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**THE DE LACY CONSTABLES OF CHESTER AND EARLS OF LINCOLN:
THE TRANSFORMATION OF AN HONOUR (1190-1311)**

by

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Thesis submitted

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This thesis examines the lives, careers and fortunes of the de Lacy constables of Chester and earls of Lincoln, Roger, John, Edmund and Henry de Lacy, between 1190 and 1311, and sheds light on a family who have been relatively neglected within existing scholarship. This thesis charts the family's rise from local baronial magnates to comital status with two earldoms, and their position as one of the richest tenants-in-chief of the crown. This study establishes how the family, as a whole, was able to take advantage of the opportunities arising over four generations, one hundred and twenty one years and the reigns of five kings, to develop and maintain its lordship. The thesis explores the mechanisms they used and were able to take advantage of, during such a vibrant period of history, which included tumultuous civil wars and dynamic political change. It examines in detail the political careers of each of the de Lacy constables in turn and explores their relationships with royal government and the affect of Magna Carta and Plantagenet rule on this family. It then explores the development of the de Lacy family's honorial estates through each generation and the strategies they employed to expand their dominions. It also discusses the family's patronage and the evolution of their various associations with religious communities and how this compared to contemporary trends. The examination of the de Lacy affinities, in particular, is the first to explore their composition and development across four generations of this family, identifying the men who were in their service and the transition from a baronial to comital following. This study of the de Lacy constables therefore sheds new light on the development of baronial families and the transformation of their honours during this period of history.

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Abbreviations

<i>AM</i>	<i>Annales Monastici</i> , ed. H.R. Luard (5 vols, Rolls Series, 1864–1869)
<i>BL</i>	British Library
<i>CDS</i>	<i>Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland</i> (4 vols, London, 1881-1888)
<i>CIPM</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post-Mortem and Other Analogous Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (vols. i-v, London: HMSO, 1904-1913)
<i>CChR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Charter Rolls</i> (London, 1916 -)
<i>CCIR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i> (London, 1900 -)
<i>CFR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Fine Rolls, Volume I: Edward I, 1272–1307</i> (London, 1911)
<i>CLR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Liberate Rolls</i> (6 vols, London, 1916-1964)
<i>Chronica Majora</i>	<i>Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora</i> , ed. H.R. Luard (7 vols, London: Rolls Series, 1872–83)
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls</i> (8 vols, London: HMSO, 1893–1913)
<i>EYC</i>	<i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> , ed. W. Farrer (vols. 1-3, Edinburgh, 1914-1916), C. T. Clay (vols. 4-12) (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series: Extra Series, 1935-1965)
<i>Fine Rolls</i>	<i>Fine Rolls of Henry III</i> : available online via <i>Henry III Fine Roll Project</i> http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/calendar.html
<i>Flores</i>	<i>Flores Historiarum</i> , ed. H.R. Luard (3 vols, London: Rolls Series, 1890)
<i>Foedera</i>	<i>Foedera: Conventiones, Litterae et Cujuscunq[ue] Generis Acta Publica</i> , ed. T. Rymer (London: Record Commission, 1816)
<i>HMSO</i>	Her Majesty's Stationer's Office
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>ROF</i>	<i>Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi Asservati, Tempore Regis Johannis</i> , ed. T. D. Hardy (London: Record Commission, 1835)
<i>TNA</i>	The National Archives
<i>Yorks Deeds</i>	<i>Yorkshire Deeds</i> , ed. W. Brown (vols. 1-2) C. T. Clay (vol. 6) M. J. Stanley Price (Vol. 10) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgments	iii
Abbreviations	v
Fig: 1 Genealogical Chart of Descent to Roger de Lacy	ix
Fig: 2 Genealogical Chart of de Lacy Constables	x
Map 1: The de Lacy lands under Roger de Lacy (c.1190-1211)	xi
Map 2: The de Lacy lands under John de Lacy (c.1211-1240)	xii
Map 3: The de Lacy lands under Edmund de Lacy (c.1240-1258)	xiii
Map 4: The de Lacy lands under Henry de Lacy (c.1258-1311)	xiv
Introduction	15
Part I: The de Lacys, Politics and Royal Government	39
Chapter 1: Roger de Lacy (c.1170-1211)	41
Chapter 2: John de Lacy (c.1192-1240)	55
Chapter 3: Edmund de Lacy (c.1230-1258)	71
Chapter 4: Henry de Lacy (c.1250-1311)	87
Part II: The de Lacy Honour, Estate Management, Affinity and Religious Patronage	135
Chapter 5: The de Lacy Honour	137
Chapter 6: Estate Management	149
Chapter 7: The de Lacy Affinity	161
i) Roger de Lacy	165
ii) John de Lacy	173
iii) Edmund de Lacy	183
iv) Henry de Lacy	189
Chapter 8: Religious Patronage	201
Conclusion	221
Bibliography	231

Fig: 1 Genealogical Chart of Descent to Roger de Lacy

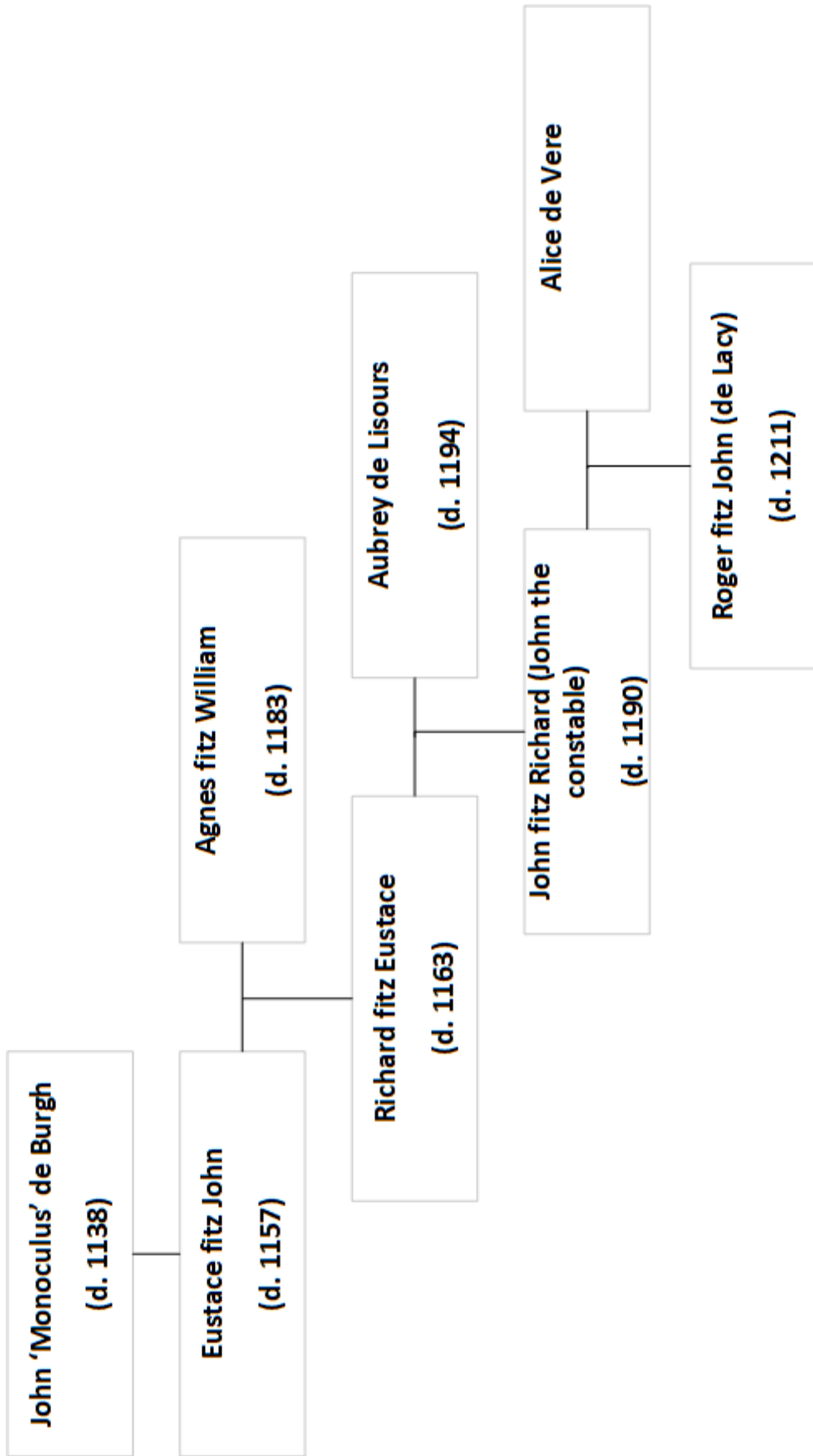
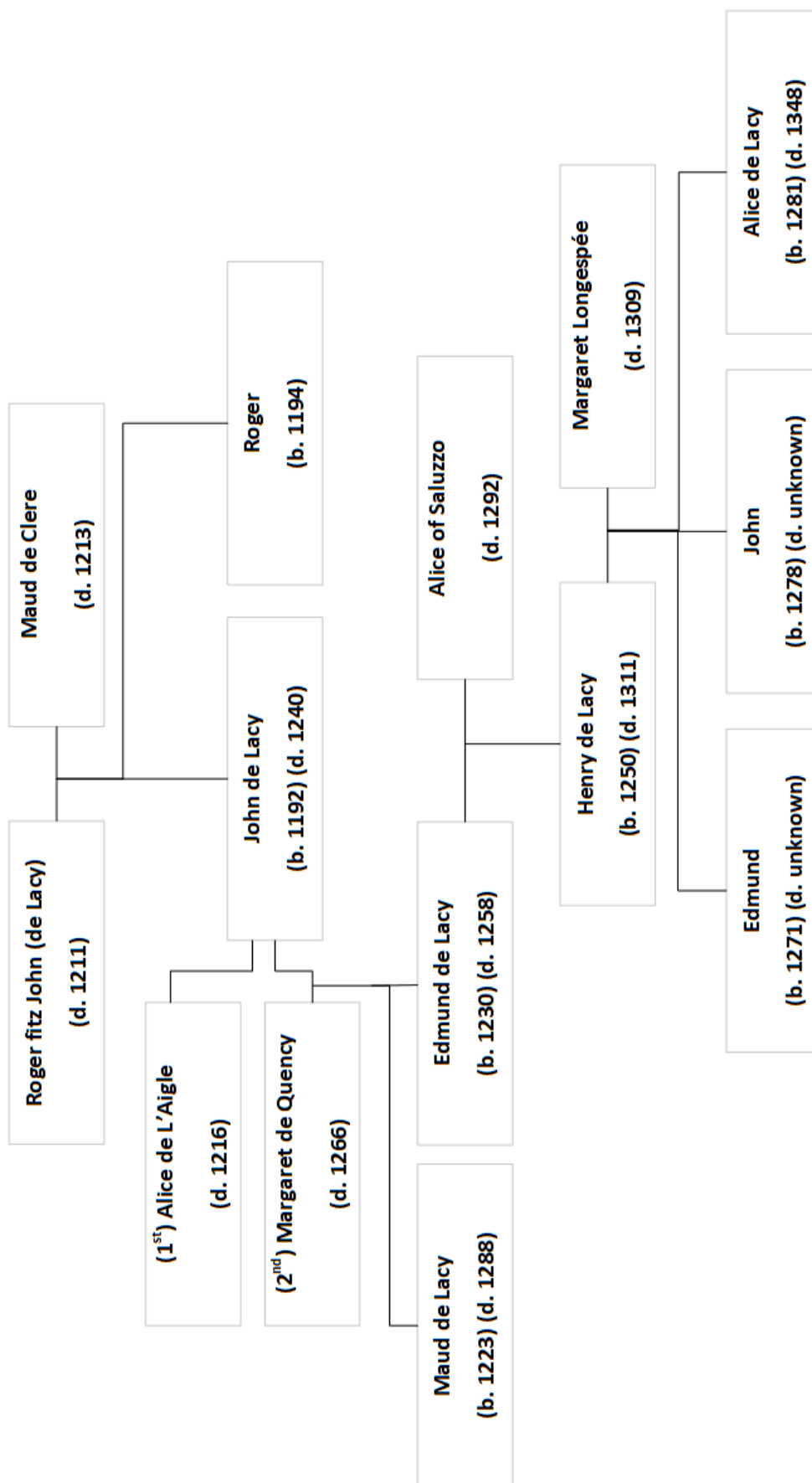
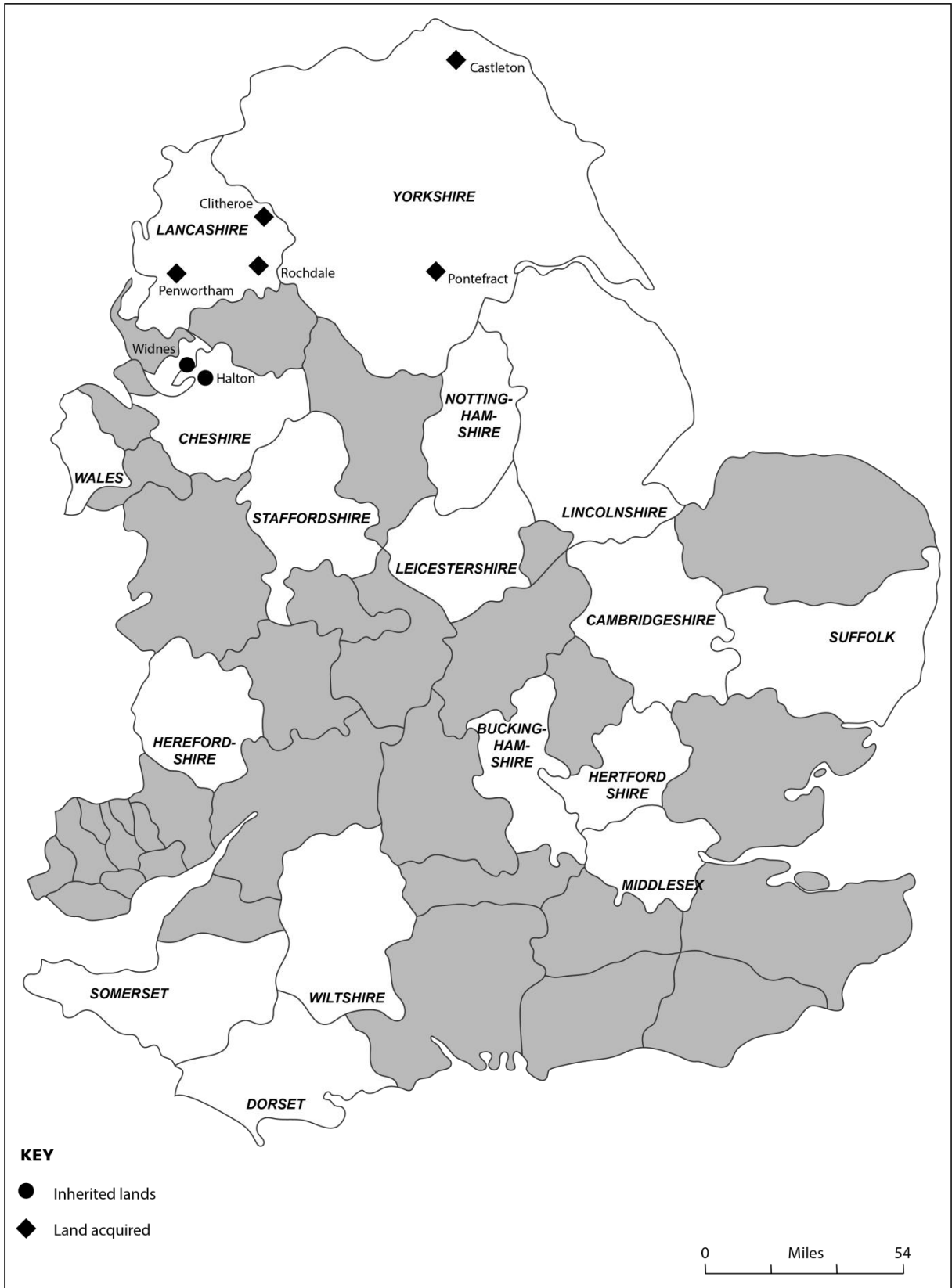


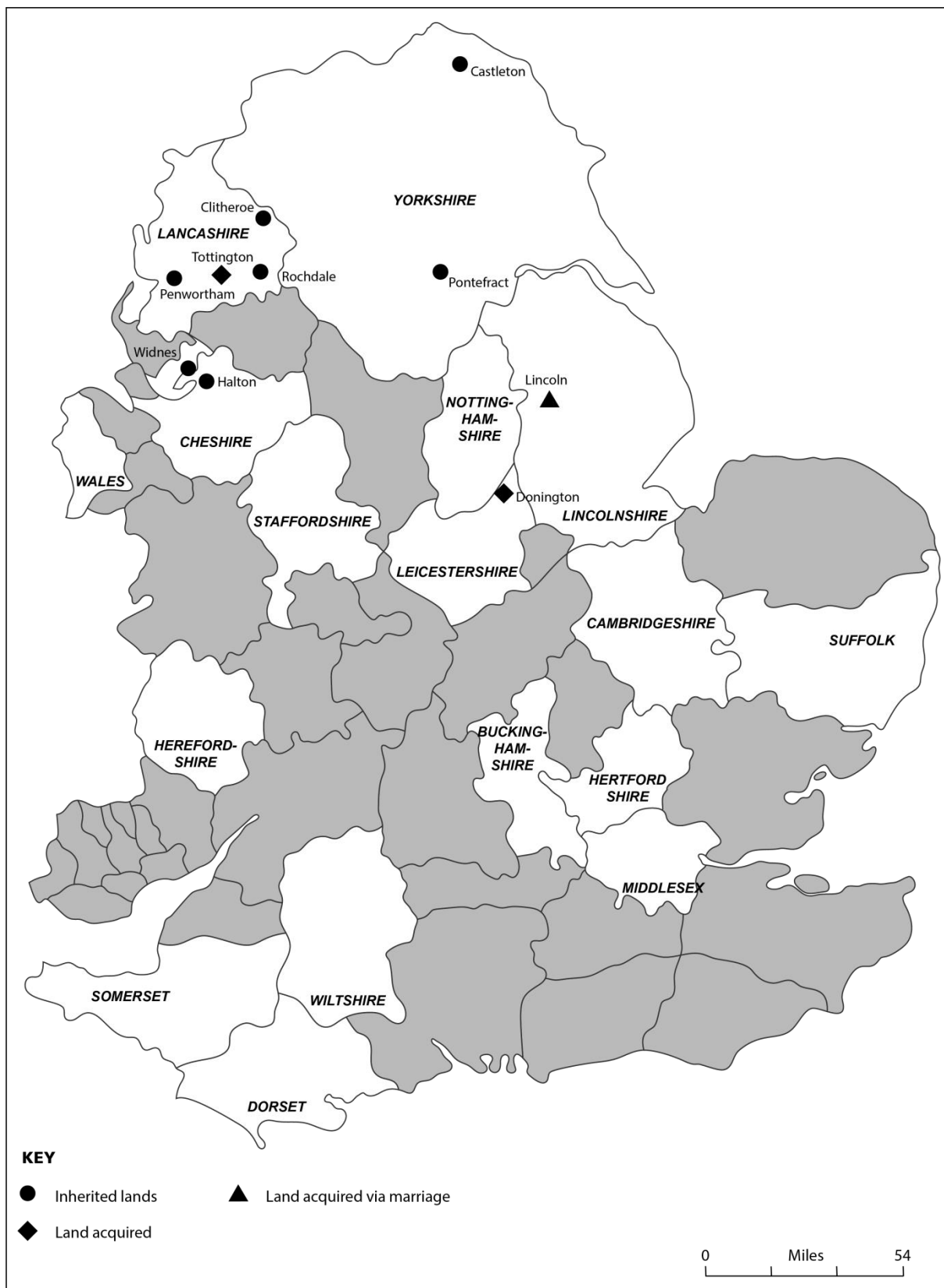
Fig: 2 Genealogical Chart of de Lacy Constables



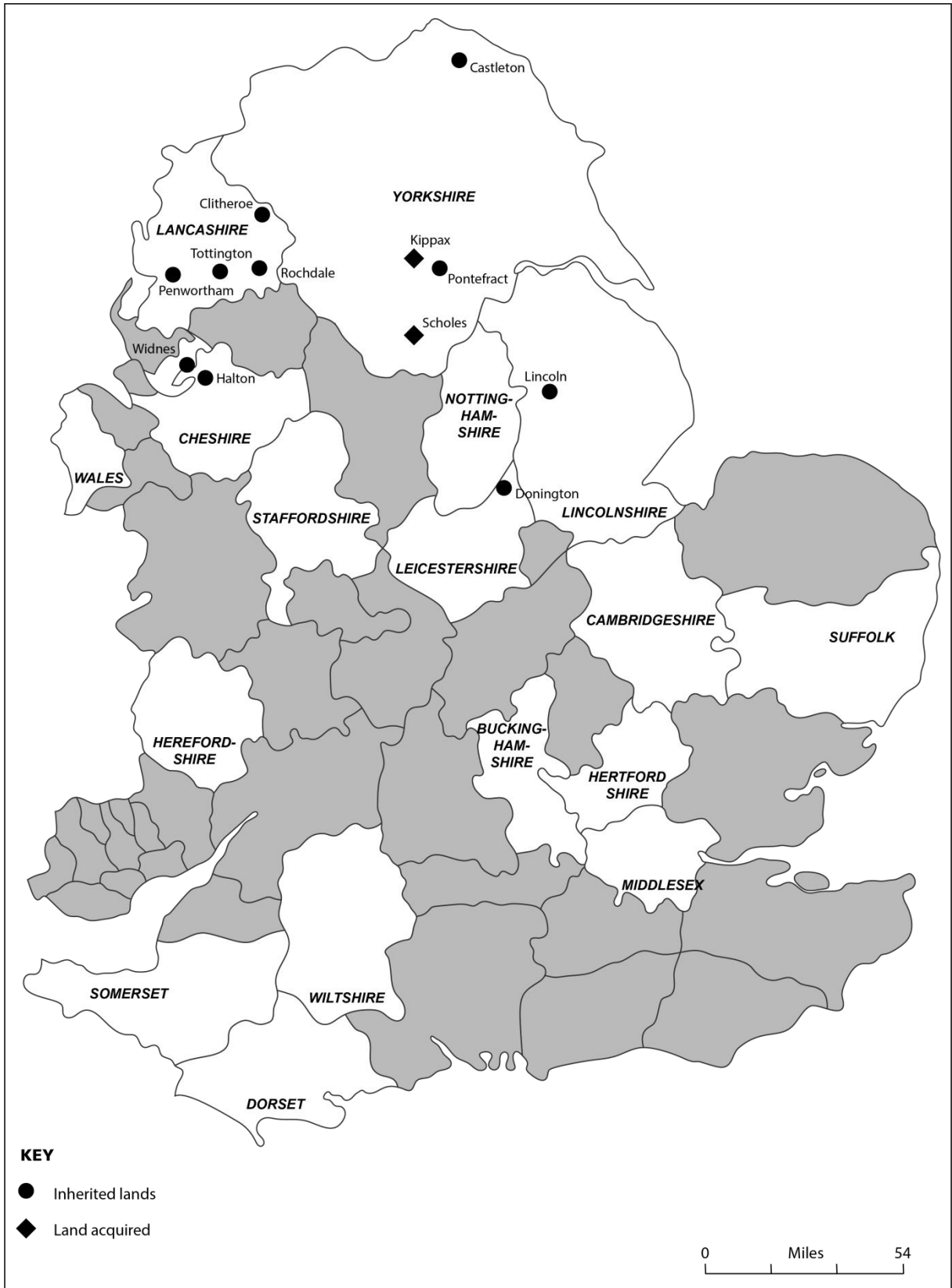
Map 1: The de Lacy lands under Roger de Lacy (c.1190-1211)



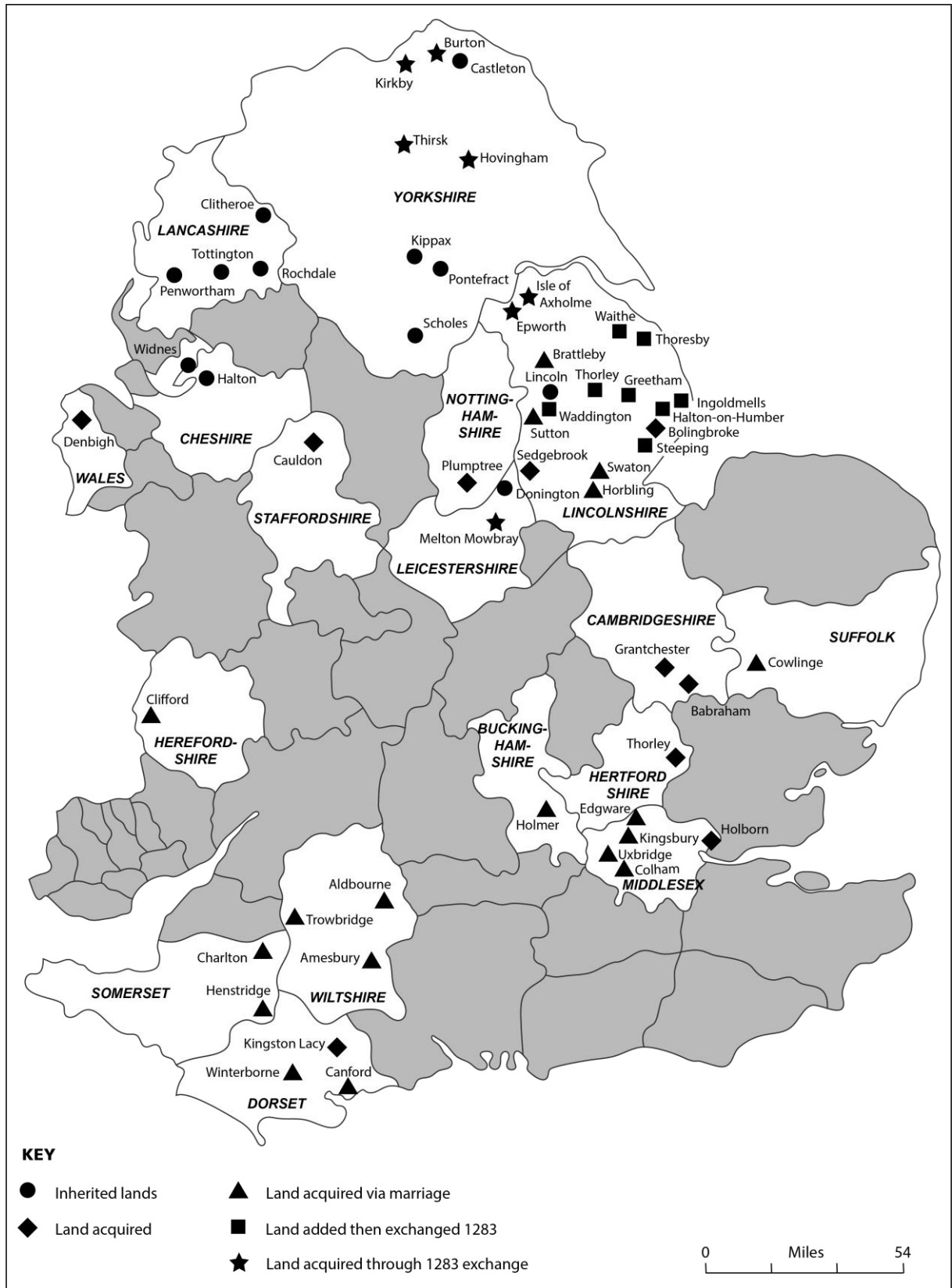
Map 2: The de Lacy lands under John de Lacy (c.1211-1240)



Map 3: The de Lacy lands under Edmund de Lacy (c.1240-1258)



Map 4: The de Lacy lands under Henry de Lacy (c.1258-1311)



Introduction

On 25 February 1308, Henry de Lacy, third earl of Lincoln, dressed in cloth-of-gold and holding aloft one of the Swords of State, processed into Westminster abbey for the coronation of Edward II.¹ By this time in his life, Henry was one of the richest earls in England and the closest councillor to the king.

Over one hundred years, four generations and the reigns of five kings, his family had come a long way from their original position as the right hand men of the earls of Chester. This thesis analyses the rise of this family from baronial to comital status and senior councillors to the crown. Focusing on the lives of Roger, John, Edmund and Henry de Lacy, it will chart their political careers, explore their affinities and examine the management of their estates and the ultimate transformation of their honour.

By way of background, the de Lacy constables can be traced back to the reign of William I (r. 1066 to 1087), when John de Burgh came to England.² Roger de Lacy's great-grandfather, Eustace fitz John, was John de Burgh's son and the heir of his uncle, Serlo de Burgh, founder of Knaresborough castle.³ He obtained the land and titles of baron of Halton and constable of Chester through his second marriage to Agnes, daughter of William fitz Nigel, first baron of Halton, after the death of his heir (c. 1144).⁴ Thereafter the de Lacys served as constables of Chester, the chief official for the earldom of Chester from c. 1145.⁵ Eustace took part in Henry II's campaign in Wales, and was subsequently killed during an ambush on the king's army, in 1157.⁶ His son, Richard fitz Eustace, married to Aubrey de Lisours, heir of Robert de Lacy, inherited the position of constable of Chester from his father and served in this capacity until his death in 1163. His son, John fitz Richard, known as John the Constable, likewise inherited the position from his father and served first, under Earl Hugh (d. 1181) and then Earl Ranulf III, until his death (c.1190).⁷

¹ *Foedera*, ii, part 1, p. 36; S. Phillips, *Edward II* (London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 145-6.

² C. H. Browning, *The Magna Carta Barons and their Descendants* (Baltimore: Clearfield, 1969 (2002)), p. 129; J. Burke, *A General and Heraldic History* (London: Henry Colburn, 1836), p. 124.

³ *Ibid*; *EYC*, i, p. 385.

⁴ T. F. Tout, 'Eustace fitz John (d. 1157)', rev. Paul Dalton, *ODNB*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁵ F. Suppe, 'John (d. 1190)', *ODNB*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); J. Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History*, p. 124.

⁶ *Ibid*.

⁷ F. Suppe, 'John (d. 1190)'.

It was under Roger, however, that the de Lacys first began to make a mark on the national stage through royal service. After the death of John the Constable (c.1190), his son Roger fitz John (c.1170 to 1211) became the seventh baron of Halton and Widnes and hereditary constable of Chester. In 1194, he inherited the honours of Pontefract and Clitheroe, after the death of his cousin Robert (II) de Lacy (d. 1194), the last direct male descendent of Ilbert de Lacy, through an arrangement with his grandmother Aubrey de Lisours, and took the name 'de Lacy'.⁸ In addition to attendance on his lord, Ranulf III earl of Chester (c.1170 to 1232), Roger de Lacy was a loyal soldier and commander for King John (r. 1199 to 1216). He was perhaps most notable for his, ultimately unsuccessful, defence of the siege of Chateau Galliard (1203 to 1204).⁹ After his capture, he was ransomed with the assistance of the king.¹⁰ On his return to England, he continued faithful duty to the crown and was appointed sheriff of Yorkshire and Cumberland between 1204 and 1209.¹¹ He was a significant benefactor of the Cistercian abbey of Stanlaw, which his father had founded in 1178, and he was subsequently buried there after his death in 1211.¹²

Roger's son, John de Lacy (c.1192 to 1240) inherited his father's lands in 1213. In order to take possession, he was charged a very large fine by King John.¹³ Such financial pressures may explain his part in the revolt against the crown. In the First Barons' War (1215 to 1217), John was a leading member of the rebellion, named as one of the baronial council of twenty-five at Runnymede

⁸ TNA, DL 42/2 fo. 110; *EYC*, iii, p. 208; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel (6 vols. London: Record Commission, 1817-1830, v, pp. 533-4; *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Seventh Year of the Reign of King Richard the First: Michaelmas 1195*, ed. D. M. Stenton (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1929), p. 98.

⁹ *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson (London: Rolls Series 1875), p. 144; M. Morris, *King John, Treachery, Tyranny & the Road to Magna Carta* (London: Hutchinson, 2015), p. 11; S. Church, *King John, England, Magna Carta and the Making of a Tyrant* (London: Macmillan, 2015), p. 118; *Chronica Majora*, p. 489; 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', *AM*, ii p. 256.

¹⁰ *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Praestitis, Regnante*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London: HMSO, 1884), p. 103; *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London: Record Commission, 1833-4), p. 4.

¹¹ *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Seventh Year of the Reign of King John: Michaelmas 1205*, ed. S. Smith (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1941), pp. 40, 268; *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Eighth Year of the Reign of King John: Michaelmas 1206*, ed. D. M. Stenton (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1942), pp. 43, 191; *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Ninth Year of the Reign of King John: Michaelmas 1207*, ed. A. M. Kirkus (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1946), pp. 77, 127;

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Tenth Year of the Reign of King John: Michaelmas 1208, ed. D. M. Stenton (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1947), pp. 42, 140; *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Eleventh Year of the Reign of King John: Michaelmas 1209*, ed. D. M. Stenton (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1949), p. 93; Pipe Rolls 11 John, p. 125-6;

J. C. Holt, *The Northerners* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, First Published 1961), p. 154.

¹² *Chronica Majora*, ii, p. 532; Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi, p. 315.

¹³ *ROF*, pp. 483-484, 494-495; *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 147.

and tasked with the enforcement of Magna Carta.¹⁴ He was also placed in command of the rebel forces in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire.¹⁵ John de Lacy's fortunes were closely linked with Ranulf III, earl of Chester, an association which was cemented by his marriage to the earl's niece, Margaret, in 1221.¹⁶ In 1232, after his death, Ranulf III's title of earl of Lincoln was conveyed to his sister, Hawise de Quincy, Margaret's mother and then to John, probably as a result of prior arrangements between John and Ranulf III.¹⁷ During the 1233 Marshal rebellion John assisted in the defence of the Welsh Marches, and was subsequently counted as a leading royal councillor before his death in 1240.¹⁸ John, like his father, was buried at Stanlaw abbey.¹⁹

In the lifetime of John's son, Edmund, the de Lacy connections to the crown were strengthened further. Edmund (c.1230 to 1258) was approximately ten years old and a minor when his father died. He was made a royal ward, raised with the royal household at Windsor and his lands were taken into custody.²⁰ In 1247, Edmund married Alice of Saluzzo, a cousin of Queen Eleanor.²¹ This was a highly political marriage which aligned Edmund more closely with the royal household. It also no doubt contributed to his inheritance of the family estates the following year, in 1248, at the age of eighteen, below the age of majority.²² Edmund's close ties to the crown saw him the recipient of regular royal favours and, in turn, he provided the crown with faithful service. Edmund was a member

¹⁴ *Chronica Majora*, ii, pp. 604-605; Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 107; D. Carpenter, *Magna Carta* (London: Penguin Group, 2015), p. 108; Church, *King John*, pp. 218-232.

¹⁵ *Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols. London, 1872-1873), ii, p. 224; Morris, *King John*, p. 267.

¹⁶ *Annales Cestrienses; or Chronicle of the Abbey of St Werburgh at Chester*, ed. R. C. Christie (Manchester: Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 14, 1886), pp. 50-1.

¹⁷ *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c.1071-1237*, ed. G. Barraclough (Chester: The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, cxxvi, 1988), no. 310; L. Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 35-6; *CPR 1225-1232*, p. 508; R. Eales, 'Henry III and the End of the Norman Earldom of Chester', in *Thirteenth Century England I*, ed. P. Coss and D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), pp. 100-112. Eales points out that Ranulf III's charter must have taken place after August 1231, as Richard Marshal is listed as the 'earl of Pembroke' in the witness list. Wilkinson refines this further, stating that it must have occurred after 23-30 September 1232, when Stephen Seagrave became justiciar. Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 36.

¹⁸ *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 247-8; *CPR 1232-1247*, p. 35; *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 412.

¹⁹ *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 34; 'Annales Monasterii de Theokesburia' *Annales Monastici (AM)* i, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls series, 1864-1869), p. 105; 'Annales Prioratus de Wigornia', *AM*, iv, p. 432.

²⁰ *CIPM Henry III*, p. 11. In January 1245, a writ issued to William de Wennerville, keeper of the lands of John, earl of Lincoln, indicated that Edmund would be 14 years of age at the next Feast of St Giles (1 September); *CPR 1232-1247*, p. 239.

²¹ *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 628; S. L., Waugh, *The Lordship of England Royal Wardships and Marriages in English Society and Politics 1217-1327* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 190; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 50-1; M. Howell, *Eleanor of Provence, Queenship in Thirteenth Century England*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 46-7.

²² *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 14.

of the queen's party when she travelled to Gascony in 1254.²³ He was among those appointed to ensure the safe conduct of Alexander III of Scotland, and his wife Margaret, the king's daughter, to meet with Henry III, in 1255.²⁴ Edmund also served the Lord Edward during the military campaign to Wales in 1256.²⁵ Edmund's life was unfortunately short and he died on the eve of the period of baronial reform and rebellion (1258 to 1267).

It was during the life of Edmund's son, Henry, that the de Lacys and the crown were most closely associated. Like his father before him, Henry de Lacy (c.1250 to 1311) was a minor at the time of his father's death and raised as a ward in the royal household.²⁶ After he inherited his father's lands in 1272, Henry remained in constant royal service and was known as Edward I's most reliable, trusted friend and advisor.²⁷ This included military service during the Welsh wars (1276 to 1277) and the responsibility for the marriage arrangements of the king's daughter in 1278.²⁸ In 1279, Henry was appointed joint lieutenant of England during the king's absence, a demonstration of the faith that Edward I had in him. He then became lieutenant of Aquitaine in 1295 and served in France for three years, with both success and failure. After this, he served in Scotland and saw further military action at the battle of Falkirk (1298). He was regularly engaged in diplomatic service, which included negotiations for the marriage of the Edward, prince of Wales, and Isabella of France. Henry was recognised as the most senior earl in England at the time of the death of Edward I.²⁹

By the time of Henry's death in 1311, the de Lacys controlled vast stretches of land, which included the northern baronies of Pontefract, Halton, Widnes, Penwortham and Clitheroe, in

²³ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 315; M. Prestwich, *Plantagenet England 1225-1360* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 295-6; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 121-131; D. Carpenter, 'Kings, Magnates and Society: The Personal Rule of Henry III 1234-1258' *Speculum*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (Jan 1985), p. 59.

²⁴ *Foedera*, I, p. 327, 329; *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 424; *CDS*, i, pp. 383-5; *Chronica Majora*, v, pp. 501-2, 504-6; M. A. Pollock, *Scotland, England and France after the Loss of Normandy, 1204-1296* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 169-171; M. Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable: Henry III, Alexander III and Royal Lordship in the British Isles, 1249-1272' in *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III* (1216-1272), ed. B. Weiler and I. W. Rowlands (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 43-66.

²⁵ *CCIR 1254-1256*, p. 450; J. B. Smith, *Llywelyn Ap Gruffud: Prince of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), pp. 92-101; *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 586.

²⁶ *Patent Rolls 1247-1258*, p. 649; *CCIR 1256-1259*, p. 258. See also, Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 55-6.

