial and military problems facing the English crown. As G.L. Harriss, R.F. Walker and others have stressed, Henry III was denied, for a host of complex reasons, access to full military and financial contribution of the community of the English realm from

the 1230's onward while leaving the king with military commitments on the continent and elsewhere. Henry III attempted to rule like an Angevin but he lacked the resources of his predecessors. His military and diplomatic reliance on aliens was born of necessity - and in many respects his policy in this respect was no different from that of John or Edward I.

Despite its value, the alien military and diplomatic connexion became a considerable problem for the English crown as its financial difficulties during the 1250's made it difficult to support its alien clients, as described in Chapter 6. But this was only a part of a larger problem of royal finance and patronage during the reign of Henry III. A monarch so unsuccessful in war would inevitably face problems of patronage. King Henry surrounded himself with a family - and through his own choice, a numerous body of important favourites - but he lacked adequate resources of land to satisfy his obligations and promises to them. The result was the considerable friction between the king and his family, which so coloured the political history of the reign. King Henry can be said to have escaped near-disaster arising from the frustrations of Richard of Cornwall and the lord Edward only to meet it through his treatment of Simon de Montfort.

Problems of finance and patronage largely explain the repeated conflicts between the successive generations of Henry III's courtiers - why so much tension arose between Savoyards and Poitevins or between well-established curiales and the men gravitating to the service of Edward in the 1260's, for example. The Angevin system of government was a harsh enough world for those who tasted the fruits of success but for the sons of curiales who had lost the favour of the king or a faction and had not managed to establish themselves at court it was merciless. Men were prepared during the 1260's to rebel to save themselves from such a fate, but this was only in proportion to the ruthless manoeuvres of men who fought in 1258 and 1261 to exclude them from office and patronage.

Aliens and courtiers, finally, reveal something of the enigmatic character of Henry III. Here was a ruler of authoritarian disposition surrounded by a Council and servants of considerable number and ability which he had taken such pains to attract to his court in the 1230's but the control and, perhaps, respect of which he had lost by the 1250's. This paradox cannot easily be resolved. The answer probably lies in the insuperable problems that the English king had to face in the 1250's

which may have produced a breakdown in his health or, at least, powers of judgement and exacerbated traits of desperate, unpredictable behaviour in him. Henry was in a position to rise above faction in 1261, as he had been in 1236, but he repeatedly gambled his chances away. He was only a victim of alien favourites in moments of desperation but such moments have proved fatal for his subsequent reputation.

# APPENDIX

## List of the main alien households in England 1236-72

(Tables 8-19 follow:-)

TABLE NO.8

The household and main officials of Queen Eleanor (1236-72)

Note:- (i) This list omits, of necessity, the legion of lesser menial servants and estate officials.

(ii) In the absence of more precise evidence for any than a few named officials, the dates given here are, for the most part, only rough indications of the period (not actual length) of service.

(a) OFFICIALS.(Savoyards marked *)

1. Steward of the Household:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Robert de Muscegros | (1239-54)(d.1255) | (C.Lib.R.1226-40p.366) (Possibly in office, 1238:C.R.1237-42 p.48) |
| *Matthias Bezill (1240-54. Marshal of queen's household: C.R.1237-42 p.342) | (1254-c.61) | (C.R.1253-54 p.217; 1259-61 p.393)(Possibly in office, 1263. Still Constable of Gloucester) |
| Hugh de Dyve | (1266-c.68) | (C.Lib.R.1260-67 p.251; 1267-72 No.550) |
| Benedict de Blakenham | (c.1269-fl. 1275) | (C.P.R.1266-72 p.358; C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.189.) |

2. Steward of the Estates: ("Procurator")

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Brother William of Tarrant | (fl.1249-d. 1258) | (C.R.1247-51 p.146; Chron.Maj.V.p.716.) |

3. Keeper of the Wardrobe:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| John of Gaddesden | (1236-42) | (T.F. Tout, Chapters in Mediaeval Administrative History, V p.267 nn.) |
| *Guy de la Palud | (1242-48) | |
| Walter of Bradley | (1248-54)(d. 1255) | |
| *James de Aigueblanche | (1254-57:resigned) | |
| ?*Hugh de la Penne | (1257-fl.1272) | |

4. Keepers of Castles: (see table 1 p. 22-3 )

TABLE NO.8 (Continued)

(b) HOUSEHOLD - SAVOYARDS.

1. Knights

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| William de Synago | (early 1240's -d.1266) | (C.P.R.1232-47 p.464; 1258-66 p.599. |
| Matthew de Synago | (fl.1239-58) | (C.R.1237-42 p.148; E.101/349/26m.3) |
| Ralph Gorgys | (1252-80) | (E.101/308/1m.1; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.152; C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.227) |
| Stephen de Montferrand | (ante.1260-fl.1276) | (C.R.1259-61 p.100; E.101/349/26m.9; Cat. Anc.Deeds.V,A.11072) Also served Lord Edward c.1260. |

2. Valets: ("Vadletti")

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aimery Bezill | (1253-70) | (E.101/308/1m.2; C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.168) |
| William de Valers | (1252-57) | (E.101/349/18; C.P.R. 1247-58 p.539.) |
| Aymo Thurumberd | (1253-63) | (ibid.p.544; 1258-66 p.273.) (Also served Prince Edmund,1256-63) |
| William de Wisery alias. Weresy | (1260-63) | (C.R.1259-61 p.126; C.P.R.1258-66 p.275; C.R.1264-68 p.247.) |

3. Clerics:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Peter de Alpibus (or de Montibus) | (fl.1240-62) | (C.P.R.1232-47 p.243;1258-66 p.203.) | (Doctor) |
| Raymond de Bariamona | (1258-63) | (C.R.1256-59 p.249;1261-64 p.262.) | ( " ) |
| Mr. Henry of Savoy | (1245)(fl. 1240-45) | (C.R.1242-47 p.306.) | |
| Luke Bezill | (1243) | (C.P.R.1232-47 p.386.) | |
| Mr. Henry de Ghent | (1252-53) | (E.101/308/1mm. 1,2;C.Lib.R. 1251-53 p.152.) | (?Treasurer) |
| John de Sancta Maria | (1260-70) | (C.R.1259-61 p.246;C.Ch.R. 1257-1300 p.168. | (Chaplain) |

TABLE NO. 8 (Continued)

4. Damsels:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Lady Willhelmina Majorissa de Attlanc' | (1236-1258) (d.1260) | (C.P.R.1232-47 p.285; 1258-66 p.613.) |
| Alda de Boeles | (1243- d. 1253) | (C.P.R.1232-47 p.407; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.113.) |
| Joanna de Gorgys | (fl.1254-55) | (C.R.1254-56 p.11; E.101/349/7). |
| Hawise de Bie | (1250's) | (E.101/349/12.m.2) |
| Isabella de Fednes | (fl.1258) | (E.101/349/26.m.1,2) (Kinswoman) |
| Margaret de Provence | (1260's) | (C.P.R.1258-66 p.220) |

## (c) HOUSEHOLD - ENGLISH

1. Knights:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Theobald de Engleschevill | (fl.1251-1260) | (C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.351; C.R.1259-61 p.52.) |
| Bartholemew Pecche | (1238-53) | (C.Ch.R.1226-57 pp. 351,378; C.R.1237-42 p.48. |
| Henry Pecche | (1252) | (E.101/308/1m.1) |
| Robert de Norreys | (1251-d. 1255) | (W.Blaauw, The Barons' Wars.p.28.) (Cook) |
| William de Albiniaco | (1252-58) | (C.P.R.1247-58 pp.107, 623.) (Cook) |
| William le Moine | (1253-67) | (ibid.p.375; 1266-72 p.41.) |
| Geoffrey de Beauchamp | (1253) | (E.101/349/7.) |
| Robert de Cadamo | (1254) | (C.P.R.1247-58 p.369.) |
| Ralph Barre | (1260-62) | (C.R.1259-61 p.53; 1261-64 p.193.) (former valet) |

2. Valets:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Eudo de Shelfhanger | (1252-56) | (E.101/349/12m.1; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.284) (Buyer) |
| Bartholemew de Jetingden | (1252-60) | (E.101/349/8; C.R. 1259-61 p.305.) |
| Berengarius le Moine | (1252-53) | (E.101/349/8) |
| Reginald le Rus | (1253-54) | (E.101/308/1mm.1,2; C.R.1253-54 p.72.) |

TABLE NO.8 (Continued)

2. Valets: (Cont..)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Matthias de la Mare | (1254-59) | (C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.155; C.R.1259-61 p.11) |
| Geoffrey de Scalariis | (ante 1258) | (C.P.R.1247-58 p.626.) |
| Engelard de Cigoné (alien) | (1260) | (C.R.1259-61 p.235.) |
| William de Chaeny | (1260) | (E.101/349/26 m.3) |
| Adam de la Forde | (1260) | (C.R.1259-61 p.235.) |
| Roger de Tany (or Tony) | (1262) | (C.P.R.1258-66 p.219.) |

3. Clerics:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Robert del Ho | (1236-52) | (Tout, V p.234; Chron. Maj. V p.345.) (clerk of the counter roll:receiver) |
| Robert de Chauri | (1243-57) | (C.P.R.1232-47 p.373; Tout, V p.235.) (clerk of the counter roll:receiver) |
| Alexander de Bradenham | (1252-75) | (E.101/349/18; E.101/349/26; C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.189.) (counter roll) |
| Simon de Wycombe | (1253-67) | (E.101/349/12m.1; Cal.Jewish Plea R., I p.151. (usher; receiver) |
| Robert de Linton | (1239) | (Tout V. p.235 n.3) ('clerk') |
| William de London | (1241-62) | (C.P.R.1232-47 p.258; 1258-66 p.221.) (chaplain) |
| Henry de London | (1253-60) | (C.R.1251-53 p.344; C.P.R.1258-66 p.94.) (chaplain) |
| Bro. William Bellun | (1252-53) | (E.101/349/8; E.101/308/1mm.1,2) (chaplain) |
| Ralph Bung(ay?) | (c.1252) | (E.101/349/18) (chaplain) |
| Hugh de Okeford | (1255-58) | (C.P.R.1247-58 pp. 496,632.) (Almoner) |

TABLE NO. 8 (Continued)

3. Clerics: (Cont..)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Reginald of Bath | (1255) | (Chron.Maj. V.p.501.) (Doctor) |
| Nicholas de Havering | (1259-62) | (C.P.R.1258-66 p.54; C.R.1261-64 p.278.) (usher of wardrobe) |
| John de Erlesdon | (c.1259) | (C.R.1256-59 p.365) (chaplain) |
| John de Wells | (1259) | (C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.482) ('clerk') |
| Robert de Stotford | (1262-75) | (C.P.R.1258-66 p.219; C.Ch.R.1259-1300 p.189.) ('clerk') |
| John de Witeleye | (1263-75) | (C.R.1261-64 p.252; C.Ch.R.1259-1300 p.189.) ('clerk') |

4. Damsels:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Margery Bisset | (1230's) | (C.P.R.1232-47 p.103.) |
| Emma Bisset | (1230's) | (ibid. p.211.) |
| Sibyl Giffard | (1250's) | (C.47/3/43(6); E.101/349/7.m.2) |
| (Alice, her daughter) | (1260's) | (C.R.1259-61 p.143.) |
| Eda de St. John | (1250's) | (E.101/349/12m.2) (Wife of Geoffrey le Despenser.) |
| Margery de Bolesden | ( " ) | (ibid.) |
| Wife of Roger de Mortimer | ( " ) | (ibid. m.1.) |
| Petronella de Thony | ( " ) | (E.101/349/26 m.3.) |
| Joanna de Peyvre | ( " ) | (E.101/349/12 m.3.) |
| Clarissa de Albiniaco | (1260's) | (C.P.R.1258-66 p.220) |
| Denise de Stokes | ( " ) | (ibid.) |
| Sarra de Soleham | ( ' ) | (ibid.) |

# TABLE NO. 9.

## The household and main officials of Peter of Savoy in England (1240-63).

Note:- (i) Aliens - mostly Savoyards - marked (*); those receiving fees and other grants etc. from the king marked (F).

(ii) Peter of Savoy divided his time during this period, rather unequally, between England and the Continent. His 'familia', therefore, remained fundamentally alien. Listed here are only those members of it who accompanied him on his visits to England. Information on his knights and clerks based in Savoy is readily available (for example for 1250's and 60's in the deeds collected in J. Wurstemberger, Peter der Zweite, vol.IV Docs. 377, 644, 649, 657; also C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.71.)

(iii) His estate officials in England, in contrast, numbered very few aliens.

1. Knights of 'familia': (dates indicate period of connexion with England.)

* Guiscard de Charron (see list of 'officials' on p.419

(F)* Geoffrey de Grandimonte (c.1249-1260 or later. Dead 1267)
His widow, Henrietta (?English) married the Savoyard, Imbert de Montferrand c.1267. He visited England frequently. (Wurstemberger, op.cit., No.377, 532-60; C.P.R.1247-58 p.49; C.R.1259-61 p.227,264; 1264-68 p.359 etc.)

(F)* Peter de Grandison (c.1245-d.1258)
Seldom in England. (C.Lib.R.1240-5 p.309; 1251-60 p.114, 218, 357 etc. E.R. Clifford, 'A Knight of great reknown' p.12-13.)

* Ralph de Voiseray (1253)
Short contract? Sole reference: P.R.O. E.101/349/12 m.1.

* Peter de Amesino (1253-60) alias: Meysins, Moysy.
Knighted in 1253. Emissary to England, 1260. Others of family in Peter's service 1260's. (F.Mugnier, Les Savoyards p.346; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.357,507; Wurstemb.IV No.657 etc.)

* Gaucher de Comerc (1253) alias: Gomarcyn.
Knighted in 1253. Peter's 'kinsman'. No other reference in his service. (C.R.1253-54 p.183,189)

TABLE NO. 9. (Continued)

(F)* Hugh de Grandimonte (1254-61)
Frequently in England with Peter
(C.P.R. 1247-58 p.307; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.357,476; C.R.1259-61 p.487)

(F)* Imbert de Châtillon (1254-61)
Only in England 1254-5 (sic.)
(C.P.R.1247-58 p.314,343;C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.249; C.R.1259-61 p.487)

* Geoffrey de Amesino (1259)
Sole reference: Wurstemb.IV. No.507.

(F)* Baldwin de Villa (1260: or 1253-1267)
A Burgundian mercenary of Henry III 1253-67. Called Peter's knight in 1260. (C.Lib.R.1260-7 p.10. Also: C.P.R.1247-58 p.243,557; 1258-66 p.140; 1266-72 p.119; C.R.1253-54 p.249; 1256-59 p.223)

* Jordan de Montagniaco (1261)
Peter's yeoman, knighted 1261. In his service 1264. (C.R.1259-61 p.421; Wurstemb.IV.No.656)

* Peter de Casa (1262)
Short contract? Sole reference: E.101/349/26 m.6.

(F)* Imbert de Montreal (c.1261-?68)
Evidently important in Sussex-Kent area c.1261. Defended Pevensey for Peter, 1264:rewarded (inter alia) in Peter's will of 1268. (Gervase of Canterbury ii p.211; C.P.R.1258-66 p.363; C.R. Supplement No.358; Wurstemb.IV.No.749.)
Subsequently served Queen Eleanor (c.1281) and, possibly, Geoffrey de Joinville (C.Moor, Knights of Edward I., III p.197) deceased, 1284.

2. Clerics of 'familia' (dates indicate period of connexion with England; those known to be rewarded with benefices in England marked:B)

B* Mr. Peter de Montibus (1243-59?)
Doctor; also served Queen Eleanor? the 'Peter Montum de Foschie' of 1259?
(C.P.R.1232-47 p.384; Wurstemb.IV.No.507)

B* Peter de Capuz (1245) alias. Chassaz, Chashall
Rarely in England. In Peter's service in 1268.
(C.P.R.1232-47 p.447; Wurstemb.IV.No.749 etc.)