²⁷ 'Annales Prioratus de Wintonia', *AM* ii, p. 111; 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', *AM* ii, p. 378; 'Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomae Wykes, 1066-1289', *AM* iv, p. 251.

²⁸ For the Welsh Wars see *CPR 1272-1281*, pp. 189-192; *Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes*, p. 250; M. Morris, *A Great and Terrible King: Edward I and the Forging of Britain* (London: Windmill, 2008), p.145. For the marriage of Edward to Isabella, see *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 551; *The Sessional Papers*, Vol. xxxviii, Appendix II to the Sixth Report (HMSO, 1845), p. 90; M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 317-8.

²⁹ Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 556-7; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 361-2; *Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell (London: Camden Society, 89, 1957), p. 379; *Flores*, iii, p. 137.

combination with the lands and office of the constable of Chester. These were transformed with the additions of the earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury, and enhanced further by substantial grants which formed the lordship of Denbigh. The annual revenue from the family estates at the time of Henry's death was estimated, by Hamilton, to have been at least 10,000 marks, which made them one of the wealthiest, and most influential, comital families in England.³⁰ It is curious, therefore, that the de Lacy constables have been neglected by modern scholars.

Existing scholarship on the de Lacy constables is remarkably scarce, and predominantly limited to entries on the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB). These include an overview of Roger de Lacy written by Charles Kingston;³¹ a slightly more substantial entry for John de Lacy, written by Nicholas Vincent;³² and a brief entry for Henry de Lacy written by Jeffrey Hamilton.³³ Jennifer Ward also presented a short account for John de Lacy's wife, Margaret.³⁴ However, as is the nature of biographical overviews, they suffer from a lack of substantive detail on the de Lacys and their involvement in political events during their lifetimes. Louise Wilkinson has presented more substantial research on Margaret de Lacy, including her importance as a widow, and her role as custodian of the de Lacy estates with her daughter-in-law, Alice, during Henry de Lacy's minority after his father's early death.³⁵ Edmund de Lacy has been overlooked. More recent work has been undertaken relating to Henry de Lacy, such as Graham Platts' research on medieval Lincolnshire.³⁶ Platt utilised the extant account rolls of Henry de Lacy to demonstrate the estates' ability to maintain regional specialisms. The accounts reveal that the administrative centre for the de Lacy family estates in Lincolnshire was Bolingbroke, with produce and cash revenues from various manors being sent there for annual accounts to be drawn up.³⁷ The records for his produce, livestock

³⁰ J. S. Hamilton, 'Lacy, Henry de, fifth earl of Lincoln (1249–1311)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³¹ C. L. Kingsford, 'Lacy, Roger de (d. 1211)', rev. Paul Dalton, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³² N. Vincent, 'Lacy, John de, third earl of Lincoln (c.1192–1240)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³³ Hamilton, 'Lacy, Henry de, fifth earl of Lincoln'.

³⁴ J. C. Ward, 'Lacy, Margaret de, countess of Lincoln (d. 1266)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³⁵ L. Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*; L. E. Mitchell, *Portraits of Medieval Women: Family, Marriage and Social Relationships in Thirteenth Century England* (Palgrave Macmillan 2003).

³⁶ G. Platts, 'Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire', *History of Lincolnshire*, Vol. iv (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1985).

³⁷ Platts, 'Land and People', pp. 98-100.

and cash revenues demonstrate that Henry was able to double the profits from his estates across a nine year period.³⁸ Platts also notes the benefit that Henry enjoyed due to the effective management of the estates by Henry's grandmother, Margaret.³⁹ In his work on the nobility and crown during Edward I's reign, Andrew Spencer examined Henry de Lacy's lordship of Pontefract as a case study.⁴⁰ Spencer demonstrated that Henry's Yorkshire lordship was 'distinctly traditional', based upon the territorial and administrative dominance he was able to exert upon land with historic ties to the de Lacy family. In contrast, such influence was less effective in areas detached from family heartlands, for example, in those lands in the south-west of England that he had obtained by right of his wife.⁴¹ Spencer's conclusions also reflect those drawn by David Carpenter, that patterns of aristocratic rule were highly irregular and differed across the localities in England.⁴²

This study of the de Lacy constables is informed by a number of key works on the political lives of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, the most influential of which to have shed light on the de Lacys, was Sir James Holt's *The Northerners*.⁴³ Holt's work identified key themes which are reflected in this thesis, including the financial relationship between the aristocracy and the crown. The king's baronial and knightly subjects saw substantial financial constraints imposed during the reigns of Henry II (r. 1154 to 1189), Richard I (r. 1189 to 1199) and John (r. 1199 to 1216). Henry II and his officials had levied heavy reliefs, fines and amercements on the nobility. These were then compounded by the costly ransom of King Richard and the effect of territorial disputes on the continent.⁴⁴ Increased financial burdens placed on the aristocracy during the reign of King John, like the fine imposed on John de Lacy to inherit his father's lands, culminated in civil war and the issue of Magna Carta in June 1215. Given such financial pressures, the civil war could indeed be viewed, as Holt stated, as a 'rebellion of the king's debtors'.⁴⁵ Holt's examination of the regional power bases of the aristocracy in the North shed light on the links between the families, such as key marriages, ties of neighbourhood,

³⁸ Platts, 'Land and People', p. 99.

³⁹ Platts, 'Land and People', p. 100.

⁴⁰ A. M. Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship in Medieval England, The Earls and Edward I, 1272-1307*(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

⁴¹ Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship in Medieval England*, pp. 157-8.

⁴² D. Crouch and D. Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised: A Debate', *Past & Present*, No. 131 (May, 1991), p. 184. The 'bastard feudal' debate will be discussed further below.

⁴³ J. C. Holt, *The Northerners* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, First Published 1961).

⁴⁴ Holt, *The Northerners*, pp. 145-6.

⁴⁵ Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 34.

and territorial interests, which bound them together as an effective political unit during a period of significant upheaval.

This study touches upon themes that are central to our understanding of English political society in the long thirteenth century, including the effect of Angevin legal reforms and the implementation of Magna Carta. James Holt and more recently, David Carpenter, have provided extensive scholarship on Magna Carta, the events leading up to its issue and the repercussions of its clauses for the aristocracy.⁴⁶ In addition, Scott Waugh has also examined in detail how Magna Carta's obligations on royal lordship had an impact on noble families, such as the de Lacys.⁴⁷ Magna Carta offered protection against disparagement and the waste of an estate during an heir's minority. It also regulated reliefs and defined prerogative wardship. The Charter forbade unjust exactions and disseisins by the king and his agents.⁴⁸ It further stipulated that the king could not withhold a widow's inheritance, marriage portion and dower on her husband's death, and guaranteed that a widow would not be married against her will.⁴⁹ In addition to this, Magna Carta affirmed that an heir should not be required to pay an additional relief to inherit at the end of a wardship; only a single relief could be claimed by a lord.⁵⁰ These clauses would have an effect on John de Lacy's widow, Margaret de Quincy; Edmund de Lacy and his widow Alice of Saluzzo; and, in turn, his son Henry de Lacy, during the remainder of the thirteenth century.

David Carpenter has emphasised that, despite the protections enshrined in Magna Carta, tensions remained between the barons and royal government and these re-emerged during Henry III's reign.⁵¹ Royal finances were in a poor state. Steady inflation, a slow reduction in the number of crown lands and the significant loss of continental territory, combined with the damaging impact of the civil war of 1215 to 1217 and a royal minority, meant that Henry III's annual revenue was inadequate compared to his predecessors.⁵² As a direct result of Magna Carta, King Henry was unable to extract

⁴⁶ J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta*, Introduction by G. Garnett and J. Hudson (3rd Edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); D. Carpenter, *Magna Carta* (London: Penguin Group, 2015).

⁴⁷ Waugh, *Lordship of England*, pp. 83-90.

⁴⁸ Waugh, *The Lordship of England*, pp. 84-5; Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp. 316-9. See clauses 2 to 6 and clause 9 in Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, pp. 38-43.

⁴⁹ Waugh, *The Lordship of England*, pp. 85-6. See clauses 7 and 8, in Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, pp. 40-1.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 87. Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp. 307-8. See clause 2 in Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, pp. 38-9.

⁵¹ Carpenter, 'Kings, Magnates and Society'; D. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London: Methuen, 1990); *The Reign of Henry III*, ed. D. Carpenter (London: Hambledon Press, 1996).

⁵² 'The Beginnings of Parliament' in *The Reign of Henry III*, ed. D. Carpenter, pp. 385-6.

money from the aristocracy in the same manner as his father. Instead, he was reliant principally on general taxation, which now required consent at general assemblies or parliaments. In comparison to the assertive kingship of his father, Carpenter maintained that Henry's reign was a time of plenty for the magnates, characterised by leniency rather than oppression.⁵³ The government's use of oppressive judicial eyres and the actions of extortionate royal officials applied pressure on large parts of society. Carpenter stressed, however, that magnates were largely protected from these by the king.⁵⁴ Henry did not seek to force repayment of debts, seize property, or challenge magnate freedoms in the localities. Carpenter argued that, as a result, magnates were able to impinge upon the power of sheriffs and intensify the influence of their own courts and officials.⁵⁵ Henry sought to curry favour with his magnates, rather than subdue them. His actions, however, were often seen to favour some nobles more than others. As a result, deep factions developed at court. While the queen's Savoyard relatives had integrated well into political society in England, Henry's Poitevin half-brothers, the Lusignans, who arrived in England in 1247, were incredibly unpopular.⁵⁶ Relationships between the Savoyards, the Lusignans and the native barons became increasingly acrimonious. Edmund de Lacy's marriage to Alice of Saluzzo, for example, was one of several contentious high-profile political marriages, which attached young English nobles to the Savoyard faction at court.⁵⁷ Carpenter's research highlighted the role of the aristocracy in bringing about the period of baronial reform and rebellion (1258 to 1267). The encroachment of magnate influence in the localities led to resentment, and a belief within the wider community that access to justice was unobtainable for the majority against the king's favourites.⁵⁸ The crown's need for taxation due to a weak financial position, hampered by failed continental policies and the disastrous Sicilian affair, shifted the balance of power to the hands of parliament. Consent for much needed taxation was repeatedly refused without terms, by a frustrated

⁵³ Carpenter, 'Kings, Magnates and Society', p. 40.

⁵⁴ Carpenter, 'Kings, Magnates and Society', pp. 40-49.

⁵⁵ Carpenter, 'Kings, Magnates and Society', pp. 40-49.

⁵⁶ For Savoyards, see E. L. Cox, *The Eagles of Savoy: The House of Savoy in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974) and also M. Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*. For Lusignans, see Ridgeway, H., 'King Henry III and the 'Aliens', 1236-1272', in *Thirteenth Century England II* ed. C. Loyd and P. Coss (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988), pp. 81-92; H. Ridgeway, 'The Lord Edward and the Provisions of Oxford (1258): A Study in Faction' in *Thirteenth Century England I*, ed. D. Loyd and P. Coss (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1985), pp. 89-99. For additional information regarding the Lord Edward and his involvement with the Lusignans, see also R. Billaud, *The Lord Edward and the County of Chester: Lordship and Community, 1254-1272* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Canterbury Christ Church University, 2017).

⁵⁷ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 53-57.

⁵⁸ Carpenter, 'Kings, Magnates and Society', pp. 62-70.

and mistreated community.⁵⁹ Carpenter stressed the importance of the link between the abuse of magnate power in the localities and the subsequent inclusion of private administrations in later calls for reform. Crown troubles may not have been so severe had the king's actions not alienated wide sections of the community.

The relationship between the crown and aristocracy remained fraught in Edward I's reign (r. 1272 to 1307). Caroline Burt has used detailed case studies to analyse Edward I's strategies toward government and how these were reflected by aristocratic families in their approaches to administering the localities.⁶⁰ The relationship between Edward I and his earls has come under particular scrutiny. K.B. McFarlane questioned the idea initially put forward by Thomas Tout, that Edward had a clear political policy to absorb earldoms into a closer sphere of royal influence.⁶¹ According to Tout, through conscious action, he reduced the number of earls and attempted to concentrate the remaining earldoms in the hands of his family.⁶² McFarlane rejected this argument, asserting that although Edward made settlements upon his family in a conscious manner, it was not necessarily a 'scheme of government' or deliberate political policy.⁶³ When placed within a model of medieval kingship utilising cooperation between the crown and his nobles, McFarlane found it difficult to match what happened to a number of significant comital families during Edward's reign, with the assumption that the king's intentions had, in fact, been honourable.⁶⁴ The de Lacys were one such family to become subject to this apparent scheme. The earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury were joined when Henry de Lacy married Margaret, daughter and heir of William Longespée. As part of the arrangements for the marriage between their daughter, Alice, and Thomas of Lancaster, Henry and Margaret entailed their estates on their new son-in-law and his father, the king's brother, retaining only a life-interest for themselves. This meant that if Alice had no children, the de Lacy inheritance would revert to the heirs

⁵⁹ Between 1232 and 1257, the king demanded taxation from at least fourteen parliaments, and only obtained consent at two, in 1232 and 1237. During the 1240s and 1250s, consent was repeatedly refused without conditions which the king deemed unacceptable. See D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), pp. 355-6.

⁶⁰ C. Burt, *Edward I and the Governance of England 1272-1307* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁶¹ K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 248-267; T. F. Tout, 'The Earldoms under Edward I', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 2nd series, vol. 8 (1894), pp. 129-155.

⁶² McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, p. 252.

⁶³ McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, p. 252.

⁶⁴ McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, p. 249.

of the crown.⁶⁵ To McFarlane, Edward I's lack of largesse in the creation of earldoms belonged less to a future model of medieval kingship and more to that of the past. McFarlane wrote that Edward, preferred 'masterfulness to the arts of political management'.⁶⁶ Andrew Spencer's more recent work has challenged McFarlane's picture of Edward I's kingship.⁶⁷

In Spencer's opinion, McFarlane's view of the relationship between the king and his earls shaped historical thought on Edward's rule and, as a result, clouded his historical reputation.⁶⁸ Spencer investigated the methods used by earls to exert comital power and influence in the localities and examined how the earls constructed and made use of their followings. Spencer argued that, while masterfulness played a key part in Edward's style of kingship, he was no stranger to the use of political management, and that his skills in this area were far more subtle than has been recognised.⁶⁹ Edward's policy toward the earls could be seen to have worked in conjunction with his 'overall strategic vision of kingship', to liberate the authority of the crown from the chaos that had entangled it during his father's reign.⁷⁰ According to Spencer, neither Tout nor McFarlane's interpretations of Edward's marriage policy present much credit to either the king or the earls involved. For the former, Edward consciously pursued a policy designed to impact negatively upon the interests of his leading subjects, while the latter presented Edward as unconcerned with the collateral damage his actions had upon the earls. For Spencer, both of these interpretations place the earls as hapless bystanders who watched as their inheritances were damaged without a whimper of protest. Such pictures vastly underestimated the characters involved. Spencer demonstrated that these key marriages were deliberate acts of policy, engineered to serve political circumstance, and rather than imposed on members of the nobility, were taken as acts of substantial royal favour.⁷¹ Edward was able to work in harmony, for the most part, with the earls as companions and advisors, to re-establish crown authority during his reign. Henry de Lacy, in particular, most certainly benefited from his close relationship with Edward I.

⁶⁵ McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, p. 263.

⁶⁶ McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, p. 267.

⁶⁷ Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*.

⁶⁸ Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, p. 3.

⁶⁹ Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, p. 36.

⁷⁰ Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, p. 36.

⁷¹ Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, pp. 40-1.

In researching the rise of the de Lacy constables, this thesis draws on the research of other scholars who have examined the political careers, social networks and exercise of lordship by baronial and comital families. In particular, Charles Young's work on the Neville family, which charts their rise from knightly to comital status across three centuries, drew conclusions relevant to this study. Young observed, for instance, that a pattern of royal office-holding, coupled with significant crown patronage and astute marriages, enabled this family to sustain its growth and influence over a prolonged period.⁷² Likewise, Colin Veach's study of the careers of Hugh (d. 1186) and Walter Lacy (d. 1241) demonstrated how they used political alliances, marriages and, in some cases, military force, to expand their influence in England, Ireland, Wales and Normandy.⁷³ He also established how the methods used for exerting control over their territories developed over time; from overt force to more subtle administrative dominance.⁷⁴ Veach's research highlighted the interplay, interconnectivity and interdependency at work between the crown and aristocratic lordship. The crown needed strong lordship to impress its authority in the localities, and often provided additional grants and powers in order to accomplish this. Much of the success of Hugh and Walter's lordship could therefore be seen as a direct result of crown ineffectiveness and inability to express its authority without them. In his examination of the Bigod earls of Norfolk, Marc Morris revealed the strength of the Bigods' close-knit affinity as a factor in reinforcing and extending their influence.⁷⁵ In particular, Morris identified that the members of Roger (III) Bigod's affinity had direct tenurial or significant historic links with the Bigod family, and revealed there was a strong initial geographical cohesion in its composition. The vast majority of its members came from East Anglia, with the main branch hailing from Suffolk. By the end of his political career, however, new individuals had been recruited with less direct links to the family. This is indicative of the changing nature of affinities during this period, as nobles sought to strengthen their followings from outside their traditional tenurial localities.

To explore the use of affinities as networks of influence, and their development by individual magnates in the earlier years of the de Lacy family, David Crouch's work offers perhaps the closest

⁷² C. R. Young, *The Making of the Neville Family 1166-1400* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996).

⁷³ C. Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms The Lacy Family, 1166-1241* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

⁷⁴ Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms*, pp. 237-278.

⁷⁵ M. Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005).

contemporary comparison.⁷⁶ Crouch argued that William Marshal cemented his power base on the ‘rubble of an older society’ and the way in which he wielded lordship was ‘something new’.⁷⁷ The Marshal, according to Crouch, was one of the first magnates in England whose affinity was not based on traditional tenurial ties and allegiances, but one compiled through mutual political interest and more subtle methods of reward.⁷⁸ His investigation concluded that the nature of the Marshal’s affinity was not centred on tenurial ties. He also noted that the composition of the Marshal affinity was mainly drawn from the West Country, stretching across Gloucestershire, Somerset and Wiltshire to the Thames Valley.⁷⁹ Crouch’s methodology for the reconstruction of the Marshal’s affinity followed that set out by Keith Stringer and Grant Simpson.⁸⁰ They utilised charter witness lists to identify a magnate’s most trusted companions. Repeated appearances by the same men, within different documents, on multiple occasions and datable to different years, established a long term relationship.⁸¹ Stringer and Simpson used the number of appearances to designate a follower to a position within an ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ circle of the affinity. This, in turn, allowed an examination of the cohesion and strength of influence within the particular affinity, as well as the potential wider alliances between its members. In a similar vein, J. R. Maddicott’s study explored how a relatively new magnate like Simon de Montfort, a claimant to the earldom of Leicester, was able to construct his circle of influence in England.⁸² With a clear geographic element to the makeup of his affinity, he drew in men predominantly from Leicestershire and the neighbouring county of Warwickshire. In contrast to the more established Bigod earls, however, while some key members of his affinity were de Montfort’s

⁷⁶ D. Crouch, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219* (London: Longman, 2002, first printed 1990).

⁷⁷ Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 141,144; The decline of the ‘traditional’ honorial following is discussed in a crucial debate by D. Crouch, D. Carpenter and P. Coss, ‘Bastard Feudalism Revised’, *Past and Present*, no. 131 (1991), pp. 165-203. Crouch has also presented an additional model for the period 1150-1250, in D. Crouch, ‘From Stenton to McFarlane: Models of Societies of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Series, 5 (1995), pp. 179-200. This is not to argue aspects of traditional followings ceased to exist altogether. The continued importance of ‘honorial feudalism’ into the thirteenth century is examined by D. Carpenter in ‘The Second Century of English Feudalism’, *Past and Present*, no. 168 (2000), pp. 30-71. This debate is discussed further below, see pp. 27-29.

⁷⁸ Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 144.

⁷⁹ Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 150-1.

⁸⁰ G. Simpson, ‘The *familia* of Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester and constable of Scotland’ in *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, ed. K. J. Stringer (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985); K. J. Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon 1152-1219 A Study in Anglo-Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985).

⁸¹ Crouch was also able to compare the results of this analysis with the information contained in the Marshal’s *History* and validate this methodology. Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 144-5.

⁸² J. R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

feudal tenants, a significant number were not.⁸³ Maddicott successfully argued that de Montfort was the only serious candidate within Leicestershire who could offer patronage and leadership to the local minor baronage.⁸⁴ He highlighted that two particular groups of interest gravitated toward de Montfort's affinity, including former tenants of the late Ranulf III, earl of Chester, and existing tenants of the relatively absent Roger de Quincy.⁸⁵ The adoption of men from outside the immediacy of the honour, who lacked established lords, was one method by which a noble was able to increase his powerbase and substantiate his influence. These works provide a base from which to analyse the de Lacy family and the mechanisms they employed in the application of their lordship. Maddicott's conclusions link to the wider debate, presented by Peter Coss, David Carpenter and David Crouch, regarding the nature of the honour within the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the transition from feudalism to bastard feudalism.⁸⁶ This was the process by which tenurial bonds between lords and vassals were superseded as the principal tie by the 'personal contract' between man and master.⁸⁷

Peter Coss argued that twelfth-century England was a highly feudalised society. Coss used 'feudalism' to signify a particular 'method of social formation' represented by the use of tenurial bonds and military service and a tool for comparative historical analysis. He asserted that simply to dismiss the bastard feudal template presented by K. B. McFarlane would be a mistake.⁸⁸ Instead, it should be 'retained but reformulated'.⁸⁹ Coss suggested that the origins of the social order known as bastard feudalism could be placed within the early thirteenth century. He stated that the growth of central government within a society predominantly based on landed wealth, which was undergoing its own social evolution, and the consequent reaction of the aristocracy to these changes, was particularly problematic. This was indicative of the weakening of the honour.

Coss saw the degradation of honourial jurisdiction as a slow, gradual and uneven process, continuing throughout the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. According to Coss, the future of

⁸³ Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, p. 61.

⁸⁴ Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, p. 62.

⁸⁵ Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, p. 63.

⁸⁶ P. R. Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', *Past & Present*, No. 125 (Nov. 1989), pp. 27-64; D. Crouch and D. Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised: A Debate', *Past & Present*, No. 131 (May, 1991), pp. 165-189; P. R. Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised: Reply', *Past & Present*, No. 131 (May, 1991), pp. 190-203.

⁸⁷ McFarlane's definition in K. B. McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism' in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Collected Essays* (London: Hambledon, 1981), pp. 23-4.

⁸⁸ McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XX (1945), pp. 161-180.

⁸⁹ Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', p. 40.

aristocratic power during this period, as a means of expression of power within the localities, lay within the influence that could be obtained outside the immediacy of the honour. In particular, this was represented by obtaining positions in the county court system and the use of indentured retainers. Coss maintained that bastard feudalism, seen as one form of feudal power, arose as a response to the ‘resurrection of public authority within feudal society [and the] feudal state’ in the thirteenth century.⁹⁰ Coss’ argument here is unfortunately unsound or at the least, incomplete, and fails to take into account the opportunistic nature of local magnates. Indeed, in his response to Peter Coss’ paper, David Crouch argued that the model of bastard feudalism put forward by Coss was fundamentally flawed.⁹¹

Crouch proposed that changes during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries could be seen, not as ‘symptomatic of a crisis in the aristocracy, defined by the catastrophic decay of honours’, but rather as magnates simply ‘adjusting their position’ within an already established societal framework.⁹² Crouch argued that very little ‘was bastardized about bastard feudalism’, stating that it was simply one method of establishing a contract or dependence between a ‘greater and lesser man’. Crouch asserted that one concept (bastard feudalism) cannot be said to have evolved from another (feudalism), as Coss assumed. Rather, Crouch maintained, that the variety of social relationships that are encapsulated within Coss’ usage of the term “feudal”, worked in conjunction with each other even in the twelfth century.⁹³ David Carpenter wrote both in support of Coss’ argument and in opposition to aspects of his proposal. Carpenter concurred with Coss’ assertion that Angevin reforms were ‘potentially damaging’ to magnate control. However, he disputed the suggestion that the employment of members of the gentry in offices such as that of sheriff fell into the same category. Carpenter asserted that it was this very position which enabled magnates to corrupt the system.⁹⁴ The proposal presented by Coss, as the mechanism responsible for the downfall of magnate influence, was rather, according to Carpenter, their very salvation. They were able to manipulate the system to their own ends, especially as increasing royal appointments to such positions came from within the gentry.⁹⁵ This enabled magnates to exert their influence on these individuals. The changing availability of land

⁹⁰ Coss, ‘Bastard Feudalism Revised’, pp. 51-4.

⁹¹ Crouch and Carpenter, ‘Bastard Feudalism Revised: A Debate’.

⁹² Crouch and Carpenter, ‘Bastard Feudalism Revised’, p. 172.

⁹³ Crouch and Carpenter, ‘Bastard Feudalism Revised’, p. 176.

⁹⁴ Crouch and Carpenter, ‘Bastard Feudalism Revised’, p. 180.

⁹⁵ Crouch and Carpenter, ‘Bastard Feudalism Revised’, p. 181.

by which magnates could ensure good service from amongst the gentry meant that other methods were utilised, including money fees, wages or wardships and marriages. This, in turn, led to securing services from outside the honour. Carpenter argued that Coss' assertion that 'bastard feudalism' arose by the actions of the lords is misconceived, and rather that any break up of the honour as a structure for lordship came from both below and above. Magnates and gentry had a mutual interest in the development of 'bastard feudalism'.⁹⁶ This saw the development of a 'free market' in knight service and extended influence within the local government. Carpenter argued successfully that there was no single cause for the development of 'bastard feudalism'. There were a number of significant factors including the scarcity of land, legal reforms and developments in government, which contributed to its formation.⁹⁷ This debate is of particular relevance to my examination of the de Lacy honour. Was the make-up of de Lacy honour primarily centred upon tenurial relationships or 'bastard feudal' in nature? The mechanisms that the de Lacys employed in the management of their estates carry forward the discussion on the nature and structures of lordship.

Somewhat separately, themes highlighted by Noel Denholm-Young on estate administration have, for the large part, stood the test of time.⁹⁸ His research demonstrated that the increased sophistication present in aristocratic administrations mirrored developments in the management of royal estates, so that a new class of professional officials emerged in the thirteenth century.⁹⁹ Following on from this, Dorothea Oschinsky demonstrated that publication and production of manuals on estate management for aristocratic audiences and their officers was a direct result of these developments.¹⁰⁰ They went hand in hand with a need for trained staff and the emergence of new administrative officials used by the crown and nobility alike to manage their estates.¹⁰¹ For the wider context of developments in agriculture in the thirteenth century, Bruce Campbell examined changes in

⁹⁶ Crouch and Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', p. 188.

⁹⁷ Caroline Burt presented a more recent exploration of bastard feudalism at work, in her examination of the affinities of the earls of Warwick. C. Burt, 'A Bastard Feudal' Affinity in the Making? The Followings of William and Guy Beauchamp, Earls of Warwick, 1268-1315' *Midland History*, Vol. 34, Issue 2 (2009), pp. 156-180.

⁹⁸ N. Denholm-Young, *Seigniorial Administration in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937).

⁹⁹ Denholm-Young, *Seigniorial Administration*, pp. 32-45.

¹⁰⁰ D. Oschinsky, 'Medieval Treatises on Estate Management', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1956).

¹⁰¹ D. Oschinsky, 'Medieval Treatises', p. 308.

the seigniorial and non-seigniorial sector.¹⁰² Campbell's research highlighted regional specialisms and agricultural developments as demesne lords adapted to changing economic circumstances and reacted to increased commercialisation. Campbell argued that market demand, and its effect on economic rents, determined shifts in land usage and production.¹⁰³ This was established by a gradual shift away from intensive agricultural cultivation toward an increase in pastoral husbandry. Campbell showed that demesne farms controlled approximately twenty percent of all agricultural land by the end of the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁴ During the course of the following century, Campbell determined that income from demesne farms focused on pastoral agriculture eventually rose to match those centred on arable production.¹⁰⁵ These conclusions are particularly relevant for an examination of the management of the de Lacy estates. The surviving accounts for Henry de Lacy provide a picture of the agricultural focus of the de Lacy estates at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth. The mechanisms used within the de Lacy estates to maximise income are therefore particularly relevant in an assessment of the success of their estate management and the development of their landed assets.

The expansion of documentary record keeping by officers of the crown during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the resultant imitation by the aristocracy, has thankfully provided us with a wealth of evidence to assist in this examination of the de Lacy constables. A considerable number of records relating to the de Lacy family survive, including a substantial body of charters. A significant number of these survive as single sheet, original charters preserved in the National Archives. As is the nature of extant documents, however, some are in a greater state of preservation than others. A number are faded and illegible, while others contain missing sections, and thus it is difficult to reliably decipher the information contained within them. The comprehensible documents provide us not only with information on the property grants the de Lacys made, but also reveal details regarding the governance of their estates, including whether they granted any particular rights to the various tenants. They also allow us to analyse the de Lacys' patronage of religious houses and monastic orders.

¹⁰² B. M. S Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250-1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Also see *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348*, ed. E. Miller and J. Hatcher (Routledge 2014),

¹⁰³ Campbell, *Seigniorial Agriculture*, pp. 427-9.

¹⁰⁴ This number had almost halved by the end of the fourteenth century. Campbell, *Seigniorial Agriculture*, pp. 58-60.

¹⁰⁵ Campbell, *Seigniorial Agriculture*, pp. 181-4.

Roger's father, John the Constable, founded the Cistercian abbey of Stanlaw in Cheshire (c.1172), and a number of grants relating to the family can be found within its surviving cartulary.¹⁰⁶ The de Lacys also maintained substantial links with the Cistercian abbeys of Kirkstall and Fountains in Yorkshire, as well as the Cluniac priory of St John's, Pontefract.¹⁰⁷ In addition to these, the de Lacy patronage of other Cistercian communities included the abbey of St Mary in Craven (Sallay) on the Yorkshire-Lancashire border, and Byland abbey in Yorkshire.¹⁰⁸ During the lifetime of John de Lacy, additional links were established with the Benedictines of Selby Abbey, North Yorkshire.¹⁰⁹ Further documents relating to the family can also be found in the cartularies of Nostell priory in Yorkshire; Bradenstoke priory in Wiltshire; and Blyth priory in Nottinghamshire.¹¹⁰ The surviving documents include at least one hundred and sixty charters, issued by Roger, John, Edmund and Henry de Lacy, which contain witness lists.¹¹¹ These are of value in the reconstruction of the particular de Lacy affinities and an exploration of their evolution across four generations.

With regard to the management of the de Lacy honour, two extant account rolls for 1295 to 1296 and 1304 to 1305 are preserved within the ministers' and receivers' accounts.¹¹² Entries which related to manors in Lancashire and Cheshire have been transcribed and published in a single volume by the Chetham Society.¹¹³ There are some transcription and translation errors in this volume, and so recourse has been made here to the original rolls to clarify points of detail. A further surviving bailiff account roll for 1278 and an account roll for 1299 are also preserved in the Nottinghamshire

¹⁰⁶ *The Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey*, ed. W. A. Hutton (4 Vols. Manchester: Chetham Society, 1847-1849).

¹⁰⁷ *The Coucher Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall*, ed. T. W. Lancaster and W. P. Baildon (Leeds: Thoresby Society 8, 1907); *The Cartulary of St John of Pontefract*, ed. R. Holmes (2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); *Abstracts of the Cartulary of Fountains and other Documents contained in the Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains*, ed. T. W. Lancaster (2 vols. Leeds: Whitehead and Sons, 1915).

¹⁰⁸ *The Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, ed. J. McNulty (Wakefield: Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Service, 1933-4); *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*, ed. J. Burton (Durham: Surtees Society, 208, 2004).

¹⁰⁹ *The Coucher Book of Selby*, ed. J. T. Fowler (2 Vols. Durham: Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association Record Series, 10, 13, 1890-1892).

¹¹⁰ *The Cartulary of Blyth Priory*, ed. R. T. Timson (2 Vols. London: HMSO, 1973); J. A. Frost, *An Edition of the Nostell Priory Cartulary: London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian E XIX* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of York, 2005); *The Cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory*, ed. V. C. M. London (Devizes: Wiltshire Record Society, 35, 1979).

¹¹¹ I am once again grateful to Professor David Crouch and the Comital Acta Project for additional assistance in tracing the de Lacy *acta*.

¹¹² TNA, DL 29/1/1 and DL 29/1/2.

¹¹³ *Two Compoti of the Lancashire and Cheshire Manors of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, XXIV and XXXIII Edward I*, ed. P. A. Lyons (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1884).

Archives.¹¹⁴ The account rolls are of particular use, as they expand upon the information presented within surveys and rentals, by providing extensive detail on the income derived from the de Lacy estates during these years. They also reveal names for a number of offices and officials employed by the de Lacys, and provide further information related to the de Lacys' management of their manors. In addition to these, an original draft of Henry de Lacy's will is preserved within the deeds and estate papers of Foljame of Osberton, held in the Nottinghamshire Archives.¹¹⁵ Dated at Bordeaux 1287, the surviving fragment of Henry's will appears to have been an earlier draft, as a number of lines are crossed through. Nonetheless, this document provides additional insights into Henry de Lacy's character through the variety of personal bequests he listed.

Other documentary evidence is contained within the rolls on the English royal chancery and exchequer. These include the patent rolls, containing copies of open letters from the crown, which included items such as grants of land, licenses, pardons, wardships and charter confirmations. These provide information about rights granted to the de Lacys.¹¹⁶ The close rolls detail orders from the crown to its agents of a more private nature, which were issued and sealed closed. The contents of letters close ranged from writs addressed to sheriffs and landholders, to summons to attend court.¹¹⁷ The charter rolls detail royal charters issued by the crown, including grants of lands and privileges granted to individuals, towns and institutions. The charters were often issued before witnesses, providing the names of those present at court and allowing us to follow the de Lacys' attendance on the king and their interactions with the royal court.¹¹⁸ Concessions and favours granted in return for the payment of money to the crown are listed within the fine rolls of Henry III, which prove particularly useful in gaining further insights into the operation of royal patronage.¹¹⁹

The royal tenurial surveys taken in 1212, 1236, 1238 to 1241 and 1242 to 1243 are also of particular use.¹²⁰ These allow us to trace some of the de Lacy lands and tenants, and the value of these

¹¹⁴ Nottinghamshire Archives, 157/DD/FJ.

¹¹⁵ Nottinghamshire Archives, 157/DD/FJ.

¹¹⁶ *The Calendar of Patent Rolls* (London: HMSO. 1891-1913).

¹¹⁷ *The Calendar of Close Rolls* (London: HMSO. 1900-63).

¹¹⁸ *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Henry III (1226-1272) from the Charter Rolls in the Public Record Office*, ed. M. Morris (2 Vols. Kew: List and Index Society, 291-2, 2001).

¹¹⁹ *Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, 3 Vols (Woodbridge, 2007-2009) also available on the Henry III Fine Rolls Project's website, where all the rolls from the reign are published with an English translation www.finerollshenry3.org.uk

¹²⁰ *Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill*, ed. H. C. Maxwell-Lyte (3 Vols, London: HMSO, 1920-1931).

holdings. In a similar vein, the findings of inquisitions *post mortem* conducted by crown officials preserved the details of properties held by deceased tenants-in-chief, and identified whether or not there was an heir, and if any lands should pass into crown hands. Original transcriptions survive for the inquisitions of Edmund de Lacy and Henry de Lacy.¹²¹ These provide insights into the de Lacys' estates, including the identities of their tenants and the assessments for particular lands at the end of their lives.

The narrative accounts of events contained within the various monastic annals and chronicles of the thirteenth century shed further light on events during this period. The following annals and chronicles are of particular relevance for a study of the de Lacys and their involvement in national politics. The most significant of these remains the writings of Matthew Paris, particularly his *Chronica Majora*, continued from the earlier work of his predecessor Roger of Wendover.¹²² Paris was a Benedictine monk based in the abbey of St. Albans and maintained close connections with the royal household and members of the nobility.¹²³ The most noticeable issue with the chronicles is, of course, the author's natural tendency toward a personal influence on the narrative. Matthew Paris, in particular, is known for his own strong views on church and state. Although in some instances he later rewrote sections, he was particularly scathing in his judgements at times and his own personal prejudices often affected his work.¹²⁴ Nonetheless, his work remains one of the most comprehensive accounts for events of the thirteenth century.

The writings of Roger of Howden and Ralph of Coggeshall provide a record of events during the reign of King John relevant to a study of the de Lacys.¹²⁵ These include: Roger de Lacy's initial refusal to swear fealty in 1199; his witness of the king of Scotland's act of public submission; and his later military service in Normandy.¹²⁶ Roger of Howden was probably a royal clerk, which gave him access to pertinent information and echoes the focus on royal government within his writings.¹²⁷ Ralph

¹²¹ For Edmund de Lacy, see TNA, C 132/21/13. For Henry de Lacy, see TNA, DL 41/224; DL 41/225; DL 41/226; DL 41/227; DL 41/246; DL 41/247; C 134/22/1.

¹²² *Rogeri de Wendover Chronica, sive Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. O. Coxe (London: English Historical Society, 1864), pp. 256-8.

¹²³ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England I c. 500 to c. 1307* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 360.

¹²⁴ M. Vaughn, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), pp. 117-124.

¹²⁵ *Chronica de Rogeri de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs (London: Rolls Series, 1868-71); *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson (London: Rolls Series, 1875).

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 225-230.

of Coggeshall was abbot of the Cistercian Coggeshall abbey from 1207 to 1218.¹²⁸ There is some debate over whether the chronicle was solely the work of Ralph: whether he employed scribes to assist him; or one or more additional authors contributed to the finished version.¹²⁹ Coggeshall was located within 50 miles of London and, as part of the Cistercian community, maintained close contact with other Cistercian houses and, as such, Ralph would have been well informed about contemporary events.¹³⁰ Walter of Coventry's *Memoriale*, predominantly copied from the work of the Barnwell chronicle, is of particular use for accounts of the civil war and the early reign of Henry III.¹³¹ In particular, it provides detail related to John de Lacy's role during the civil war and Henry III's minority, and also his later departure on crusade with Ranulf III.¹³²

Additional records of events for the reign of King John are also detailed by the Burton and Tewkesbury chronicles, produced by the Benedictine abbeys of Burton on Trent and Tewkesbury respectively.¹³³ These include accounts which record John de Lacy's involvement in the re-issue of Magna Carta in 1225 and 1237, and his subsequent burial at Stanlaw abbey. The Burton chronicle also contains valuable texts related to the reign of Henry III (including a copy of the Provisions of Oxford (1258) and the Provisions of Westminster (1259)), accompanied by further narrative accounts of the political struggles of Henry III's reign.¹³⁴ The annals of Waverley, produced by the Cistercians of Waverley abbey in Surrey, offer further details for the reigns of John and Henry III.¹³⁵ Significantly, between 1219 and 1266, the accounts are produced relatively contemporary to events. They were drafted within a year or so of events.¹³⁶ The chronicle maintains a distinctive pro-baronial bias, which may partly be accounted for by the abbey's close relationship with Eleanor de Montfort, countess of

¹²⁸ *Radulphi de Coggeshall*, pp. 162-3; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 322-3.