TABLE NO.9. (Continued)

B* Thomas de Roussillon (1252-61)
Peter's most important clerk. In his service, 1268 (probably his chancellor) and a frequent visitor to England. (Mugnier, op.cit. p.361; E.101/349/14; E.101/349/12 m.1; C.P.R.1247-58 p.234,252; C.R.1256-59 p.130; 1259-61 p.357; Wurstemb.No.751 etc.)

* William de Garneriis (1253) alias. Warnerii
Sole reference: E.101/349/12 m.1.
In Peter's service in 1264: (Wurstemb.IV.No.648)

B* Simon de Vercerio (1249-58) alias. Verteriis,Verzellis.
In Peter's service 1266. Possibly treasurer or chancellor. (Mugnier, op.cit. p.365; E.101/349/12 m.1; C.R.1256-59 p.259; Wurstemb.IV.No.649,650, C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.70-1)

B* Guy de Montagniaco (1258-9)
Otherwise, no further references in Peter's service. C.P.R.1247-58 p.642; Wurstemb.IV.No.507.

* Mr. Grassino (1259)
Sole reference. (ibid.)

* Aymo de Vercerio (1259)
Sole reference. (ibid.)

William de London (1264)
Former clerk of Queen Eleanor? Peter's envoy to England for payment of debts, 1264. (Wurstemb.IV. No.648)

3. Various officials in England:- (mainly English)

(a) Attorneys:(dates: when known to be in office;those witnessing Peter's charters indicated (W))

(W) Stephen de Feugères (1249-53)
See below: (C.P.R.1247-58 p.48;C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.418)

(Wx2)Adam de Alverton (1249-53)
of? North Allerton, co.Yorks.? (ibid.; E.41/474)

Bartholemew Pecche (1253)
Queen Eleanor's knight (C.R.1251-53 p.491)

Stephen de Bauzan (1253)
Knight of queen/lord Edward (ibid.)

TABLE NO.9. (Continued)

* Eubule de Montibus (1253)
Prominent Savoyard knight (ibid.)

(W) Walter of Bath (1253-60)
See below: (E.F. Jacob, Studies....baronial reform and rebellion, p.361.

* Guiscard of Savoy (1260)
Guiscard de Charron (?) See below (ibid.p.353,361)

(W) Alan de la Zouche (1260)
Presumably the well-known royal official. As a Sussex landowner, he witnessed Peter's charter to the tenants of Pevensey in 1253 (Jacob, op.cit. p.353,361; C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.436; Complete Peerage XII p.932-4.

Thomas de Wyndhill (1260 and later)
Jacob, p.353-4

Robert de Hornby (1260 and later)
ibid.

(b) Miscellaneous servants

Henry de Wengham (1242)
Peter's 'clerk' in 1242. Connected with Peter's affairs, 1252. Wengham was subsequently king's chancellor and bishop of London. (C.P.R.1232-47 p.289; C.R.1251-53 p.283,329.)

John le Moine (1258)
Peter's emissary to the continent, June 1258. (C.R.1256-59 p.235) A former Sheriff of Cambridge & Huntingdon, le Moine had strong connexions with the queen and her kinsman, the alien Ingram de Fiennes (H.M.Cam. Liberties and Communities .... Cambridgeshire Sheriffs p.40-1; C.R.1259-61 p.205; C.Lib.R.1267-72 No.761)

(c) General Steward (competence throughout English estates)

Stephen de Feugères, Walter of Bath } Receivers (1254)
C.R.1253-54 p.178;
C.P.R.1247-58 p.364.

Walter of Bath, former Sheriff of Devon (1236-51) had by 1262 left Peter's service to become Steward of Richard of Cornwall (C.R.1261-64 p.120.)

TABLE NO. 9. (Continued)

* Guiscard de Charron (1262-6: General Steward)
(C.P.R.1258-66 p.214,452)

Note:- At other times, Peter's estates seem to have been administered in a decentralized manner, or possibly with the Steward of Richmond taking precedence.

(d) Steward of Richmond:

* Guiscard de Savoy (alias. 'le Gros' or 'de Charron') (clerk) c.1243-?1250's.
(M.H.Dodds, A History of Northumberland, IX p.249-57)
Brother of Bernard of Savoy and Stephen, prior of Thetford.

* Guiscard de Charron, Kt. (c.1250's?-1268)
Probably son of above. Subsequently in service of John of Brittany. Hereditary forrester of Richmond and Keeper of Bowes castle (from 1266); Sheriff of Northumberland (1267-72); seneschal of Durham (1278-83); fl.1297.
(Dodds, ibid.)

Peter's subordinate bailiffs in the North seem to have been English, locally recruited (names such as Morewood, Mepham, Unwin, Ringeshall, Walsingham for E.Anglia & Yorks: Rotuli Hundredorum I p.313, 332,386,397 etc., II p.431)

(e) Steward of Pevensey (honour of L'Aigle):-

?* Guiscard de Frenes (1241-44 or later)
C.P.R.1232-47 p.261,280,287,424; C.R.1242-7 p.148.

Geoffrey de Brayboeuf (c.1247-1253)
Uncertain origins, although not an alien (Jacob, op.cit. pp.361-5)
Also Steward of Lewes until c.1252 (Cartulary of Priory of St. Pancras of Lewes (Part II): Sussex Record Soc. XL (1934) p.8.

TABLE NO.9. (Continued)

John de Gaddesden (1263-c.1257 or 1262?)
(C.P.R.1247-58 p.361; E.159/30 m.17d.; c.f. E.41/474; C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.436)
A Sussex landowner. It is not clear whether he was the same John who was keeper of the queen's Wardrobe from 1236. He died in 1262.
(C.Inq.P.Mortem:Henry III. Nos.378,551,706.)

John de la Rede (1263)
Peter of Savoy's 'Steward in Sussex'
(C.P.R.1258-66 p.301.)

Guiscard de Charron (1265)
(Foedera 1 (i) p.458)

Other bailiffs have English names, and were, presumably, local men (Jacob, op.cit. p.361-3; Cal.Inq.Misc. 1219-1307 p.161.)

(f) Constable of Pevensey Castle

* Hannekin de Witsaund (in 1263-64)- not Savoyard - assisted by John de la Rede (1264) and (*) Sir Imbert de Montreal (?1261-64)
C.P.R.1258-66 p.274,363.

(g) Steward of Hastings (& Honour of Eu to 1254)

Stephen de Feugères (1249-54)
(C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.285; C.61/1 m.4.) Not an alien (V.C.H. Buckinghamshire, IV p.21,187,225).Obviously an important official 1249-54. Possibly dead soon after 1254.

John de la Rede (1254-59)
He administered Hastings, in the name of the lord Edward, who had leased the Rape of Hastings at farm to Peter of Savoy in 1254. He was removed by Edward in 1259 (C.61/1 m.4; C.61/4 m.5. cf. Jacob, op.cit. p.354-7, 361.)

When Edward quit-claimed Hastings and its castle to Peter in 1262 the custody again went, presumably, to John de la Rede.

TABLE NO. 10.

1) The household and service of Boniface of Savoy, archbishop of Canterbury 1241-70: a summary

There is little that can be added to the exhaustive analysis of D.T. Williams: he lists 56 members of the archbishop's service of whom only about 12 were Savoyards. Some of these held offices of trust and dominated the higher echelons of his administration. Although Boniface's household fell more under alien influence, to some extent, from the mid-1260's onwards when he spent several years in exile, many of his earlier important officials were English. Nor was the archbishop's own patronage markedly biased towards aliens.

Main reference: 'Aspects of the career of Boniface of Savoy 1241-70' Univ.Wales Ph.D.thesis (Aberystwyth, 1970) p.355-88.

2) (a) Savoyards in the diocese of Hereford (summary )

(b) The household and service of Peter of Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford (1240-68)

(a) There have been useful surveys by J-P. Chapuisat and W.N. Yates of Savoyards in the Chapter of Hereford Cathedral. The number of kinsmen and aliens introduced by Aigueblanche has often been exaggerated (only 9 out of 32 prebendaries in 1255 at the height of his episcopate and an overall total of 25 aliens, six of whom do not appear until some time after the bishop's death.) Nevertheless, they held many of the more important offices in the chapter and diocese and

TABLE NO.10. (Continued)

were the bishop's most trusted servants. Before and even after 1263 they aroused a good deal of local opposition.

References: J-P. Chapuisat, 'Le Chapitre Savoyard de Hereford au XIIIe siècle': Sociétés Savantes de Savoie, Congrès de Moûtiers 1964 (Chambéry, 1966) p.43-51.

W.N. Yates, 'Bishop Peter de Aquablanca: a reconsideration'. J. Eccles.Hist. XXII (1971) p.310-12 and notes.

Without a surviving episcopal register for Aigueblanche it is difficult to trace the number of alien clerks enjoying benefices in Hereford: we can add here only a handful of names to supplement those already listed by Chapuisat and Yates:-

Mr. Peter de Olga (ante. 1247 parson of Bacton)
Cat.Anc.Deeds. I, B.409

William de Salines (c.1254, place not known)
W. Bliss, Cal.Papal letters I p.300)

**Aymeric de Breauté (1260-fl.1265 parson of Lindridge, co.Worcs. Aigueblanche intervened in 1260 to help him in a lawsuit. (P.R.O.: S.C.1/3/77; Annals of Worcester p.447; C.P.R.1258-66 p.435.)

Aymo de Montibus (Cluniac prior of Wenlock 1261-d.1272)
(C.P.R.1258-66 p.148; R.Eyton, Antiquities of Shropshire III p.242-3.)

Nicholas de Villa (1261 presented to Chesterton co.Salop)
(C.P.R.1258-66 p.142)

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** Not a Savoyard: cf. Henry III's well-known alien servant of the 1220's Fawkes de Breauté of Normandy. (Hen.III + L.Edw. p.3ff.)

TABLE NO.10 (Continued)

Michael de Fiennes (1262 presented to deanery of Bridgnorth)
(C.P.R.1266-72 p.739)

Humbert de Aigueblanche (d.1269:Prebendary of Bromyard)
(C.P.R.1266-72 p.334)

(b) For similar reasons it is difficult to draw up more than a very brief list of Aigueblanche's 'familia' and most important officials. He obtained surprisingly few advancements for them from the king:- (aliens - Savoyards - marked *. Dates are only a rough guide to period of service.)

1. Steward

* Imbert de Montferrand (1250's)
Hereford, Dean & Chapter Muniments:Nos. 1402,1405.
Subsequently in royal service:constable of Montgomery (1254-7) Marshal of king's household (1258) etc.

Mr. Roger of Gloucester (c.1261-63 in office)
P.R.O: S.C.1/7/92.

2. General attorney/proctor

Mr. William de Ros (1251)
(C.P.R.1247-58 p.112.)
Chaplain and important official c.1247-at least 1258. Canon of Hereford. Montfortian nominee to supervise see of Hereford in 1264 (C.R.1247-51 p.209; C.P.R.1247-58 p.524; 1258-66 p.324)

* Bernard, prior of Champagne (1251)
(C.P.R.1247-58 p.112)
Evidently a cherished servant. Murdered in 1252.
(Chapuisat, op.cit. p.46-7)

Richard Craft }
Colin de Prestbury } (attorneys, 1256)
(C.R.1254-56 p.400)

TABLE NO. 10 (Continued)

* Anselm de Clermont (1258)
(C.R.1256-59 p.459.)
Represented Aigueblanche before the Council in 1258. He was dean of Hereford (1253-62)

* Emeric d'Aigueblanche (1264)
(C.P.R.1258-66 p.332.)
'Guardian of the bishopric' in 1264. Precentor of Hereford c.1250-1268.

3. Other familiar clerics/chaplains etc.

* Peter de Cors (1247:fl.1271):Cat.Anc.Deeds. I B.409
(a kinsman: Chapuisat p.46)

Thomas of ?
Walter of ?(1247) :Cat.Anc.Deeds. I B.409

Herbert Coly (1248) :C.R.1247-51 p.90

?* Adam de Gessiz (1249) :ibid. p.541.

Luke de Membury (1249) :ibid.

Mr.Nicholas de Preston(1252):C.R.1251-53 p.240

* Robert, prior of Pion (1253):C.P.R.1247-58 p.231

* Mr. John Cantorinus (leech/
doctor: 1253):ibid. p.343

?* Guy de Castello (1256-7) :C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.354;
C.R.1256-59 p.17.

* Mr. Alexander 'de Acu'
(c.1256-8):Chapuisat p.45

* Peter de Aigueblanche
(nephew and ?yeoman in 1263):C.P.R.1258-66 p.251

* Ponce (doctor: 1263) :P.R.O: C.47/3/43 (7)

TABLE NO. 11.

Household and officials of various members of the House of Savoy in England 1236-72.

(Savoyards marked * )

1. William of Savoy (1236-9)

* William de Dyve (clerk, 1238) C.P.R.1232-47 p.211

* Peter of Aigueblanche (clerk, 1236-38) ibid. Chron.Maj. IV p.48.

Augustin fitz Godard (Steward of household, 1236) C.P.R.1232-47 p.157

Laurence of St.Martin ('familiaris' in 1239) (Chron.Maj. III p.623 IV p.294)

2. Phillip of Savoy (absentee:his chief proctors/agents in England to administer his many benefices 1236-c.1260:-

?* William 'Romanus' (1236) C.P.R.1232-47 p.157. (1241:Robert 'le Fauconer', king's sergeant, deputed to administer a benefice for Peter: ibid. p.255.)

?* 'Mr. Peter' (?1250's) Chron.Maj. VI p.442.

?* William de Poyre (c.1251-60) C.P.R.1247-58 p.114; E.101/349/26 m.8.

Arnulph de Venaunt:'former yeoman of Phillip of Savoy' in 1257 (C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.460.)

3. Beatrice of Provence (absentee:steward of manors in England:-

* Reginald fitz Artauld de Durthe (1243 only?) a clerk. (C.P.R.1232-47 p.384.)

Subsequent stewards:mere guesswork, if there were any.

An alien clerk of Beatrice mentioned 1248 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.19.)

# TABLE No. 12.

## Households and Servants of some prominent Savoyards in England 1236-72

Note: (i) Evidence of this is difficult to assemble and these lists must remain, therefore, very provisional.

(ii) Aliens - mostly Savoyards - indicated (*); those receiving fees/benefices etc. from the king indicated (F).

1. Bernard of Savoy, Kt. (1241-46) absentee after 1246:-

(F)* Guiscard de Orevallis (nephew, 1241) C.Lib.R.1240-5 p.19.

Mr. William le Brun (clerk, 1242) ibid. p.140.
At Windsor: recruited from royal service.

(F)* Stephen de Sathenay (knight, 1243) ibid. p.173.
Becomes Bernard's deputy as Constable of Windsor c.1246-9 (C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.58, 243)

2. Guy de Roussillon, clerk (1243-55) mainly absentee after 1244:-

(F)* Aimery Gychard (clerk, 1243) C.P.R.1232-47 p.394

(F)* Imbert de Ascitiis (clerk & Steward of his estates in England 1243-1255) ibid.p.484; C.R.1242-47 p.139; C.P.R.1247-58 p.394, 589.

* Aymo Pagani (Proctor, 1244) C.P.R.1232-47 p.421

William Russell (Accompanies Guy on Embassy, 1244) C.R.1242-47 p.202.

(F)* Hugh Russhet (clerk? 1246) ibid. p.477

3. Guy de la Palud, clerk (1245-55) mainly absentee after 1244:-
(N.B. He himself was, perhaps, originally a clerk of Guy de Roussillon: C.P.R.1232-47 p.407; C.R.1242-47 p.477.

* Uldric (de Susa??)(clerk, 1245-7) C.Lib.R.1240-45 p.287
1245-51 p.113

* Stephen de Sathenay (proctor, 1246) C.P.R.1232-47 p.475

(F) (?*) Ralph (unidentif.) (clerk & proctor, 1255) C.R.1254-56 p.111

TABLE 12

Households and Servants of some prominent Savoyards in England 1236-72 (Continued ..)