¹²⁹ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 323-4; M. Staunton, *Historians of Angevin England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

¹³⁰ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 324-5.

¹³¹ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 338-9; *Memoriale Walteri de Coventria*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols. London: Rolls Series, 1872-1873), I, pp. xxxviii-xxlvii.

¹³² *Memoriale Walteri de Coventria*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols. Rolls Series, 1872-1873). Additional corresponding accounts of these events can be found in the Annals of Dunstable. 'Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, A.D. 1-1297', *AM*, ii.

¹³³ 'Annales Monasterii de Burton', *AM*, i, pp. 183-500; 'Annales Monasterii de Theokesburia', *AM*, i, pp. 43-180.

¹³⁴ 'Annales Monasterii de Burton', *AM*, i, pp. 439-479; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 409-410.

¹³⁵ 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', *AM*, ii, pp. 129-412.

¹³⁶ 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', *AM*, ii, p. xxxvi; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 412.

Leicester.¹³⁷ The annals are useful for their detail regarding John de Lacy's role during the first Barons' War (1215 to 1217), and his later standing at court at the end of Henry III's minority (1237).

The *Annales Cestriensis* are a useful narrative related to events pertinent to Chester.¹³⁸ They were probably written by the abbot of Chester, Simon de Witchurch, or at least under his direction.¹³⁹ Although a short account of events, it does record pertinent dates, for example the marriage of John de Lacy to Margaret de Quincy. The chronicle of Bury St Edmunds was also predominantly written contemporary to events between 1265 and 1301.¹⁴⁰ In addition to extensive local aristocratic connections, the abbey had numerous royal visits from both Henry III and Edward I.¹⁴¹ The chroniclers would have had access to good sources of information, and are, therefore, of particular value to a study of the later years of Henry III's reign and the reign of Edward I.

Additional accounts of the reigns of Henry III and Edward I can also be found in the chronicles of Walter of Guisborough and William Rishanger. Walter of Guisborough's account of Henry III's reign, written many years after events, should not be regarded as reliable.¹⁴² His narrative of the Edward I's reign, however, includes important narratives related to the Welsh campaign (1282),¹⁴³ Anglo-Scottish relations to 1300, and Edward's relationship with the barons.¹⁴⁴ Of particular relevance to this study is the account of the Gascon campaign, which includes details of Henry de Lacy's role in events.¹⁴⁵ William of Rishanger, although useful, was written during the fourteenth century, and thus his accounts of events should be treated with appropriate caution.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁷ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 414; 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', *AM*, ii, pp. 336

¹³⁸ *Annales Cestrienses; or Chronicle of the Abbey of St Werburgh at Chester*, ed. R. C. Christie (Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, xiv, 1886).

¹³⁹ *Annales Cestrienses*, pp. xvi, 116; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 405-6.

¹⁴⁰ *The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, 1212-1301*, ed. A. Gransden (London: Nelson Medieval Texts 1964).

¹⁴¹ The Bury Chronicle had at least three different authors. For the years to 1265, this was John de Taxter (*Chronicle of Bury*, p. 13). The 1265 to 1296 continuation has been attributed to William of Hoo, or at the least under his direction, by Antonia Gransden. The second continuation 1296 to 1301, although previous attributed to John of Eversden, should, according to Gransden, instead be 'regarded as anonymous'. Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 396-400.

¹⁴² *Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 471.

¹⁴³ Further information related to Edward I's Anglo-Welsh campaign can be found in the Welsh chronicle, *Brut Y Tywysogion or The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales*, ed. J. Williams Ab Ethel (London: Longman, 1860).

¹⁴⁴ *Guisborough*, pp. 218-22, 284-294, 308-13, 323-345.

¹⁴⁵ *Guisborough*, pp. 240-8.

¹⁴⁶ *Willelmi Rishanger Chronica et Annales Regnantibus Henrico Tertio et Edwardo Primo, A.D. 1259-1307*, ed. H. T. Riley (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012); Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 485-6.

In addition to the above, narrative accounts related to the end of Edward I's reign and the early years of Edward II's, are contained in the 'Annales Paulini' and 'Annales Londoniensis'.¹⁴⁷ These were both written at St Paul's cathedral, London. The 'Annales Paulini' made extensive use of the earlier *Flores Historiarum* for its narrative of events, with the addition of some new personal accounts. The author was probably contemporary to events from 1260 onward and wrote with no small amount of bias in favour of Simon de Montfort.¹⁴⁸ The 'Annales Londoniensis' were possibly authored by Andrew Horn, the city's chamberlain from 1320, or someone connected with the city's Guildhall.¹⁴⁹ In addition to the *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, they are useful for accounts of the early years of Edward II's reign,¹⁵⁰ and in particular, for this study, Henry de Lacy's role in the early political quarrels of his reign, including events surrounding the coronation and the involvement of Piers Gaveston.

This thesis is divided into two parts: 'The de Lacys, Politics and Royal Government' and 'The de Lacy Honour, Estate Management, Affinities and Religious Patronage'. Part I analyses the political careers of the de Lacy constables and explores their relationships with the crown and royal government during their lifetimes. Part II examines the extent and transformation of the de Lacy honour, including material benefits which the family accrued through astute marriages, and explores the mechanisms they employed to manage their estates. It reconstructs the affinities of each of the de Lacy constables and considers their development from one generation to the next, including changes to their composition and structure, and discusses the men who were in their service. Finally, it explores the family's patronage and evolving associations with religious houses, and places these within the wider context of contemporary trends of religious endowment. This thesis positions the de Lacys' within the framework of existing scholarship on medieval aristocratic families and engages with the broad debate over 'bastard feudalism'. The political biographies in Part I serve, in particular, to demonstrate the crown-magnate relationship and provide temporal context for the remainder of this study, while the thematic chapters in Part II illustrate significant aspects of the de Lacys' seigniorial

¹⁴⁷ 'Annales Paulini' and 'Annales Londoniensis' in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols. London: Rolls Series, 1882).

¹⁴⁸ The author appears to have been anonymous. 'Annales Paulini' in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, I, p. ix; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 508.

¹⁴⁹ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 508-9.

¹⁵⁰ *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, ed. W. R. Childs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005). The *Vita Edwardi* is taken from a later transcription, of now lost material, by Thomas Hearn. *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, pp. xv-xxi. The author was probably a royal clerk, given his access to significant contemporary documentary evidence, however, confirmed attribution has not been possible. *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

lordship. Taken together, this thesis will show that the king-baron dynamic was characterised more by co-dependency than conflict and demonstrate further, that although the de Lacys' followings inclined increasingly toward wages over tenure, they nonetheless retained the honour at their core.

Part I: The de Lacys, Politics and Royal Government

Chapter 1: Roger de Lacy (c.1170-1211)

Roger, like his father and grandfather before him, inherited the position of constable of Chester after his father's death whilst on crusade in 1190.¹ Principally known as Roger the constable, it was not until 1194 that he would use the name de Lacy in any documentation. At Winchester, on 21 April 1194, Roger legally acquired the lands of Robert de Lacy, namely the honours of Pontefract and Clitheroe, on the conclusion of an agreement with his grandmother Aubrey, Robert's heir.² As the lord of Pontefract, he issued a charter to the burgesses of Pontefract with the formal use of the name de Lacy two months later, on 6 June 1194.³ Although this is the first date Roger made himself known as Roger de Lacy, he continued to be variously referred to as both Roger the constable and Roger de Lacy in other records, including the witness lists of royal charters, as late as 1205.⁴ Roger was married to Maud de Clere and had at least two children, John and Roger.⁵

Roger's principal duty as constable during this period, however, was to continue the established relationship of his family as chief advisor in service to his lord, the earl of Chester. Roger's close proximity and support to the earl in this capacity is clearly demonstrated within the witness lists of the charters of the earldom of Chester. These indicate that Roger was often in the company of Ranulf III and counted among his close advisors. The earl's *acta* reveal that Roger was recorded as a witness to eighteen surviving charters between 1191 and Roger's death in 1211.⁶ Eleven of these charters were issued within the limits of Cheshire, which serve to emphasise the close connection that also existed between the constable and the honour of Chester.⁷ The position of constable of Chester was not by any means a lowly one and, combined with the inherited lands of

¹ C. L. Kingsford, 'Lacy, Roger de (d. 1211)' rev. P. Dalton, *ODNB* (Oxford University Press 2004).

² TNA, DL 42/2 fo. 110; *EYC*, iii, p. 208; Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v, pp. 533-534; *Pipe Rolls 7 Richard I*, p. 98.

³ It should also be noted that the burgesses of Pontefract paid £200 to Roger in order to obtain this charter, *EYC*, iii, p. 209.

⁴ *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati Vol 1, Part 1, 1199-1216*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London: Record Commission, 1837), p. 151. In the witness lists scribes would often abbreviate names to conserve space. As such, it should not be taken as indication of how Roger preferred to be known. It should caution, however, at a particular emphasis on the eponym 'de Lacy' accurately to date documentation in which he was listed during this period.

⁵ *Kirkstall Coucher*, p. 241.

⁶ *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c.1071-1237*, ed. G. Barraclough (Chester: The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1988), nos. 209, 212, 213, 221, 223, 227, 228, 240, 242, 246, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261, 264, 271, 328.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Pontefract and Clitheroe, Roger should be counted as a baron of not inconsiderable power and influence.

Roger's relationship with the royal government was also one of substantial loyal service. This echoed the actions of his father in service to King Richard and his grandfather's service to Henry II. In 1199, he was named by the chronicler, Roger of Howden, as among the barons who had refused to swear fealty to John as king, without the promise of the restoration of certain rights they alleged had been abrogated.⁸ For Roger, this related to the pursuit of 20 fees held of the honour of Pontefract, by Guy de Laval, which he believed should have been passed to him as part of Robert de Lacy's inheritance.⁹ Roger was successful in his particular quest at some time before 1205: the lands at this point were counted in Roger's control as part of the honour of Pontefract. Roger had earlier offered the sum of £330 to have possession of them.¹⁰ Roger most likely took up this position in support of earl Ranulf III, with the opportunity to return the Laval fees to the honour of Pontefract, a bonus on his part.¹¹ Having sworn his oath of fealty to John, Roger was demonstrably loyal to the crown.

In demonstration of his allegiance to the crown, between August and December 1199, Roger accompanied John on the campaign to France. John's hold on the traditional Angevin lands in France was tentative at best, and the war which had begun between Richard and Philip II in France was by no means over. John needed to reinforce his position in the disputed succession to Anjou, over the rival claims of Arthur of Brittany, which were supported by the French.¹² Roger was placed as the castellan of Chinon on 23 September 1199.¹³ Chinon was of significant geographic, and thus strategic, importance to John and the Angevin empire. It also had a significantly long association with the Angevin dynasty. Set upon a rocky spur on the bank of the Vienne River in the Loire Valley, it guarded the borders of Anjou and Poitou and overlooked Touraine.¹⁴ This mission was therefore of particular significance and Roger's appointment as the constable of Chinon demonstrated considerable faith in his abilities on the part of the king. No doubt due to this loyal service in France, Roger was

⁸ *Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden*, vol. iv, ed. W. Stubbs (London: Rolls Series, 1868-1871), p. 88; *Radulphi de Coggeshall* p. 99; Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 205. The others named with Roger included: Ranulf III, earl of Chester, Richard de Clare, earl of Hertford, David, earl of Huntingdon, William de Ferrers, earl of Derby, Waleran de Beaumont, earl of Warwick and William de Mowbray, baron of Thirsk and Mowbray.

⁹ *EYC*, iii, pp. 198-200; Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 205.

¹⁰ *EYC*, iii, pp. 198-200; *ROF*, p. 26.

¹¹ See above fn.9. For more information, see Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 205.

¹² W. L. Warren, *King John* (New York: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 50-4.

¹³ Kingsford, (rev.) Dalton, 'Lacy, Roger de (d. 1211)'.

¹⁴ M. Stockstad, *Medieval Castles* (London: Greenwood, 2005), pp. 37-9.

subsequently granted the castle of Pontefract, which the king had previously retained, although he was still obliged to provide his eldest son as a hostage in surety for his loyalty.¹⁵

It is clear from an examination of the charter rolls for this three month period, that Roger had become a trusted member of John's circle during the French campaign. He was named in the witness lists of at least a dozen royal charters during this time. On 26 August, he was with the king at Rouen. Here John had earlier in the month received the homage of Baldwin, count of Flanders, accompanied by an agreement for him to provide soldiers to serve in John's army.¹⁶ At the end of the month, on 31 August, Roger was also again documented among the royal court at Castle Roche d'Andely (Chateau Gaillard).¹⁷ It is therefore highly likely that Roger was present during the parlay attempt between Philip II and John which took place there during the middle of August.¹⁸ During September, as John continued his attempts to shore up alliances, the royal camp moved between Burgundy on 26 September and then Rouen at the end of the month.¹⁹ Roger was then at Poitiers at the beginning of December 1199, where he attested four separate charters on 3 December. He was notably with the royal court again when they had returned to Chinon by 6 December.²⁰ This three month period represented a critical time for John in his quest to secure his claim to the English throne, and deal with the threat of Philip II against the Angevin territories in France. Roger's presence within John's circle of advisors during this period demonstrates that he was regarded well by the king and held a position of trust and loyalty with the crown. In January 1200, a truce was finally brokered between John and Philip of France. This was formalised by the Treaty of Le Goulet, later that year, in May 1200.²¹ This saw John recognised as Richard's lawful heir as the King of England, as well as the lord of Anjou and also Brittany; his nephew Arthur was to hold Brittany in fee of John.²²

Roger de Lacy's trusted status and his loyal service was clearly of importance to John. On his return to England, Roger was among the king's court at Tickhill on 20 March, and a week later, was

¹⁵ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 102; For more on John's practice of hostage taking to ensure loyalty see J. Gillingham, 'Historians without Hindsight: Coggeshall, Diceto and Howden on the Early Years of John's Reign' in *King John: New Interpretation*, ed. S. D. Church (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), p. 14.

¹⁶ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 12; S. Church, *King John*, p. 80.

¹⁷ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 14.

¹⁸ Church, *King John*, p. 72.

¹⁹ *Rotuli Chartarum*, pp. 24-5.

²⁰ *Rotuli Chartarum*, pp. 63, 32.

²¹ Church, *King John*, pp. 86-90; Warren, *King John*, pp. 53-6.

²² Church, *King John*, pp. 86-7; R.V. Turner, *King John* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 53.

still present once the court had travelled to York on 28 March.²³ Roger's position as an agent of royal government was established further by his part in the commission, later that year, to escort William the Lion, king of Scotland, to meet with John at Lincoln. Roger of Howden informs us that on 22 November, Roger was also among the assembled nobles who stood witness to the king of Scotland's subsequent public submission and act of homage to John.²⁴ Such a public display of his dominance over the Scottish king was an important act for John and, coupled with the Treaty of Le Goulet and his new marriage to Isabella of Angoulême, meant that he ended the year on a political high note. Roger de Lacy's involvement, both with the mission to bring William to Lincoln, and the events in France, showed that he was closely associated with the royal court and closely involved with current political events.

This close proximity to the royal court continued in the opening of 1201. Roger was present at Hexham between the 19 and 21 February; and again with the king at Freemantle on 7 April, prior to the court's move to Portsmouth for Pentecost.²⁵ Roger's presence at court indicates a continued closeness and favour with the king. Given his now proven track record of loyalty to the crown, he was once again tasked with an important mission for the royal government. Roger of Howden tells us that Roger was then sent to Normandy by John, with William Marshal, earl of Pembroke. They were each placed in command of one hundred knights in order to tackle assaults on the Norman border lands.²⁶ Trouble with the Lusignans had arisen in Poitou and, rather than pursue a diplomatic route, John ordered his officials to take control of Hugh de Lusignan's county of La Marche and cause Ralph de Lusignan in Eu all 'the harm they could'.²⁷ The Lusignans sought to obtain redress through formal complaint to the French court of Philip II. At the same time, John mustered his forces in Portsmouth and, in May, accompanied by his wife and his army, which included a large number of crossbowmen, a siege engineer and, not least, eighty dogs of the royal hunt, he eventually crossed the channel to Normandy.²⁸ John allegedly held secret meetings with Phillip II on the border of Normandy in June.²⁹

²³ *Rotuli Chartarum*, pp. 41-2.

²⁴ *Chronica di Rogeri de Hoveden*, iv, pp. 140, 142; Church, *King John*, pp. 91-2.

²⁵ *Rotuli Chartarum*, pp. 87-8. Roger witnessed three royal charters during this time at Hexham and again at Freemantle.

²⁶ 'Annales Monasterii de Burton', *AM* i, p.208; *Walteri de Coventria*, ii p.184.

²⁷ Church, *King John*, p. 95; Warren, *King John*, p. 72.

²⁸ Church, *King John*, p. 95.

Relationships between the two deteriorated and in April 1202, Philip declared that John had forfeited all his lands in Aquitaine, Anjou and Poitou, due to his failure as a vassal to obey. He also announced that all feudal ties between the two were to be severed and sent his forces into Normandy.³⁰

During this time, Roger de Lacy had been tasked with the responsibility of controlling the shipping along the river Seine, based at the strategic position of Chateau Gaillard.³¹ While serving in this capacity, he was able to gain the custody of the lands and heir of Richard de Montfichet, for the sum of one thousand pounds.³² Roger also stood as surety for his lord, Ranulf III of Chester, when his loyalty was subsequently questioned by the king.³³ Roger's defence of Ranulf III here shows that although he was loyal to the crown, his first duty remained to his earl. This also serves to demonstrate that Roger's loyalty was perhaps given greater weight by the crown than that of his earl. Following the breakdown of relations between England and France and the subsequent French incursions into Normandy, there was no doubt that Philip would aim for the Angevin stronghold and glittering jewel of chateau Gaillard. Roger's command here was a demonstration of the faith, and more importantly, trust, in which the king held him. Unlike some other commanders, Roger held no estates in Normandy. This meant that there were fewer opportunities that the French king could use to hold sway over Roger in this manner. Given Roger's track record of continued service to the crown, John clearly felt that Roger could be relied upon to maintain his allegiance in the face of heavy pressure. If the French king wanted to take the castle, he would have to do so by force.

In September 1203, the outer defences of chateau Gaillard were attacked and Roger found himself cut off and besieged by Philip's forces.³⁴ Philip surrounded the castle with deep ditches and siege towers, determined to force Roger's submission through starvation if necessary. This initial tactic was based on a sound premise, particularly as Roger's benevolence had seen him admit the townspeople, fleeing from the French forces, within the castles defences. This act of altruism may have been a reflection on Roger's chivalric attitude to warfare: however, it was a strategic

²⁹ For more on John's alleged secret meetings and the alleged treaty see, Church, *King John*, p. 96; *Chronica di Rogeri de Hoveden*, iv, p. 164.

³⁰ Church, *King John*, p. 101; Morris, *King John*, p. 123.

³¹ Church, *King John*, p. 112, Morris, *King John*, p. 11.

³² *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Fifth Year of the Reign of King John: Michaelmas 1203*, ed., D. M. Stenton (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1938), p. 132.

³³ Kingsford, Dalton, (rev.) 'Lacy, Roger de (d. 1211)'.

³⁴ *Radulphi de Coggeshall*, p. 144; Morris, *King John*, p. 11; Church, *King John*, p. 112.

miscalculation. The addition of approximately two thousand people would severely deplete the castle's stockpile of provisions and reduce the defenders' capacity to resist. In an attempt to rectify this, Roger sent the refugees out of the castle in groups, which were initially let through the French lines to safety. When Philip, who was leading campaigns elsewhere, learned of this, however, he ordered them to be turned back and the last group found themselves greeted by a volley of French arrows. When they fled back to the castle, they found that the gates had been barred.³⁵ The helpless townsfolk were left to starve between the opposing lines and, in some cases, allegedly resorted to cannibalism, during the three harsh winter months that followed.³⁶ This was far from the ideal of chivalric warfare. Clearly Roger's compassion for the plight of the refugees only stretched so far: he still had a castle and his own troops to defend. With no sign of substantial relief forces coming from England, Roger may have been left with little option but to preserve the castles rations for as long as possible and by whatever means necessary. John himself had left Normandy for England in December 1203. Whether Roger and the castle's defenders were aware of this or not is unknown. A letter written to Roger by John, which was intercepted by the French sometime during the winter, thanked him for his faithful service and made it clear that the garrison could expect no immediate relief and encouraged him to persevere in his defence as long as possible.³⁷ This can be seen both as John having strong faith in both Roger's abilities and the defences of the castle, but also as a willingness on the part of the king to leave him to his fate, when no other avenue was available. In all likelihood, no correspondence from John reached the castle during this time. Given the encircled French forces, in order to serve his king faithfully, an experienced military commander and castellan such as Roger would have expected a prolonged defensive siege. That Roger did not seek to parlay with the opposing forces is a demonstration of his staunch loyalty to his duty to the crown and his own considerable faith in his military prowess.

At the end of February 1204, Philip returned to take command of the offensive. After the removal of the few remaining townspeople from the area, he ordered a direct assault on Chateau

³⁵ Morris, *King John*, pp. 39-40.

³⁶ S. McGlynn, 'Useless Mouths', *History Today*, Vol. 48, Issue. 6 (Periodicals Archive Online, June 1998), pp. 43-4.

³⁷ Morris, *King John*, p. 40; K. Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings, Vol. 2* (London: Macmillan, 1887), p. 419.

Gaillard.³⁸ The French forces, steadily and bloodily, fought their way into the castle. They were able to collapse a tower, causing a breach which allowed the French to penetrate the outer wall. The defenders torched the outer buildings and retreated to the middle curtain wall.³⁹ The capitalisation of an internal design flaw then allowed them entry through a window of a recently built chapel: an addition to the original castle ordered by John the previous year.⁴⁰ This incursion caused the defenders to retreat within the castle's innermost ward, setting fire to the evacuated buildings as they went. Once the flames had subsided, the advance force inside the chapel building simply lowered the drawbridge for the awaiting French army.⁴¹ Restricted to the innermost ward and significantly reduced in number, Roger and his defensive force still did not seek to parlay for surrender. The fighting continued, and included a fierce subterranean melee, as the defenders desperately attempted to counter offensive sappers.⁴² The battle was concluded when catapult fire eventually breached the remaining wall and the defenders were overrun.⁴³ Chateau Gaillard fell on 6 March 1204.⁴⁴ Roger's staunch defensive command through the long and bloody siege garnered him the respect of the French king. Matthew Paris wrote that Philip placed him in free custody in recognition for his stalwart defence of the chateau.⁴⁵ De Lacy was subsequently ransomed, with the assistance of King John, for the sum of £1000.⁴⁶

The treatment of Roger by both kings, after the siege, demonstrated the esteem which his conduct and military prowess in command had earned him. For this defiant and loyal service to the English crown, Roger was granted the offices of sheriff for Yorkshire and Cumberland, positions which he held until 1209. These were valuable offices for Roger to have obtained, however, there was a catch: he was required to pay a fine for additional 'profits', over and above the county farm.⁴⁷ The

³⁸ *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton Historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. H. F. Delaborde, i (Paris, Librairie Renouard, 1882-1885), p. 216.

³⁹ *Guillaume le Breton*, p. 217-8.

⁴⁰ *Guillaume le Breton*, p. 219.

⁴¹ *Guillaume le Breton*, p. 219.

⁴² *Guillaume le Breton*, p. 219-220.

⁴³ Morris, *King John*, pp. 41-3.

⁴⁴ 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', *AM*, ii p. 256.

⁴⁵ *Chronica Majora*, ii, p. 489, 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', *AM*, ii p. 256.

⁴⁶ *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis*, p. 103; *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Holt, *The Northerners*, pp. 154. Holt suggested that Roger initially resisted this but eventually agreed to fine for the profits and pay '£200 over and the county farm'. He did not pay this, however, until he had lost the position in 1209. At which point he was charged for five years of the sum owed and eventually paid at least £600. *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus*, p. 273; *Pipe Rolls 11 John*, p. 125.

accounts for the county farm in Yorkshire in 1205 reveal that Roger accounted for £460 7s 3d; while for Cumberland the sum was £114 4d.⁴⁸ The figures for both county farms were the same for 1206, 1207 and 1208.⁴⁹ In 1209, Cumberland was again also the same.⁵⁰ In Yorkshire, however, in addition to the county farm at £360 7s 3d, Roger was fined for the profits of the farm to which he had agreed in 1205. Due to the delay in settlement of this debt to the crown, Roger was fined an additional £800 increment for the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth regnal years, and a further £200 for the eleventh year. This presumably accounted for the originally agreed £200 increment.⁵¹ That Roger was allowed to delay full repayment for four years, without any severe penalties, is demonstrative of the good regard in which he was held by the crown.

Upon his return from France in 1204, Roger's loyalty and service to the royal government of England continued unabated. After the complete loss of Normandy to the French by June 1204, Roger was amongst the court and at John's side on 7 August at Northampton.⁵² His position within the king's circle of advisors had not been altered by his failed defence of the castle. In October 1204, John moved to confiscate the English lands of those who had remained in France. Roger's presence at Lambeth and the king's court during this time can be seen as him giving his support for such action.⁵³ Roger was with the king at Westminster on 1 November. Where he spent the remainder of 1204, however, is unclear.⁵⁴ While the north of England stood on the verge of rebellion in the winter of 1204 to 1205, Roger's loyalty to the crown continued unabated. Roger was at the king's side at Westminster on 18 January, and again at Winchester on 25 January.⁵⁵ Roger's presence at court and his witness of letters patent and close, is suggestive of a continued close relationship with the king and places him within the close circle of royal government at a critical time. John was in need of money to organise the defence of his last remaining territory in Aquitaine. An assize of money was agreed at a meeting of the court in Winchester, and a letter patent was issued on 26 January which authorised the king's officials to retain and destroy false coins. The letter also noted that these actions were recommended

⁴⁸ *Pipe Rolls 7 John*, pp. 40, 268.

⁴⁹ *Pipe Rolls 8 John*, pp. 43, 191; *Pipe Rolls 9 John*, pp. 77, 127; *Pipe Rolls 10 John*, pp. 42, 140.

⁵⁰ *Pipe Rolls 11 John*, p. 93.

⁵¹ *Pipe Rolls 11 John*, p. 126 (farm), p. 125 for the fine; Holt, in *The Northerners*, p. 154, lists the increment as simply 'over £600'.

⁵² *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 4.

⁵³ Church, *King John*, p. 129; *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 11. Roger witnessed a charter on 13 October.

⁵⁴ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 139.

⁵⁵ *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London: Record Commission, 1835), p. 49; *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 18.

by the common counsel '*commune consilium*'.⁵⁶ Roger's attendance at court and his appearance in witness lists indicates that he was involved with discussions among the counsel at this time. The assize was designed to address widespread concern regarding the quality of coin in England and ensure that the coinage in circulation was of sufficient quality. John required that money coming into the crown coffers was of a high quality and not deficient. If the value of the king's money could be called into question, this could also serve to act as a reflection upon the king himself.

It was this consistent and increasing demand for funds and knights service that appeared to have aggravated tensions in the north of England more than anything else.⁵⁷ All those who held land direct of the crown were obliged to provide the king with military service. If they were unable to do so, they had to pay a scutage instead. During Henry II's thirty-five year reign the king had levied scutage eight times; while in Richard's ten year reign scutage had been levied on four occasions. John had already demanded a scutage every year aside from 1200 and levied a higher rate than before. In 1204, he collected a scutage even though there had been no campaign.⁵⁸ John's expenditure on castle repair at Carlisle, Tickhill and York and the reinforcement of their garrisons, in the latter part of 1204, reflected John's awareness of rising tensions in the north of England. In the beginning of 1205, in an attempt to reinforce his position, John set out on a tour of the north. Roger was with John at Nottingham on 22 February and was still with the court when they moved on to Laxton on 28 February.⁵⁹ The charter rolls serve to further illustrate Roger's movements in crown court circles during March 1205; he was witness to approximately a dozen charters across the course of the month. On 1 March he was at Doncaster. Three days later, on 4 March, he was with John at Tadcaster, before the king evidently moved to York.⁶⁰ On 7 March he appears to have been in both Oxford and York according to the charter roll, before appearing again in Doncaster on 8 and 10 March.⁶¹ De Lacy was then at Nottingham on 12 March before travelling to Oxford for 19 March, and witnessed two charters

⁵⁶ *Rotuli Patentium*, p. 54; Church, *King John*, p. 132-3.

⁵⁷ Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 89-91, 207.

⁵⁸ Morris, *King John*, pp. 52-3.

⁵⁹ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 142. He witnessed three charters at Nottingham between 22 and 24 February

⁶⁰ Roger witnessed three charters during 6 and 7 March at York. *Rotuli Chartarum*, pp. 142-4.

⁶¹ *Rotuli Chartarum*, pp. 147, 151, 143. This was probably a clerical or dating error. Given that York and Oxford are approximately 150 miles apart, it is implausible that Roger could have travelled from one to the other on the same day. It is possible that the 7 March attestation may actually have been 27 March, as the king issued letters from Woodstock on 26 March and Oxford on 28 March, *Rotuli Patentium*, pp. 51-2; *Rotuli Clausarum*, i, p. 24. This would place Roger in Oxford for the meeting of the council at the end of March, and his receipt of the commission to defend the Welsh border.

on each occasion.⁶² That Roger remained a member of John's wider counsel during this period, is once again, indicative of his continued loyalty and good standing within royal government. John called a council to meet at Oxford at the end of March.⁶³ The council resulted in an order that, in the interests of defence, groups of nine knights would finance a tenth. These additional knights were ordered to gather at London on 1 May, ready to serve.⁶⁴ They were to remain in England while John went abroad, and were to be assigned to two groups. Robert fitz Roger, sheriff of Northumberland would command one group. Roger de Lacy, meanwhile, would command the second group and defend the border between England and Wales. Although a specific title does not appear to have been recorded, this commission would have made him 'warden of the march' and was therefore a significant demonstration of the crown's continued faith in Roger and his military command.

Throughout April and May, Roger remained a close member of the king's royal counsel, demonstrated by his appearance in the witness lists. He appeared on at least four occasions: at Ludgershall on 2 April; Guilford on 11 April; and then London on 14 April.⁶⁵ He was with the king at Northampton on 13 May, presumably ahead of the general muster John had called there for the 15 May.⁶⁶ Roger was again with John at Clarendon and Winchester between 27 and 29 May.⁶⁷ On the 27 May Roger was awarded the manor of Snaith with the accompanying soke to hold for the service of 1 knight's fee.⁶⁸ The manor of Snaith, to the east of Pontefract, was part of the crown estate and the town and soke had been tallaged for the sum of £35 in 1203.⁶⁹ The Pipe Rolls show that Roger subsequently accounted for £10 in Snaith for half the year in 1205; £20 in 1206; and by 1207 this had raised again to £30.⁷⁰ The award was therefore of significant value to Roger and representative of his favourable position with the crown. When the court moved to Portchester on 30 May, Roger witnessed at least nine royal charters.⁷¹

⁶² *Rotuli Chartarum*, pp. 144-6.

⁶³ Roger's apparent ability to be in two places at once is probably a minor clerical error during the move for the council at Oxford.

⁶⁴ *Rotuli Patentium*, p. 55; Church, *King John*, pp. 133-4; Morris, *King John*, p.54.

⁶⁵ *Rotuli Chartarum*, pp. 146-7.

⁶⁶ Church, *King John*, p. 134.

⁶⁷ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 151-2.

⁶⁸ *EYC*, i, p. 377.

⁶⁹ *Pipe Rolls 5 John*; *EYC*, i, p. 388.

⁷⁰ *Pipe Rolls 7 John*, p. 41; *Pipe Rolls 8 John*, p. 191; *Pipe Rolls 9 John*, p. 78.

⁷¹ *Rotuli Chartarum*, pp. 150-2.

Roger's loyalty and faithful service continued through June. During the month, Roger witnessed over a dozen charters for the king. The first four were at Portchester between 1 and 5 June.⁷² On 6 June, he was with the king at Portsmouth, before moving on to Stoke between 6 and 7 June.⁷³ On 11 June, Roger had moved with the king to Waltham, before returning to Portsmouth the following day, where Roger witnessed another two charters.⁷⁴ This demonstrates that Roger was a close and valued member of John's counsel during this period of preparation. Despite all the arrangements, the expeditions ultimately came to naught. William Marshal and Archbishop Walter disagreed over the likelihood of success and implored John to call them off. John eventually accepted their argument and called off the expedition.⁷⁵ The royal camp subsequently moved to Dartmouth for the end of the month; Roger was present on 20 June and then on 29 June.⁷⁶ He was still with the king's court at Havering between 6 and 7 August.⁷⁷ From this point, however, Roger does not appear again in the royal charter witness lists until Belvoir, on 26 September. There then follows another two month gap before he was once more with the king at Lambeth, on 5 December.⁷⁸ Although Roger's movements in this period are unclear, it is most likely that he had returned to oversee his own estates during this time. Nonetheless, his service to the crown and royal government during 1205 was rewarded. He was able to acquire the Lancashire barony of Penwortham, after clearing the debts to the crown of the prior lord, Hugh Buissel. Roger agreed to pay the sum of £204 to the exchequer for Hugh's debts and the barony was transferred to him. It does not appear from exchequer records, however, that any payment for this was actually ever made by Roger.⁷⁹

Roger was next with the royal court at York in February 1206. The previous November, John had invited the king of Scotland to come to York for a parlay at the beginning of February.⁸⁰ Roger was at York on 12 February, before travelling to Carlisle on 19 February.⁸¹ Roger witnessed five charters in April; two at Winchester on 20 April; two more at Clarendon and Chertsey on 24 April;

⁷² *Rotuli Chartarum*, pp. 152-3.

⁷³ *Rotuli Chartarum*, pp. 152-5. Roger witnessed two charters at Portsmouth and three charters at Bishop's Stoke.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 154-6.

⁷⁵ Church, *King John*, pp. 134-6.

⁷⁶ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 155.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-7. Roger witnessed three royal charters at Havering.

⁷⁸ *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 51; *Rotuli Chartarum*, p.160.

⁷⁹ *ROF*, p. 341; Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 240.

⁸⁰ *Rotuli Patentium*, p. 56; Church, *King John*, p. 139.

⁸¹ *Rotuli Chartarum*, pp. 162-3; *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 65.

before being present at court at Lambeth on 28 April.⁸² It is unclear whether or not Roger travelled with John on his expedition to La Rochelle on 7 June.⁸³ If he did, his return to England was swift. Given the chancery evidence it therefore seems unlikely that he travelled with John. The rolls indicate that Roger most likely remained in England during the length of the campaign, as had originally been planned for the defence of the Anglo-Welsh border. This mission reflected both Roger's position as an important landholder in Cheshire, and the potential severity of which the crown viewed the Welsh threat. He was present at Ongar on 10 August and again at Northampton on 13 October.⁸⁴ Roger did not appear at court again until two months later on 1 December, at Canterbury; this was his final documented appearance at the king's court for that year.⁸⁵

Roger's presence at court during 1207 was much less frequent than it had been in the previous two years. He was present on 10 March at Bardfield.⁸⁶ Then on 8 October he was at Lambeth, before moving to Marlborough on 12 October, shortly after the birth of John's heir, Henry, on 1 October.⁸⁷ He was not with the royal court again until January 1208, when he was at Winchester on 2 January and again at Burbach on 6 January.⁸⁸ Despite these less frequent appearances, he was no doubt still counted as a valued member of John's counsel. By the beginning of 1208, John was in full disagreement with the papal curia over the election of the new archbishop of Canterbury and the possibility of a papal interdict being placed on England was high. In a letter to the bishops of London, Ely and Worcester, the pope's proctors, John stated outright that, although he respected the pope's authority in the appointment to Canterbury, he expected the pope to acknowledge and not disregard the dignity, liberty and rights which belonged to him and his heirs. Roger was at Lambeth on 21 January and among those who witnessed this letter to the pope.⁸⁹ Roger was therefore counted as amongst John's senior secular supporters at this time. There was a five month gap before Roger's next attendance at court, which occurred at Winchester on 10 June.⁹⁰ He then appeared on 7 August at York

⁸² *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 165.

⁸³ Warren, *King John*, p. 117.

⁸⁴ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 166; *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 74.

⁸⁵ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 161.

⁸⁶ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 79.

⁸⁷ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 171; *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 94; Church, *King John*, p. 153.

⁸⁸ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 174.

⁸⁹ *Rotuli Patentium*, p. 78; Church, *King John*, p. 154.

⁹⁰ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 179.

and once more on 24 October at Westminster.⁹¹ Available evidence does not place him at the royal court again until the following year, when he was at Newcastle upon Tyne on 27 April.⁹² This was about the same time that John met with William, the king of Scotland, at Newcastle.⁹³ Whether Roger was present at the court due to his prior dealings with the king of Scotland is unknown, but it is certainly indicative of his involvement with proceedings. During the summer, Roger's only other documented appearance at court came at Hexham on 14 June.⁹⁴ Roger was then with the king at Kirkby on 20 and 21 August, before his final attendance at court at Carlisle on 27 August.⁹⁵ In spite of less frequent documented appearances, Roger's value to the crown and royal government led to him playing a role in the restoration of order in the Welsh Marches during 1210. Roger is alleged to have rescued Ranulf III, earl of Chester from a Welsh siege at Rhuddlan in Flintshire.⁹⁶ His fearsome attacks against the Welsh forces during this campaign resulted in him being named 'Roger of Hell'.⁹⁷ Despite these renowned and significant exploits, within a year Roger was dead. His death came in October 1211 and he was subsequently buried at his favoured abbey of Stanlaw.⁹⁸

Roger's political career echoed those of his father and grandfather before him. He demonstrated staunch loyalty and service to the crown. Roger was able to utilise this service to the royal government successfully to increase his family's wealth and status. The value of his estates was further confirmed by the swiftness in which they were taken into royal custody; and the amount of money which the crown was able to obtain from them during John de Lacy's minority.⁹⁹

⁹¹ *Rotuli Chartarum*, pp. 181, 183.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁹³ Morris, *King John*, p. 176.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁹⁵ Morris, *King John*, p. 182.

⁹⁶ This story is recounted in *Kirkstall Coucher*, pp. 241-2; and also Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi, pp. 315-6. It does not appear within any of the contemporary chronicler accounts.

⁹⁷ Kingsford, Dalton (rev.) 'Lacy, Roger de (d. 1211)'. The only reference I have found to this nickname appears in an epitaph for Roger which is purported to have hung above his tomb at Whalley abbey, recorded by Whitaker, who also noted the epitaphs for John and Edmund. In T.D Whitaker, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley and Clitheroe in the Counties of Lancaster and York* (London, 1818), pp. 516-9. It was also transcribed by Dugdale from a manuscript in BL, MS Cotton Cleop. C iii. In Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v, p. 48. There is no other contemporary source which appears to use this nickname.

⁹⁸ *Chronica Majora*, ii, p. 532; Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi, p. 315.

⁹⁹ Although the records do not record the exact date that Roger's lands were taken into royal custody. An extent made in early 1212 recorded that John de Lacy should receive approximately £82 per year to sustain himself in service to the king, the remaining lands were in the custody of the king. *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of King John: Michaelmas 1212*, ed., P.M. Barnes (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1955), pp. 3-4.