4. Peter of Geneva, knight (1243-48)

(F)?* Peter Visconti of Ostia (clerk, 1243) C.P.R.1232-47 p.394.

Henry de Bradley (knight, 1247-48) C.R.1242-47 p.515; C.P.R.1247-58 p. 15.
Of co.Glos. Sheriff of Hereford 1250-2. cf. Walter de Bradley in service of queen Eleanor.

John de Brademar (servant, 1248) C.P.R.1247-58 p. 32.

5. Geoffrey de Joinville, Kt. (1252-83)

?* Bartholemew (knight, 1252) E.101/349/18.

?* Raymond (servant, 1252) E.101/308/1 m.1.

* Guy Bois (knight, 1254) R.G.1 (i) No.3232

* John de Vaucouleurs (knight c.1252-83) W.Dugdale, Monasticon, V p.554.

John le Normand (bailiff of Ewyas c.1252-83) ibid.

6. Eubule de Montibus, Kt. (1253-63)

?* John (yeoman, 1253) E.101/308/1 m.1.

Benedict de Blakenham (knight, 1256-63?) C.P.R.1247-58 p.465; Cat.Anc.Deeds III. D.342. of co.Cambridge. Subsequently served queen Eleanor.

Henry 'le pestur of Cambridge' (abroad, 1256 on his affairs) C.P.R.1247-58 p.465

?* Gerard de Clipoys (knight, 1257) C.R.1256-59 p.98

Roger Ellis of Havering (general attorney, 1261) C.R.1259-61 p.44.

?* William de Stoire (knight, 1261) C.R.1261-64 p.10.

* William de Wisery (abroad 1263 with Eubule) C.P.R.1258-66 p.249.

7. Alice, wife of Edmund de Lacy (1254-63)

Walter Gulafre (clerk, 1254-63) C.47/3/43(6); E.101/349/26m.6. (family in royal service 1240-50's)

* William de Salines (clerk, 1254) E.101/349/12m.3. (Actually served Alice's mother-in-law, Matilda? Subsequently served Lord Edward)

TABLE 12.

Households and Servants of some prominent Savoyards in England 1236-72 (Continued ..)

* Berenger de Castro Veteri (yeoman, 1257) C.Ch.R. 1226-57 p.460

* William de Chauvent (knight, 1258) E.101/349/26m.2.

8. Margaret, wife of Baldwin de Redvers (c.1260)

* William de Wisery (ante.1260, yeoman) C.P.R.1258-66 p.274.

9. Imbert de Montferrand, Kt. (1261-72)

Madoc ap Blevit (servant, 1266) C.P.R.1258-66 p.637 (Welsh)

(?*) Peter de Baoes (knight, 1266-7) C.R.1264-68 p.179; alias Boys? C.Lib.R.1260-7 p.345.

Richard Monet (servant, 1272) C.P.R.1266-72 p.520.

# TABLE NO. 13

## Household and officials of William de Valence in England 1247-72

(aliens - Poitevins - marked (*); those in receipt of fees or land from the king marked (F). Approximate length of service indicated.)

1. Knights: 'familia'

*John de Mar (?1247-48)
C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.173

*Elie de Lavern (1247)
C.R.1247-51 p.15

(F)*Hugh de Prissay (1242?-48)
C.P.R.1232-47 p.311, 502; C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.168

(F)*Simon de Prissay (1242?-49)
C.P.R.1232-47 p.311, 502; C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.262.

(F)*Stephen de Spineto (1247-51)
C.P.R.1232-47 p.511; 1247-58 p.51, 91; Excerpt. e.rot.fin.ii p.111; C.R.1251-53 p.28, 29; C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.365.

(F)*Imbert Guy (1247-83:d.1286)
lord of Brillac; ?steward of William's estates in Poitou; King's seneschal of Perigord 1266-68 (C.R.1247-51 p.15; Excerpt.e.rot.fin.ii p.111; Moor, Knights of Edw.I,II p.164; P.R.O: S.C.1/9/60; S.C.1/48/36.)

(F) Geoffrey de Gacelin (1248-1279:d.1282)
of co. Wilts. + Bedford. (C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.180, 185; C.R.1247-51 p.345; 1256-59 p.332; Moor, opcit. II p.95)

Roger de Gacelin (1253-66:d.1266-7) son? of above.
C.R.1253-54 p.201; Cat.Anc.Deeds IV.A.8096; C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.120; V.C.H.Surrey IV p.170.

(F) Robert de Crepping (1250-59:d.1280)
of co. Yorks. (Sheriff of Yorks. 1250-53)
?Guardian of W. Valence's interests in North c.1250-56? Co-custodian of Valence estates (appointed by the Council March 1259, resigned in August). C.P.R.1247-58 p.88; 1258-66 p.15, 35; C.R.1254-56 p.266; C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.347; Moor, opcit. I p.246-7.

TABLE NO.13. (Continued)

(F) Robert de Aguillon (1252-1261 or 1270:d.1286)
of co. Sussex-Hants; Herts. Steward of King's Household 1263-71
(C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.402; Chron.Maj.VI p.223; C.R.1259-61 p.483; C.P.R.1266-72 p.413; L.F. Salzman, Family of Aguillon p.56ff.)

(F) Ingram de Vilers (1253-c.1277)
Villiers? of Sussex? (C.R.1253-54 p.201, 247; C.R.1259-61 p.467; Cat.Anc.Deeds IV.A.8096; Cat.Public Rolls:Pembrokeshire III p.221; cf. Moor, Knights of Edw.I, V p.124.)

(F) Roger de Leyburn (?1255, 1257-58; later? d.1271)
of Kent etc. Steward of lord Edward 1259-61; Steward of the King's Household 1263-65 etc.
(Cal.Docs.Ireland 1252-84 No.434; C.Ch.R. 1226-57 p.462; Tewkesbury Annals p.158; P.R.O.JUST.1/873 m.18d; cf. C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.120; E. Hastead, History of Kent, II p.230.)

William de Kirketon (1257-1271; knighted c.1265)
of co. Lincs; Steward of Valence estates in the North? C.P.R.1247-58 p.575; 1266-72 p.523; C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.120, 121; cf.Hodgson: History of Northumberland (1827) Part II vol.II p.258,274.

John de Busseto (1257-1266)
of co.Berks; knighted 1257; Steward of Pembroke 1258-66 (see Table No.15. )

(F) William de Boleville (1266-c.1272 or later)
of co. Wilts., Somerset, Cambs. etc.; Steward of Pembroke 1266-c.1272. Served Crown before and after this date (Moor, opcit. I p.109; see Table No.15 )

Robert de Immere(1267-1283)
of? co. Wilts.; Steward of Wexford 1270 (?) c. 1280-83. (Moor, opcit. II p.263; Shirley, Royal letters: Henry III. ii p.311; see Table No.14. )

2. Knights: (short contracts:)

Raymond of St. Martin (1253-54)
of co. Hants. Also served Aymer of Winchester
(C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.220)

(F) Oliver of Aspreville (co. Bucks. etc.) } (1253-54)
(F) Reynold de Drumar (co. Wilts. etc.) }
formerly of King's Household
(C.R.1253-54 p.201,266)

William de Gacelin (1253-54)
brother of Geoffrey de Gacelin; killed in Gascony, 1254 (C.R.1253-54 p.266)

TABLE NO. 13. (Continued)

Robert of Cockfield (1257)
of co. Sussex. Also served John de Warenne, Robert de Aguillon.
(C.P.R.1247-58 p.375, 578; 1266-76 p.284; C.R.1256-59 p.331)

(F) William de Dettling (1257)
of co. Kent. Also served Roger de Leyburne.
(C.P.R.1247-58 p.586; Gervase of Canterbury ii, p.221 etc.)