Chapter 2: John de Lacy (c.1192-1240)

Roger's eldest son and heir was John de Lacy. John's career followed a noticeably different path to that of his father. It took his family to new heights on the national political stage, and began during a period of significant developments in England. He lived through the turbulent political troubles of King John's reign; was named as a member of the baronial council of twenty-five at Runnymede in 1215; and played a key role in the First Barons' War (1215 to 1217). His career developed further in the uncertain years of Henry III's minority, which included diplomatic service for the crown, before he ultimately emerged as a leading royal councillor during Henry III's personal rule.

Documentary evidence relating to John's time prior to the inheritance of his father's lands is sparse, with the only significant evidence being a letter, purporting to be addressed to a young de Lacy in 1209 from Philip Augustus.¹ The suggestions, put forward by Painter surrounding this letter of de Lacy's involvement with an alleged plot against King John, have been dealt with elsewhere by Professor Sir James Holt.² It is highly unlikely, therefore, given his father's ongoing loyalty to the crown, that John was involved in any active plot against the king at this time.³ John was also a minor at the time of Roger's death and did not inherit his father's lands until two years later, in September

¹ S. Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1970), pp. 253-5; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste roi de France, III: Années du règne XXVIII à XXXVI (1er Novembre 1206-31 Octobre 1215)*, ed. M. J. Monicat and M. J. Boussard (Paris, 1966), pp. 161-2, no. 1079.

'Philippus Dei gratia Francorum rex dilecto suo J. de Latiaco salute et dilectionem. Mandamus vobis quod si conventiones nobis fueritis prosecutes quas Rogerus de Essartis dilectus et fidelis noster nobis ex parte vestra dixit, videlicet de querra facienda in Anglia cum Johanne rege Anglie per amicos et imprisios quos ibidem vos dicit habere, et in Hibernia similiter per amicos et deffensionem castellorum, ita quod nos istud pro certo scamus sicut melius poterit sciri, nos tale consilium habebimus de terra quam predecessores vestry habuerunt in Anglia quod de re redargui [sic, redargueri?] non poterimus. Actum Parisius, anno Domini Mo CCo nono.' 'Philip by the grace of God king of France to his dear friend J. de Lacy (*J. de Latiaco*), greeting and affection. We inform you that we shall hold to such a plan concerning your predecessors' lands in England that we shall not be swayed on the subject, if you honour with the agreement about which our beloved and faithful Roger des Essarts has informed us on your behalf, that is, making war upon King John in England with the friends and allies which Roger says you have, and likewise in Ireland, through your friends and fortifying of castles, as soon as we know as surely as can be known that this has been done. Paris 1209'. Translation by Colin Veach, in Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms*, p. 139.

² Holt, *The Northerners*, pp. 205-6.

³ In his ODNB entry for John de Lacy, Nicholas Vincent suggested a likely confusion with the Walter de Lacy for the addressee of the letter. Given that the letter itself has also been confirmed by Holt as a later transcript, this presents a plausible alternative for this particular narrative. Colin Veach has provided further credence to Vincent's identification which placed the letter within the context of the destruction of William de Briouze, (Herefordshire) de Lacy ties with Evreux, and a potential plot to make Simon de Montfort king. Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms*, pp. 139-140.

1213.⁴ In addition to this, an extent of Roger de Lacy's lands, made after his death, stipulated that John should receive approximately £82 per year to sustain himself in service to the king.⁵ The remaining lands were placed in royal custody and accounted for at the exchequer by agents of the crown. The estates consisted of more than 100 knights' fees, in conjunction with the northern baronies of Pontefract, Penwortham, Widnes, Halton and Clitheroe. Royal agents were able to account for a profit of approximately £1000 per annum while the lands were in royal custody.⁶ Given such additional revenue figures as these, it is therefore not difficult to understand the benefits to the crown of holding on to inheritances for as long as possible. This is also important to consider as a demonstration of the treatment of minors and the custody of estates by the crown, which was a significant source of grievance amongst the aristocracy, reflected by its later inclusion in clauses 2 to 6 in the 1215 Magna Carta.⁷ In order to inherit in 1213, John de Lacy was required to pay an incredible sum of £4662. He also had to surrender the castles of Pontefract in Yorkshire and Donington in Leicestershire, and cover the cost of their maintenance, as further surety for his loyalty to the crown.⁸ Tactics such as these had become common place under John's kingship, but were not new. John simply increased the financial demands on his subjects to new unprecedented heights from those of his predecessors. The carrot was, of course, that if de Lacy demonstrated faithful service, the king would mitigate some of the fine. These tactics provided the king with additional leverage over the barons.⁹ The castle at Donington was restored the following year in 1214, partly as a deal, to ensure John accompanied the king on campaign to Poitou. The king was in desperate need of military support from his barons for his attempt to recover the lost continental possessions. John still had to satisfy the king's appetite for hostages, however, which included his younger brother, as a guarantee of his continued loyalty.¹⁰ By this time John had married his first wife, Alice d L'Aigle, daughter of Gilbert de L'Aigle, baron of Pevensy.¹¹ Surviving records do not indicate a precise date for the marriage, we can establish, however, that it had

⁴ *ROF*, pp. 483-4, 494-5.

⁵ *Pipe Rolls 14 John*, pp. 3-4;

⁶ *Pipe Rolls 14 John*, pp. 3-4; Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, p. 128.

⁷ Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp. 373-398.

⁸ *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 147; *ROF*, pp. 483-4, 494-5.

⁹ For more on King John's use of indebtedness to the crown as a means of political control over the barons, see Holt, *The Northerners*, pp. 152-156; Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp. 180-181; Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III*, pp. 7-9.

¹⁰ *Rotuli Patentium*, p. 119.

¹¹ Kirkstall Coucher, p. 242; Sanders, *English Baronies*, pp. 136-7; K. Thompson, 'The Lords of Laigle: Ambition and Insecurity on the borders of Normandy' *Anglo-Norman Studies XVIII*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996), p. 193.

been arranged as early as 1204.¹² Gilbert de L'Aigle was one of the few nobles who maintained possession of fees either side of the Channel after 1205. He was married to Isabel de Warenne, countess of Surrey, the daughter of Henry II's half-brother Hamelin.¹³ Alice de L'aigle was therefore King John's cousin. In addition to this, Isabel de Warenne held substantial dower lands from her first marriage to Robert de Lacy.¹⁴ John's marriage may therefore have sought to settle any potential outstanding claims to the de Lacy inheritance and additionally provided for a connection to the royal family. Unfortunately, Alice died without producing any children and although she was buried at Norton Priory, the date of her death is unknown.¹⁵

King John's campaign began with victory over the Lusignans in Poitou. However, he was ultimately forced to retreat to the port of La Rochelle. While the king was entrenched at the port, he suffered defeat from afar when his forces endured a catastrophic rout at the Battle of Bouvines on 27 July 1214. An outright English defeat was only avoided due to papal representatives who sought to raise a crusading army, the result of which saw a truce between the English and French negotiated until 1220. Dejected and beaten, the remaining English forces returned to England in October 1214.¹⁶ De Lacy's personal role in the unsuccessful campaign is unclear, beyond the fact that he sailed to Poitou and appears to have returned unscathed.

During the king's absence, discontent with the crown's financial exactions and the pressures of royal government had grown in England, under the oppressive governance of Peter des Roches, the bishop of Winchester.¹⁷ This resulted in a row between the king and a group of barons, nominally led by Robert fitz Walter, in the latter part of 1214. The initial disagreement over refusal to pay scutage for the failed campaign eventually expanded to include demands that they be granted rights contained

¹² *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 14; Thompson, 'The Lords of Laigle', p. 193.

¹³ It was through this marriage that Gilbert was able to protect his English lands. His brother-in-law, William the earl of Warenne, was able to hold them in custody. *Pipe Rolls 9 John*, p. 41; Thompson, 'The Lords of Laigle', p. 193.

¹⁴ Thompson, 'The Lords of Laigle', pp. 192-3; W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066-1194* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 85.

¹⁵ *Kirkstall Coucher*, p. 242.

¹⁶ For more on the French campaign, from the early victory over the Lusignans to the disastrous defeat at Bouvines, on 27 July 1214, see the following: 'Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia', *AM*, iii, pp. 41-2; 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', *AM*, ii, pp. 280-1; *Chronica Majora*, ii, pp. 573, 581-2; *Foedera*, i, p. 124-5; Church, *King John*, pp. 202-212.

¹⁷ N. Vincent, *Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205-1238* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 89-113; 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', *AM*, ii, p. 281.

within Henry I's coronation charter.¹⁸ The charter itself concerned reliefs, marriages, wardships and debt, more than it did scutage. Nonetheless, it provided the barons with a foundation by which to seek concessions from the king, and would subsequently play a large part in the formation of Magna Carta.¹⁹ On 4 March, the king attempted to forestall any further negotiations by employing the vow of a crusader. By placing his person and property under the protection of the church, he afforded himself a layer of shelter against the barons and their demands.²⁰ It is at this point that John de Lacy's involvement can be seen. He took the vow to crusade at the same time as the king on 4 March. On the following day he was pardoned all of his debts, including those of his father. These included more than £2800, which remained owing to the king from the relief that he was charged in 1213.²¹ It was clearly advantageous for de Lacy to maintain a loyal stance to the crown at this stage. This was no doubt, in part, due to being in debt to the crown, and also due to the fact that de Lacy was still a fledgling baron in many ways, compared to his compatriots. Loyalty to the crown was, for de Lacy, the best route to consolidate his inheritance and position.

De Lacy continued this loyal stance as late as the end of May 1215, when he was noted in a letter recorded on the patent rolls as 'our faithful John'.²² Following the fall of London, however, he joined the rebel barons and within weeks was named at Runnymede as one of the baronial council of twenty-five, in June 1215.²³ He was also entrusted with command of the rebel controlled areas of Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire.²⁴ In view of his prominent role in the rebellion, it is not unreasonable to presume that John had been in communication with rebel barons for some time prior to this. The 'Northerners' all had significant links to one another, as Holt has discussed elsewhere: similar interests in local affairs; and in many cases held lands from one another.²⁵ The location of the de Lacy estates made him a prime candidate to take control of forces in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire. The timing of de Lacy's rebellion, when set against the pardon he had received only three months earlier, seems at

¹⁸ *Walteri de Coventria*, pp. 217-8; *Wendover*, ii, p. 111-2; Church, *King John*, pp. 214-6; Warren, *King John*, pp. 225-7.

¹⁹ Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp. 345-356 (Appendix 4: The 'Unknown' Charter).

²⁰ *Walteri de Coventria*, ii, p. 219; Church, *King John*, pp. 216-7.

²¹ *Rotuli Patentium*, p. 129; *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of King John: Michaelmas 1214*, ed. P. M. Barnes (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1959), p. 93; Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 106.

²² *Rotuli Patentium*, p. 142.

²³ *Chronica Majora*, ii, pp. 604-5; Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 107; Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, p. 108; Church, *King John*, pp. 218-232.

²⁴ *Walteri de Coventria*, ii, p. 224; Morris, *King John*, p. 267.

²⁵ Holt, *The Northerners*.

best opportunistic. At this point, de Lacy obviously felt his options were more favoured in the rebel camp than in association with the crown. Having only recently escaped a substantial debt to the crown, however, his actions indicate ties with his 'northern' landholding brethren, which presumably influenced his decision to join the rebels. A number of de Lacy's landholders joined him in rebellion, including Maurice de Gant and Roger de Montbegon. Gant and de Montbegon also held land of the king-in-chief elsewhere, in addition to the land they held of de Lacy.²⁶ Montbegon was also notably one of the twenty-five enforcers. The consequence of this association was that de Lacy was named in a papal bull in late 1215. Enforced by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, the papal legate Pandalf, and the abbot of Reading, the papal bull excommunicated the rebel barons for their part in rebellion against the crown and resulted in orders to confiscate rebel lands.²⁷ John's poor relationship with royal government at this point was in marked contrast to that maintained by his late father.

After the royal defeat of the rebel force which held Rochester castle in October 1215, the king's army moved northward.²⁸ Not content with the destruction of rebel held homes and the seizure of goods, the king ordered towns and hedgerows to be burned. People were imprisoned and tortured until heavy ransoms were paid.²⁹ William d'Albini's garrison at Belvoir castle surrendered after King John threatened to starve d'Albini to death if they did not.³⁰ John de Lacy's land at Donington was the king's next target and he ordered it levelled before pressing northward. The decision to attack Donington is significant. A short distance westward from Belvoir, Donington was also of particular strategic importance in guarding river crossings over the Trent. In addition to this, however, since de Lacy had only reacquired the castle from the crown in the previous year, its destruction sent a message to de Lacy about the fragility of his hold on his inheritance. Left in no doubt as to his untenable position should he continue to maintain a rebellious stance, de Lacy sought to negotiate with the King

²⁶ For Roger de Montbegon, see *Liber Feodorum*, I, pp. 222, 373. For Maurice de Gant, see *Liber Feodorum*, I, pp. 84, 190.

²⁷ Letter to Archbishop Langton from papal commissioners, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, CCA-DCC-ChAnt/M/247; 'Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia', *AM*, iii, p. 43; *Walteri de Coventria*, ii, p. 224; *Chronica Majora*, ii, pp. 642-4; F. M. Powicke, 'The bull "miramur plurimum" and a letter to Archbishop Stephen Langton, 5 September 1215' *English Historical Review*, 44 (1929), pp. 87-93; *Selected letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England, 1198-1216*, ed. C. R. Cheney (London: Thomas Nelson, 1953), pp. 221-3; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 124-5.

²⁸ *Walteri de Coventria*, ii, p. 228; *Chronica Majora*, ii, pp. 635-6; Church, *King John*, p. 242.

²⁹ *Chronica Majora*, ii, pp. 636-7; *Radulphi de Coggeshall*, pp. 178-9.

³⁰ *Chronica Majora*, ii, pp. 635-8; Morris, *King John*, p. 273; Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 133.

at the beginning of January 1216.³¹ News of the royalist capture of Donington, and the sight of the king's army on the doorsteps of Pontefract, may have gone some way toward determining de Lacy's strategy of surrender.

The terms placed upon John, however, were significant, although he was not treated as poorly as D'Albini, perhaps in recognition of his father Roger's former loyal service.³² Once again, John's younger brother, Roger, was surrendered as a hostage. De Lacy was also required to provide the king with a charter, witnessed by Ranulf III, the earl of Chester,³³ in which he offered his fealty; renounced the terms of Magna Carta; and agreed to the disinheritance of his family, should he subsequently break the agreement.³⁴ The involvement of de Lacy's lord, Ranulf III, at this juncture is significant.

Although John's relationship with Ranulf III up to this point may have been less close than that maintained by his father, he was still his lord and John was reliant upon Ranulf III's support for much of his family's fortunes. His influence on de Lacy's position at this stage should not be ignored. These terms, harsh as they may seem, were enough to consolidate de Lacy's return to the bosom of crown governance. Approximately three weeks later on 26 January, when the king was at Durham, John de Lacy witnessed a royal charter.³⁵ This serves to demonstrate John's return to loyalty at this time. Interestingly, de Lacy's return to the royal fold came with other conditions, and it would appear that he was used as an intermediary between the crown and the rebels in the early months of 1216. In April, the king wrote to de Lacy, Gerard de Furneal and Geoffrey de Neville, in letters in which he declared he would exact no money if Robert de Ros, Eustace de Vesci and Peter de Brus, came to them to make peace with the crown.³⁶ More favourable terms than those de Lacy had secured were now on offer to encourage rebels to surrender.

³¹ *Foedera*, I, part 1, p. 37; *Rotuli Clausarum*, i, p. 245.

³² William d'Albini's ransom, following his capture at Rochester, was set at £3996. Gilbert fitz Reinfrey had to surrender his castles; provide 10 hostages; agree to the threat of disinheritance for failing to maintain loyalty; and make a payment of £7992. *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Third Year of the Reign of King Henry III: Michaelmas 1219*, ed., B. E. Harris (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1978), p. 126; *ROF*, pp. 570-1; *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 221; Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 137.

³³ The presence of Ranulf III, the earl of Chester, de Lacy's principal lord, as a witness to the charter of fealty, should be noted as particularly significant.

³⁴ *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 245; *Foedera*, I, p. 137. There is no date on the charter recorded in the *Foedera*, however, the close roll entry indicating John de Lacy's 'peace' with the king is dated 3 January at York. It is therefore likely that his surrender occurred during, or just before, the king's recorded attendance at Pontefract on 2 January.

³⁵ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 219.

³⁶ *Rotuli Patentium*, p. 176; Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 137.

John de Lacy's return to royal favour also brought with it fresh rewards. He was given lands within his fee, held by rebels, at the end of April 1216, and granted the wardship of Oliver d'Aincourt and the d'Aincourt fee in May.³⁷ The d'Aincourts were important barons in Lincolnshire. Their honour of Blankney was valued at 35 knights' fees.³⁸ The king needed to win over rebels as part of his attempts to repel a threatened invasion by Prince Louis of France.³⁹ He spent April and the beginning of May attempting to negotiate more reasonable terms to win support.⁴⁰ Despite the king's awards, and de Lacy's sworn oath of fealty, his loyalty was short-lived. The arrival of Prince Louise in Kent, in May 1216, shifted the balance of power, and Louis' initial victories saw a number of baronial defections.⁴¹ As support for King John eroded, John de Lacy, with many others, was no doubt encouraged through existing factional ties to return to rebellion. He probably viewed his future interests and security as best served by placing his loyalty elsewhere, and before the end of the summer, John had returned to the rebel cause.⁴² The death of King John, in October 1216, saw a council established to secure the young Henry III's future, and he was subsequently crowned at Gloucester later that month. This council was supported by two stalwart royalists, William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, and Ranulf III, earl of Chester.⁴³ De Lacy himself did not formally return to the royalist side until after the defeat of the rebel army at Lincoln, in May 1217, seven months later. Whether he had attempted, once again, to negotiate surrender prior to this point is unclear. Letters of safe conduct, however, were issued to him and his men on 23 May, to treat for peace.⁴⁴ He swore fealty to the young king Henry III; was formally pardoned by the minority government; and his lands were returned to him on 9 August 1217.⁴⁵

Almost immediately, John de Lacy was employed in the service of the crown. On 23 September he was ordered to oversee the restoration of Carlisle castle by the king of Scotland,

³⁷ *Rotuli Patentium*, p. 180; *Rotuli Clausarum*, pp. 266.

³⁸ I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent 1086-1327* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 15-16.

³⁹ In their efforts against King John, the rebels had supported Louis' claim to the English throne and offered him their allegiance. Louis had now decided to accept. Church, *King John*, pp. 243-5.

⁴⁰ Holt, *The Northerners*, pp. 136-7.

⁴¹ Church, *King John*, pp. 243-5, Holt, *The Northerners*, pp. 139-142.

⁴² *Rotuli Patentium*, p. 180; *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 289; Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 139.

⁴³ Church, *King John*, pp. 248-250.

⁴⁴ *CPR 1216-1225*, p. 112.

⁴⁵ *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 318, Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 141.

suggesting that John's strong northern connections were of value to the English crown.⁴⁶ On 6 November 1217, John was further entrusted with a commission to accompany the king of Scotland to meet with Henry III.⁴⁷ By the end of the year, however, de Lacy's thoughts had turned to crusade and, in May 1218, he accompanied his lord, the earl of Chester, to Damietta.⁴⁸ Embarking on crusade enabled de Lacy not only to reposition himself as a loyal subject, but also to demonstrate trustworthy service to Ranulf III and thus re-establish a close personal relationship with his principal lord. It is highly likely that John's marriage to Ranulf III's niece, Margaret, was negotiated either before or during the crusade. Margaret was the daughter of Robert de Quincy, eldest son of the earl of Winchester and Hawise, sister of Ranulf III. The marriage provided John with a significant familial link to the earl of Chester. Margaret's position as the potential heiress of the earl of Winchester also made her an attractive bridal prospect for John.⁴⁹ The changed relationship between the two men is significant, as it is demonstrative of de Lacy's turn in fortunes. It provided him with an elevated position in English landholding society. In 1220, John returned from crusade in the company of the earl of Chester.⁵⁰ His fortunes from this point forward were closely tied to those of his earl. The closer relationship between the two men was demonstrated by the appearance of John de Lacy as a witness to Ranulf III's charters.⁵¹ In 1221, the alliance between the two men was cemented with John de Lacy's marriage to Margaret.⁵²

John de Lacy's advancement in royal service, after his marriage to Margaret, stands in contrast to the experiences of the other twenty-five barons. Nine had died by 1221: Eustace de Vesci, William de Lanvallei, William Malet, Robert de Vere, Geoffrey de Mandeville, Saer de Quincy, Henry de Bohun, and Roger and Hugh Bigod. Geoffrey de Say had made peace after the baronial defeat at Lincoln, but was not active in the minority government and chose, instead, a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁵³ William D'Albini and John fitz Robert were able to obtain minor appointments as royal

⁴⁶ *CPR 1216-1225*, p. 93.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁴⁸ *Walteri de Coventria*, ii p. 240; 'Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia', *AM*, iii, p. 54; *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 41.

⁴⁹ Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 44-51.

⁵⁰ 'Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia', *AM*, iii, p. 60.

⁵¹ *Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, nos 290, 378, 382, 390, 393, 400, 402. Unlike the significant number of charters witnessed by his father in the capacity of constable of Chester, John appeared as a witness in seven of the surviving charters of Ranulf III.

⁵² *Annales Cestrienses*, pp. 50-1.

⁵³ N. Saul, 'Geoffrey de Say' <<https://magnacarta800th.com/schools/biographies/the-25-barons-of-magnacarta/geoffrey-de-say>>

officials.⁵⁴ Of the remaining twenty-five, only William Marshal (II) could be described as a recipient of royal favour with his betrothal to Henry III's youngest daughter, Eleanor, and even his loyalty to the crown was, on occasion, called into question.⁵⁵ William de Forz, count of Aumale, had entered rebellion again in 1221.⁵⁶ In February 1221, during the de Forz rebellion, John de Lacy was ordered to assist in the siege of Skipton castle.⁵⁷ When the count subsequently made peace with the king, in conjunction with the earls of Chester, Gloucester, Pembroke, Surrey and Salisbury, John de Lacy provided security for the count's continued loyalty.⁵⁸ John probably did this, in part, due to previous factional ties with William, in addition to the ties of neighbourhood between the two northern landholders. No doubt in partial reward for this service, de Lacy was appointed to judge forest inquiries in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, in July 1222.⁵⁹ These serve both to demonstrate the view of John as a loyal servant in the eyes of the crown, as one whose word could be taken as a surety; and one who could also be relied upon to handle the significant responsibility associated with the judgment of forest eyres. The following year saw dynamic political shifts within the minority government. Ranulf III was increasingly unhappy with the roles of William Marshal and Hubert de Burgh. When a programme to secure the restoration of royal castles saw Ranulf III ordered to hand over a number of key fortresses, he rebelled.⁶⁰ A number of events followed, including claims of a plot against the young king and a feud between Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches.⁶¹ The difficult political situation was only improved through the intervention of Stephen Langton, the archbishop of Canterbury, who was able to arrange a truce until 20 January.⁶²

On 10 December 1223 the king gained control of his seal, and attested a letter himself in the presence of Langton, de Burgh and the bishops of Salisbury and Bath.⁶³ After this, all royal letters

⁵⁴ Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 51, 63-4. N. Vincent, 'Aubigné, William d' (d. 1216), magnate', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁵⁵ L. Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort: A Rebel Countess in Medieval England* (London: Continuum, 2012), pp. 17-36.

⁵⁶ R. Eales, 'Castles and Politics in England 1215-1224', in *Thirteenth Century England II*, ed. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988), pp. 23-44, 32-34.

⁵⁷ *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 474; *Walteri de Coventria*, ii, p. 247; *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 60-1.

⁵⁸ Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, p. 232-4.

⁵⁹ *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 503.

⁶⁰ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 83; *CPR 1216-1225*, p. 426; Pollock, *Scotland, England and France*, pp. 109-110; Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, pp. 317-325.

⁶¹ *Walteri de Coventria*, ii, p. 261; *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 79.

⁶² 'Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia', AM, iii, p. 84; *Walteri de Coventria*, ii, p. 261-2; Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, pp. 320-1.

⁶³ *Rotuli Clausarum*, i, p. 578.

issued under the great seal were usually attested by the king rather than his justiciar. The king had not yet formally come of age. However, control of the great seal and the addition of the bishops of Salisbury and Bath to the king's council by Langton, mitigated some of the power and influence of the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh.⁶⁴ The political position in England at this time was still delicately poised in favour of the crown, but there was increased concern regarding the influence of some of the king's advisors. The earl of Chester and his supporters were subsequently summoned to the king's court shortly after Christmas. On 30 December, outnumbered and under threat of excommunication from the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Chester resigned the castles of Bridgnorth, Shrewsbury and Lancaster, in conjunction with their sheriffdoms.⁶⁵ The extent of John de Lacy's involvement in events is unclear. We know that he was in support of Ranulf III, as he was named as one of those who submitted to the king, with the earl of Chester. De Lacy was not, however, in possession of any royal castles or sheriffdoms at the time. His support for the earl of Chester, therefore, was a direct result of his position as a chief tenant and his close familial ties, as opposed to any personal affront at being required to relinquish custody of castles or offices. De Lacy subsequently answered a military summons in the following year, in response to the rebellion of Faulkes de Bréauté, and was with the king at the siege of Bedford in 1224.⁶⁶ These actions demonstrate that John's political position at this stage was in strong support of the crown.

In 1225, in order to raise funds for a campaign in Gascony, Henry III reissued Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forest. John de Lacy was included just after the earls in the list of witnesses, and ahead of the remaining barons and knights. His position on the charter witness list offers a reflection, perhaps, of his rising status at court.⁶⁷ As a further confirmation of John de Lacy's return to the bosom of royal government, he was also made responsible for assisting in the collection of the tax in Yorkshire, in conjunction with Robert de Ros, another of the twenty-five enforcers.⁶⁸ The Charter of the Forest paved the way for enquiries into the extent of the royal forest. Following this, in June 1225,

⁶⁴ Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, p. 322-4.

⁶⁵ *CPR 1216-1225*, pp. 417-8; *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 82-3; 'Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia', *AM*, iii, p. 84; *Walteri de Coventria*, ii, p. 262; Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, p. 319-326.

⁶⁶ *CPR 1216-1225*, p. 465; Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, pp. 360-365.

⁶⁷ 'Annales Monasterii de Burton', *AM*, i, p. 232; Cambridge University Library, Ll 1.10, fos. 9v-15r; Carpenter, D. A., 'The Cerne abbey Magna Carta' Magna Carta Project, Feature of the Month, April 2014 <http://magnacartaresearch.org/read/feature_of_the_month/Apr_2014> Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, p. 422.

⁶⁸ *CPR 1216-1225*, pp. 564-7.

John de Lacy and other barons were issued with orders to deforest areas of land which had been converted to forest by their ancestors.⁶⁹ Interestingly, John wrote to Hubert de Burgh, seeking protection from the king for his own forest of Bowland at around this time. The widow of Simon de Kyme, Rose had launched a suit of novel disseisin against John on behalf of her son, Philip, arguing that he had unfairly claimed Bowland. The suit was, however, ultimately dismissed in John's favour. John's involvement in this case suggests that he was exercising his personal authority over his estates.⁷⁰

Between 1226 and 1230, John de Lacy continued to be secure in royal favour and began to enjoy the fruits of royal patronage. In 1226, he was granted a reprieve of debts owed to the crown in Yorkshire and Lancashire.⁷¹ He also obtained the custody of the lands and heirs of one of the twenty-five Magna Carta barons, Roger de Montbegon.⁷² In June 1226, royal trust in him was demonstrated further, when he was appointed to serve as justice in eyre in Lincolnshire and Lancashire.⁷³ In 1227, de Lacy was again granted respite of debts due to the crown, this time for the scutages of Bytham and Montgomery.⁷⁴ Late in the same year, he served as a royal envoy to Antwerp in the Low Countries, for negotiations regarding a potential marriage between Henry III and Agnes, daughter of Ottokar I, king of Bohemia.⁷⁵ De Lacy's place in Henry III's close circle was cemented further when, in April 1230, he was recorded in an entry on the fine rolls as the king's 'beloved and faithful' subject, and granted peace from all debts owed to the crown whilst he was overseas on the king's business.⁷⁶ In the company of Earl Ranulf III of Chester, John de Lacy accompanied, in person, the king's unsuccessful expedition to Brittany and Poitou in 1230. Ill health and inadequate finances, however, caused the king to return to England without achieving his objectives there.⁷⁷ John's attendance on this campaign

⁶⁹ *CPR 1216-1225*, pp. 575-6.

⁷⁰ TNA, SC 1/1/108; *Curia Regis Rolls 9-10 Henry III*, no. 1239; Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, p. 388.

⁷¹ *Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III* [henceforth *CFR*] 1225-1226 (available both on the Henry III [Fine Rolls Project's website \(http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk\)](http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk) and within *Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III 1216-1242*, ed. P. Dryburgh and B. Hartland, technical ed. A. Ciula and J.M. Vieira, 3 vols (Woodbridge, 2007), no. 66.

⁷² *CFR 1225-1226*, nos. 126, 127, 324.

⁷³ *Rotuli Clausarum*, ii, p. 151.

⁷⁴ *CFR 1226-1227*, no. 303.

⁷⁵ *Rotuli Clausarum*, ii, p. 202; *CPR 1225-1232*, pp. 161-2; B.K. Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufan Empire 1216-1272* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 36-8.

⁷⁶ *CFR 1229-1230*, no. 271.

⁷⁷ Prestwich, *Plantagenet England*, pp. 294-5; N. Vincent, 'Simon de Montfort's First Quarrel with Henry III', in *Thirteenth Century England IV*, ed. P. Coss and S. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), pp. 167-177.

shows that both he and the earl of Chester were counted as loyal servants to the crown. In recognition of his service, the king awarded him the manors of Collingham in Yorkshire, and Bardsey in Lincolnshire.⁷⁸ After August 1230, John de Lacy was also heavily involved in negotiations for an Anglo-French truce.⁷⁹ This demonstrates the trusted position which John had now obtained with the crown and royal government.

By 1231, the political dynamics within Henry III's court had changed once again, with the return of Peter des Roches from Rome. The position of the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh was increasingly under threat, as a new power bloc had begun to establish itself. Hubert de Burgh, as a result, became increasingly isolated as his allies at court diminished.⁸⁰ The political manoeuvring came to a head at Woodstock, in July 1232. The assembled nobles included Hubert de Burgh's most significant political enemies: Peter des Roches; Richard, earl of Cornwall; Richard Marshal, earl of Pembroke; and Ranulf III, earl of Chester. In the political crisis that followed, John de Lacy sided with Ranulf III's party. The new power bloc, perhaps, represented the best avenue for continued royal patronage. John's connections to Ranulf III may have significantly influenced his political allegiances. Plans made for the future between John and Ranulf III also probably affected John's position. Hubert de Burgh was subsequently sentenced and imprisoned at Devizes castle in the custody of Richard, earl of Cornwall; Richard Marshal, earl of Pembroke; William de Warenne, earl of Surrey; and John de Lacy. This shows that John's position within royal government was seen on a par with the earls of Cornwall, Pembroke and Surrey. All the crown lands held by de Burgh were forfeited, and his remaining lands were held as surety by his four custodians.⁸¹ Ranulf III, however, did not live to see de Burgh's trial. He died before the end of October 1232.⁸²

John de Lacy's allegiance to the regime headed by Peter des Roches was, no doubt, tied to plans he had made with Ranulf III, earl of Chester, regarding the earldom of Lincoln. Following the death of Ranulf III, he was able to benefit from an agreement made with the earl, whereby the earldom of Lincoln passed to Ranulf III's sister Hawise. The unusual nature and importance of such an agreement was matched by those who witnessed it. They included: Peter des Roches, bishop of

⁷⁸ TNA, DL 10/72; *CPR 1225-1232*, p. 388.

⁷⁹ *CCIR 1227-1231*, p. 446.

⁸⁰ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 273-280; Carpenter, *Reign of Henry III*, pp. 48-51.

⁸¹ *CPR 1232-1247*, pp. 28-30.

⁸² *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 229.

Winchester; Alexander, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield; Richard Marshal, earl of Pembroke; William II de Ferrers, earl of Derby; Stephen Seagrave, the justiciar; Simon de Montfort; and William III de Ferrers.⁸³ John de Lacy's support to this power bloc during the political power play may, therefore, have been critical to his own future plans. Such an agreement also required royal assent, and this was received a day after Ranulf III's death, on 27 October.⁸⁴ The entry in the Patent Rolls, recording Henry III's approval for these arrangements, was subsequently marked as cancelled, as it was soon superseded by new arrangements, listed on 22 November. Thereby, Hawise passed the earldom to John, who was granted the third penny of the Lincolnshire county farm and named earl.⁸⁵ The efficiency with which the earldom was passed to John, after Ranulf III's death, reflected the smooth enactment of the succession plans, and was a strong mark of royal favour.⁸⁶ There appear to have been no objections and it was finalised on 22 November, a day after John the Scot, Hawise's eldest son, had been named earl of Chester. This was also on the same day that the remaining Chester inheritance was allocated to Hawise de Quincy and Ranulf III's other co-heirs.⁸⁷ The reasons for Ranulf III's decision to ensure that the earldom passed to John de Lacy are, of course, unknown to us. It is plausible, however, that Ranulf III and the king sought to ensure that Margaret and John were compensated effectively, after Margaret's failed succession to the earldom of Winchester.⁸⁸ It is also distinctly possible, as put forward by Wilkinson, that it reflected more the personal ambitions of John de Lacy, than the aspiration of Hawise for her daughter's inheritance. Hawise would have needed to be a willing player in Ranulf III's plan. Otherwise, it is doubtful that she would have been involved, and certainly difficult to see how she could have been coerced. Hawise's role in such a plan should therefore not be disregarded, as the chances of a smooth succession may have been much more precarious without her co-operation. This method of assigning the earldom to Hawise, rather than straight to John, generated an "impression of continuity" and reduced the likelihood of disagreements

⁸³ *Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, no. 310; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 35-6.

⁸⁴ *CPR 1225-1232*, p. 508; Eales, 'Henry III', pp. 100-112. Eales points out that Ranulf III's charter must have taken place after August 1231, as Richard Marshal is listed as the 'earl of Pembroke' in the witness list. Wilkinson refines this further, stating that it must have occurred after 23-30 September 1232, when Stephen Seagrave became justiciar. Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 36.

⁸⁵ *CPR 1232-1247*, p. 3; Eales, 'Henry III', pp. 103-4.

⁸⁶ Eales, 'Henry III', p. 103; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 36.

⁸⁷ *CPR 1232-1247*, p. 3; *CCIR 1231-1234*, p. 169; *Annales Cestrienses*, pp. 58-9; Eales 'Henry III', pp. 103-4; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 36.

⁸⁸ Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 34-37; Eales, 'Henry III', p. 103-5.

arising in the future.⁸⁹ As a leading and loyal tenant of the earl of Chester, John de Lacy held the baronies of Halton and Widnes and the honours of Clitheroe and Pontefract. At over 100 knights' fees, this was more than appropriate resources to maintain the title of earl. Loyal service to Earl Ranulf III, increased familial ties through marriage, combined with dependable royal service, resulted in John obtaining the earldom of Lincoln. John's recent reliable service to the crown probably made the acquisition of royal assent, necessary for Ranulf III's plan, that much smoother. The attainment of the earldom of Lincoln served to cement John's position as one of the most significant and influential nobles in England.

In the following year, John de Lacy demonstrated his continuing allegiance to the crown through his assistance in the defence of the Welsh marches against the Marshal rebellion. John's support as a key landholder on the edge of the Welsh border meant that he was ideally placed to act on the king's behalf there. As a result of John's loyalty, in December 1233, John was given the custody of the castle of Oswestry.⁹⁰ Matthew Paris claims that he was subsequently bribed by des Roches to remain loyal to the crown and not support the Marshal.⁹¹ This allegation can perhaps be validated by the award of the wardship of the lands and heir of Nigel de Mowbray, in February 1234. De Lacy did, however, have to pay £666 to obtain them, which was a significant sum.⁹² This was subsequently changed from a repayment rate of £330 per annum, to £198 per annum in April 1234.⁹³

Despite Peter des Roches' subsequent fall in 1234, John was able to retain his position at court and emerged as one of Henry III's leading royal counsellors.⁹⁴ In 1235, he received royal confirmation of the gift of Henry de Mungeden's land in Tottington.⁹⁵ John de Lacy's closeness to the court was illustrated further, in 1236, with his involvement in the coronation of Queen Eleanor.⁹⁶ In 1237, he also assisted in negotiations with Scotland and Wales and witnessed a further reissue of Magna Carta.⁹⁷ On the death of John the Scot, earl of Chester in 1237, John de Lacy's continued loyalty was

⁸⁹ Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 36.

⁹⁰ *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 247-8; *CPR 1232-1247*, p. 35.

⁹¹ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 248.

⁹² *CFR 1233-1234*, nos. 158-160.

⁹³ *CFR 1233-1234*, no. 190.

⁹⁴ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 412.

⁹⁵ *CChR 1226-1257*, p. 213.

⁹⁶ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 338.

⁹⁷ 'Annales Monasterii de Theokesburia', *AM* i, p. 103.

rewarded with the custody of the earldom of Chester.⁹⁸ He was also able to purchase the marriage of Richard de Clare, heir to the earldom of Gloucester, to his daughter Maud, for the sum of £1998.⁹⁹ John was clearly well placed in royal favour to obtain material advantages for himself and his family. The purchase of the Clare marriage was allegedly resented by Richard, earl of Cornwall, who was the ward of Richard de Clare, and led to the threat of a rebellion.¹⁰⁰ It should be noted, however, that the award of the marriage was given with the consent of the king's council, which included Richard, earl of Cornwall.¹⁰¹ It was not until the marriage of Richard's sister to Simon de Montfort, in January 1238, that Richard entered into a short-lived rebellion, and de Lacy appeared to have played little part in these events. John de Lacy was again present with the king's council at Westminster, on 5 December 1237, when a payment of £666 was authorised from the wardrobe for the expedition of the king's affairs.¹⁰² John de Lacy's closeness to King Henry III during this last period of his life was demonstrated by the fact that he witnessed more than one hundred royal charters between 1232 and his death.¹⁰³ After 1238, however, John de Lacy's influence and appearances at court appear to have been reduced, perhaps as a result of ill health. He died on 22 July 1240 and he was subsequently buried in the family's favoured abbey of Stanlaw.¹⁰⁴

Unlike his father, John's career and relationship with the crown during his early years was one of shifting and inconsistent loyalty, and rebellion. Ultimately, however, his demonstrable loyalty to Henry III after the death of King John and the issue of Magna Carta in 1225, coupled with a strengthened relationship with his lord, the earl of Chester, enabled him to increase his family's status and estates, so that at his death, he was counted amongst the wealthiest earls in the country.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁸ *CPR 1232-1247*, p. 195.

⁹⁹ *CPR 1232-1247*, p. 208; *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 476.