(F) Guncelin de Baddlesmere (1257-58)
of co. Kent. Also served Roger de Leyburne and John de Warenne.
(P.R.O.JUST.1/1187 m.7.; Placitorum Abbrevatio p.168)

Payn de St. Philibert (1258:Wexford: see Table No.14 )
of co. Hants. etc. Also served Robert de Aguillon?
(C.P.R.1247-58 p.232; C.R.1256-59 p.331)

(F) William de Barentino (co. Berks.) }
(F) John Gravenel (co. Kent ) } (1265-6)
siezed rebels' lands for the use of William de Valence. Both also served the king.
(Cal.Inq.Misc. 1219-1307 p.292,310; C.R.1259-61 p.124; C.R. Supplement No.385)

Martin des Roches (1267)
of co. Hants. Subsequently (1270) Sheriff of Hants. Kinsman of the alien Peter des Roches?
(Shirley: Royal letters ii p.311.)

3. Clerics: (those presented to livings by the king marked : B)

(B)*Gerard de Bellac (?1249-57)
'Mr. Giraud' in 1257 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.39; C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.462)

(B)*Peter de Bellac (1250-60)
(Reg.Innocent IV vol.II No.4800; C.P.R.1247-58 p.80; 1258-66 p.15.

William de Saxthorpe (co.Norfolk:1252)
Presented by William de Valence and Guy de Lusignan to Yardley Hastings, co. Norfolk in 1251 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste (ed. F.N. Davis, Lincoln Record Soc. Vol.XI (1914) p. 248 )

TABLE NO. 13. (Continued)

*Peter de Rupe (1255)
Chaplain & confessor (Reg.Alexander IV Vol.I No.660)

*Peter le Chanu (1257-69)
Chaplain. (C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.462; C.P.R. 1266-72 p.513)

John de Bridport (1258-70 or later)
of co. Devon. Physician (C.P.R.1247-58 p.623; 1266-72 p.480)

Robert le Blund (1262-69)
of co. Lincs. Chancellor? Attorney.
(C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.120-1; Cat.Anc.Deeds IV A.8096; C.P.R.1258-66 p.205; 1266-72 p.245; C.R.1264-68 p.241.)

Geoffrey de Neubald (1261-72)
of co. Lincs./Yorks. Receiver; Steward? 1266-72.
(P.R.O. E.368/36 mm.4, 10d., 11d.; C.P.R.1258-66 p.674; 1266-72 p.413, 485, 628; etc.)

4. Other servants:

(G) William de Bussay (or Busseto) (1250-58:d.1264)
of co.Lincs. General Steward of Estates in England. (C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.347; Chron.Maj. V. p.726, 738-9. etc.)

John de Mairy (?1251-59)
of? co. Norfolk. ? Bailiff 1251; Steward of Valence estates, appointed by the Council in 1259 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.91; 1258-66 p.35)

James de London (ante. 1251)
Yeoman, murdered in 1251 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.156)

*Jacomino (ante. 1257)
Yeoman, murdered in 1257 (ibid. p.595; Chron. Maj. V. p.643)

*Ellis de Culture (ante. 1255)
?Yeoman; messenger (C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.230)

Mr. Robert de Sandford (ante. 1255:d.1256)
Cook. (C.R.1254-56 p.139, 378)

(G) Thomas de Sandford (ante. 1256)
Yeoman of Joan de Valence (C.P.R.1247-58 p.493)

TABLE NO.13. (Continued)

Richard of Banstead (1251-55)
of co. Surrey. Attorney/Bailiff
(C.R.1247-51 p.559; 53-54 p.72; 54-56 p.56)

William Oen (1251)
? Welsh. Attorney in Norfolk
(C.R. 1247-51 p.559)

TABLE NO. 14

Seneschals of William de Valence in Ireland (Stewards of Wexford) (1247-1295)

(No aliens)

James de Sancto Martino, archdeacon of Dublin:

Nov.1248 James styled Steward (Cal.Docs.Ireland 1171-1252 No.2973) but at Michaelmas 1251 he accounts as 'former Steward' (ibid. No. 3199).

Richard de Brackley: (Probably Irish)

Aug.4th 1251 styled Steward (ibid. No.3181).

Peter de Beccles:

Probably Steward in 1257: he had protection in February 1257 'for as long as in the service of William de Valence in Ireland'. (C.P.R.1247-58 p.585).

(Sir Payn de St. Philibert)

Possible Steward in 1258. He had protection in April 1258 until All Saints' Day for service in Ireland for the king and William (ibid.p.622-3)

Richard Daniel: (of co. Derby)

May 1268: protection for Daniel departing for Ireland as Seneschal; he is also in the king's service (ibid.1266-72 p.233). Still in Ireland, October 1269 (ibid. p.368).

Sir Robert de Immere:

Possible Steward in 1270: protection in July 1270 on going to Ireland in William's service (ibid. p.446). By May 1275 Immere was in trouble, possibly for misdeeds in Ireland (C.R.1272-79 p.235; P.R.O. S.C.1/48/5.)

Sir John de Wogan:

Steward until 1277. (P.H. Hore History of Wexford p.92; P.R.O.:S.C.1/30/166A)

Robert Seynde:

Steward in 1277. (Hore, opcit. p.92)

Walter de Raddesham:

(styled 'former Seneschal' in June 1280) (Cal.Docs. Ireland 1252-84 No.1690)

Sir Robert de Immere:

(Steward in 1283) (Hore, opcit. p.93)

TABLE NO. 14 (Continued)

Gilbert de Sutton (senior):

Steward in 1286. (ibid. p.95-6.)
In office 1292. (ibid.)

Richard Symond:

Steward in 1295. (ibid. p.97)

# TABLE NO. 15.

## WILLIAM DE VALENCE'S
## Stewards of Pembroke (1258-1299)

(No aliens)

1250-1: Pembroke and Castle under oversight of Robert Walerand, Constable of Carmarthen and 'King's Bailiff in West Wales'. (e.g. C.R.1247-51 p.275, 518.)

1254: Writs addressed merely to 'the bailiffs' of Pembroke (C.R.1253-54 p.124.)

Sir John de Busseto:

1258: Commands defence of Pembroke (C.R.1259-61 p.2);

1260 (Aug.) styled: "Steward of Pembroke" (Cat.Anc. Deeds. III.D.112)

(Phillip de Conam: Sheriff; Robert de Crepping Constable in Aug. 1260: ibid.)

Sir William de Boleville:

1266 (Oct.) Styled: "Steward of Pembroke" (Cat.Anc.Deeds. III.D.242)

(Sir Tancred de l'Hôpital: Sheriff; Robert de Crepping: Constable: ibid.)

1272 (Nov.) Sir William de Boleville is still Steward (Catalogue of MSS concerning Wales in the British Museum Vol.III p.620)

(Sir Tancred de l'Hôpital:Sheriff:ibid.)

Sir Stephen de Eddworth:

c. 1277 styled Steward of Pembroke (by June 1277 Eddworth had 'gone to Wales' with William de Valence (C.R.1272-79 p.394) By 1290 he was 'former' Steward (Cal.Public Rolls concerning Pembrokeshire Vol.III p.6)

Sir John de Wogan:

By Feb.1290 probably Steward of Pembroke (C.P.R.1281-92 p.398)

Th. de Anvers:

1292 Steward of Pembroke (J.R.S. Phillips Aymer de Valence p.291)

TABLE NO.15. (Continued)

John de Tany:

c.1296-9 styled "Steward of Pembroke" (Cardiff Public Library; Pembrokeshire Deeds No.1077)

William de Valence visited Pembroke probably for the first time in 1265 (Flores Historiarum III p.1.), probably again in 1268 (C.P.R.1266-72 p.245) and next in September 1277 (I.H. Jeayes: Descriptive Catalogue of Berkeley Charters (Bristol, 1892) p.142-6).
In 1272 Geoffrey de Neubald served as William de Valence's emissary 'to Wales'.
(C.P.R.1266-72 p.628).

TABLE NO.16.

The Household and major officials of Aymer de Lusignan, bishop-elect of Winchester (in England: 1247-58; bishop: 1251-60.)

(Note:- (i) This list, based mainly on the witness-lists of Aymer's *acta*, attempts to trace those followers closest to the alien bishop: it is not, therefore, a complete guide to diocesan officials 1251-60.)

(ii) Aliens - mostly Poitevins - marked *

(1) Clerks (closely associated with Aymer.) Those receiving benefices and gifts from the king marked (B).

B* Mr. Vincent of Tours (1247-60)
Tutor of Aymer at Oxford (1247-49); his proctor in Roman curia 1251 and ?1260. Archdeacon (1251), archbishop (*ante* 1260) of Tours. (A.Emden, Biographical Dict. of Univ. Oxford. p.1889; Annals of Oseney p.126.)

* Mr. Aimery Cortyn (1249-d.1257)
Familiar clerk; appointed master of the Hospital of St. Cross, Winchester *c*.1255. etc. (C.Lib.R. 1245-51 p.255; C.P.R.1247-58 p.177; (C.Ch.R. 1226-57 p.451; 1257-1300 p.9; C.R.1256-59 p.118)

B Martin de Sancta Cruce (1247-d.1259)
Appointed by Aymer, from previous royal service, as steward of his benefices in the North 1249; General Steward 1251-*c*.1257. (Chron.Maj.V p.91; C.P.R.1247-58 p.91,177; 1258-66 p.43; C.Ch.R. 1257-1300 p.9.)

Robert de Karville (1252-57 or later)
?Caunvill of Cheshire? Treasurer of Salisbury (1252); 'official' of Aymer in 1257; dead by 1268. (C.Ch.R.1226-57 p.438; 1257-1300 p.9; C.R.1256-59 p.59)

B* Prior of Lusignan (1252-60)
Steward of Aymer's benefices in Poitou ('long service' by 1255); executor in Poitou in 1260? (Chron.Maj. VI p.423; C.P.R.1247-58 p.419; W. Bliss, Cal.Papal.lett. i p.412)

TABLE NO.16 (Continued)

(?*) Mr. Peter de Sancto Omario (St. Omer?)(?1253-1260)
Archdeacon of Surrey c.1257-1296; exiled with Aymer in 1258; executor of his will. etc. (Annals of Winchester p.99; C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.9; C.P.R.1258-66 p.211; C.R.1259-61 p.323; 1261-64 p.154; C.P.R.1272-81 p.370)

B?* Mr. William de Rupella (1256-?60)
Aymer's clerk:abroad for 3 yrs,1256 (C.P.R. 1247-58 p.469). Links with Guy de Lusignan: 1256 (E.159/29 m. 13d); Bertram de Bovis Villa: 1267 (C.P.R. 1266-72 p.35). Possibly in royal service,1249; possibly in Aymer's service 1253-6. (C.R.1247-51 p.166; C.P.R.1247-58 p.334, 461).

B Mr. Geoffrey de Feringes c.1256-60.
'official' of the exiled elect in Winchester 1260; executor of Aymer's will. (Papal tax collector etc.)(C.R.1256-59 p.279; C.P.R.1258-66 p.74,282; Bliss, op.cit. p.221,392.)

(*) Aimery Gychard (c.1257-60)
Savoyard (clerk of Guy de Roussillon, 1243); archdeacon of Winchester c.1257-ante 1274.Exiled with Aymer in 1258,restored in 1261. (C.P.R.1232-47 p.358; C.R.1256-59 p.330; C.P.R.1258-66 p.135).

?* Mr. Peter Giraldonis (ante.1260)
Presented by Aymer to Bramdean (Hants.)expelled c.1260. Vincent of Tours petitioned the king on his behalf.
(S.C.1/5/62; C.P.R.1258-66 p.74,122,134.)

(2) Other clerks (virtually single references:these do not witness acta.)

?* Guy 'the chaplain' (1251)
Received on Aymer's behalf the revenues of Winchester, 1251; parson of Elton (co. Huntingdon) 1251. (C.R.1251-53 p.31; C.P.R. 1247-58 p.91)

John Picard (1252)
?Pychard of Reading?? (C.Lib.1251-60 p.310; Chron.Maj. VI p.223)

William Gaucer (1252)
alias. Gauger. Parson of Cheriton (Hants.) d.1259 (C.P.R.1258-66 p.10; Chron.Maj. VI p.223)

TABLE NO.16. (Continued)

Stephen of Croinden (1252)
? of Croydon (Surrey). Subsequently king's clerk (fl.1267) (C.P.R.1258-66 p.378,557; C.Lib.R.1267-72 No.1063 D; Chron.Maj. VI p.223)

William of Newark (1252)
'clerk & bailiff' of Newark (Surrey).(Chron.Maj. VI p.223)

B Mr. John de Lith (1253)
of Lyth (Hurtmore) Surrey? 'Clerk of the elect' promised by the king a benefice worth 60m.p.a.,1253. C.P.R.1247-58 p.234.

William Mungager (1256)
Same as William Gaucer? (C.R.1254-56 p.326).

Mr. Peter Lamberti (1257)
Lambert of co.Surrey? Proctor in lawsuit,1257. (C.R.1256-59 p.118).

Robert le Blund (1257)
of co.Lincs. Aymer's deputy in the North 1257? Subsequently served W. de Valence. (C.R.1256-59 p.116).

(3) Knights (Fees, gifts from the king etc. indicated:F).

F* Guy Povereau (1251-c.1256)
Family of (Bois)-Poureau linked with Lusignans. (C.Lib.R.1245-51 p.292). King's yeoman: 1248 (C.P.R.1247-58 p.24); Aymer's yeoman (1251) knight (1252) (ibid.p.121; C.R.1247-51 p.509; Chron.Maj. VI p.223). Possibly returned to Continent by 1256 (C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.285; C.R.1254-56 p.319).

Walter de Raleigh (1252-7 at least)
of co.Devon. Probably kinsman of previous bishop of Winchester (Bk.of Fees ii p.794). Knight of Aymer's household (Chron.Maj. VI p.223; C.P.R. 1247-58 p.494).

TABLE NO.16 (Continued)

William de St. Ledger (1252)
probably of co.Sussex and Herts. d. c.1265. (V.C.H. Sussex IX p.138; Herts.III p.40; Excerpt.e.rot.fin.ii p.195; C.R.1264-68 p.237. Moor, IV p.183 confuses two knights of this name). 1252 is sole reference to connect him with Aymer (Chron.Maj. VI p.223).

F Raymond of St. Martin (1255 or longer)
of co.Hants. Aymer's knight 1255, formerly (1250) of king's household. Served W. Valence 1253-4. (C.P.R.1247-58 p.409).

Gerard de la Grue (c.1256-58)
of co.Yorks. General Steward of Aymer's estates 1256-58; re-appointed by Baronial Council to administer temporalities of Winchester then replaced 1258. Aymer's executor in 1263. (C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.9; C.P.R.1247-58 p.644; 1258-66 p.7). Served Peter de Maulay ante. 1250; the king 1250-5 (C.R.1247-51 p.564; C.P.R.1247-58 p.71, 91, 413). King's knight 1264; Sheriff of Hants. 1266; Steward of bishop of Winchester 1274 (C.P.R.1258-66 p.324,583; C.R.1272-79 p.122 ).

?F Roger Aliz (c.1256-60)
of co.Hants. (Bk. of Fees ii p.707); knight of Aymer, receiving gifts from the king. Formerly of the king's service? (C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.9; C.R.1256-59 p.442). No reference after 1260.

William de Genetynes (ante. 1257-58)
of Gensing, co.Sussex (V.C.H.Sussex IX p.19). Aymer's knight, exiled with him in 1258. Restored 1261 (C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.9; C.P.R.1258-66 p.2; C.R.1259-61 p.334,345,375). Serving king in co. Sussex 1266 (Cal.Inq.Misc.1219-1307 No.911).

(4) Other identifiable lay servants

William de Weilond (1248)
of Ireland etc. Aymer's messenger to Ireland (C.P.R.1247-58 p.19). Possibly same man became chief royal escheator 1261 etc. (Moor, V p.184).

Phillip de la Forest (1252)
of co.Hants. Steward of Aymer's household (Chron.Maj. VI p.223).

TABLE NO. 16 (Continued)

?* Vivian de Sancto Flodomo (1254)
Yeoman/messenger (C.R.1253-54 p.219).