¹⁰⁰ *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 475-6.

¹⁰¹ *CPR 1232-1247*, p. 199.

¹⁰² *CLR*, ii, p. 299.

¹⁰³ TNA, C 53/27-33; *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Henry III (1226-1272) from the Charter Rolls in the Public Record Office*, ed. M. Morris (2 vols. Kew: List and Index Society, 2001); Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 46, n. 225.

¹⁰⁴ *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 34; 'Annales Monasterii de Theokesburia', *AM*, i, p. 105; *Annales Prioratus de Wigornia*, *AM*, iv, p. 432.

¹⁰⁵ Margaret's dower, which was assigned formally almost six months later, gave her estates worth £315 per annum and the service of 40 knights' fees in Lincolnshire, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire. *CCIR 1237-1242*, pp. 261-3. This was considerably longer than the forty days indicated in clause 7 of Magna Carta 1225, see Holt, *Magna Carta*, Appendix 12: 'Magna Carta, 1225', pp. 112. Taken as a third of John de Lacy's wealth, this would in turn calculate John's estates at the time of his death at a value of approximately £1000 per annum and 120 knights' fees. I have used Wilkinson's conversion sum for Margaret's dower here. Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 47.

Chapter 3: Edmund de Lacy (c.1230-1258)

John de Lacy's eldest son and heir was Edmund de Lacy. Edmund was raised in the royal household from an early age and closely associated with the crown throughout his, albeit short, lifetime. His service to the crown began at an early age in the capacity of a king's valet, and then as a member of the queen and Lord Edward's party to Gascony. His marriage to Alice of Saluzzo, cousin to Queen Eleanor, tied him closely to the Savoyard faction in England. Although his career may have been shortened, it serves to shed light on the life on a young earl-in-waiting, embedded at the centre of national politics, at the cusp of the period of baronial reform and rebellion.

When John de Lacy died in 1240, Edmund was approximately ten years of age and therefore a minor. He was made a ward of the crown and his lands were taken into royal custody.¹ Edmund's sisters, however, remained with their mother until 1243, when the king ordered that they be sent to Windsor to be raised with his own children.² That Edmund's sisters were seen as suitable companions for the royal children is indicative of the high status which the de Lacys, and in particular, Edmund's mother Margaret, had attained.³ Wardship occurred when a noble who held his land by military or other free tenure died and his eldest child was under the age of majority. The custody of his lands, along with his children, returned to his lord for the duration of the heir's minority.⁴ Children were customarily removed from their family and raised elsewhere at the behest of the lord, who was within his rights to grant or sell their custody on.⁵ In Edmund's case, as his father was a tenant-in-chief, the tenurial lord was the king. The available records regarding Edmund's time in royal wardship, including how and where he spent his time, are unfortunately scarce, but we are able to establish a number of facts. Edmund was in the custody of Richard le Norman and John de Barsham, who were

¹ *CIPM Henry III*, p. 11. In January 1245, a writ issued to William de Wennerville, keeper of the lands of John, earl of Lincoln, indicated that Edmund would be 14 years of age at the next Feast of St Giles (1 September); *CPR 1232-1247*, p. 239.

² *CCIR 1242-1247*, p. 54.

³ Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 50-1.

⁴ *Bracton de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*: Bracton on the Laws and Customs of England, ed. G. E. Woodbine and trans. S. E. Thorne (4 vols. Cambridge MSS: Harvard University Press, 1968-77), ii, pp. 250-4; *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England commonly called Glanvill*, ed. G. D. G. Hall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 107-9.

⁵ N. Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530* (London: Methuen, 1984), p. 46; S. L. Waugh, *The Lordship of England, Royal Wardships and Marriages in English Society and Politics 1217-1327* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

both listed as his ‘master’ and no doubt responsible for his education. Evidence for this is shown by a payment made to Richard of £3 2s 6d in October 1242, to buy a horse for Edmund in the king’s gift.⁶ A further payment was made to John de Barsham several weeks later, of £2 5s 4d, again to buy a horse for Edmund.⁷ The implication is that Edmund, as a royal ward, had a number of masters or teachers responsible for his upbringing.⁸ In August 1242, Edmund, and also John de Warenne, received a gift from the king by way of a grant of two deer.⁹ John de Warenne was heir to the earldom of Surrey and Sussex, and had been placed in royal custody after the death of his father, William IV de Warenne, in the same year as Edmund.¹⁰ It was therefore indicative of their standing as heirs of two significant earldoms that they were raised together within the royal household. The two heirs were evidently in the king’s good favour and received a number of gifts as a result. In April 1243, payment was made to John de Barsham of £2 5s 4d for the cost of eight saddles for rounceys and two for packhorses, for the use of Edmund and John and their households.¹¹ In October 1243, Edmund was awarded respite from a debt of £16, while he remained under age, due from two wapentakes in Staincross and Osgoldcross, as they were held in the king’s custody.¹² The arrangement for the wardships of these two young earls-to-be continued in 1244, when the keepers of the bishopric of Winchester were issued orders to provide Edmund and John with £6 5s in order to buy another two rounceys.¹³ In 1246, both young men were named by Henry III as potential matches for the granddaughter of Amadeus, count of Savoy, uncle of Eleanor of Provence.¹⁴ The marriage did not progress at this time: it would be another year before Edmund married.

Edmund was subsequently married to Amadeus’ granddaughter, and cousin of Queen Eleanor, Alice, the daughter of Marquis Manfred III of Saluzzo, in 1247.¹⁵ This marriage formed part of the Anglo-Savoyard treaty (1246) and served to strengthen Henry III’s interests abroad. The Savoyard territory in the western Alps, which controlled critical access routes on the border of Italy, provided

⁶ *CLR*, vol. ii, p. 148.

⁷ *CLR*, vol. ii, p. 160.

⁸ Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*, pp. 47-54.

⁹ *CCIR 1237-1242*, p. 457.

¹⁰ S.L. Waugh, ‘Warenne, John de, sixth earl of Surrey 1231-1304’, *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹¹ *CCIR 1237-1242*, p. 177.

¹² *CFR 1242-1243*, no. 860.

¹³ *CCIR 1237-1242*, p. 244.

¹⁴ *CPR 1232-1247*, p. 469; *Foedera*, I, p. 264.

¹⁵ *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 628; Waugh, *The Lordship of England*, p. 190; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 50-1; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 46-7.

them with influence in the papal and imperial courts. This was of strategic importance to Henry's attempt to defend against Louis IX's southern territorial advances.¹⁶ The marriage also reinforced the queen's position at the helm of the Savoyard faction at court. It reduced the risk that Edmund's mother, Margaret de Lacy, would be drawn into a rival political faction as a result of a remarriage. Both Wilkinson and Howell have argued that Margaret de Lacy's position as a widow was a favourable one, both for Margaret and the Queen.¹⁷ The arrival of Henry III's Poitevin half-brothers at court had instigated a rivalry with the Savoyard faction over access to royal patronage and political influence. Whilst it should not be discounted that Margaret had no personal interest in marrying again, she may have simply preferred to remain single to protect her son's interests. As dowager countess of Lincoln, Margaret was a person of considerable influence among aristocratic circles. Her position as a widow, not personally tied to a particular faction by a husband, may have also enabled her to foster political contacts which might otherwise have been restricted. In supporting this position, and in turn, securing a favourable association with Margaret, the queen would have enhanced her own private network of political influence. The relationship between these two women was not only significantly close, but was valued and judicially nurtured by the Queen. This association was duly extended to include Margaret's daughter-in-law and the queen's cousin, Alice of Saluzzo.¹⁸

Edmund's marriage to Alice was one of a number of marriages which served Savoyard interests at Henry III's court. Young women related to the house of Savoy were brought to England to marry the heirs to earldoms or other high-ranking domains.¹⁹ When Alice accompanied her uncle, Peter of Savoy, to England for her marriage to Edmund, he brought with him another Alice, who subsequently married Richard de Burgh, the heir to the lordship of Connacht.²⁰ The marriage of one of Alice of Saluzzo's sisters to William de Vescy, in 1253, consequently brought the influential northern lordship of the Vescy family into the Savoyard sphere of influence.²¹ In 1257, in a further coup for the

¹⁶ Cox, *The Eagles of Savoy*; Ridgeway, 'King Henry III and the 'Aliens'', pp. 81-92; Ridgeway, 'The Lord Edward and the Provisions of Oxford', pp. 89-99; M. Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 46-7.

¹⁷ Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 50-1; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 54-5.

¹⁸ Eleanor sent at least seven messengers to Margaret de Lacy between June 1252 and June 1253. TNA, E 101/308/1 m.1, m.2; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 51.

¹⁹ *Chronica Majora*, v, p. 514; Carpenter, 'Kings, Magnates and Society', pp. 39-70, p. 59.

²⁰ Paris wrote that the king had allied himself with foreigners at court and garnered the support of leading nobles of England in this endeavour. *Chronica Majora*, iv, pp. 598, 628.

²¹ *CPR 1247-1258*, pp. 217, 237-8.

Savoyards, Thomas of Savoy's daughter, Margaret, married Baldwin, heir to the earldom of Devon.²² Eleanor was personally involved in the arrangements for these Anglo-Savoyard marriages.²³ She subsequently kept a close watch on these alliances, and ensured that she nurtured her relationship with the young women. The surviving royal messenger accounts for 1252 to 1253 record that she sent a number of messages to Alice of Saluzzo and Alice de Burgh between June 1252 and June 1253. At least three messengers were sent to Alice de Burgh, and at least one to Alice of Saluzzo, during this period.²⁴ She also sought to intervene and further their interests when possible. The value of this relationship to Eleanor was demonstrated by her supply of gifts to Alice, following the birth of Edmund's first child, Henry, in 1251. The queen issued orders that Alice should have an appropriate bed, and be provided with a robe of silk or scarlet cloth for the traditional churching ceremony.²⁵ The favourable Savoyard marriages were not received well amongst the native aristocracy. Matthew Paris wrote that the imposition of Savoyard girls on the heirs of some of the great English baronies was deeply hated and resented. A clear xenophobic position was being adopted against the incursive aliens.²⁶ The marriages were also an attempt to bond these English nobles closer to the crown, and thereby reduce the risk of them forming alliances unfavourable to the king.²⁷ Such marriages also served to frustrate the hopes of other noble English families and their own personal marriage strategies. The resentment over the king's policies in this regard was a significant factor in the emergence of the baronial opposition to the crown in 1258. The Petition of the Barons in 1258 stated that women whose marriages were in the king's custody should not be disparaged by being married to those who were not true born Englishmen: marriage to a foreigner was clearly regarded as demeaning to their status.²⁸ He also complained that the estates of native Englishmen would be forever lost to foreigners. Paris' thoughts on the men who married foreign women are much less eye-catching. He did

²² *Chronica Majora*, v, p. 616; Howell, *Eleanor de Provence*, p. 53.

²³ In October 1257, the notarial instrument for the marriage agreement between the earl of Gloucester's daughter and the Marquis of Montferrat, another relative of Eleanor of Provence, was drawn up in the Queen's chamber. *CChR 1257-1300*, pp. 3-5; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 54.

²⁴ A further three messengers were sent to Tickhill and the clerk of the constable of Chester. It could be argued that these also contained additional messages intended for the ladies of the household. TNA, E 101/308/1 mm. 1, 2; Howell, *Eleanor de Provence*, p. 54.

²⁵ *CCIR 1247-1251*, p. 405; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 51.

²⁶ *Chronica Majora*, iv, pp. 598, 628.

²⁷ Ridgeway, 'King Henry III and the 'Aliens'', pp. 84-5; Carpenter, 'Kings, Magnates and Society', p. 59.

²⁸ 'Annales Monasterii de Burton', *AM*, i, pp. 439-43; *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion, 1258-1267*, ed. I. J. Sanders and R. F. Treharne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 80-1; Howell, *Eleanor de Provence*, p. 54.

claim that the marriages of Edmund and Richard de Burgh caused discontent and anger in the kingdom, as they were made against their will. There is little evidence, however, to corroborate such an assertion.²⁹

The benefits for Edmund of a much closer relationship to the crown, however, bore fruit early. In May 1247, shortly after his marriage, he was awarded the manor of Halton for his maintenance until he came of age and, in August 1247, he was granted all the wards and escheats which arose from his inheritance.³⁰ In May 1248, at the significantly young age of eighteen for a tenant-in-chief who held the bulk of his lands by knight service, Edmund was allowed to inherit all of his estates for a relief of £858.³¹ In August 1248, Edmund was granted the return of land in Lancashire, after an inquisition demonstrated that the tenant had been made an outlaw.³² The value which Edmund and Alice, in turn, placed on their relationship to the crown, was given demonstrative recognition by their decision to name their firstborn son Henry: no doubt for the king. The decision to name him Henry may also have indicated that the king acted as godfather to the couple's firstborn son and heir.

In February 1249, Edmund was awarded seisin of rent and appurtenances in the manor of Leek and the manor of Culverton, of which his father had been seised on the day of his death. Despite Edmund being allowed to receive these lands, he was still counted as legally underage. In May 1249, he was awarded respite from the demand of £100 from the Exchequer for one of his father's debts. Due to being underage and in the custody of the king, the debt was to be held over until he lawfully came of age.³³ In July, Edmund obtained an exemption for the seneschal of Pontefract, Walter de Ludham, from being placed on assizes, juries or recognitions, so long as he remained in his service.³⁴ In November, Edmund was awarded the right of free warren in all the demesne lands of his manors.³⁵ Although he was still a minor, Edmund was able to obtain considerable marks of royal favour and these continued during the following year. He received a gift of one deer in April 1250, and then a

²⁹ *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 628.

³⁰ *CPR 1232-1247*, pp. 502, 508.

³¹ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 14.

³² *CCIR 1247-1251*, p. 81.

³³ *CFR 1248-1249*, no. 233.

³⁴ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 44; Walter de Ludham served as Edmund's seneschal at Pontefract during his minority. He was later succeeded by John de Hoderode. *The Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, I, pp. 225-6.

³⁵ *CChR 1226-1257*, p. 346.

further four deer in November from the forest of Rockingham.³⁶ In May, orders were issued to the justice of Chester to ensure that Edmund should be able to exhibit full justice on any fugitives within the bailiwick.³⁷ It is unclear whether this was more in relation to Edmund's position as king's yeoman, or stemmed from his hereditary duties as the constable of Chester. On 4 November 1250, Edmund was awarded a grant for a weekly market to be moved from a Thursday to a Sunday, at his manor of Bradford.³⁸ It is clear from these concessions that Edmund was already taking an interest in his lands and their management. In addition to these, on 6 November, a pardon was issued to Edmund for transgressions he had apparently made in the royal forest.³⁹

During his wardship, Edmund served the king in the capacity of king's valet or yeoman, in 1251. Other noteworthy young nobles who were also listed as king's yeoman included Richard de Burgh and William III de Longespée.⁴⁰ The phrase '*valettus regis*' appeared in charters issued in April and June, which granted Edmund rights to hold markets in his manors of Bradford and Rochdale.⁴¹ The position of king's yeoman gave him additional standing above that of a royal ward. These were distinctive marks of royal favour. Grants to Edmund continued throughout the year. In July, he was awarded the right to recover a shipwreck in Lancashire, and also confirmed with lands from his inheritance in the manor of Snaith.⁴² In October, Edmund was provided with ten oak trees in the king's gift from Doiley wood in the forest of Chute.⁴³ In January 1252, he received five deer from the forest of Feckenham, in the king's gift.⁴⁴ During the same month, Edmund made a pledge on behalf of Richard Foliot, which enabled him to obtain a charter for a warren, in lieu of a payment of 26s 8d of gold. Foliot was one of Edmund's tenants in Yorkshire.⁴⁵ Edmund also received confirmation of legal rights pertaining to returnable writs, which his father had held in the wapentake of Staincross and Osgoldcross.⁴⁶ In April, Edmund was able to obtain confirmation that foreign merchants would be quit

³⁶ *CCIR 1247-1251*, pp. 277, 371.

³⁷ *CCIR 1247-1251*, p. 283.

³⁸ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 79.

³⁹ *CCIR 1247-1251*, p. 374.

⁴⁰ For Richard de Burgh, see *CCIR 1247-1251*, p. 309; for William III Longespée see *CCIR 1247-1251*, p. 246. William's daughter, Margaret, subsequently married Edmund's son, Henry.

⁴¹ *CChR 1226-1257*, pp. 356, 362.

⁴² *CCIR 1247-1251*, p. 479.

⁴³ *CCIR 1247-1251*, p. 515.

⁴⁴ *CCIR 1247-1251*, p. 37.

⁴⁵ *CFR 1251-1252*, no. 158.

⁴⁶ *CCIR 1251-1253*, p. 35.

of tolls in Pontefract, as they had been during the time of his father.⁴⁷ These awards once again demonstrate that Edmund was taking an active interest in the control of his estates. On 8 June, Edmund received an additional gift of one stag and two roe deer from the forest of Bere. He was also awarded a further six oak trees for timber from the forest of Rockingham.⁴⁸ On 24 October, Henry again issued a gift to Edmund: on this occasion, he was awarded an additional six deer from the forest of Rockingham.⁴⁹ Such grants also offer further evidence of his high standing with the king.

At the end of the year, on 27 December, Edmund was finally knighted.⁵⁰ It is unclear whether Edmund received any additional gifts from the king specifically for his knighthood, although given the general marks of favour bestowed upon him this would seem likely.⁵¹ These signs of royal patronage continued throughout 1253. In January, Edmund received ten oak trees for timber from the forest of Sherwood.⁵² On 8 February, he was awarded with twenty bushes from the king's park of Feckenham to store for his own park.⁵³ At the end of May, Edmund was provided with forty vessels of wine.⁵⁴ On 5 June, he was awarded respite from relief in his honour of Tickhill.⁵⁵ This respite was granted as a result of Edmund's gift of lands and tenements in Tickhill to the Lord Edward.⁵⁶ On 22 June, the king awarded Edmund with the custody of the hundred of Staincliffe, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, for the sum of £26 3s 6d a year.⁵⁷ In the following month, Edmund received additional assurance from the king that, if the hundred of Staincliffe was leased at farm, Edmund would be the first to whom it was offered.⁵⁸ On 23 July, Edmund was awarded with another two deer from the forest of Sherwood, by the king.⁵⁹ These series of gifts for Edmund's household and estates further demonstrate, perhaps, Edmund's increased interest in the management of his own estates and the royal patronage which he enjoyed. In 1254, Edmund appears to have lost his personal seal which he used to ratify his personal

⁴⁷ *CCIR 1251-1253*, p. 215.

⁴⁸ *CCIR 1247-1251*, p. 103.

⁴⁹ *CCIR 1247-1251*, p. 172.

⁵⁰ *CCIR 1247-1251*, p. 438.

⁵¹ P. Coss, *Lordship, Knighthood and Locality: A Study in English Society c.1180-c.1280* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 250.

⁵² *CCIR 1247-1251*, p. 312.

⁵³ *CCIR 1247-1251*, p. 318.

⁵⁴ *CCIR 1251-1253*, p. 476. This appeared to have been issued as replacement for wine seized and destroyed at Boston, from John de Jak of Bordeaux, intended for Edmund and his mother.

⁵⁵ *CCIR 1251-1253*, p. 364.

⁵⁶ '...*Quod facere debet Eduuardo filio regis de omnibus terris et tenementis que tenet de honore de Tikehill...*'

⁵⁷ *CFR 1252-1253*, no. 1018; *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 201.

⁵⁸ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 216.

⁵⁹ *CCIR 1251-1253*, p. 396.

charters and letters. We know this because, in a rather unusual move, a memorandum for this was entered into the letters close.⁶⁰ This was presumably because Edmund wished it known that his seal had been lost and he did not want anyone issuing documents in his name.

In May 1254, Edmund was employed in royal service. He was listed as a member of the queen's party as she and the Lord Edward travelled to meet the king in Gascony.⁶¹ The queen took with her £400 of the king's treasure, as well as, approximately £100 from a tallage of the Jews and an additional £71 of a debt which had been paid by Edmund.⁶² This presumably formed part of the money which Eleanor had raised, to provide support toward Henry's efforts to secure his hold on Gascony, in the face of external and internal pressure.⁶³ At Bordeaux, in August, Edmund was able to utilise his good standing with the king to persuade him to grant a charter to Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester, which authorised him to hold an annual market at his manor of Ware in Hertford.⁶⁴ This intercession, no doubt, served to reinforce the close diplomatic relationships between the Quincys and the de Lacys. In 1254, Edmund completed an exchange with his mother, which traded the manor of Castle Donington in Leicestershire for the manor of Kneesall in Nottinghamshire.⁶⁵ This facilitated an exchange of the manors of Kneesall, Elmsall in Yorkshire and Wadenhoe in Northamptonshire, with Roger de Quincy, in return for the manors of Scholes and Kippax in Yorkshire.⁶⁶ Roger was Edmund's mother's uncle, and Edmund was styled by Roger as '*consanguineo meo*' in the Kippax charter. Roger was therefore closely tied to Edmund, and may even have fulfilled a quasi-paternal role in the absence of Edmund's father. He also served as a witness to Edmund's quitclaim to John de Lungvilers (12 September 1251).⁶⁷ This is the only instance where Roger de Quincy appeared as a witness in Edmund's extant *acta*. It is possible that he witnessed additional grants that have not survived. The motives behind this particular set of transactions are a little unclear from the surviving records. It is

⁶⁰ *CCIR 1251-1253*, pp. 157, 308.

⁶¹ *CPR 1247-1258*, pp. 374-5.

⁶² *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 315.

⁶³ Prestwich, *Plantagenet England*, pp. 295-6; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 121-131; Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III*, pp. 75-106.

⁶⁴ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 324.

⁶⁵ TNA, DL 25/2243; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 56-7.

⁶⁶ *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, ed. D. M. Stenton and L. C. Loyd (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), pp. 288-9, no. 418. Kippax and Scholes subsequently formed part of the land assigned to Margaret Longespée in the marriage agreement. TNA, C 148/109. Henry received Bicester and Middleton Stoney from Longespée, and Margaret received Kippax and Scholes. (See below, pp. 79-80).

⁶⁷ London College of Arms MS Vincent 225 p. 124 (s.xvii); *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, pp. 315-6, no. 452.

plausible that this exchange served to consolidate the existing de Lacy estates in Pontefract. Scholes and Kippax are situated on the northern boundary of Pontefract, on the edge of the main route north between Leeds and York. Elmsall, Kneesall and Wadenhoe were situated further south and westward of Lincoln, on the route to the north of England and, perhaps, of less economic or strategic value to their northern counterparts. These transactions serve to demonstrate that Carpenter was correct in his judgement regarding the continued vitality of the honour.⁶⁸ They can be compared with actions taken by the Ferrers, earls of Derby, in the honour of Tutbury. The Ferrers' careful management of land transactions ensured that significant honorial property remained within their control.⁶⁹ In particular, their acquisition of overlordship of land held from other lords within the honour consolidated and strengthened their authority over it. The transactions also demonstrate the interest and consideration which Edmund de Lacy likewise gave toward the composition of his honorial estates and the cohesion of his honour.

In addition to obtaining the market grant for Roger de Quincy, Edmund's favoured position also allowed him to intercede on behalf of one of his household officers. He was able to obtain an exemption for John de Hoderode, seneschal of Pontefract, from being put on assizes and juries.⁷⁰ Following his return to England, Edmund continued to receive marks of royal favour and, on 13 Feb 1255, he was awarded additional land in Penwortham and Kirkby, Lancashire, situated between the de Lacy lands of Halton and Clitheroe.⁷¹ Edmund's movements through the remainder of the spring and early summer 1255 are, unfortunately, unknown. It is possible that he returned to the baronial seat at either Pontefract or Halton to manage his newly acquired estate lands.

Further evidence of Edmund's ability to obtain favours from the crown was demonstrated in August 1255. Edmund was able to secure a charter which pardoned Ranulph de Wednesleg and prevented him being outlawed, after he had killed a man through misadventure. Ranulph paid 13s 4d to obtain the charter.⁷² It is unclear who Ranulph was to Edmund, but it is possible that he was either one of his tenants or part of his household, or someone had drawn his plight to Edmund's attention, for

⁶⁸ Carpenter, 'The Second Century of English Feudalism', p. 58.

⁶⁹ Carpenter, 'The Second Century of English Feudalism', pp. 48-51.

⁷⁰ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 328; John was listed as seneschal in several of Edmund's charters, *The Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, I, pp. 43-4.

⁷¹ *CCIR 1254-1256*, pp. 37-8.

⁷² *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 422; *CFR 1254-1255*, no. 834.

such efforts having been made to obtain the pardon. Edmund's service to the king continued in September, when along with the king's brothers, Geoffrey de Lusignan and William of Valence; Roger Bigod the earl of Norfolk; John de Warenne; and William de Fortibus, earl of Aumale, he was tasked with conducting Alexander III, the king of Scotland and his wife, the king's daughter, Margaret, to meet with Henry III.⁷³ Alexander III was still in his minority, and the contest for political power between the factions in Scotland caused concern for Henry III's court. Rumours that the young royal couple were being treated poorly by their Scottish guardians, Robert Ross and John Baliol, spurred Henry III to intercede. The safety of the young couple, and especially the king's daughter, was a critical concern.⁷⁴ Placation of Scottish fears that Henry intended to invade, or to seize the royal couple in order to exert his dominance over Scotland, required careful diplomacy. The mission to conduct them to meet safely with Henry III was therefore of utmost importance. Edmund de Lacy's inclusion within the party demonstrated the level of faith and trust he had with the crown, and also confirmed his position among the high-ranking members of the aristocracy. The notification, copied onto the patent rolls, that the party had received the king of Scotland into safe conduct, is the first instance of Edmund being styled earl of Lincoln.⁷⁵ There does not appear to be any other surviving evidence which indicates that Edmund was belted as earl by Henry III. Since his mother Margaret, was the dowager countess of Lincoln, the title of earl would not normally have passed to Edmund until her death.

Edmund's continued staunch service during this time was rewarded with the custody of the manor of Melleburn in Derbyshire, for which he rendered £50 a year at the exchequer.⁷⁶ The manor was near to Edmund's lands in Donington, and provided additional influence west toward Halton and Chester. In January 1256, the king provided Edmund with a further gift of five fallow deer at the manor of Melleburn.⁷⁷ Edmund was not the only de Lacy in receipt of royal favour: his wife Alice, as a kinswoman of the queen, was able to use her position and influence to secure an exemption, for

⁷³ *Foedera*, I, p. 327, 329; *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 424; *CDR*, I, pp. 383-5.

⁷⁴ *Chronica Majora*, v, pp. 501-2, 504-6; Pollock, *Scotland, England and France*, pp. 169-171; Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable', pp. 43-66.

⁷⁵ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 441. TNA, C 66/69 m.5d. The original Latin reads '...*W[illelmus] de Fortibus com[iti] Albem[ariae], Edm[undum]*' *de Lacy Com[iti] Linc[olniae]*...'.
⁷⁶ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 453.

⁷⁷ *CCIR 1254-1256*, p. 258.

Richard de la Basage, from being put on assizes or being made a bailiff of the king against his will.⁷⁸ It is unclear who Richard was, but it is probable that he was a member of Alice's household staff. In June, the king gave Alice an additional gift of five deer from the forest of Bere.⁷⁹ Alice would have, no doubt, also been able to draw upon her relationship with the Queen to obtain influence at court. An examination of Eleanor's surviving household accounts for the period, however, do not reveal any other additional gifts or communications than those already mentioned.⁸⁰

In October 1256, Edmund travelled to Wales as part of Prince Edward's military campaign. Letters close were issued which quit him of service as a justice in Yorkshire during this period.⁸¹ The letters close indicate he was *in servicio* to Edward. This was probably as a result of his position as a significant landholder within the lordship of Chester on the borders of Wales.⁸² At the same time, Edmund, his wife Alice and his mother, Margaret, sought to make suitable plans for the marriage of their son and heir, Henry. A covenant was made, in December 1256, to arrange the marriage of Henry to Margaret, daughter and heiress of William Longespée, earl of Salisbury. The terms of the agreement appointed two sets of negotiators to arrange the marriage. The bishop of London, Fulk Basset; John of Arundel; and Philip Basset were appointed to negotiate on behalf of William Longespée: Simon de Montfort, Hugh Despenser, Walter de Ludham and, significantly, Margaret de Lacy, were appointed to assist Edmund.⁸³ The marriage would have been regarded as politically sensitive due to the substantial repositioning of wealth and land involved. The negotiators included powerful nobles, political connections and blood relations. The Longespée and de Lacy families were also affinally tied through the Quincy lineage. Philip Basset was married to William Longespée's aunt, while Hugh Despenser was married to Philip Basset's daughter.⁸⁴ Hugh Despenser was subsequently a member of the baronial panel of twelve, chosen to draw up reforms during the early stages of the period of baronial reform and rebellion (1258). Hugh and Simon de Montfort were associated closely, and Hugh subsequently served as chief justiciar, in 1260. Fulk Basset was chosen as a member of the king's

⁷⁸ CPR 1247-1258, p. 460.

⁷⁹ CClR 1254-1256, p. 315.

⁸⁰ TNA, E 101/349/6-27.

⁸¹ CClR 1254-1256, p. 450.

⁸² Smith, *Llywelyn Ap Gruffud: Prince of Wales*, pp. 92-101; CPR 1247-1258, p. 586.

⁸³ TNA, E 326/194; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 55.

⁸⁴ Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 55; Waugh, *Lordship of England*, pp. 57-8.

panel of reformers, although he subsequently joined the baronial panel.⁸⁵ The motives of the various affinal and political connections of those involved should, therefore, be taken into consideration in the political context of the period. Edmund and Margaret would have sought to ensure the future stability of their son's inheritance, whilst another motivation would have been to ensure the Longespée lands remained within the wider familial alliance. Although it was not unusual for mothers and grandmothers to arrange marriages for children, Margaret de Lacy's position amongst such prominent and connected nobles was a demonstrative acknowledgment of her capabilities and influence.⁸⁶ The negotiations culminated in an agreement, in February 1257, which then required crown confirmation. Edmund paid the king £6 5s for the grant and confirmation of the contract of marriage. The authorisation noted that, if Henry died, then he would be replaced by his younger brother, John. It also stipulated that, if the parents died prior to the children having reached marriageable age, then the contract would remain valid.⁸⁷ The marriage between Henry and Margaret would bring the de Lacys the earldom of Salisbury.⁸⁸ This would be a significant gain for the family, with Henry holding both the earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury. This would place him as one of the most influential magnates in the country.

Although the records do not provide an abundance of information, while these arrangements were made and finalised, it is likely that Edmund moved to his Chester estates, during the necessary winter break in Edward's Welsh campaign. Edmund's service to Edward in Wales continued in June 1257, at which point additional letters of protection were issued for Edmund, while with Edward in Wales.⁸⁹ It is possible that he returned from the winter break before June, and then attended as part of the general muster. There are, unfortunately, no surviving records which corroborate this avenue of inquiry, though the latter would appear to be the more feasible. Edmund was not listed as a witness to any of the Lord Edward's surviving *acta*.⁹⁰ On 18 August, Edmund appeared as a witness to letters

⁸⁵ Carpenter, D, 'Simon de Montfort: The First Leader of a Political Movement in English History' *History* Vol. 76, No. 246 (1991), pp. 3-23, 12; Carpenter, 'Kings, Magnates and Society', pp. 589.

⁸⁶ Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 55.

⁸⁷ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 534; Waugh, *Lordship of England*, p. 200.

⁸⁸ *CFR 1256-1257*, no. 416.

⁸⁹ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 586.

⁹⁰ I would like to thank to Dr Rodolphe Billaud for his assistance with the examination of the Lord Edward's extant *acta* to confirm that Edmund did not appear as a witness.

patent at Chester, again notably recorded as the earl of Lincoln.⁹¹ On the same day, Edmund was also granted the right to hold a weekly market, and an annual fair, at Tanshelf in his manor of Pontefract.⁹² For the remainder of the year, Edmund's movements remain frustratingly unclear. There is no mention of him in the major chronicles and his appearances in the chancery rolls are non-existent. He does not re-emerge until the following May and only then, in the closing moments of his life.

On 29 May 1258, Edmund received a grant from the king, that the testament he had made would not be interfered with; that his executors would have free administration; and the king would seek any debts due at the exchequer after his death from Edmund's heirs. The confirmation of his testament by the king, only days before his subsequent death, might suggest that he had some form of long standing illness or injury. The letters patent, which confirmed this grant, were issued at the behest of the queen.⁹³ The Queen's influence indicates the probability that there was some form of prior communication on the matter between Alice and the queen. Eleanor would have been concerned to act in the interests of her close relative. Two days later, a grant was also issued by Edmund for one of his tenants, Thomas of Dunnington. A pardon was obtained for him, following an inquisition which had determined he had killed a man only in self-defence. It is possible that this was a last act of contrition by Edmund.⁹⁴ Within days Edmund had died and was buried at Stanlaw abbey.⁹⁵ There are no surviving records which make any comment regarding the potential cause of his death.

On 1 June 1258, Alice received a grant which confirmed that the king would sell the wardship of Edmund's lands to her before anyone else, on condition that this was agreed at the king's council, about to meet at Oxford.⁹⁶ Alice was able to obtain the grant, and secure her rights as a widow, with the instrumental assistance of Queen Eleanor. The condition set upon it was demonstrative of the tense political position within England at the time, and the precarious nature of crown control in the lead up

⁹¹ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 575. TNA, C 66/71 m.3. The original Latin reads '*...Edmundo de Lacy Com[iti] Linc[olniae]...*'.

⁹² *CChR 1226-1257*, p. 472.

⁹³ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 631.

⁹⁴ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 632; L. Wilkinson, 'Reformers and Royalists: Aristocratic Women in Politics, 1258-1267' in *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England, 1258-1267*, ed. A. Jobson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016), pp. 152-166, p. 162.

⁹⁵ '*Annales Monasterii de Theokesburia*', *AM*, i, p. 162.

⁹⁶ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 632.

to the parliament at Oxford in 1258.⁹⁷ On 19 June, at Oxford, an inquisition was ordered in Yorkshire and Lancashire to determine the extent of the lands held by Edmund; how much they were worth; and who was his heir.⁹⁸ Letters close were issued on 26 June, to the executors of his testament, to determine the full extent of Edmund's lands, and what his debts were to the crown.⁹⁹ Two royal orders were then issued the following month, dated 4 and 18 August 1258, which committed Edmund's lands to Alice, but also, to his mother Margaret. There was no doubt a concern within the ranks of the baronial reformers that a significant body of lands should be placed solely in the control of a Savoyard.¹⁰⁰ A later inquisition, which noted that Alice had seized the lands from a tenant in Saxton as a result of his rebellion, demonstrated that the baronial faction was right to have proceeded with caution regarding her potential political motivations.¹⁰¹

In August, Edmund's mother Margaret, countess of Lincoln, and his wife Alice, received a commitment from the king that they could hold Edmund's lands until one month after Michaelmas, so that they might make appropriate agricultural arrangements on the estates. This was no doubt to ensure the smooth collection of crops at harvest. The letters patent mentioned a covenant which had been proposed between the king, Margaret and Alice, which would allow them the issues of the land, along with their potential wardship.¹⁰² In November 1258, Alice was given additional letters patent, by counsel of the council, to hold Edmund's lands until one month after the Feast of the Purification (2 February). This letter confirmed that an agreement between Alice and the king, for her to hold the wardship of the lands, was being arranged but was obviously not complete at that time.¹⁰³ A week later, on 12 November, Alice received a commitment of the service of approximately 21 knights' fees, accompanied by the advowsons of the churches of Bradford, Ribchester, Chipping, Warwick, Croston, Clipston, Methly and Warton, which had been held by Edmund, to hold in tenancy until dower was

⁹⁷ Wilkinson, 'Aristocratic Women in Politics, 1258-1267', p. 162; Carpenter, 'The Personal Rule of Henry III', pp. 60-70. See also, Carpenter, 'Simon de Montfort'; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp. 151-178; Ridgeway, 'The Lord Edward and the Provisions of Oxford (1258): A Study in Faction'; Ridgeway, 'King Henry III and the 'Aliens', 1236-1272'; Prestwich, *Plantagenet England 1225-1360*, pp. 101-112.

⁹⁸ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 663.

⁹⁹ *CCIR 1256-1259*, pp. 235-6.

¹⁰⁰ Wilkinson, 'Aristocratic Women in Politics, 1258-1267', p. 162.

¹⁰¹ *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery), Volume 1: [1219-1307]* (London: HMSO. 1916) no. 938, p. 285; Wilkinson, 'Aristocratic Women in Politics, 1258-1267', p. 162.

¹⁰² *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 649.

¹⁰³ *CPR 1258-1266*, p. 3.

assigned to her.¹⁰⁴ Letters patent were issued to William de Chuavent concerning the church of Bradford, on 1 December 1258, which was then in the king's gift by reason of his keeping of the lands of the late Edmund de Lacy. The church was subsequently surrendered, because the right of presentation to it had been assigned to Alice for her dower.¹⁰⁵ This does, however, serve to indicate that the majority of Edmund's lands were again held by the crown at this time. Records also appear to show that the ordered inquisition into Edmund's lands may have been problematic, as letters patent were issued on 6 January 1259, which ordered the appointment of Hugh Dispenser, to make a better extent of Edmund's lands, as the previous inquiry had proved insufficient.¹⁰⁶ The time taken to assign Alice's dower was considerable when compared with the 40-day limit set out in clause 7 of Magna Carta.¹⁰⁷

It was not until February 1259, that Alice was finally confirmed in possession of the custody of two parts of Edmund's lands, in return for an annual payment of £362 3s 8d to be applied to the works of Westminster abbey.¹⁰⁸ Alice was also additionally granted the wardenship of the castle of Pontefract, to hold during pleasure.¹⁰⁹ The first payment for this was received from Alice by the sub-prior of Westminster in May 1259.¹¹⁰ Edmund's remaining valuable lands were to be held in the custody of the crown during Henry de Lacy's minority. Alice subsequently made regular payments for the wardship of the lands between 1260 and 1262. There was then an interruption of three years between payments, probably due to the events of the period of reform and rebellion. These then continued in 1265, with amounts recorded as being paid on 16 February and then again, on 12 November.¹¹¹ Alice's continued royal support, no doubt, contributed to her ability to intercede with the king on behalf of her steward, Robert de Riparis, in December 1265. It would appear that he had been involved in the rebellion in some form or other. Fortunately for Robert, however, Alice was able to obtain a remission of the king's indignation against him.¹¹² This particular incident serves to raise the

¹⁰⁴ *CPR 1258-1266*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰⁵ *CPR 1258-1266*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ *CPR 1258-1266*, p. 49.

¹⁰⁷ Holt, *Magna Carta*, Appendix 12: 'Magna Carta, 1225', pp. 112.

¹⁰⁸ *CPR 1258-1266*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁹ *CPR 1258-1266*, p. 13. The castle was subsequently passed to the custody of Peter of Chester in May 1265 for 'such time as the king has need of it', *CPR 1258-1266*, p. 428.

¹¹⁰ *CPR 1258-1266*, p. 21.

¹¹¹ *CPR 1258-1266*, pp. 82, 157, 214, 406, 502-3.

¹¹² *CPR 1258-1266*, p. 523.

question of how far Alice was able to exert her influence over her tenants, during this period. The behaviour of her steward, Robert, probably indicates that, to some extent, Alice and the de Lacys were unable to enforce a particular stance one way or another among their tenants. It is interesting to note that Alice de Lacy's failure of control in this instance is in contrast to the argument put forward by Coss in his reply to Carpenter and Crouch in the 'bastard feudal' debate. Coss maintained that tenants generally followed their lords, often pressured by distraint to do so.¹¹³ Edmund's early death, in 1258, means we are unable to know what form his involvement may have taken during these tumultuous years. It is highly likely, given the previous years of continued royal favour which Edmund had enjoyed, both as a result of loyal service to the crown and his Savoyard marriage that Edmund's sympathies rested with those of the king, in the months before his death.

Edmund de Lacy was able to use his connections and influence with the crown during his lifetime both to consolidate and expand his family estates. His alignment with the crown began from an early age: in part, a feature of his time spent as a royal ward. This also enabled him to develop close political allies and associations, which served to reinforce his own place among the leading members of the aristocracy. Given Edmund's close associations with the crown, it is unlikely that he was an unwilling pawn in the factional politics which resulted in his own marriage to Alice of Saluzzo, as was claimed by Matthew Paris. There are certainly no other corroborating sources which support Paris' argument. Edmund spent time in service to the crown, both to the king and the Lord Edward, in military and diplomatic capacities, and did so faithfully. The successful marriage arrangements for his son, Henry, built on long standing relationships between the Quincy, Longespée and de Lacy families, helped ensure the security of his son's inheritance. Edmund's early death cut short an otherwise promising political career, which had all the criteria available for substantial success amongst the aristocratic elite.

¹¹³ Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised: Reply', p. 202.

Chapter 4: Henry de Lacy (c.1250-1311)

After a long period as royal ward, Henry de Lacy inherited his lands in 1272 and was confirmed as earl of Lincoln. His career was characterised by royal service, both in military service in Edward I's campaigns against the Welsh and Scots, and in diplomacy, which included: the negotiation of the marriage of the king's daughter, Margaret; and negotiating with the Scots regarding the Scottish succession, and the marriage of Margaret of Norway, and Edward of Caernarvon, Edward I's son. By the end of Edward I's reign, Henry would be counted as his closest friend and advisor. In the latter stages of Henry's career, he continued this service to the crown and sought to mediate calm during the political tensions of the opening years of Edward II's reign. Henry's death, in 1311, and the loss of one of England's elder statesmen, was a critical setback to political stability in England.

Henry's Minority: 1258 to 1272

When his father died in 1258, Henry de Lacy was approximately eight years old. His grandmother, Margaret de Lacy, was able to exploit her existing connections with the royal court to obtain favourable terms for the security of her son's lands and her grandson's inheritance. The majority of the de Lacy estates were subsequently placed in the custody of Henry's mother, Alice and his grandmother, Margaret, by royal command in August 1258.¹ As was often the custom for young heirs of tenants-in-chief of the crown, the young Henry had already been living with the royal household from as early as 1253.² Winter robes were also purchased for him while he was dwelling at Windsor in November 1254.³ In 1256, the agreement made between Edmund de Lacy and William Longespée, for Henry's marriage to his daughter Margaret, was confirmed by the king: Margaret was subsequently sent to live in Edmund's household after her father died.⁴ The paucity of surviving records, related to Margaret Longespée, and her marriage to Henry, make an analysis of her actions in support of his political career difficult. We know, for example, that she sought assistance from the chancellor, for the

¹ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 649; *CCIR 1256-1259*, p. 258. See also, Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 55-6.

² Henry's nurse was awarded a brooch by the Queen in January 1253. Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 80.

³ *CLR*, iv, pp. 183-4.

⁴ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 534. Wilkinson has demonstrated that Margaret de Lacy's payment of £1066 in August 1256, by way of settlement of her debts to the crown, helped pave the way for a smooth royal confirmation of her grandson's marriage agreement. Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 55.

nuns of Lacock, Wiltshire, and that she ensured that her merchant was able to supply wool to Henry when he was in Brabant.⁵ The lack of surviving account roll records which might indicate the scale, or direction, of any messengers she may have sent out during her lifetime, in addition to these letters, is frustrating. The extant records also do not provide further substantial information regarding Henry's minority. It is difficult, therefore, to ascertain how the period of baronial reform and rebellion (1258 to 1267) may have personally impacted him and his young wife. We can, at the very least, demonstrate that he appeared to have been maintained in relative comfort during this period.

In 1266, after the death of Margaret de Lacy, the custody of her lands, and those which belonged to Henry by inheritance was passed to the Queen, to hold during the remainder of his minority.⁶ It is interesting that the lands were placed in Eleanor of Provence's custody, rather than his mother's. This was probably an effort to bolster depleted revenues in the Queen's household, following the period of reform and rebellion. During 1267, payments towards Henry's upkeep were made from the farm of Kirkstall abbey, the bailiffs of Grimsby and the mayor and bailiffs of Lincoln.⁷ In December 1267, letters patent were issued which recorded a £300 per annum grant for Henry's sustenance. This letter also indicated that payments had been lax since the death of his grandmother, as an agreement to pay £600 in arrears was also noted.⁸ Arrears such as these are demonstrative of the crown's difficult financial situation after the Second Barons' War.⁹ During 1268, the abbot of Kirkstall abbey contributed £45, during the Michaelmas and Easter terms, toward Henry's annual payment from the farm of the manors of Collingham and Berdese; the bailiffs of Lincoln likewise provided £80.¹⁰ In 1269, records indicate that contributions were made of £45 from Kirkstall and £20 from Lincoln, during the Easter term.¹¹ Henry received additional payments during Michaelmas 1270 from the bailiffs of Grimsby for £39; a further £80 from the bailiffs of Lincoln; while the abbot of Kirkstall again contributed £45.¹² In the Michaelmas term 1271, a final payment of £50 from the bailiffs of

⁵ For the use of her merchant, see *CCIR 1296-1302*, p. 64; TNA, SC 8/220/10964. For her letters to the chancellor, regarding the nuns of Lacock, see TNA, SC 1/27/74; SC 1/27/75.

⁶ *CPR 1258-1266*, p. 574.

⁷ *CLR*, vi, nos. 440, 442, 443; *CCIR 1264-1268*, pp. 412-3.

⁸ *CPR 1266-1272*, p. 172.

⁹ N. Barratt, 'Crisis Management: Baronial Reform at the Exchequer', in *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England, 1258-1267*, ed. A. Jobson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016), pp. 56-70.

¹⁰ *CLR*, vi, nos. 679, 682, 858, 861.

¹¹ *CLR*, vi, nos. 1070, 1071.

¹² *CLR*, vi, nos. 1335, 1338, 1372, 1498.

Grimsby was made to Henry.¹³ In February 1272, Henry received formal quittance from himself and his mother, Alice, for the payments due for having the wardship of Henry's lands, after a final payment of approximately £335 was made to the keeper of the works at Westminster.¹⁴ We can therefore demonstrate that Henry was in relative financial comfort throughout his minority. This was a position which enabled him to provide a loan of £600 to John of Alton, sheriff of York.¹⁵

Henry, like his father before him, was also a regular recipient of gifts of venison from the king. In June 1262, Henry received four deer from the king's park at Havering, as a gift.¹⁶ This was an early demonstration of the continued goodwill which the de Lacy family enjoyed with the crown. Henry then received an additional gift from the king, of four deer from the forest of Kingswood, in April 1271.¹⁷ Henry's period of royal wardship also provided him with a favourable position from which to develop a relationship with Henry III's son, and heir, the Lord Edward.

Henry appeared as a witness to a charter issued by the Lord Edward, at Chester, on 5 January 1270.¹⁸ The charter concerned a confirmation of awards made to the Cistercian abbey of Dieulacres, founded by Ranulf III, earl of Chester. The witness list contained a number of men who were active in the Lord Edward's service in Cheshire and the marches, including: James de Audley; Thomas Boulton; Roger de Clifford; Hamo Lestrangle; Urian de St Pierre; and Robert de Stockport.¹⁹ The appearance of a young Henry de Lacy, while still counted as a minor, among such prestigious barons and knights, is of particular interest. This suggests that the Lord Edward expected to rely on Henry's position, as a key landholder in Cheshire, from an early stage in his career. Edward's subsequent departure for crusade in August 1270, however, certainly prevented him from using Henry any further at this juncture. Later in the same year, in September, Henry also witnessed a charter issued by Simon de Veer, to his uncle Roger de Veer.²⁰ Simon de Veer was a significant landholder in Lancashire and

¹³ *CLR*, vi, no. 1722.

¹⁴ *CPR 1266-1272*, p. 629. This amount is rounded to the nearest pound at £335 from the exact amount of £335 10s 4d.

¹⁵ *CLR*, vi., no. 1372.

¹⁶ *CCIR 1261-1264*, p. 63.

¹⁷ *CCIR 1268-1272*, p. 334.

¹⁸ *TNA*, C 53/78 m.8; *CChrR 1257-1300*, p. 418.

¹⁹ For more information on these men and the Lord Edward's activities in Chester see, R. Billaud, *The Lord Edward and the County of Chester: Lordship and Community 1254-1272* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Canterbury Christ Church University, 2017).

²⁰ *CChrR 1257-1300*, p. 174.

Lincolnshire.²¹ Henry's appearance as a witness demonstrates that he had already begun to establish links amongst the landed nobility close to his own lands. In a further sign of royal favour, in April 1272, Henry was granted the custody of Knaresburgh castle, formerly held by the king's brother, Richard, earl of Cornwall.²² Henry's minority officially came to an end when he was knighted and confirmed as earl of Lincoln, by the king, in October 1272 at Westminster, on the occasion of the wedding of Edmund, earl of Cornwall.²³

Henry's Majority, the Early Years: 1272 to 1282

With the end of his minority, Henry took full control of his lands. Almost immediately, however, he began preparations to travel overseas in royal service. In the same month he was issued letters patent providing protection while he was abroad.²⁴ In April 1273, letters close stated that Henry had given power to Adam and Robert le Vavasour to appoint attorneys for him, during his absence overseas. It is unclear from the available evidence where Henry specifically travelled. Given that Edward was returning from crusade at this time, however, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Henry journeyed to meet the new king in France, ahead of his return to England for his coronation. Henry was certainly in England in April 1274, when letters patent detailed his appointment to pursue malefactors in the counties of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, and bring them to justice.²⁵ Henry was present at court at Northampton on 6 November 1274.²⁶ He then returned to Westminster on 22 October 1275, where he witnessed three separate royal charters.²⁷ Henry was with the king at the Tower of London on 24 November, and again at Windsor on 5 December.²⁸ Henry had begun the process to establish himself among the crown's key political advisors.

²¹ *Liber Feodorum*, ii, pp. 1016, 1074-5, 1086, 1096; *Parliamentary Writs*, pp. 333-5.

²² *CChr 1257-1300*, p. 641.

²³ 'Annales Monasterii de Wintonia', *AM*, ii, p. 111; 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', *AM*, ii, p. 378; 'Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomae Wykes', *AM*, iv, p. 251.

²⁴ *CPR 1266-1272*, p. 681.

²⁵ *CPR 1272-1281*, p. 67.

²⁶ *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I (1272-1307), from the Charter Rolls in the Public Record Office*, ed. R. Huscroft (Kew: List and Index Society, 279, 2000), p. 2.

²⁷ 'Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I', hereafter RCWE, p. 4.

²⁸ By this point Henry had stood as a witness to at least a further six royal charters, RCWE, p. 6.

He was next at Westminster, on 13 May 1276, where he witnessed two royal charters.²⁹ He was present at court, at Lewes, on 25 June, and then at Eastwood, on 13 July.³⁰ Henry was then absent for three months, before he returned to Westminster, on 30 October, and again on 7 November, where he witnessed a further three royal charters.³¹ In the same month, fulfilling his role as a patron, he was able to use his continued favour with the crown, to intercede on behalf of the monks of Kirkstall abbey. He was able to secure further royal protection for five years for the abbey, which had fallen into debt, and Henry was also awarded custody of the abbey itself, during the king's pleasure.³²

Henry's military career began, in 1277, as a member of Edward I's campaign in Wales. Henry was at court, on 13 December, at Windsor. This was, no doubt, as part of preparations for Edward's move against the rebellious Llewelyn ap Gruffudd.³³ At the same time, letters of safe conduct were issued to Galvanus de Ferrariis, a merchant, who was coming to the realm with forty horses, for the king and the earl of Lincoln.³⁴ Henry was with the king, at Worcester on 25 January 1277, amid continued arrangements for the imminent campaign.³⁵ Letters of protection were also issued in the same month for Henry de Lacy and members of his affinity, headed to Wales on the king's service. These included: William de Stopham; William le Vavasour; William de Roffa; Laurence de Moulton; Richard de Boys; Thomas de Moulton;³⁶ Peter de Brumpton; Henry de Penebrig; Geoffrey de Griselee; Ralph de Trehampton; Almaric de Bruccourt; Hugh de Beumes; and Hugh de Moulton.³⁷ Henry served as a lieutenant of Roger Mortimer, at Montgomery, who had been tasked with leading part of the initial campaign.³⁸ This was probably Henry's first experience of martial action, and he was keen to prove himself successful and forge a reputation as a skilled military commander. At the end of January, Henry arrived at Oswestry with a paid company which included: seven barons; twenty-five

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

³² *CPR 1272-1281*, pp. 170-1.

³³ *RCWE*, p. 9.

³⁴ *CPR 1272-1281*, p. 186.

³⁵ *RCWE*, p. 9.

³⁶ This was most probably Thomas II de Multon, of the Multons of Frampton. For more information on this particular branch of the Multon family, also described as the Multons of Moulton, see P. Coss, *The Foundations of Gentry Life (The Multons of Frampton and their World 1270-1370)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

³⁷ *CPR 1272-1281*, pp. 189-192; *Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes*, p. 250.

³⁸ Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 145.

knights; sixty-eight troopers; and a total of one hundred and one lances.³⁹ His force was able to obtain early military success and recaptured Bauseley in Montgomeryshire.⁴⁰ By the end of March, Henry had re-joined his company with that of Roger Mortimer: the combined force duly began a siege of Dolforwyn castle.⁴¹ Within two weeks the castle's garrison had surrendered and been placed in the custody of Gruffud ap Gwenwynwyn.⁴² In May, letters patent were issued which granted powers to de Lacy to receive Ivorius Agriffy, and his men, into the king's peace.⁴³ During the same month, Henry also secured additional letters patent, which committed the custody of Kirkstall abbey to Hugh de Kendale, one of the king's clerks, because Henry was unable to attend to business, detained as he was on the king's urgent affairs.⁴⁴ Henry was clearly able to demonstrate both the role of diligent servant to the crown and, at the same time, maintain his wider obligations as patron toward one of his family's favoured religious houses. By 1 July, the initial successful military manoeuvres in the campaign, had seen Edward receive the homage of five Welsh rulers before the main expedition had begun in earnest.⁴⁵ In July, letters of protection were issued to four more of Henry's men, who sought to join him on the campaign. These were Adam of Otterington, Robert de Scales, Hugh of Durham and Robert of Kirkton. They were all tenants of Henry de Lacy in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, who owed him military service.⁴⁶ By August, the royal camp had moved near Basingwerk abbey. During this time, Henry arranged a pardon for Walter Everard, in the matter of the death of Walter de le Pole.⁴⁷ It is possible that Walter was one of Henry's tenants, or connected to him in an otherwise capacity, although there is, admittedly, no extant evidence to corroborate this. It is equally plausible that this was an early example of a method, later used extensively by the crown: bolstering military service by offering pardons to criminals who served on the king's campaigns.⁴⁸

³⁹ The barons were John de Vescy, Otto de Grandison, William de Leyburn, Robert fitz Roger, John de Vaux, Geoffrey de Lucy and John de Bohun. *Exchequer Accounts 3/12* listed in J. E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (New York: Haskell House, 1969), p. 121.

⁴⁰ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 176.

⁴¹ *Brut Y Tywysogion or The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales*, pp. 365-7.

⁴² *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence Concerning Wales*, ed. J. Goronwy Edwards (Cardiff: University Press Board, 1935), pp. 30-1, 123-4; J. Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn Ap Gruffudd: Prince of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), pp. 415-6; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p.177; Morris, *The Welsh Wars*, p. 121.

⁴³ *CPR 1272-1281*, p. 201.

⁴⁴ *CPR 1272-1281*, p. 208.

⁴⁵ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 177; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 146-7.

⁴⁶ *CPR 1272-1281*, pp. 220-1.

⁴⁷ *CPR 1272-1281*, p. 226.

⁴⁸ See below pp. 107, 111.

In early September 1277, Edward's forces moved to capture Anglesey. It was a bitter blow to Llewelyn, because this gain allowed Edward to resupply his army and thus, denied the same ability to his enemy. Llewelyn had no option but to pursue terms of surrender.⁴⁹ While the majority of the king's force was stood down, Henry remained with the king. This strongly suggests that Henry was counted among the king's trusted circle of advisors. He was present at Rhuddlan, between 1 and 9 October, and remained with the king throughout the next month.⁵⁰ He was at court on 7 November and, then a week later, on 15 November.⁵¹ His presence at court was clearly of importance to the king, and he was undoubtedly among those who provided the king with advice, during this critical period. Llewelyn subsequently agreed terms with Edward on 9 November, and the following day, was escorted to Rhuddlan by Henry de Lacy, to submit to the king. On 20 November, Edward left Wales and returned to Westminster where, on 25 December, Llewelyn made formal homage to him.⁵² Henry de Lacy was with Edward at Westminster, where he witnessed a royal charter on 28 December, indicating that he was in attendance for Llewelyn's homage.⁵³ Henry's success in the Welsh campaign probably served to increase his reputation and reinforced his favourable position with the king. Henry remained at court to the end of the year, and was at the king's side throughout the opening months of 1278. He was at the Tower of London on 9 January, and again at Westminster, on 18 January.⁵⁴ Henry then moved with the court to Dover and remained there between 1 and 5 February 1278.⁵⁵

During the opening months of 1278, Henry entered into his first diplomatic service to the crown. It was at this point that plans were made for Henry to undertake a mission to Brabant. Authorised by Edward, on 25 January 1278, Henry was to negotiate the future marriage of his daughter, Margaret, to John, the heir of the duke of Brabant.⁵⁶ The king clearly placed significant faith and trust in de Lacy's political skills. Henry returned from one important ambassadorial mission to be sent immediately on another. In March, in a further demonstration of his trusted position, Henry was

⁴⁹ Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 156-7; Morris, *Welsh Wars*, pp. 134-5.

⁵⁰ RCWE, p. 11.

⁵¹ RCWE, p. 11.

⁵² 'Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomae Wykes, AM, iv, pp. 273-4; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 158.

⁵³ RCWE, p. 12; *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 548.

⁵⁴ RCWE, p. 12.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Henry witnessed 5 royal charters between 1 and 5 February 1278.

⁵⁶ *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 551; *The Sessional Papers*, Vol. xxxviii, Appendix II to the Sixth Report (London: HMSO, 1845), p. 90; For more on the Brabant marriage see, Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 317-8.

appointed one of the escorts to attend Alexander III, king of Scotland, for his visit to England.⁵⁷ By 30 May, Henry was again with the royal court at Westminster.⁵⁸ Henry's movements for the remainder of 1278 are unclear from the surviving records. By the beginning of 1279, however, he was at the king's side at Westminster, on 22 January.⁵⁹ Henry's position as a trusted councillor was confirmed when the king travelled to hold a conference with Philip, the king of France, in Easter 1279. Henry was appointed as lieutenant '*locum tenentibus*' of England. This was in the expectation that he would serve as the king's deputy, during his absence from England, in conjunction with Thomas de Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford; Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester; and the king's cousin, Edmund, earl of Cornwall.⁶⁰ Henry's place, as an important political confidante of Edward, saw him appointed with the task, in April 1279, of conducting Hartmann, son of the king of the Romans, with his household, to London.⁶¹ Negotiations were ongoing at this time for a marriage between Hartmann and Edward's daughter, Joan, although the match subsequently came to nought, due to Hartmann's death during a shipwreck, in 1281.⁶²

Between 1279 and 1281, Henry was present often at court, in close service to the king. After Edward's return to England, in 1279, Henry was at his side at Westminster on 7 July.⁶³ Following the rapid events of the preceding years, the summer of 1279 was a relatively calm period politically, and it is likely that Henry spent this time with his family at his estates, before he returned to Westminster, on 30 October.⁶⁴ De Lacy then spent the Christmas period at Winchester in counsel to Edward. During this time, he witnessed three royal charters on 20, 24, and 27 December, respectively and, then at least ten other charters, on 28 December.⁶⁵ Henry was not alone among the earls to have maintained such close contact with the king, however, he can be placed within an upper tier, alongside the earls of Lancaster, Hereford and Warenne, evidence in favour of the argument for a new form of conciliar government which involved the peers of the realm.⁶⁶ Spencer stated that there were on average three

⁵⁷ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 357; *CDS*, ii, no. 120; *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328*, ed. E. L. G. Stones (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1970), pp. 38-41.

⁵⁸ RCWE, p. 13.

⁵⁹ RCWE, p. 15.

⁶⁰ *CPR 1272-1281*, p. 309; *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 568; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 171-2.

⁶¹ *CPR 1272-1281*, p. 310, *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 568.

⁶² Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 317.

⁶³ RCWE, p. 16.

⁶⁴ RCWE, p. 16.

⁶⁵ RCWE, pp. 19-20.

⁶⁶ Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, pp. 35-64.

earls in attendance at court with the king over Christmas. Of these, Henry's attendance was the most regular with twelve appearances from the available twenty.⁶⁷

Henry clearly retained his position as one of the king's leading advisers and confidantes. Henry's loyal service to the crown continued throughout 1280. At the end of May, Henry was in almost constant attendance at the royal court in Westminster. Between 20 May and 29 May, Henry witnessed a total of eleven royal charters.⁶⁸ Henry was with the king for the beginning of June, at Westminster, where he witnessed three royal charters between 5 June and 8 June.⁶⁹ Henry was next at Newstead, on 4 August, and York, by 30 August.⁷⁰ He travelled with the royal court throughout September, to Carlisle on 11 September; Durham on 18 September; Stockton on 20 September; and Scarborough on 27 September.⁷¹ During October, Henry also witnessed several letters close: the first concerned John de Vescy's deed of surrender to the king for approximately £250 worth of land; the second and third related to gifts of land by Robert de Tateshal to his son, for his marriage.⁷² Henry was in attendance at the royal court throughout November at Westminster and, between 3 and 14 November, he witnessed eleven royal charters.⁷³ He was present at the Tower of London on 7 December and, subsequently spent Christmas 1280, with the king's court at Burgh.⁷⁴ Henry was at the king's side, on 6 January 1281, when the court had moved to Walsingham, after which he was absent until the end of May.⁷⁵ He probably spent the intervening months concerned with the management of his own estates, perhaps even, to oversee matters at Middleton.⁷⁶ Henry's return to Westminster, and the king's court, was accompanied by a flurry of documentary activity. He witnessed nine royal charters between 20 and 29 May, and two more the following week, on 5 June.⁷⁷ Henry was at Westminster between 3 and 7 July.⁷⁸ Henry also provided testimony to the crown, on 8 July, of the

⁶⁷ Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, pp. 50-51.

⁶⁸ RCWE, pp. 21-4.

⁶⁹ RCWE, pp. 23-4.

⁷⁰ RCWE, p. 25.

⁷¹ RCWE, pp. 25-6

⁷² *CCIR 1279-1288*, pp. 67-8.

⁷³ RCWE, pp. 26-7.

⁷⁴ RCWE, pp. 31-2. Henry witnessed 4 royal charters between 26 and 28 December.

⁷⁵ RCWE, p. 32.

⁷⁶ Henry had been given a gift of venison by the king to stock his park at Middleton, see below, p. 94, fn. 87.

⁷⁷ RCWE, pp. 35-6, (Henry witnessed a further charter on 9 June).

⁷⁸ RCWE, pp. 37-8, (Henry witnessed four royal charters).

surrender of Welsh rebel Ifor ap Gruffudd, which resulted in the admission of Ifor, and his men, to the king's peace.⁷⁹

Henry remained with the royal court at Westminster until at least 13 July. It is likely, that during August, Henry returned to his estates.⁸⁰ At this point, Henry returned to Westminster and, was present at court throughout the last three months of 1281. Between 24 and 28 October, he witnessed six royal charters for the king.⁸¹ Between 1 and 12 November, this number rose to a total of ten royal charters.⁸² This serves to demonstrate Henry's continued loyalty to the crown; his close relationship with the king; and Edward's continued reliability on Henry's expertise and counsel. Henry witnessed an additional royal charter on 1 December, before probably travelling to his home estates, to spend the Christmas festivities with his family.⁸³ He returned to the king's side, at Cirencester, for the end of January, and remained with him throughout February 1282.⁸⁴

Such close service to the crown also brought with it a substantial number of grants, gifts and general signs of royal favour from the king, of benefit to Henry, his tenants, and his estates. In July 1279, Henry was able to intercede on behalf of one of his tenants, Richard de Tany, for whom he obtained a pardon, from an amercement, for trespass of venison.⁸⁵ In May 1280, the king pardoned Henry himself, of an amercement of £10, for a default of common summons.⁸⁶ Henry received additional quittance from summons for the common eyres in Nottinghamshire and Wiltshire, at York, in August 1280.⁸⁷ Henry also received gifts of venison and fish from the king. In January 1280, Henry was awarded a gift of twenty bream and thirty pike, from the king's pond at Brunswick, in order that he might stock his own fish ponds.⁸⁸ On 30 December 1280, Henry was granted fifteen live does from the king's park at Woodstock, and six from the forest of Wychwood, in order that he might stock his own park at Middleton.⁸⁹ In addition to these, on 30 June 1280, Henry was granted an annual payment of £20 from the Exchequer, in the name of earl, in the same manner that his father had received it.

⁷⁹ *CPR 1272-1281*, p. 448; Ifor was bailiff of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in Elfael Is Mynydd, *The Acts of the Welsh Rulers, 1120-1283*, ed. H. Pryce (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), no. 107.

⁸⁰ RCWE, pp. 37-8, (he remained absent from the royal charter witness lists until 1 September).

⁸¹ RCWE, pp. 38-9.

⁸² RCWE, pp. 40-1.

⁸³ RCWE, p. 43.

⁸⁴ RCWE, p. 43.

⁸⁵ *CCIR 1272-1279*, p. 534.

⁸⁶ *CCIR 1279-1888*, p. 18.

⁸⁷ *CCIR 1279-1288*, pp. 61, 111.

⁸⁸ *CCIR 1279-1288*, p. 4.

⁸⁹ *CCIR 1279-1288*, p.73.

This was the grant of the ‘third penny’, the third of the profits of the royal borough and county courts.⁹⁰ Henry was also awarded the arrears for this sum, which had accumulated since the king had accepted his homage and restored his inheritance: a total of approximately £200.⁹¹ The following month, on 6 July, he also obtained letters patent which authorised his executors to have free administration of his goods should anything happen to him.⁹² In addition to these, Henry was also able to secure rights to hold a number of markets and fairs, within his estates.⁹³

Wales and France: 1282 to 1290

The tentative peace within the realm was, however, short-lived. In 1282, tensions re-ignited within Wales, and Henry was once again called to attend the king. In March 1282, the Welsh began another uprising. Dafydd ap Gruffud, brother of Llywelyn, attacked Hawarden castle on 21 March and, the following day, a large raid was launched in Oswestry, and the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan were attacked.⁹⁴ A council was summoned by Edward to appear at Devizes on 5 April. A writ which summoned the king’s ‘faithful’ Henry de Lacy was issued on 6 April.⁹⁵ Henry was at the king’s side at Devizes within days. He immediately involved himself in the business of royal government between 8 and 10 April.⁹⁶ Troops gathered at Worcester, in May, where upon Edward subsequently ordered a full feudal muster to gather, at Rhuddlan, in August.⁹⁷ Henry was in counsel with the king, on 20 May, when the muster was ordered and was, no doubt, among the king’s key advisors.⁹⁸ He travelled with the king’s court to Shrewsbury on 1 June: there he witnessed a grant of lands to Roger Mortimer.⁹⁹ From Shrewsbury the court then headed to Chester and Henry was present between 8 and 11 June.¹⁰⁰ He was at the king’s side at Chester, on 5 July, and again, when Edward’s advance had reached

⁹⁰ R. Bartlett *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 289.

⁹¹ *CCIR 1279-1288*, p. 92.

⁹² *CPR 1272-1281*, p. 448.

⁹³ For more information on markets and fairs, see below chapter on Estate Management, pp. 152-3.

⁹⁴ ‘Annales Monasterii de Waverleia’, *AM*, ii, pp. 397-8; R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063-1415* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 348; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 177.

⁹⁵ *Calendar of Various Chancery Rolls: Supplementary Rolls, Welsh Rolls, Scutage Rolls, 1277-1326 Preserved in the Public Record Office* (London: HMSO, 1912), *Calendar of Welsh Rolls*, p. 246; *Parliament Writs and Writs of Military Summons*, ed. F. Palgrave (London: Record Commission, 1831), p. 222.

⁹⁶ RCWE, p. 44; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 189.

⁹⁷ *Parliament Writs*, pp. 224-225; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 189.

⁹⁸ RCWE, p. 44.

⁹⁹ *Calendar of Welsh Rolls*, p. 223.

¹⁰⁰ RCWE, p. 44.

Rhuddlan, on 24 July.¹⁰¹ The relationship between de Lacy and the king had clearly become close and the king was reliant on Henry's counsel.

Edward had set his principal base at Rhuddlan, and ordered his forces to capture Anglesey and Denbigh. This was completed during August and September, and by the beginning of October, Edward had returned to Rhuddlan, whereupon he began to hand out portions of the conquered land to his close friends.¹⁰² Henry was with the king at Rhuddlan and, on 7 October 1282, he witnessed a grant of land to John de Warenne, earl of Surrey.¹⁰³ On 16 October 1282, Henry was himself richly rewarded with the cantrefs of Ros and Rhufoniog, and the commote of Dinmael, for the service of 6 knights' fees: these would form the lordship of Denbigh.¹⁰⁴ Denbigh itself capitulated shortly afterwards and, Edward was there, in person, on 23 October, with Henry de Lacy in close attendance.¹⁰⁵ On the same day, Henry witnessed the grant of Rhuddlan castle to Reginald de Grey, justice of Chester, one of Edward's principal commanders in the campaign.¹⁰⁶ At this point in time, the archbishop of Canterbury made an effort to negotiate a peace between Edward and Llywelyn. During this attempt, however, an English force, led by Luke de Tany, set out to attack Llywelyn. This was, perhaps, an effort to bring matters to a swift conclusion. Unfortunately they met with disaster. In addition to a resounding defeat, the assault served to harden resistance from Llewelyn. In response, Edward was determined to continue to fight on and sent for reinforcements.¹⁰⁷ It is, unfortunately, difficult to assess Henry de Lacy's personal actions at this critical juncture: he does not appear to have engaged in any military action. He was listed as witness to a charter on 24 November, at Chester, during which time writs were issued from Rhuddlan. This was his last appearance as a witness to royal charters, for that year.¹⁰⁸ It is probable that he continued to offer advice to the king, but it is also equally plausible, that he had moved to his lands in Cheshire during this time. The news of Llewelyn's death in December served as a catalyst for Edward to take his conquest plans to the next stage. At Rhuddlan, on December 20, Henry de Lacy, Edmund, the king's brother and Reginald de Grey,

¹⁰¹ RCWE, p. 45.

¹⁰² Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 181.

¹⁰³ *Calendar of Welsh Rolls*, p. 240; RCWE, p. 45.

¹⁰⁴ *Calendar of Welsh Rolls*, p. 241; TNA, C 77/3.

¹⁰⁵ RCWE, p. 45.

¹⁰⁶ *Calendar of Welsh Rolls*, p. 243.

¹⁰⁷ *Parliamentary Writs*, pp. 244-5; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 182-4; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 190-1.

¹⁰⁸ RCWE, p. 45.

received pardons for their part in any deaths caused during the siege of the castle of Chartley.¹⁰⁹ In January 1283, Edward marched inland from Rhuddlan intent on Welsh domination.¹¹⁰ Henry de Lacy was with the king at Rhuddlan in February, Aberystwyth and the Welsh castle of Dolwyddelan, Llewelyn's birthplace, having been captured, where was involved in the process of royal government between 4 and 9 February.¹¹¹ He was again in close attendance and counsel to Edward once the king's camp had reached Conwy on 26 March.¹¹²

Henry's involvement with royal government, and his personal service to the king, in Wales, continued. Henry was recorded in royal administrative documents at Conwy, between the 1 and 15 June, and then at Rhuddlan, between 18 and 27 June.¹¹³ It was at Rhuddlan when news reached Edward of the capture of Llewelyn's brother, Dafydd.¹¹⁴ Henry was with the king again, at Conwy, between 4 and 9 July, before they moved to Caernarfon between 15 and 21 July.¹¹⁵ On 15 July, Henry received letters patent to deliver Llywelyn, son of Dafydd ap Gruffud, to Richard de Boys, to then be taken where the king had ordered it.¹¹⁶ Llywelyn was obviously in Henry's custody as a hostage at this point. This served to demonstrate the absolute confidence that the king had in Henry. Edward finally left Wales for England in August 1283.¹¹⁷ During August and September, Henry probably travelled to his own estates to oversee their management, after a long absence. He returned to court for the beginning of October, and was present with the king at Acton Burnell, between 1 and 10 October.¹¹⁸ He was next in attendance at the end of the year, for a parliament at Shrewsbury, on 16 December.¹¹⁹ There it was decided what punishment would befall Dafydd ap Gruffud. The records indicate that

¹⁰⁹ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 53. This cancelled entry in the calendar rolls indicated that this siege actually took place c. 1272-1273 (1 Edward I). This may be a clerical error. Henry only reached majority at the end of 1272, before journeying to France in 1273. This should probably read 10 Edward I and occurred c. 1282. This would tally with an earlier entry in the rolls, dated November 5, at Denbigh, whereby Edmund, the king's brother, obtained pardons for men involved with the siege. *CPR 1281-1292*, pp. 40-1.

¹¹⁰ 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', *AM*, ii, p. 398; *Johannis de Oxenedes*, p. 259; 'Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomae Wykes', pp. 290-1; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 193-4; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 185-6.

¹¹¹ RCWE, p. 46; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 187.

¹¹² RCWE, pp. 46-7. Henry witnessed four royal charters on this date.

¹¹³ RCWE, pp. 47-8. Henry witnessed a total of ten royal charters during this time. In June 1283, Henry also witnessed a grant to Queen Eleanor, for a market at her manor at Hope, in Wales. *Calendar of Welsh Rolls*, p. 273.

¹¹⁴ RCWE, pp. 47-8; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 195; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 188.

¹¹⁵ RCWE, p. 49.

¹¹⁶ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 71.

¹¹⁷ *Itinerary of King Edward the First, 1272-1307*, ed. H. Gough (2 vols. London: Paisley, 1900), Vol. I, p. 146; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 188; Smith, *Llewelyn*, pp. 576, 578; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 196.

¹¹⁸ RCWE, pp. 49-50. Henry witnessed six royal charters during this period.

¹¹⁹ RCWE, p. 51.

Edward was far from merciful in victory, and ordered that Dafydd be dragged by horses to a scaffold, and then hanged, disembowelled, and his body quartered.¹²⁰ Edward then proceeded on a tour of England and Wales during 1284, in order to consolidate his victory, and enforce his dominion. Henry was with the king at Nettleham, on 6 February, and had travelled with him to Rhuddlan, where they remained, between 18 and 21 March.¹²¹ By May, the king had reached Neuadarthlan and, in July, rested at Caernarfon, to oversee the castle building work being undertaken there. During this break in the tour, the business of royal government continued in earnest. Henry was clearly among the king's inner circle of counsellors: he witnessed seven royal charters for the king between 12 and 22 July.¹²²

In the midst of all this, however, Henry de Lacy still found time to attend to matters that touched his own estates. On 3 July 1282, during the preparations for the Welsh campaign, Henry was able to deal with his own affairs, and he reached an agreement for an exchange of lands, with Roger de Mowbray.¹²³ This served to consolidate areas to the northern and south-eastern edges of Henry's Pontefract estates. Furthermore, Henry's close service to the king continued to be accompanied by the material rewards of royal favour. Henry was again the recipient of gifts of venison from the king. In August 1283, he was awarded six bucks from the forest of Bernewood.¹²⁴ The following year, in September 1284, when the king was at Overton, in a sign of the high royal favour which Henry enjoyed, he was given forty bucks and does from the forest of La Mere, to stock his new park at Denbigh. Henry was given license to sport without falcons, along the rivers in the counties of Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire, in the royal preserve, during the winter.¹²⁵ He also obtained several grants to alienate in mortmain. At Caernarvon, on 18 October 1284, Henry was awarded licence to alienate land and rent, at his manor of Denbigh, for seven chaplains celebrating divine service in its chapel. He was also granted the same for his manor of Caneford, in Dorset, for one chaplain, and his manor of Kingston in Dorset, for two chaplains.¹²⁶

Henry's presence at Edward's side continued throughout 1285 and 1286. At the end of 1285, Henry was with the king at Bristol, where he remained until the New Year. Between 28 December and

¹²⁰ 'Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia', *AM*, iii, p. 294.

¹²¹ RCWE, pp. 51-2.

¹²² RCWE, pp. 52-4; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 191-2.

¹²³ *CCIR 1279-1288*, pp. 191-2; See below chapter The de Lacy Honour, p. 147.

¹²⁴ *CCIR 1279-1288*, p. 214.

¹²⁵ *CCIR 1279-1288*, p. 278; *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 134.

¹²⁶ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 136.

2 January 1285, Henry witnessed a total of fourteen royal charters.¹²⁷ Henry's position as one of Edward's most trusted advisors continued. He was certainly at the king's court, in May 1285, and between 7 May and 28 June, he witnessed an impressive number of royal charters: forty-one in total. This was a clear demonstration of Edward's reliance on Henry's personal counsel, and support.¹²⁸ For the remainder of the year, it is unclear what Henry's movements were. He next returned to the king's court in February 1286.

By this point, Edward had been informed of developments on the continent, including the deaths of Charles of Anjou; Pope Martin IV; and King Philip III of France, his army having been struck by plague during the attempted invasion of Aragon. This was followed, some weeks later, by the death of Peter of Aragon. An embassy from France arrived in February 1286, which urged Edward to cross the Channel and broker a peace between Aragon and France.¹²⁹ Edward was also obliged, as the duke of Gascony, to perform homage to the new young French king. Henry de Lacy was at Westminster between 13 and 27 February.¹³⁰ He remained at court, and may have helped to advise the king with regard to his plans on the continent. A parliament was subsequently called for April.¹³¹ It was clearly decided that Henry would accompany the king to France. Letters patent which granted protection for Henry de Lacy and his companions, William de Stopham and John de Hodelston, during their trip abroad with the king, were issued.¹³² Edward travelled to Dover, via Canterbury, in May 1286, with Henry de Lacy in his entourage.¹³³ On 13 May, the royal household set sail for France from Dover, accompanied by: Henry de Lacy; Edmund, the earl of Lancaster, the king's brother; and the earl of Gloucester. The entourage required eight ships to ferry the large contingent across the Channel.¹³⁴ Meetings between Edward and the new king of France went smoothly, and it was agreed

¹²⁷ RCWE, pp. 57-8.