Oliver of Winchester (1257)
Attorney (1257). Steward of Priory of St. Swithun since c. 1243. (C.R.1256-59 p.121)

Walter de la Croce (ante.1257-58 or 1260) alias 'de Briche', of co.Hants. Treasurer by 1258 (C.Ch.R.1257-1300 p.9; C.P.R.1247-58 p.644.) Retained in office by Council in 1258, but still loyal to the elect 1260. (C.P.R.1258-66 p.2,6; C.R.1256-59 p.279.) Subsequently in the king's service in co.Hants. and elsewhere, fl. 1269 (C.P.R.1266-72 p.240,334,382,729.)

* Reynold de Makayn (c.1256-60)
of Bordeaux? Aymer's 'pantler', exiled with him in 1258 (C.P.R.1258-66 p.180; Cal.Inq.Misc. 1219-1307 No.271.)

Nicholas de Poynz (1257-58)
of co.Dorset etc. Knight. Keeper of Portland castle in 1258 (JUST.1/1187 m. 2d; Moor, IV p.89.)

# TABLE NO. 17

## Servants of Geoffrey de Lusignan in England (1247-72)

(All alien: other than English marked (*); those receiving fees/benefices from the king marked (G). Dates given are approximations only: from Royal Chancery records)

1. Knights of the 'familia':

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (G) | Aimery du Plessis | (1247-58) | (C.P.R. 1247-58 p.3, 103) |
| (G) | Peter de Rupe | (1248-58) | (ibid. p.12, 103) |
| | Oliver de Sonay | (c.1248-56) | (C.Lib.R. 1245-51 p.165, 1251-60 p.97) |
| (G) | Hugh Gaunch | (1251-56) | (C.P.R. 1247-58 p.103) |
| | William de Sancta Ermina | (1252-62) | (C.R. 1251-53 p.153; Diplomatic Docs. No.354) |
| | Peter de Torthay | (1254-56) | (C.Lib.R. 1251-60 p.259) |
| (G) | Theobald Chabboc | (1253-54) | (R.G.I No. 2203, 3899) |
| | Aimery de la Roche | (1253-54) | (ibid. No. 3900) |
| | William de Walenfrey | (1254-56) | (C.R. 1253-54 p.252; 1254-56 p.329) |
| | Aimery Marini | (1255) | (ibid. p.137) |

2. Clerics:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (G) | John de Antioch (possibly Chancellor) | (1254-71) | (C.P.R.1247-58 p.278, C.R.1268-72 p.174) |
| | Giles de Geliniaco | (1272) | (C.P.R.1266-72 p.676) |

3. Others:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (*) | William de Bussay (estates steward) | (c.1252-58) | (C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.44; P.R.O.JUST.1/873 m.8d.) |
| (*) | Robert de Raleigh (estates steward) | (c.1264-72) | (C.P.R.1258-66 p.378, 527; 1266-72 p.280, 567. C.R.1268-72 p.568) |
| (*) | Richard de Limming (bailiff, co.Huntingdon) | (c.1251) | (C.R.1247-51 p.469; Cal.Inq.Misc.,I No.349) |
| (*) | John de Ellington (bailiff, co. Surrey) | (c.1254) | (C.P.R.1247-58 p.291, 626) |
| (*) | Thomas de Castro (messenger to Ireland) | (c.1255-6) | (ibid.p.405; C.R.1254-56 p.426) |
| | Ellis le Barber (Yeoman/Jester) | (1256) | (C.R.1256-59 p.17) |

# TABLE NO. 18.

## Servants of Guy de Lusignan in England (1247-72)

(Notes: as for Geoffrey de Lusignan)

1. Knights of the 'familia'

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (G) | William de Cryanges | (1247-48) | (C.P.R.1247-58 p.3) |
| (G) | Geoffrey Tyrenel | (1247) | (ibid.) |
| (G) | Bertram de Cygony | (1252-56) | (ibid. p.125; C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.290) |
| | Hugh de Chastillon | (1253-55) | (R.G.I.No.4482 C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.220) |
| (G) | Peter le Rus | (1254) | (C.P.R.1247-58 p.317) |
| | Bertram de Cressy | (1254) | (R.G.I. No.2714) |
| | William Mutun | (1254) | (ibid. No.3464) |
| (G) | Itier de Burdilla | (1254) | (ibid. No.3921) |
| | John de Groyn | (1256) | (C.R.1256-59 p.13) |
| | Segur Girarz | (1264) | (C.P.R.1258-66 p.318) |

2. Clerics:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Focaud de Cygony (Receiver; ?Chancellor) | (c.1249-57) | (C.Lib.1245-51 p.240; C.R.1254-56 p.432; 1256-59 p.27) |
| (?*) | John Martyveus (Receiver) | (c.1252-57) | (P.R.O. E.159/30 m.14; C.R.1251-53 p.295) |
| | Fulk de Outon | (c.1256) | (C.P.R.1247-58 p.494) |
| | Ellis Cornutti (Chaplain) | (c.1264) | (C.P.R.1258-66 p.318) |

3. Others:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | William Borno (General Receiver) | (1252-57) | (C.R.1251-53 p.295; 1254-56 p.25; 1256-59 p.126, 194) |
| | Siwsmeames (1252); (actor/jester) | Biset(1254) | (C.R.1251-53 p.50; 1253-54 p.264) |

TABLE NO. 19.

Households and servants of some important Poitevin Knights settled in England (1247-72)

(aliens - probably Poitevins - marked: *)

1. William de Chabanais: (N.B. after c.1255 an absentee)

*Reginald de Burdenvill (Knight, 1254) C.R.1253-54 p.268.
?*Albert Corynel (Knight, 1255) C.R.1254-56 p. 78.
?*William Fontlebo (Knight, 1262) C.R.1261-64 p. 61
*William de Cultura } (Knight, 1269) C.R.1268-72 p. 98
*Guy de Montibus }
*Osbert de Eu (Knight, 1270) C.P.R.1266-72 p.428.

N.B. an almost exclusively alien service. William de Chabanais customarily served the king with two knights (e.g., 1252 : C.R.1251-53 p.240.)

2. Elias de Rabayn:

Walter de Burgeis (under-sheriff, Somerset-Dorset 1251-55: subsequently in royal service). Carpenter: E.H.R.1976 p.24; C.P.R.1258-66 p.57.

?*Mr. Everard (clerk, 1253) C.P.R.1247-58 p.237
?*William Abiral (valet? 1254) C.R. 1253-54 p.248

No details of any other knights or officials survive 1247-72. Elias served the king with two knights and his 'propria familia' followed him into exile in 1258 (C.R.1251-53 p.290; 1256-59 p.352.)

3. Guy de Rochford

?*John le Gras (knight or squire, 1252-4) C.R.1253-54 p.243; Cal.Docs. Ireland 1252-84 No.59
Robert de Lammeheth (chaplain, 1253) C.R.1251-53 p.380
Mr. Gilbert (clerk, 1254) C.R.1253-54 p.280
*Bartholemew de Scyvar (merchant or receiver, 1257) of Bordeaux C.R.1256-59 p. 76
Robert fitz William Boleyn (chamberlain? Colchester,1258) ibid. p.203
Mr. John of St. Bridget (attorney of his wife:Ireland,1270) C.P.R.1266-72 p.438

No further details survive of his two (1254) or three (1248) knights (C.Lib.R.1251-60 p.231; C.R.1247-51 p.119)

TABLE NO. 19.(Continued)

4. William de Sancta Ermina

Alexander de Brok (servant, 1255)
C.R.1254-56 p.31.

Robert de Gatenwell (Bailiff in Havering, 1258)
P.R.O. JUST.1/1187 m.3

Robert Marsh of Oxford (?servant, 1258)
C.R.1256-59 p.240

Oliver Virgultis (clerk, 1269)
C.R.1268-72 p.45

?*Ponce de Mara (?receiver, 1272)
ibid. p.555

Walter de Beche (attorney & receiver, 1273-74)
C.R.1272-79 p.42, 135.

No details survive of his 5 squires (1270). Were they aliens? (C.R.1268-72 p.312).

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* Consultation only of the witness lists omitted from the printed Calendar. This has been helped enormously by the modern MS. transcripts (P.R.O. Round Room: shelfmark 25/49).

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( " " " " 1262)
( " " " " 1273)
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