¹²⁸ RCWE, pp. 60-74.

¹²⁹ *Johannis de Oxenedes*, p. 267; 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', *AM*, ii, p. 403; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 203.

¹³⁰ RCWE, pp. 76-7.

¹³¹ RCWE, pp. 78-9; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 203.

¹³² *CPR 1281-1292*, pp. 233, 240; Extensions to this protection were issued in 1287 and 1288, *CPR 1281-1292*, pp. 178, 268, 276, 278, 294, 302.

¹³³ Henry witnessed ten of the king's charters issued on 10 May at Canterbury. RCWE, pp. 79-80.

¹³⁴ Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 204.

that Edward would negotiate a treaty for peace between France and Aragon: a truce duly agreed in July 1286.¹³⁵

Henry remained with the king throughout his three-year visit to Gascony from 1286 to 1289. In 1287, Henry served as one of the commissioners who investigated the former seneschal of Gascony, Jean de Grailly, for misconduct.¹³⁶ Further details of Henry's personal involvement in Edward's endeavours in France are difficult to ascertain, from the surviving records. Henry returned to England with the king's entourage in 1289, and was subsequently in attendance at court in Leeds, between 18 and 21 August.¹³⁷ On 13 October 1289, as a continued sign of the trust and faith which the king had in Henry, he was named as one of the commissioners charged with investigating abuses of royal officials, during the king's absence.¹³⁸ Henry was at court again, at Clarendon, on 5 November, before he probably spent the Christmas period with his family.¹³⁹ He returned to the king's council, in January 1290, where he witnessed sixteen royal charters, at Westminster, between 7 January and 18 February.¹⁴⁰ Henry was absent from the royal court during March and April, where he was likely to have been occupied with personal estate management. He returned to Westminster, in May, for a parliament, where he more than made up for his two-month absence.¹⁴¹ Between 5 May and 20 June, Henry witnessed no less than fifty-four royal charters: this served to emphasise his position as one of Edward's closest and most trusted advisors.¹⁴²

Diplomacy with Scotland and France: 1290 to 1294

Henry's standing with the king was solidified further when, in June 1290, he was once again tasked with ambassadorial duties. Diplomatic missions for the crown ranged from the delivery of an oral message, the transport of closed and sealed missives, up to the authorisation or credence to speak on

¹³⁵ *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 668-774; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 204-7; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 323.

¹³⁶ *Rôles Gascons*, 1273-1290, vol. 2, ed. C. Bémont (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900), p. 127; *Rôles Gascons*, 1290-1307, vol. 3, ed. C. Bémont (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1906), pp. xxxiii-xlvii; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 305.

¹³⁷ RCWE, p. 81.

¹³⁸ *CCIR 1288-1296*, p. 55; *Foedera*, pp. 715, 735-6; *Johannis de Oxenedes*, pp. 279-281.

¹³⁹ RCWE, pp. 81-2.

¹⁴⁰ RCWE, pp. 83-4.

¹⁴¹ *Parliamentary Writs*, p. 15.

¹⁴² RCWE, pp. 85-93.

behalf of the king.¹⁴³ Although the majority of diplomatic correspondence was carried out by members of the royal household's administration, some missives were undertaken by men of much higher standing. In England particularly, the level of significance or importance attached to the diplomacy was often directly linked to the standing of the bearer or representative.¹⁴⁴ Missions where one was given authorisation to speak for the king or negotiate on his behalf were therefore often limited to those of much higher status, such as bishops or earls. In England, there was a tradition of using earls to represent the king's position.¹⁴⁵ Not all of the earls undertook such missions, however, and some were called upon more often than others. That the crown entrusted Henry with such missions regularly was indicative that his standing with the king was viewed by the wider political community as being of high value and importance. On this occasion, Henry was tasked to treat with the guardians of Scotland, with reference to the Scottish succession and the marriage of Margaret of Norway and Edward of Caernarvon, Edward's young son. In this role, Henry was present during negotiations which produced the treaty of Birgham on 18 July.¹⁴⁶ This was formalised in August at Northampton, between 25 and 28 August.¹⁴⁷ Henry was with the king at Clipston where, between 14 October and 6 November, he witnessed seven royal charters.¹⁴⁸ News of the death of Margaret of Norway, the last heir of the line of Alexander, in October 1290, threw the matter of the Scottish succession into disarray: negotiations over the succession would drag on until 1292.¹⁴⁹ After the October gathering, it is unclear where Henry de Lacy spent the remainder of the year. Letters patent providing protection were issued in January 1291, at Ashridge, for Henry de Lacy, going beyond seas on the king's affairs, accompanied by Luke de Herfordingbury, William de Stopham, John de Castello, John Springe, James de Neville and Roger Bosun.¹⁵⁰ Henry was then absent from the royal court until the end of May 1291.

¹⁴³ P. Chaplais, *English Diplomatic Practice in the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon and London, 2003), p. 152.

¹⁴⁴ Chaplais, *English Diplomatic Practice*, pp. 152-4.

¹⁴⁵ D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 12.

¹⁴⁶ *Foedera*, ii, p. 734; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 235-6.

¹⁴⁷ RCWE, p. 95; *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 738; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 237.

¹⁴⁸ RCWE, pp. 95-6.

¹⁴⁹ Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 237.

¹⁵⁰ *CPR 1281-1292*, pp. 410,412-413, 420.

Matters relating to the succession of the throne of Scotland were a prevalent issue between 1291 and 1292, with different parties asserting conflicting claims.¹⁵¹ In April 1291, writs were issued to Henry de Lacy, and others, which called for them to be present, with horses and arms, at Norham, where a delegation from Scotland met with the royal court, to discuss the Scottish succession.¹⁵² At Norham, between 23 May and 17 June, Henry witnessed seventeen royal charters.¹⁵³ It was clearly necessary for Henry to remain in Scotland. Letters patent for protection were issued for several of his men, who remained with Henry during this time: Walter Bek; Giles de Trumpton; Robert de Shirlonde; and John de Castello.¹⁵⁴ The court moved to Berwick on Tweed, at the end of June, to consider the various claims to the Scottish throne. Between 23 June and 10 August, Henry stood witness to seventeen royal charters.¹⁵⁵ The matter of the succession was subsequently adjourned until June 1292.¹⁵⁶ From Berwick, the court travelled to Devizes in September, where Henry was present between 16 and 20 September.¹⁵⁷ The trust which both the king, and queen, placed in Henry, also saw him named as one of the co-executors of Queen Eleanor's will, with the chancellor, the bishop of Bath and Wells; and John of Berwick, the king's clerk.¹⁵⁸ Henry was at Westminster in December 1291 and remained there until February 1292.¹⁵⁹

He was once more with the king, at Culford, at the beginning of May 1292.¹⁶⁰ The court then returned to Berwick on Tweed, in June 1292, when deliberations resumed regarding the succession of the Scottish throne. Henry was part of the group appointed to decide on the claims of William de Ros and John de Vaux, and also served in close counsel to the king, standing as a witness to twelve charters between 5 June and 10 July.¹⁶¹ The issue of succession was narrowed to two candidates, John

¹⁵¹ M. Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272-1377* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 39-42; A. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292: Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), chapters 10-13; A. Duncan, 'Revisiting Norham, May-June 1291' in C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle and L. Scales (eds), *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150-1500: Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 69-83.

¹⁵² *Parliamentary Writs*, p. 15; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 248-9.

¹⁵³ RCWE, pp. 99-101.

¹⁵⁴ *CPR 1281-1292*, pp. 433-4.

¹⁵⁵ RCWE, pp. 101-3; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 366.

¹⁵⁶ Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 248-9; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 366.

¹⁵⁷ RCWE, p. 103.

¹⁵⁸ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 203.

¹⁵⁹ Henry witnessed twenty-six royal charters, RCWE, pp. 105-8.

¹⁶⁰ RCWE, p. 109.

¹⁶¹ RCWE, p. 109.

Balliol and Robert Brus, before the matter was once again adjourned until October 1292.¹⁶² Henry accompanied the king on a tour of northern England during the interim, and was at Craike, on 20 and 21 August, before they travelled to Pickering for 28 August.¹⁶³ The court returned again to Berwick on Tweed, where Henry acted in counsel to the king, between 14 and 25 October.¹⁶⁴ The issue of the Scottish crown was finally decided, in November 1292, in favour of John Balliol.¹⁶⁵ Henry was with the king, at Newcastle upon Tyne, when Edward I received the formal homage of the new king of Scotland, John Balliol, on 26 December 1292. This confirmed Edward I's position as overlord of Scotland.¹⁶⁶ Henry's movements between January and May 1293 are, unfortunately, unclear. It was probable however, that he spent time at one of his estates: perhaps at Canford, to manage the stock of his park there.¹⁶⁷

As before, Henry's loyal service secured him continued favours and gifts from the king. At Devizes, in September 1291, Henry was able to use this position to obtain a pardon for one of his bailiffs, William of Conover, for trespasses committed in Wales.¹⁶⁸ In January 1292, Henry received licence to alienate in mortmain, the manor of Halton by Killingholme, to the abbot and convent of Thornton.¹⁶⁹ He followed this on 6 February, by using his influence with the king to obtain a weekly market and annual fair, at the town of Westhaddon, for the prior and convent of Daventry.¹⁷⁰ On the same day, he received an additional licence to alienate seventy acres of land and 10s in rent in Saxton, to a chaplain celebrating service in the chapel of St Mary, Saxton.¹⁷¹ Henry also granted a charter to Henry de Portibus, canon of the church of Wells, whereby Henry quitclaimed to him the chapel of Wychurch.¹⁷² On 12 February, Henry obtained the custody, during pleasure, of the manor of Kingsbury, with the rents of assize of Melburn and the hundred of La Horethorn, which rendered at approximately £43 per year to the Exchequer.¹⁷³ In August 1292, Henry was awarded a gift, from the

¹⁶² *Foedera*, ii, pp. 762-768; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 256-8.

¹⁶³ RCWE, pp. 110-1; *CCIR 1288-1296*, p. 241.

¹⁶⁴ RCWE, pp. 111-2.

¹⁶⁵ *Foedera*, ii, pp. 774-780; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 258-9.

¹⁶⁶ *Foedera*, p. 782; RCWE, p. 113; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 260.

¹⁶⁷ See below regarding gift of venison from the king to stock his park at Canford, p. 106, fn. 175.

¹⁶⁸ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 444.

¹⁶⁹ *CPR 1281-1292*, pp. 466-7.

¹⁷⁰ *CChR 1257-1300*, p. 416.

¹⁷¹ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 474.

¹⁷² *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 481.

¹⁷³ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 476.

king, of fifteen oaks fit for timber, from the forest of Sherwood.¹⁷⁴ At Roxborough, on 3 December 1292, Henry received a further substantial gift from the king, of ten live bucks and twenty live does, from the forest of Gillingham, to stock his park at Canford.¹⁷⁵ Later that month, on 28 December 1292, Henry received the confirmation of the restoration of the castle, town and honour of Pontefract, which he had earlier formally surrendered to the crown, as part of the arrangements for his daughter's marriage to Thomas, earl of Lancaster.¹⁷⁶

Henry de Lacy was again commissioned on ambassadorial service for the crown, in 1293. He was at Westminster in May before, in the following month, he accompanied Edmund, earl of Lancaster, on mission to arrange a truce with France. This followed hostilities which had erupted at sea, between English and Norman sailors, over supremacy of the water and access to trade routes.¹⁷⁷ Three suggestions were put forward to end the dispute. The first would have Edward administer justice to any Frenchman who had suffered. If that was not acceptable, a commission which consisted of two Englishmen and two Frenchmen could be created to resolve the problem. The third option would place the matter in the hands of the pope. Discussions ultimately broke down, and Philip IV ordered the surrender of officials in Gascony, and summoned Edward to appear at a parliament in France. A further agreement was reached, early in 1294, by which: a number of fortresses and towns would be surrendered to the French; the summons would be revoked; the French king would meet with Edward at Amiens; and Edward would also marry Philip's sister, Margaret.¹⁷⁸ The agreement between the two kings was a secret deal. In order to satisfy French opinion, it was to be announced publically that all of Gascony would be surrendered: letters patent were issued accordingly. The private understanding was, that these letters would not be formally activated, and surrendered castles in Gascony would swiftly be returned. The duchy was accordingly surrendered in March. Philip IV, however, then committed a volte-face: he announced that the duchy would not be restored; and a summons for Edward to appear at a parliament was renewed. Edward's reaction was to reject the summons and the French subsequently stripped him of the Gascon fiefdom. Edward responded with a mission of four friars to renounce his homage to the French king and protest against the disregard of the agreed secret terms.

¹⁷⁴ RCWE, pp. 110-1; *CCIR 1288-1296*, p. 241.

¹⁷⁵ *CCIR 1288-1296*, p. 276.

¹⁷⁶ *CChR 1257-1300*, p. 427; *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 3.

¹⁷⁷ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 15; RCWE, pp. 113-6; Prestwich, *The Three Edwards*, pp. 146-7.

¹⁷⁸ Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 266-7.

The culmination of these events was war between France and England.¹⁷⁹ De Lacy returned to England and was at Bristol on 25 September 1293, where he no doubt attended the marriage of the king's eldest daughter, Eleanor, to Henry, count of Bar.¹⁸⁰ Henry de Lacy was then at Westminster between 4 November and 8 December 1293.¹⁸¹

During this time, Henry was able to use his continued influence at court to obtain more favours from the crown. These included the presentation of John de Berchem to the church of Newchurch in Canterbury; and the appointment of John Broyl of Turbervill, to the custody of the bailiwick of the forestership of the cantred of Meronth.¹⁸² On 3 December 1293, in addition to further grants of markets and fairs, Henry was also rewarded with rights to free warren in his demesne lands of Knottingley, Ouston, Campsall, Thorner, Altofts, Seacroft, Shadwell and Roundhay in Yorkshire; Penwortham, Tonnington and Clivager in Lancashire; Cowley and Edgeware in Middlesex; Avington in Berkshire; Wardington in Buckinghamshire; Charlton in Somerset; and Middleton in Oxfordshire.¹⁸³ These awards were confirmed by charter during Henry's attendance at Westminster in June 1294, when he also stood witness to nine royal charters, between 14 and 16 June.¹⁸⁴ At the same time, Henry received a further award of respite, from payment of all debts which he owed to the king. He also obtained a license to demise the manor of Wardington, in Buckinghamshire, to whomsoever he wished.¹⁸⁵ The level of these rewards was substantial. Few others received such benefits on this scale. They demonstrate the strong and trusted position which Henry enjoyed with the king, and his position at the heart of Edward I's government.¹⁸⁶

Wales and Gascony: 1294 to 1299

The king remained intent on recovering Gascony and Henry accompanied him at Fareham on 4 August and then Portsmouth on 19 August, where preparations were made to set out for France to

¹⁷⁹ *Foedera*, pp. 793-6; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 378-9; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 267-270.

¹⁸⁰ RCWE, p. 116; 'Annales monasterii de Wintonia', *AM*, iv, p. 513; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 389.

¹⁸¹ He witnessed another twenty-five royal charters, see RCWE, pp. 116-9.

¹⁸² *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 41-2.

¹⁸³ *CChR 1257-1300*, p. 435; Confirmed in a charter of June 6 1294 at Westminster, *CChR 1257-1300*, p. 436. For more discussion on markets and fairs, see Estate Management chapter, pp. 152-3.

¹⁸⁴ RCWE, pp. 119-121.

¹⁸⁵ *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 71-2, 77.

¹⁸⁶ Andrew Spencer has suggested elsewhere that the remission of debts to the crown may have been part of arrangements for the marriage of Henry's daughter, Alice de Lacy and Thomas, earl of Lancaster. Despite a lack of surviving supporting evidence, it is nonetheless a sound hypothesis. A. M. Spencer, 'Royal Patronage and the Earls in the reign of Edward I', *The Historical Association*, Vol. 93, no. 309 (January 2008), pp. 20-46, p. 40.

reclaim it.¹⁸⁷ Letters of pardon had been issued to William le Vavasour, who was to accompany Henry, for receiving a felon, as well as the acquittal of £13 2s of arrears owed to the crown. Henry had also made a loan of £2640 to Edmund, the king's brother, with whom he would travel.¹⁸⁸ While still in Portsmouth, however, war broke out in Wales, and Henry and Edmund were both ordered to abort their mission to Gascony, and divert their attention instead toward Wales.¹⁸⁹ The only aid for Gascony would be the force under the command of John de St John and John of Brittany, which had already set out.¹⁹⁰

Henry's involvement in the Welsh campaign of 1294 began badly. On 11 November, when he attempted to relieve Denbigh castle, he was attacked by his own tenants and forced to retreat.¹⁹¹ After this, Henry appeared to remain with the king's court throughout the campaign, although his personal movements, after November, are unclear. Henry was at the king's side at Conwy by the end of January 1295.¹⁹² His next appearance was the following spring, at Llanfaes, after the successful suppression of the rebellion. Henry witnessed five royal charters here between 16 April and 5 May.¹⁹³ He was with the king again at Conwy, on 30 June and then Denbigh, on 13 July.¹⁹⁴ Henry subsequently returned to England, and was at Westminster for the summoned Parliament, between 4 and 24 August.¹⁹⁵ At this point, preparations then continued for the mission to Gascony. Writs were issued in September 1295 for John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, and approximately eighty others, who were to set sail with Edmund, earl of Lancaster and Henry de Lacy. These writs exempted them from the tenth taxation granted in 1294.¹⁹⁶ Henry was next in London again, in October and November, during continued preparations for a return to Gascony.¹⁹⁷

The trend which had seen Henry obtain grants and concessions from the crown, as rewards for his service, also continued. First, he secured a promise from the king that, if Edmund, the king's

¹⁸⁷ RCWE, p. 121.

¹⁸⁸ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 87; *CCIR 1288-1296*, pp. 368, 392.

¹⁸⁹ *Parliamentary Writs*, p. 20; *Calendar of Welsh Rolls*, p. 360; Morris, *Welsh Wars*, pp. 242-4; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 276.

¹⁹⁰ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 382.

¹⁹¹ *Guisborough*, p. 251; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 221.

¹⁹² *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 129.

¹⁹³ RCWE, p. 123.

¹⁹⁴ RCWE, p. 123.

¹⁹⁵ RCWE, pp. 123-4. (Henry witnessed six royal charters) The king had issued writs of summons in June 1295 for a parliament to be held in August, to discuss matters relating to the king and kingdom, with the principal concern Gascony. *Parliamentary Writs*, p. 21.

¹⁹⁶ *Parliamentary Writs*, p. 22.

¹⁹⁷ RCWE, p. 125; *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 158.

brother, died before making repayment of a loan Henry had made to him, then the sum would be repaid from the issue of his lands.¹⁹⁸ Henry was then granted the return of all his castles and lands in Lancashire; the manors of Sutton, Thoresby, Waithe, Ingoldmells, Wrangle, Steeping and Wainfleet in Lincolnshire; the manor of Kingston in Dorset; the reversion of the manor of Slaidburn in Bowland, with the forest and chace; the manor of Snaith with its soke in Yorkshire; and his mother's dower lands, which he had restored to the king following the marriage of his daughter Alice, to Thomas, the earl of Lancaster in 1294.¹⁹⁹ The agreement between Henry and Edward I, for his daughter's marriage, was that all of Henry's lands would be entailed upon his daughter, Alice, and his son-in-law, Thomas, with a reversion to the crown, should they fail to have any children. The lands were then granted back to the custody of Henry, for the remainder of his life. Henry's sons had both died young, leaving Alice as his sole surviving heir.²⁰⁰ This marriage would, therefore, have been viewed by Henry as a very attractive match for his daughter. It also served to strengthen his close relationship with Edward I. Henry was also able to utilise his strong influence with the king, during this time, on behalf of others. At Conwy on 26 January 1295, he obtained a pardon for Richard le Brun of all trespasses alleged against him in the king's forest.²⁰¹ At Towyn, on 17 May 1295, he was able to obtain a pardon for Robert Le Ussher of Sunderland, for the death of Ralph, son of Elias de Talentir.²⁰² On 16 July 1295, Henry obtained a pardon for Adam de Hoyton, over the death of Richard de Crochurst.²⁰³ Then on 16 November 1295, Henry obtained a further pardon for his steward, William de Stopham, who was to accompany him to Gascony, for marrying without the king's licence.²⁰⁴ In December 1295, two more of Henry's men were given grants ahead of their journey to Gascony: Robert le Chamberlain was awarded the right to enfeoff John Luterel of his manor of Drax in Yorkshire, while Andrew de

¹⁹⁸ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 102.

¹⁹⁹ *CChR 1257-1300*, pp. 455-6. There is no exact date for the marriage, however, it can have occurred no later than the 28 October 1294, when Alice was listed as Thomas' wife in the royal charter to Henry which confirmed his lifetime rights to hold the land promised to Thomas and the crown as part of the marriage arrangements.

²⁰⁰ The births of Henry's sons are recorded in *Annales de Cestrienses*: for Edmund (August 1271) see, *Annales Cestrienses*, p. 100; for John (August 1278) see, *Annales Cestrienses*, p. 104. The chroniclers are, unfortunately, silent as to details regarding how, and when, they died. The introduction for *Two Compoti* relates that Henry's eldest son, Edmund, drowned in a well at Denbigh, and his second son, John, died after falling through a window in Pontefract castle, or possibly Ightenhill. There is, unfortunately, no indication as to where this information came from, see *Two Compoti*, p. xi. They must have died prior to c. 1293, however, for Henry to have entailed his estates on his daughter and son-in-law, in this manner. Unfortunately, no other information can be found to shed additional light.

²⁰¹ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 129.

²⁰² *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 136.

²⁰³ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 138.

²⁰⁴ RCWE, p. 125; *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 158.

Hengham received license to demise a moiety of his manor of Bathel, and the advowson of a church.²⁰⁵ Not one to avoid the opportunity to obtain gifts of goodwill for himself, Henry also received six live bucks and ten live does from the royal park of Woodstock; and six live bucks and ten live does from the forest of Whychwood, to stock his park at Middleton.²⁰⁶

Gascony and Scotland: 1296 to 1299

In January 1296, Henry de Lacy and Edmund, earl of Lancaster finally set sail for Gascony from Plymouth. Henry was named as lieutenant in Aquitaine, the equivalent of seneschal or king's representative and served under contract for the sum of 2000 marks a year.²⁰⁷ They were accompanied by a large entourage, which comprised: twenty-five barons, one thousand horses and ten thousand infantry.²⁰⁸ They sailed up the Gironde to Bourg and Blaye. English attempts to take Bordeaux were met without success. An attack on St Macaire came to nought, after the besieged garrison was relieved by Robert, count of Artois.²⁰⁹ The English forces returned to Bayonne, where Edmund became ill and subsequently died on 5 June 1296. Henry de Lacy took sole command of the English forces and was reconfirmed as the king's lieutenant.²¹⁰ He proceeded to defeat Robert, count of Artois, at Bourg-sur-Mer, and then besieged Dax during July and August to no avail, and was subsequently forced to return to Bayonne, for the remainder of the year.²¹¹ In December, letters close were issued to the king's clerks and others appointed to take corn, in Wiltshire, Dorset and Devon, to ensure Henry's men and attorney were able to collect corn from those counties, and have it despatched to him in Gascony.²¹² In January 1297, Henry set out to relieve the bastide at Bellegarde, which had been besieged by French forces. The English army was split into three groups as it advanced: one group headed by Henry de Lacy: the others by John of Brittany and John de St John. The vanguard, led by John de St John, was

²⁰⁵ *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 169-170.

²⁰⁶ *CCIR 1288-1296*, p. 467.

²⁰⁷ TNA, SC 1/13/102; *Rôles Gascon*, iii, p. clii; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 384; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 291. For additional information related to Henry's time as lieutenant in Aquitaine, see R. P. Lawton, *Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln (1272-1311), as locum tenens et capitaneus in the duchy of Aquitaine* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 1974).

²⁰⁸ 'Annales monasterii de Wintonia', *AM*, iv, p. 525; 'Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia', *AM*, iii, p. 397.

²⁰⁹ *Guisborough*, p. 261; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 191; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 384.

²¹⁰ *Guisborough*, pp. 261-2; *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 876; 'Annales monasterii de Wintonia', *AM*, iv, pp. 525-527; 'Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia', *AM*, iii, p. 402; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 384-385; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 291.

²¹¹ *Flores Historiarum*, iii, p. 289; *Guisborough*, p. 262; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 385.

²¹² *CCIR 1296-1302*, pp. 5-6.

ambushed by a significant force headed by Robert, count of Artois. Despite Henry's attempts to rally his forces, John de St John was taken prisoner, along with William de Mortimer, William of Birmingham and a number of other knights. The English force sustained heavy infantry casualties, however, Henry and John of Brittany, managed to escape but were forced to retreat to Bayonne.²¹³ In the summer, Henry was able to launch a successful raid toward Toulouse, burning land and taking plunder as he went.²¹⁴ This action was the last active operation in the war for him. Events in Flanders led to a negotiated truce between Edward and Philip IV.

In September, Henry's wife, Margaret Longespée, sent Hugh of Leicester, her merchant, with forty-three sacks of wool to Brabant, to provide for cloth and other necessities for her and her household.²¹⁵ Henry returned to Bayonne where he stayed until after Christmas. He returned to England near Easter and, was at the king's council, at St Albans, by 26 April 1298.²¹⁶ It was here that the decision was made to muster an army and head to Scotland, to deal with the king's enemies.²¹⁷

Henry immediately set about his own preparations to journey to Scotland and received a writ of aid (directed to the sheriffs of Chester; Norfolk; Cumberland; Westmoreland; Yorkshire; Northumberland; Lincolnshire; and Wales), for the servants he sent to buy necessities for his trip.²¹⁸ A commission was issued to Reginald de Grey, justice of Chester and bailiff of Henry de Lacy, to gather four hundred Welsh infantry to be sent to join the king's forces.²¹⁹ By May, Henry was with the king's court, at York.²²⁰ Writs were issued for the army to muster at Roxborough on 25 June.²²¹ As the court reached the border with Scotland, a disagreement occurred. Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk and Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford were concerned that Edward would retract his Confirmation of the Charters, given the previous year. Henry de Lacy, with the bishop of Durham and earls of Gloucester and Surry, swore to them, on the king's behalf, that Edward would reconfirm the charters on his return from the Scottish campaign. Bigod and Bohun were appeased and the army continued its

²¹³ *Guisborough*, pp. 262-3; *Rishanger*, pp. 168-9; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 294.

²¹⁴ *Rishanger*, p. 177; *Rôles Gascon*, iii, clxiv-clxv; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 385.

²¹⁵ *CCIR 1296-1302*, p. 64; TNA, SC 8/220/10964.

²¹⁶ *Rishanger*, p. 179; RCWE, p. 132.

²¹⁷ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 479.

²¹⁸ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 346; *Parliamentary Writs*, i, p. 313.

²¹⁹ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 342.

²²⁰ *CCIR 1296-1302*, p. 164.

²²¹ *Parliamentary Writs*, i, p. 315.

advance.²²² Henry was with the court at Kirkliston, when news reached the king on the morning of 21 July, that the Scots were based at Falkirk and prepared to attack as the English army moved. Edward immediately ordered the army to meet the Scottish rebels.²²³ On the morning of 22 July, the Battle of Falkirk began. The outnumbered Scots, under William Wallace, had taken a defensive strategy and staged their infantry formations on a small hill with a stream at its base, the archers protected by pikemen and with their cavalry to the rear. Henry de Lacy led the first line of English cavalry with the earls of Norfolk and Hereford. They charged toward the Scots but had to divert to the left to avoid an unforeseen boggy marsh fed by the stream: the second line of cavalry subsequently veered to the right to dodge the same obstacle. The result was that the marsh protected the rebels from a frontal assault. In avoiding the obstacle, however, the two cavalry charges had created a pincer movement and attacked the Scottish position from the flanks. The Scottish cavalry fled, their infantry broke ranks and the English cavalry rode in to devastating effect. Scottish casualties were high, though many of their nobles escaped when the cavalry fled: William Wallace also evaded capture.²²⁴ From Falkirk, Edward moved rapidly to Fife, sacked Perth, and then travelled southwest toward Ayr. Henry was with the king at Stirling, on 8 August, and Abercon, on 12 August, before the king's court then headed to Carlisle for 12 September.²²⁵ The main campaign was over, although further action in Scotland would be needed. From Carlisle, Edward marched to retake the castle of Jedburgh in October. It was here that Henry had a grant ratified made while he was in France, to the king's clerk, Bernard de Sancto Crico.²²⁶ In November, the king was at Newcastle, where Henry was appointed as a commissioner, to enquire into abuses made by Edward's foresters.²²⁷ On 26 December, an appeal was brought by Landus Bouacursi of Lucca, against two other merchants of Lucca, which alleged they had counterfeited the king's great and privy seal; the seal of Edward the king's son; and also proposed to poison the king, and his son. A commission was appointed to hear and determine the appeal, in the

²²² *Guisborough*, p. 324; Morris, *Bigod Earls*, p. 169;

²²³ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 357; *Guisborough*, pp. 324-6; Morris, *Great and terrible King*, p. 311.

²²⁴ *Guisborough*, pp. 327-8; *Rishanger*, pp. 186-8, 385-7; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 311-2; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 480-1.

²²⁵ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 258; RCWE, p. 132-3; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 481; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 311-2.

²²⁶ *CPR 1292-1301*, p.365; RCWE, p. 133.

²²⁷ *Close Rolls, 1296-1302*, p. 223.

presence of Henry de Lacy, who was duly appointed to preside in the king's place.²²⁸ This was a further demonstration of the trust and high regard in which the king continued to hold Henry, his counsel and judgement. Henry returned to England in early 1299 and was at Westminster, on 10 February.²²⁹ Henry remained at court between 18 March and 18 April, during which period he witnessed seven royal charters.²³⁰ The subsequent parliament which met, in March 1299, was contentious and involved considerable debate related to Edward's promise to confirm the Charters. When the parliament broke up, no resolution had been obtained and, Edward's critics were unpacified.²³¹ A further parliament was called for the next month and, when it reconvened, Henry was again at the side of the king.²³²

He once again obtained a number of rewards, gifts and favours from the king, both for himself and on behalf of others. In May 1298, Henry obtained a license to enclose a plot of land in his manor of Adenham in Northamptonshire, within the bounds of Rockingham Forest, in order to create a park. He also made a grant of thirteen oaks fit for timber in his wood at Penchyt, in the forest of Clarendon, to the Friars Preachers of New Sarum.²³³ Likewise, in May 1299, Henry was able to ensure a grant of thirteen oaks for timber from his wood at Ashridge, within the bounds of the Forest of Windsor, for the Carmelite Friars of London.²³⁴ He also provided personal testimony, which resulted in pardons issued to men who had served him on campaign in Gascony. This was a further example of Edward I's method to secure additional infantry forces, whereby criminals would be offered a pardon in exchange for military service.²³⁵ Between May and August 1298, Henry gave testimony in this manner for six such men, namely: Nicholas Kynne of Sutton, John de Welton of Buckby, John Crok, Humphrey de Turonis, William of Denton and Hugh de Playford.²³⁶ In the following year, between March and May 1299, Henry again provided testimony for a further six men: Robert of Ledenham; Adam Trupenel of

²²⁸ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 459.

²²⁹ *RCWE*, p. 134.

²³⁰ *RCWE*, pp. 134-5.

²³¹ *Guisborough*, pp. 329-330; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 317.

²³² *RCWE*, p. 135. Henry witnessed four royal charters between 4 and 15 May 1299.

²³³ *CCIR 1296-1302*, p. 164.

²³⁴ *CCIR 1296-1302*, p. 249.

²³⁵ Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 284, 381. This particular tactic was used as early as 1294 and again during the Scotland campaign 1298. For the notice of the king's proclamation, see *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 393. For further information, see also N. D. Hurnard, *The King's Pardon for Homicide* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 248, 311-317.

²³⁶ *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 351-2, 354, 358.

Siston; John Galiot; Richard Slagh of Colchester; John of Fenwik; and John de Bugulois.²³⁷ In addition to these, Henry also obtained a commission of oyer and terminer, for Alice of Colevill of Asphale, who complained that her houses at Asphale, Debenham and Brampton in Suffolk, had been robbed.²³⁸ Henry also ensured that the citizens of Bayonne obtained issues of the customs pertaining to wools, hides and wool-fells, until their debts accrued during the Gascon campaign, confirmed by letters patent from Henry, were paid. A grant to Nicholas de Avorta, of the scrivernership of the mayor's court at Bayonne, was also awarded based on information provided by Henry to the king.²³⁹ For his own part in the Scottish campaign, in November 1298, Henry was rewarded with the position and lands of James, steward of Scotland, which included the barony of Renfrew.²⁴⁰ For his service in Gascony, in March 1299, Henry was granted respite from all debts to the crown.²⁴¹ These grants all demonstrated Henry's continued ability to use his influence with the king to his own advantage, and his part in the subsequent diplomatic mission to France shows the faith which the king firmly held in him.

The court travelled to Canterbury and then Dover, where Henry was part of the ambassadorial mission to the King of France, to finalise a truce between the two kings.²⁴² The diplomats returned at the end of June 1299, having secured a treaty for peace with Philip IV, which included the confirmation of the return of Gascony to Edward; and would be cemented by the marriage of Edward's son, to Philip's daughter, Isabella; Edward himself, would marry the king of France's sister, Margaret.²⁴³ Henry was present for the arrival of Margaret from France, in September, and then at the king's marriage at Canterbury, on 10 September 1299. When a debate arose over who should receive the cloths which had been used over the heads of the married couple, Edward's solution was to turn to Henry de Lacy, in whose counsel he placed great trust, to resolve the matter.²⁴⁴ Shortly after the

²³⁷ *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 401, 416, 420.

²³⁸ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 468.

²³⁹ *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 414.

²⁴⁰ TNA, DL 10/198.

²⁴¹ *CCIR 1296-1302*, p. 239. Prior to his departure to France in 1299, Henry obtained an additional commission of oyer and terminer for William de Ross, king's yeoman, whose house at Little Blakenham had been robbed *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 420, 469. The prior and monks of Pontefract were also awarded respite from fines that had been ordered from all religious houses associated with the king of France, until Henry's return, due to information Henry had provided to the king; that all the monks were native to England. *CCIR 1296-1302*, p. 252.

²⁴² *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 904; RCWE, pp. 145-6.

²⁴³ *Foedera*, I, ii, pp. 906-7; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p.318.

²⁴⁴ *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols. London: Rolls Series, 1879-1880), ii, pp. 317-8; *Rishanger*, p. 396; RCWE, p. 136; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 521.

wedding was concluded, writs of summons were issued which called for a gathering under arms at York in November: Edward was intent on returning to Scotland.²⁴⁵ On 22 September, Henry was at Leeds castle in Kent, before he returned to Westminster in the last weeks of October 1299. He witnessed three royal charters and obtained a grant for John de Peyton, of free warren in his demesne lands in Suffolk.²⁴⁶ At St Albans, on 3 November, Henry witnessed letters close for the enrolment of the release of Amadeus, count of Savoy's, lands to the king.²⁴⁷ By the end of the year, he was with the king at Berwick on Tweed, on 28 December.²⁴⁸ Edward's attempt to initiate a campaign in Scotland had come to naught. The numbers of infantry he had expected had not materialised and, he was left with no option but to abort his plans. On 29 December, writs were issued which called for a parliament to assemble in London, at the beginning of Lent, for the security of the crown: within days the king had left Scotland.²⁴⁹

Scotland and France: 1300 to 1305

On 12 January 1300, Henry was with the king at Northallerton, before he returned to London in March ahead of the summoned parliament.²⁵⁰ The parliament was a contentious one. The king was understandably furious that his summons in the winter had not produced the forces required and, in need of securing finances for the Scottish campaign, Edward's political opponents were determined to press their demands for a confirmation of Magna Carta before acquiescing.²⁵¹ After several weeks of debate, the king conceded a new set of *Articuli super Carta*, and a procedure for their enforcement.²⁵² Despite this, the new Articles did not cover the thorny matter of the royal forest, and at the end of the parliament, the king also appointed a commission to conduct a perambulation. However, he set conditions that the rights of the crown must be protected.²⁵³ The response of the king's opponents was

²⁴⁵ *Parliamentary Writs*, pp. 321-4.

²⁴⁶ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 439; *RCWE*, pp. 136-7.

²⁴⁷ *CCIR 1296-1302*, p. 324.

²⁴⁸ *RCWE*, p. 138; *CCIR 1296-1302*, pp. 258-260.

²⁴⁹ *Parliamentary Writs*, p. 83-84; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 320-2.

²⁵⁰ *RCWE*, p. 138; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 522.

²⁵¹ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 522; *Rishanger*, p. 404.

²⁵² TNA, C 74/1.

²⁵³ Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 522-5.

to declare that they would provide support when they obtained possession of their woods.²⁵⁴ Henry maintained his position of loyal support to the king during the fractious debate.²⁵⁵

On 12 April 1300, Henry was at St Albans, where preparations for the Scottish campaign were in full swing. Letters of safe-conduct were issued for some of Henry de Lacy's servants, who he sent to Chester to obtain necessities for his personal maintenance and, those of his company who would travel with him.²⁵⁶ Henry was with the king in Pontefract on 7 June, and then at Carlisle by the end of the month for the feudal muster.²⁵⁷ The royal army that proceeded to Scotland in early July 1300, while perhaps not as large as Edward desired, still totalled ten thousand infantry and nearly two thousand cavalry.²⁵⁸ Henry de Lacy was tasked with command of one of four cavalry units, with the other three led by the earl of Warenne; the king's son, Prince Edward – in practice his unit was under the command of John de St John; and the final unit by the king himself. Edward's first target was Caerlaverock castle, which duly surrendered after a short siege.²⁵⁹ The army then moved westward through Galloway but with few serious encounters with Scots and, faced with increasing infantry desertions, Edward turned back.²⁶⁰ On 22 August, Henry was with the king at Kirgunzeon and on 27 August the king had returned to Caerlaverock.²⁶¹ It was at this point that a papal bull written the previous year arrived in the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Winchelsey, which rebuked Edward for his actions toward Scotland and left the king with no option but to withdraw and consider his options.²⁶²

Amid the earlier preparations, at the beginning of April 1300, Henry had once again been able to make good use of his influence and obtained a number of grants and favours from the king. Letters patent were issued for the benefit of two merchants of London, William de Honilan and his fellow, Bartholomew, regarding the import of wine, at Henry's instance.²⁶³ Other letters of simple protection were issued to George de Saluciis, precentor of St Mary's church in Salisbury, and Boniface de

²⁵⁴ 'Annales monasterii de Wintonia', *AM*, iv, p. 544; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 322-3.

²⁵⁵ Between 16 March and 1 April, Henry witnessed ten royal charters, see RCWE, pp. 138-140.

²⁵⁶ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 505.

²⁵⁷ RCWE, pp. 140-1; Henry was present in the king's chamber at Carlisle castle on 30 June, where John, son and heir of Roger de Sumery, performed homage to the king. *CCIR 1296-1302*, p. 402.

²⁵⁸ Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 484-5; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 324;

²⁵⁹ D. Grove & P. Yeomen, *Caerlaverock Castle* (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2006), pp. 18-19, 24-5; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 485; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 325.

²⁶⁰ Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 325.

²⁶¹ RCWE, p. 141-2.

²⁶² Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 326.

²⁶³ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 503.

Saluciis, archdeacon of Buckingham, following information presented by Henry to the king.²⁶⁴ On 13 April, Henry received a grant, that should he die, the executors of his testament would have free administration of his goods.²⁶⁵ On 1 July, prior to the army moving to Scotland, he received an award of respite from any arraigned assizes of novel disseisin until Easter, unless the king and the army returned to England beforehand.²⁶⁶

By the end of September 1300, the king had retired to Rose Castle in Cumbria, where he took counsel on how best to proceed. Henry formed part of this chosen circle and, was in close attendance to the king, between 18 and 24 September.²⁶⁷ During these discussions it was decided to send Henry de Lacy, accompanied by Hugh Despenser, on another ambassadorial mission: this time to the papal curia. Henry was already due to represent the king in truce negotiations between England and France: he was now additionally trusted with discussion of the Scottish problem.²⁶⁸ Letters close were dispensed on 13 October, which ordered the keepers of the port of Dover to allow Henry to depart from the port, with all his household and equipment, without having to submit to a search.²⁶⁹ It is unclear at what point Henry had crossed the Channel, however, it can be established he was certainly not at court after 15 November and, had therefore, left England by this stage.²⁷⁰ He probably returned to England, no later, than 1 February 1301.²⁷¹ Henry's ambassadorial mission to the papal curia had managed a degree of success and provided the king with some much needed good news.²⁷² His

²⁶⁴ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 502.

²⁶⁵ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 508.

²⁶⁶ RCWE, pp. 140-1; *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 523.

²⁶⁷ RCWE, pp. 141-2. Henry witnessed seven royal charters during this time.

²⁶⁸ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 543; *Foedera*, I, ii, pp. 922-3. On 9 October 1300, letters of protection were issued to Henry and a number of his men, who were to travel with him: John de la Mare; John de Molyngton; John Spring; Miles Stapleton; Maurice le Brun; and Alexander of Leeds. *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 538-9.

²⁶⁹ *CCIR 1296-1302*, p. 370. Additional letters patent were distributed on 15 October at Carlisle, which indicate that Henry nominated Thomas de Fishburn and Robert de Hephale as his attorneys in England, during his absence. *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 538-540. Letters for the first five of Henry's men were issued on 13 October, while those concerning Alexander de Leeds were issued on 16 October.

²⁷⁰ Letters of protection and nominations of attorney for John de Letur, who had travelled with Henry, were issued on 15 November, by 'letter of the earl'. The use of 'letter of' rather than 'instance of' demonstrates that Henry was not personally present at court. *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 542.

²⁷¹ Henry does not appear to have been present either at the parliament held in Lincoln at the beginning of January 1301; his name was absent from the list of earls and barons on the letter to the pope which was prepared at that time. *Foedera*, I, ii, pp. 926-7; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 492.

See below, Henry was awarded custody of Corf Castle on 1 February. *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 564.

²⁷² The pope had been attempting to levy a 10 % tax on the churches of Europe, toward the subjugation of the kingdom of Sicily. The ambassadors had been able to reach a deal which would see the pope levy his tax in England for three years and half of the profits would go to the king. This was good news indeed for Edward, who had spent the previous years in futile debate with the clergy over his attempts to gain financial support. *Foedera*, I, ii, pp. 922, 928; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 331.

ambassadorial service once again reaped associated rewards.²⁷³ On 1 February, no doubt, as a further reward for his service at the papal curia, he was appointed to the custody of the castle of Corfe.²⁷⁴

In March 1301, letters of summons were issued which ordered Henry to be prepared with horses and arms at Carlisle in June, ready to travel to Berwick on Tweed, to invade Scotland.²⁷⁵ It was the king's hope, written in a letter to Henry, that his son, Edward, would have the principal honour of defeating the Scots.²⁷⁶ On 10 May, Henry was with the king at Kempsey in Worcestershire.²⁷⁷ By 23 June, they were at Tynemouth.²⁷⁸ In July 1301, the gathered army pushed into Scotland and had reached Glasgow by the end of August: from there they prepared to attack Bothwell castle.²⁷⁹ Tracing Henry's movements, during the Scottish campaign of 1301, are precarious at best. We know that Henry was at Bothwell between 4 and 11 September.²⁸⁰ He was at Galloway on 21 September, and then Annan, on 7 October, after the successful capture of Bothwell castle.²⁸¹

In October, the king received word that John Baliol had been released from custody and was in France. At the same time, an ambassador from France had arrived to make attempts at another truce.²⁸² In response, the king decided to send his own ambassadorial mission, led by his chief minister, Walter Langton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, to negotiate with the French. Henry de Lacy was also to form part of the ambassadorial party.²⁸³ On 14 October, Henry was at Dunipace and on 1 November, at Linlithgow, before the respective ambassadors, no doubt, set out immediately for France.²⁸⁴ The assignment was, in large parts, successful. Under the terms of the treaty negotiated at Asnières, in France, Edward would agree to a nine month truce with Scotland: and any captured

²⁷³ Henry was provided with license to hunt in the forest of Ingelwood; he took six harts, two hinds, a buck and a fawn. *CCIR 1296-1301*, p. 366. Henry was also able to obtain a pardon for Adam of Twynham, a Scot in the service of the king, who had admitted rebel members of his family to the king's peace without warrant. Henry also gave testimony, which resulted in the pardon from outlawry for Richard Luve of Clifton, for having taking deer in the free chase of Edmund, earl of Cornwall. *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 535.

²⁷⁴ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 564.

²⁷⁵ *CCIR 1296-1302*, p. 480; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 493.

²⁷⁶ *CDS*, ii, p. 305.

²⁷⁷ Henry witnessed four royal charters between 10 and 12 May. RCWE, pp. 145-6.

²⁷⁸ *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 596, 629.

²⁷⁹ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 493.

²⁸⁰ Henry witnessed the enrolment of surrender of lands by Henry of Pinkney. *CCIR 1296-1302*, p. 505.

²⁸¹ Henry wrote to the king and informed him that he had sent a vessel of victuals to Innerkip, in advance of the king's intended mission there, after he had taken Bothwell. *CDS*, ii, p. 311. Henry wrote to the king again from Galloway, on 2 October, where he rejoiced in the news of the successful capture of Bothwell castle. He wrote again from Annan, on 7 October. *CDS*, ii, pp. 315-6.

²⁸² Permanent peace had been declared unobtainable by Philip IV of France, who provided support to John Balliol, unless Scotland was included. Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 334-5.

²⁸³ *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 936.

²⁸⁴ He was provided with letters of protection in advance of this mission. *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 608, 611, 616.

territory in Scotland would be placed in the custody of French agents.²⁸⁵ On 25 December, letters patent were received, from the king of France, which ratified the treaty and the truce was duly put into force.²⁸⁶ Edward duly issued letters in January, which ratified his part of the treaty.²⁸⁷ Further letters were written from the diplomatic group to the king in January, which related proceedings, before the treaty was formally confirmed on 26 January 1302.²⁸⁸ Henry's ability to secure favours from the crown during this period continued, unabated.²⁸⁹ He had returned to England, at Devizes, between 24 and 30 April 1302.²⁹⁰ At this point, he was tasked once more, to act as a king's envoy, to treat with France and obtain a permanent peace.²⁹¹ Henry's movements after Devizes are, unfortunately unclear: he probably took time to oversee matters at his estates before his departure.²⁹² Henry would spend the better part of the next year involved in the negotiations with France. It is clear that the king viewed Henry's diplomatic skills in high regard and, he placed great faith in his ability to accomplish Edward's goals.

In July 1302, news reached England of dramatic changes on the continent. The citizens of Bruges had rebelled and killed their French occupiers. In an attempt to quash the rebellion, Philip IV had despatched a large contingent of armed forces. On 11 July 1302, it had met an opposing army of Flemings, near Courtrai: the result was complete annihilation of the French army.²⁹³ This coincided with a disagreement between the king of France and pope Boniface VIII, which served to change the

²⁸⁵ In order for this to take place, Philip IV would have to deploy troops to Scotland, something which the English believed he would not see through, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 495-7; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 334-5; *Foedera*, I, ii, pp. 924-5, 931, 937, 942.

²⁸⁶ *CDS*, ii, p. 323.

²⁸⁷ Edward confirmed a date of 30 November, to bring the treaty to a conclusion, however, he specifically refused to acknowledge John Baliol's claim, whom he added, 'styled' himself, king of Scotland. *CDS*, ii, p. 324.

²⁸⁸ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 10; *Foedera*, I, ii, pp. 937-8; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 336; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 495-6. In accordance with the terms of the treaty, on 16 February, French troops were to take control of captured territory in Scotland: as predicted, they failed to materialise.

²⁸⁹ At Kenilworth, on 1 June, Henry secured a grant, letters of protection and safe conduct, for the merchants of the society of the Mozi of Florence, who appear to have been employed by him in England. The grant saw them free from tallage for the purpose of supplying aid to the king. *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 596. At Tynemouth, on 23 June, Henry secured a commission of oyer and terminer for Alice, wife of Hugh le Taillur and the executors of his will. *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 629. On 11 September, at Bothwell, Henry also obtained a pardon from the king for William le Keu, regarding the death of Robert the Fletcher. *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 606.

²⁹⁰ RCWE, pp. 150-1.

²⁹¹ In conjunction with: Amadeus of Savoy; Aymer de Valence; Otto de Grandson; Hugh Despenser; Amaneus of Le Bret, the dean of Chichester; William of Greenfeld; and John of Berwick, the dean of Wymburn, see *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 30; *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 940.

²⁹² Henry was present at court, at Gravesend, at the beginning of June, see *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 38. Then at Canterbury, two weeks later, on 15 June, see *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 41. Henry was in attendance at Westminster, for a parliament, between 10 and 18 July, during which time he witnessed seven royal charters, see RCWE, pp. 151-2.

²⁹³ Hundreds of French nobles were killed, including Philip's chief minister, Pierre Flote, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 397; 'Annales monasterii de Wintonia', *AM*, iv, p. 552.

tide in the favour of the English court: both sides sought English support.²⁹⁴ Henry de Lacy was again appointed as plenipotentiary to treat for peace with the French, on 15 August, at Westminster.²⁹⁵ Negotiations with the French for permanent peace now seemed more possible, and French support for John Baliol's position in Scotland evaporated.²⁹⁶ On 1 November, Henry was present in the king's chamber, with Amadeus of Savoy and John de Brittany, when William de Greenfeld, dean of Chichester and chancellor of England, delivered the great seal to the king, prior to the party's departure to France.²⁹⁷ Negotiations took place during November and were concluded, successfully, at Asnières, in France on 25 November: a peace with France was confirmed.²⁹⁸ Henry and the diplomatic party returned to England, in January 1303. At Odiham, Edward ratified his part of the negotiations, on 10 January.²⁹⁹ Henry remained at Odiham in January and February, during which time arrangements were made for the diplomatic party to return to France and formally conclude the treaty.³⁰⁰ The court reconvened at Huntingdon on 22 March.³⁰¹ Letters close were then issued with orders to the constable of Dover castle, and warden of the Cinque Ports, to ensure a speedy and safe passage for the king's special envoys to France.³⁰² The proctors duly returned to France and, on 20 May 1303, the treaty between the French and English was finally concluded and confirmed.³⁰³ In June, Henry travelled to Aquitaine, in the company of Otto de Grandson and Amadeus, count of Savoy, to take formal seisin of the duchy in the name of Edward, and proceed with reorganisation of the

²⁹⁴ Flores, iii, pp. 111-2, 307-8; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 337; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 397.

²⁹⁵ A small change in the diplomatic party saw John de Berwick replaced by Robert of Pickering, canon of York, see *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 56; *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 942.

²⁹⁶ Henry was at Westminster, at the end of October, where he witnessed four royal charters between 20 and 24 October, see RCWE, pp. 152-3. Further confirmations of Henry's role as plenipotentiary to treat with France were issued on 29 October, see *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 67; *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 944.

²⁹⁷ In the lodgings of the archbishop of York, at Westminster, see *CCIR 1296-1302*, p. 610.

²⁹⁸ *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 946.

²⁹⁹ *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 947.

³⁰⁰ Letters of credence were issued for the diplomatic party to engage in the ratification of the peace with the king of France, on 10 January, see *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 947. Additional letters patent for protection were supplied to Henry, on 5 February, who nominated John Huberd as his attorney until Michaelmas, during his absence. Additional letters of protection were also distributed to Henry's men who would accompany him: Giles de Trumpton; James de Nevill; Edmund Talebot; Walter de Reindone; Thomas le clerk of Querindon; Nicholas of Riding, parson of Waddington church; John Dautrive; and Alexander de Leeds, see *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 112.

³⁰¹ Further letters patent were supplied which granted power to Henry; Amadeus of Savoy; Otto de Grandson; and John, bishop of Winchester, to conclude a treaty of confederacy with the envoys of Philip, king of France, see *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 128; *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 950.

³⁰² *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 951; *CCIR 1302-1307*, p. 81.

³⁰³ *Foedera*, I, ii, pp. 952-4; Flores, iii, p. 114; 'Annales monasterii de Wintonia', *AM*, iv, p. 556; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 397.

administration there.³⁰⁴ Henry would remain in Gascony until at least December 1303.³⁰⁵ It is unclear as to whether Henry remained with the king during the winter at Dunfermline or returned to one of his own estates.³⁰⁶

Henry was able to use his time with the king, in between ambassadorial missions to France, to obtain further grants and favour.³⁰⁷ On 15 June, at Canterbury, his appointment of John Russel to the custodies of two castles in Aquitaine was ratified: the seal having broken off the original. The next day, 16 June, Henry himself received a pardon for any trespass in hunting in the king's forests and parks.³⁰⁸ The king was obviously happy to overlook any errant hunting on de Lacy's part. On his return to Westminster in October 1302, Henry was awarded a license to alienate in mortmain a moiety of Sutton, to the land in prior and convent of Castle Acre, for the purposes of building a chapel.³⁰⁹ The following year, in February 1303, prior to his return to France in the summer, Henry received a substantial licence to restore lands and plots of moor in Inclesmore, to a number of religious houses: the abbot and convent of Thornton received a plot one hundred and seventy-three perches in length; the abbot and convent of Wellow received forty-six perches; the abbot and convent of Newhouse, obtained thirty perches; the prior and convent of Alvingham were given twenty-four perches; and the prioress and nuns of Cotham, received ten perches of land.³¹⁰ Henry was able to utilise his good standing with the crown, not only for his own benefit, but also to support his favoured religious houses.

With the Scots shorn of French support, Edward mounted an offensive in response to Scottish aggression in 1303. The ensuing English campaign resulted in the Scottish nobles offering their surrender early in 1304.³¹¹ John Comyn, the nominal leader of the Scottish nobles performed homage to Edward in February, with almost one hundred and thirty Scottish landholders doing likewise at a

³⁰⁴ *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 955. In October, letters of protection until the following Easter were released for Henry de Lacy and Giles de Trumpton, who remained in Gascony on the king's service, see *CPR 1301-1307*, pp. 157-8.

³⁰⁵ Between 13 and 19 December 1303, at Dunfermline, Henry witnessed three royal charters RCWE, pp. 167-8.

³⁰⁶ Letters of protection were issued for Giles de Trumpton, listed as 'staying beyond the seas with Henry de Lacy' on 28 January 1204, so one is given to assume that Henry had by this point returned to France.

³⁰⁷ On 4 June 1302, he obtained a pardon from the king's suit, for William de Musters, parson of the church of Tyreswell, regarding trespasses committed in Henry's own park at Kneesall: Henry having already pardoned him for any damage and trespass, see *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 38.

³⁰⁸ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 41.

³⁰⁹ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 66.

³¹⁰ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 113-4.

³¹¹ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 500; *Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland*, ed. F. Palgrave (Palgrave (London: Record Commission, 1837), pp. 276-288.

special parliament in St Andrews in March.³¹² In April 1304, Edward was determined to mount an attack on Stirling castle and crush one of the last remaining strongholds of rebellion in Scotland.³¹³ Henry was with the king at Stirling, on 27 April 1304.³¹⁴ It is unclear what part Henry took in any of the military operation itself. The chronicle accounts of the siege, unfortunately, provide few details. It is clear, however, that throughout the duration he was in close counsel to the king.³¹⁵ Henry probably left Stirling at the same time as Edward, and was with the king at Wetwang, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, on 14 October. They then travelled to the royal manor at Burstwick in November.³¹⁶ On 12 November, Edward issued a summons for a parliament to be held at Westminster the following year.³¹⁷ The king remained at Burstwick until early December.³¹⁸ Henry appeared to have spent the Christmas and New Year in attendance with the king at Lincoln.³¹⁹ Henry was next at Westminster in March 1305.³²⁰ He remained in close counsel to the king during April.³²¹ On 4 April, letters of protection for Giles de Trumpton, who was travelling overseas, were given on the information supplied by Henry de Lacy. It is unfortunately unclear on what business, and to where, Giles was to travel.³²² Henry was with the king at Lewes, at the end of June 1305, before he probably returned to own estates during the summer.³²³ In September 1305, Henry was at Westminster for the summoned parliament. He was appointed as one of the English commissioners to the council responsible for the arrangement of the affairs of Scotland. He was also selected as a receiver and trier of petitions from Gascony.³²⁴ Henry's place as the leading councillor to the King was firmly established.

³¹² F. J. Watson, *Under the Hammer: Edward I and Scotland, 1286-1307* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press Ltd, 2008), pp. 185-189; G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), p. 187; *Documents and Records*, pp. 194-7, 299-301.

³¹³ Watson, *Edward I and Scotland*, pp. 185-9; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 342; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 500-1.

³¹⁴ He witnessed at least one royal charter here, see RCWE, p. 167.

³¹⁵ Flores, pp. 118-120, 315-320. Between the start of the siege in April and the castles unconditional surrender, on 20 July, Henry witnessed sixteen royal charters. RCWE, pp. 166-175. In the last ten days of July, following the culmination of the siege, this number rose to a considerable twenty seven charters. RCWE, pp. 168-173.

³¹⁶ RCWE, pp. 173-5.

³¹⁷ *CCIR 1302-1307*, p. 225; *Parliamentary Writs*, p. 136.

³¹⁸ Henry witnessed letters close on 21 November at Burstwick. *CCIR 1302-1307*, p. 307; RCWE, p. 175.

³¹⁹ RCWE, p. 175. Henry witnessed three charters, 25 December, 30 December 1304 and 12 January 1305 at Lincoln.

³²⁰ Between 5 and 30 March, Henry witnessed a total of eighteen royal charters. RCWE, pp. 177-180. On 22 March, Henry witnessed an inspeximus and confirmation of a chirograph. *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 320.

³²¹ Henry witnessed a further eight royal charters between 5 and 10 April. *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 323; RCWE, pp. 178-9. On 1 April 1305, letters of protection were dispensed for one of Henry's yeoman, John de Alaynsheles, who remained in Scotland on the service of the Henry and the king. *CChR 1300-1326*, p. 51.

³²² *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 327.

³²³ RCWE, p. 181.

³²⁴ *Parliamentary Writs*, pp. 160-1; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 503-5; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 350.

During 1304 and 1305, Henry continued as a recipient of royal favour. Henry obtained a significant number of pardons. Despite, perhaps, not being considered grants of largesse, that Henry's word was considered enough weight for these men to receive pardons, was indicative of the positive position which he enjoyed with the king.³²⁵ On March 14, letters issued to the keeper of the honour of Wallingford, detailed that Henry had performed homage to the king for all lands that he held in that honour, and ordered the keeper to therefore release the distraint which had been made upon him. This related to lands of the late Edmund, earl of Cornwall, the custody of which the king appears to have granted to Henry de Lacy. It is unclear as the reason why the keeper had seized them from Henry, which necessitated such a formal notification from the king. This may, perhaps, have simply been due to miscommunication. It is equally plausible that Henry had attempted to take control of the property without formal documentation.³²⁶ At the same time, Henry also stood as surety for Almaric de St Amand, which subsequently secured his release from prison.³²⁷ Henry was also able to obtain two commissions of oyer and terminer for Alice, wife of the late Peter Corbet, which related to disagreements over land, goods and dower, between her and Peter's son.³²⁸ At the end of September 1305, Henry secured a further grant of the marriage of a widow, for John Stapleton, one of his men.³²⁹ Henry's close friendship with Edward I allowed him to utilise his demonstrable influence with the king and obtain tangible rewards for himself and on behalf of his associates.

The Papal Curia, Scotland and the Death of Edward I: 1305 to 1307

At the start of October 1305, plans were well underway for Henry to make another ambassadorial mission: this time to the papal curia. On 1 October, letters of protection were issued for Henry and seventeen of the earl's men going with him on the king's service, including John Stapleton and one of

³²⁵ In June and July 1304, Henry obtained pardons for at least nine men. It is unclear from the records whether this was in exchange for their military service in Scotland or related to an entirely separate matter; the former would be most probable. *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 229. In June, Henry obtained pardons for Thomas of Derwent; Paul of Caterhale; Alan of Caterhale; Richard of Haverbergh; John Banes; and Robert de Huton. In July, Henry obtained further pardons for William Burghman of Buckby and Roger Hereward of Almanbury, *CPR 1301-1307*, pp. 244, 246-7. At Perth, on 5 August, Henry obtained a further pardon, for Roger, son of Alexander Hare of Thurgarton. RCWE, p. 173; *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 252.

³²⁶ *CCIR 1302-1307*, p. 244.

³²⁷ Henry stood as surety with John de Brittany; Hugh Despenser; Thomas of Berkley; Hugh de Veer; William de Grandson; and Adam de Wells. *CCIR 1302-1307*, pp. 244-5.

³²⁸ *CPR 1301-1307*, pp. 353-5.

³²⁹ This was for the marriage of Isabella, widow of John, son of Hugh, tenant in chief or any fine she might make for marriage. *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 378.

his clerks, Nicholas of Riding.³³⁰ As with previous missions abroad, Henry nominated Thomas Fishburn and Roger Cobeldick as his attorneys during his absence.³³¹ The objectives of the diplomatic mission were set out on 15 October, via letters patent, which gave power to Henry, to treat with John de Bar and his brother, touching the assignment of lands or rents in Scotland and the visit to England of Joan, daughter of the count of Bar, the king's niece.³³² Dispatches were also sent out to the papal curia, which notified them of the appointment of envoys to treat with the new pope, Clement V, regarding a crusade, peace with France and other matters in reference to the salvation of the king's soul.³³³ The mission had a two-fold objective: to obtain a papal remittance of the concessions which had diminished Edward's royal authority and to gain a deposition of the archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Winchelsea.³³⁴ On 15 October, additional letters of protection were issued, for Giles of Trumpton and a further eleven other men, who were to travel with Henry. This brought Henry's personal entourage of *familiares* to twenty-nine men.³³⁵ Finally, letters of credence for the papal mission were issued on 27 October. Although it is unclear exactly when the ambassadorial mission departed, it would have been after 7 November, as Henry was still listed as present at Westminster on that date.³³⁶ Word from the papal envoys arrived in England in the New Year: the mission had been a success. A papal bull was issued which absolved the king from his oath to all concessions of his royal authority he had been forced to grant. Although word would not reach Edward for several more weeks, the pope had also suspended Winchelsea from office.³³⁷ Henry had once again demonstrated his skills as a keen negotiator and fulfilled the considerable faith which Edward placed in him.

³³⁰ The list of men travelling with Henry also included: Richard of Arundell; Robert de Shirlaunde, Alexander of Leeds, Robert of Whitely, Peter Bascle, William de Barewe, Robert de Hagenby, Henry of Shirley, Robert of Sotwell, Peter le Taillur, John le Leutur, William le Keu, William de Dyswurth, John Mauleverer and Thomas of Hayton, parson of Buckby. *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 380.

³³¹ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 380.

³³² Walter Langton, bishop of Coventry; Hugh Despenser; and Otto Grandson, were also part of the delegation. *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 386

³³³ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 387; *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 974.

³³⁴ Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 352; J. H. Denton, *Robert Winchelsey and the Crown 1294-1313: A Study in the Defence of Ecclesiastical Liberty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 121-3, 218-227.

³³⁵ Peter le Falconer; John de Alta Ripa; Walter de Shopdon; John de Methelay; Robert of Bicester; Master Richard le Marshal; Robert de Holdene; John de Burdeus; Edmund Warde; William de Holm; and Laurence de Clifford.

³³⁶ *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 975; *Flores*, iii, p. 127; RCWE, p. 183.

³³⁷ *Foedera*, I, ii, pp. 978-9, 983; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 352; Denton *Robert Winchelsey*, pp. 229-232.

Between 7 and 20 October 1305, Henry also continued to be involved in the business of royal government and witnessed eleven royal charters for the king during this time.³³⁸ He was also able to secure a number of favourable gifts from the king before he left for the papal curia: he did not leave the country without gaining additional personal rewards for his service.³³⁹ On 20 October 1305, Henry was given license to alienate in mortmain twenty-four perches of moor and marsh in Inclesmore to the prior and convent of Alvingham.³⁴⁰ Henry continued to be able to use his position as a close royal confidante and trusted advisor to obtain benefits and favours from the crown. Henry returned from Rome to England in early 1306. Word had reached Edward of the treachery of Robert Brus in Scotland, and preparations for a military campaign were in full swing.³⁴¹ Henry had arrived at Winchester by 5 April.³⁴² On 5 April, Henry had received orders to attend the king's son, Edward Prince of Wales, in July, for the mission to Scotland.³⁴³ Henry was at Westminster between 24 and 28 May.³⁴⁴ In August, Edward, prince of Wales, led his force from Carlisle, recaptured south western Scotland and reached the force commanded by Aymer de Valence, at Perth. By October, Robert de Bruce had fled toward Ireland and most of Scotland was back in English hands.³⁴⁵ Despite ill health which beset his journey, the king had reached Lanercost in October. Henry remained in close counsel to the king throughout the month.³⁴⁶ During November, he reached an agreement with Edward for the surrender of the lands of James, steward of Scotland, to the crown, in return for the sum of approximately £2400.³⁴⁷ Henry remained at the king's side in Lanercost for the rest of the year.³⁴⁸

Before travelling north, during his time at Winchester, Henry had once again used his influence with the crown to secure royal favours. On 8 April 1306, he obtained a pardon for Henry of Shirley from outlawry for an act of arson at Blakenhale in Staffordshire. Henry also provided

³³⁸ RCWE, p. 181-3.

³³⁹ Henry obtained a pardon for Manekin le Heaumer and his brother, Peter, for trespass against the peace. *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 379.

³⁴⁰ Henry also secured further pardons for John of Trowbridge and William Ateworth, for having allowed the escape of Alice Droys from custody, in Oxford castle. *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 389. It is unclear what led Henry to obtain these pardons, as there does not appear to be any pre-existing link to him. It is therefore possible that he either received a petition for aid from someone connected to these men or that this was related to the king's method of using criminal pardons to obtain military service.

³⁴¹ Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 352-5; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 506; Flores, iii, pp. 128-9.

³⁴² During the course of the next week, by 11 April, he had witnessed seven royal charters. RCWE, p. 184.

³⁴³ *Foedera*, I, ii, p. 982.

³⁴⁴ Henry witnessed another four royal charters, RCWE, p. 185.

³⁴⁵ Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 357; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 507-8; Flores, iii, pp. 132-5.

³⁴⁶ Henry witnessed fifteen royal charters between 1 and 19 October. RCWE, pp. 185-6

³⁴⁷ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 481; *CDS*, ii, p. 496.

³⁴⁸ Henry is listed in the royal charter witness lists at Lanercost on 23 December, RCWE, p. 192.

information on 20 April, for a pardon at the request of Edward, the king's son, to Matilda, the widow of Thomas de Belhus, for the death of her husband.³⁴⁹ In a further sign of his continued royal goodwill, Henry received a grant of the custody of the lands, of Brian, son of Alan, and the wardship of his daughters and heirs. He also acquired the wardship of the heir of Roger de Mowbray.³⁵⁰ In July, shortly before heading to Scotland, Henry received license to alienate the advowsons of the churches of Waddington, Willingham, Thoresby and Halton-on-Trent in Lincolnshire and Buckby in Northamptonshire, to thirteen scholars in Oxford.³⁵¹ In a formal recognition of his continued loyal service during his time with the king, in October 1306, Henry was rewarded with confirmation of the continued respite of all his debts to the crown, for the remainder of his life.³⁵² This was a considerable acknowledgement of Henry's standing with the crown. In January 1307, in further recognition of his position as one of the foremost councillors to the king, Henry was appointed as one of the commissioners to hold a parliament at Carlisle.³⁵³ Henry remained at Lanercost in close counsel to the king, until 1 March.³⁵⁴ They then travelled to Carlisle, in March, for the aforesaid parliament.³⁵⁵

Gifts of patronage from the crown also continued to flow during this period.³⁵⁶ On 18 March 1307, Henry obtained a licence for Walter de Huntercombe to enfeoff Alan le Chaplain of Belford, with the manors of Wrestlingworth and Newnham and a moiety of the manor of Belford.³⁵⁷ On 26 March, as part satisfaction for the custodies and marriages that Henry had surrendered to the king of the lands of James, steward of Scotland, Henry was given the custody of two parts of the lands in Cumberland, late of Adam of Twynham and Gilbert of Southwick, during the minority of their heirs. These were worth a total value of £20 per annum.³⁵⁸ In addition to this, he was granted a further £60

³⁴⁹ *CPR 1301-1307*, pp. 423, 427.

³⁵⁰ *CPR 1301-1307*, pp. 441-3.

³⁵¹ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 455.

³⁵² *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 463.

³⁵³ *Parliamentary Writs*, I, p. 184.

³⁵⁴ During this time Henry witnessed an impressive thirty royal charters. RCWE, pp. 189-196.

³⁵⁵ In March he witnessed an additional nineteen royal charters, RCWE, pp. 193-6; in the following month he witnessed an additional six charters. RCWE, pp. 195-6.

³⁵⁶ Henry obtained a commission of oyer and terminer, in March, related to thefts of deer, hares, rabbits and partridges at Henstridge and Aldeburn in Somerset and Wiltshire; his chaces and warrens of Canford, Wimborne, Holt and Kingston in Dorset; his free warrens of Henstridge, Charlton and Kingsbury in Somerset; his free chaces and warrens of Aldeburn, Trowbridge, Avington, Winterburn and Amesbury in Wiltshire. *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 544.

³⁵⁷ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 510.

³⁵⁸ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 511.

per annum via the custody of two parts of the lands of Adam of Twynham, in Westmoreland.³⁵⁹ On 3 April 1307, Henry was also bestowed with a grant, for life, of the right over returnable writs in his hundreds of Badbury and Cokedon in Dorset.³⁶⁰ These were substantial gifts of royal patronage and once again demonstrative of the close personal favour which Henry enjoyed from the crown.

In July, Henry was in the company of the king when he set out from Carlisle for Scotland. The royal party only reached as far as Burgh-by-Sands, where the king, who was suffering from dysentery, died on 7 July 1307. Despite being present at his deathbed, Henry was one of only three people to whom letters were drafted by the royal household regarding the king's death: the other two were the queen, and Edward, Prince of Wales.³⁶¹ This last act of Edward I's reign was further demonstration of the closeness of Henry's relationship with the king and, the influential position which he had achieved amongst the aristocracy and the royal court.

Edward II, Gaveston and the last years of Henry's life: 1307 to 1311

Henry de Lacy was without question the most senior English earl at the time of the death of Edward I and, not altogether surprisingly, he remained extremely prominent at court under Edward II. He accompanied Edward II to Scotland during the summer of 1307 and, in conjunction with six other earls, gave his assent to the installation of Piers Gaveston, as the earl of Cornwall. It was purportedly Henry who confirmed to the king that he could lawfully alienate the earldom.³⁶² He was listed as the first witness to the charter which granted the earldom.³⁶³ This was contrary to the promise Henry had allegedly made to Edward I on his deathbed, according to the author of *The Brut*, to secure the welfare of his son and under no circumstances, allow the return of Piers Gaveston.³⁶⁴ This particular account

³⁵⁹ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 511.

³⁶⁰ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 513.

³⁶¹ TNA, E 101/370/16; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 556-7; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, pp. 361-2; *Guisborough*, p. 379; *Flores*, iii, p. 137; Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 125.

³⁶² *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, pp. 4-7; R. M. Haines, *Edward II: His Life, his Reign and its Aftermath: 1284-1330* (London: McGill-Queens University Press, 2003), p. 51.

³⁶³ *Foedera*, ii, part I, p. 2; TNA, E 41/460; Henry's placement as the first of the witnesses was a demonstration of his seniority. Henry was one of seven earls who witnessed the charter, the other were: Thomas, earl of Lancaster; John de Warenne, earl of Surrey; Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex; Edmund, earl of Arundel; John of Brittany, earl of Richmond; and Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke. As Phillips has noted, it would be unlikely that they would have allowed their names to be attached on such a document, if they did not at least approve of the appointment at the time. Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 127.

³⁶⁴ *The Brut*, I, pp. 202-3; Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 128.

should, however, be treated with caution. *The Brut* is the only chronicle to record this deathbed scene and it is distinctly plausible that later events have biased the author's account.³⁶⁵ Nonetheless, Henry was first and foremost, an advisor to the king. As has been suggested elsewhere, it is probable that he attempted to steer a diplomatic and moderate course, in respect of following the king's wishes.³⁶⁶ Henry certainly remained in close attendance to the new king during the early stage of his reign and travelled with him, to Northampton, in October. A parliament had been called to discuss the arrangements for the burial of Edward I and the coronation of Edward II.³⁶⁷ Preparations were made after the funeral of Edward I on 27 October 1307, for Henry to travel to France to oversee preparations for Edward's marriage to Isabella of France.³⁶⁸ Henry's loyalty to the crown continued unabated at this stage. His later association with baronial dissenters was said to have been caused by Gaveston and his ungrateful actions.³⁶⁹

In January 1308, Henry was among a number of earls, senior churchmen and other magnates who witnessed the 'Boulogne Declaration'.³⁷⁰ It is not known who instigated this document, however, Henry, as the most senior earl at the time, is a likely candidate.³⁷¹ The declaration sought to mark a distinction between loyalty due to the crown and, that which was due to the person of the king.³⁷² The document's intention, however, does not appear to have been to impose restrictions upon the king but rather to aid him in governance. Indeed, it has been suggested by Seymour Phillips, that the declaration was likely to have been created with Edward II's knowledge and agreement. Phillips has convincingly argued that these plans for reform, may have been the king and his counsel's initial response

³⁶⁵ This promise is not mentioned by the authors of the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* or the 'Annales Paulini'. *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, pp. 4-7; 'Annales Paulini', pp. 256-7. Seymour Phillips also urges caution in his work on Edward II. S. Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 128.

³⁶⁶ This tactic is put forward by S. Phillips in his work on Aymer de Valence. Given the lack of other evidence to corroborate the author of *The Brut* and taking into account Henry's record of loyal service to the crown, Phillips' proposal of his attempt at a moderated course is a sound one. S. Phillips, *Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke 1307-1324: Baronial Politics in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 19.

³⁶⁷ *CCIR 1307-1313*, p. 41; Haines, *Edward II*, p. 51.

³⁶⁸ *Foedera*, ii, pp. 11-2; *Guisborough*, p. 329; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 558; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, p. 364; letters of protection were duly issued on 8 November, *CPR 1307-1313*, p. 13.

³⁶⁹ *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, pp. 10-11.

³⁷⁰ In Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, pp. 316-7; Oxford Bodleian Library, Dugdale MS 18 fo. 4 and fo. 80. The text in Phillips is a later transcript of a now missing manuscript. Unfortunately no other record of the Boulogne Declaration has survived.

³⁷¹ Phillips suggested Henry de Lacy or Thomas Bek, bishop of Durham as the most likely candidates. It should be noted that Thomas Bek was the brother of John Bek, and uncle of Walter Bek, tenants of Henry de Lacy and early members of his affinity. In addition to both having served lengthy careers, they were therefore additionally connected. See below Affinity Chapter for Henry de Lacy, pp. 190-1.

³⁷² Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 139; Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, pp. 26-7.

to pre-existing pressures within the realm.³⁷³ Prolonged campaigns in Scotland had overstretched royal finances and, the resultant heavy taxation had intensified political tensions between the crown and a hard-pressed community.³⁷⁴ This strategy would then connect with the much debated clause in Edward II's coronation oath, to 'uphold the rightful laws and customs which the community of the realm shall have chosen'.³⁷⁵ Indeed, Henry was not in opposition to the king at this point. Plans for reform and baronial concerns about Piers Gaveston remained separate issues.³⁷⁶ This was, however, about to change. The coronation of Edward II took place on 25 February 1308, and was a particularly extravagant occasion which, for the most part, went as planned.³⁷⁷ The prominence given to Piers Gaveston, during the coronation, however, and particularly his behaviour at the feast afterwards, are said to have caused uproar and resentment amongst the aristocracy, and infuriated Queen Isabella's relatives.³⁷⁸ By the end of the month, Edward's profligate favouritism toward Gaveston was to set the country on course for another political crisis. Henry de Lacy worked hard to avoid this.

The parliament which followed the coronation was particularly contentious. Edward II's attempt to discuss the state of the country, crown and church, were apparently refused by the assembled magnates, unless he issued a commission in writing and, promised to accept their proposals for reform. Edward naturally refused and deadlock ensued. The parliament ended with matters unsettled, with orders that it should reconvene at the end of April 1308.³⁷⁹ The political atmosphere was highly charged and, this only intensified during the intervening weeks: the threat of civil war hung in the air. The king replaced the custodians of at least a dozen castles and ordered hasty repairs to the Tower of London, while the earls gathered to discuss their next move at Henry de Lacy's castle at Pontefract, Yorkshire.³⁸⁰ As the elder statesman, Henry's position both as the host of this meeting and

³⁷³ Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 138-9.

³⁷⁴ Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 138. For more on the Coronation Oath debate and its contributors, see Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 141, n. 96.

³⁷⁵ *Foedera*, ii, part I, p. 33; Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 141-3.

³⁷⁶ Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 141-2; For the baronial tensions toward Piers Gaveston, see 'Annales Paulini', pp. 258-9; *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, pp. 10-11.

³⁷⁷ *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, pp. 8-12; 'Annales Paulini', pp. 259-260; Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 144-5.

³⁷⁸ 'Annales Paulini', p. 262; Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 145-6.

³⁷⁹ *Guisborough*, pp. 381-2; 'Annales Paulini', pp. 262-3; Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 146-7.

³⁸⁰ J. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322: A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 77-80; J. S. Hamilton, *Piers Gaveston: Earl of Cornwall, 1307-1312: Politics and Patronage in the Reign of Edward II* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988), pp. 49-50; Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 147.

his attempt to mitigate potential disaster cannot be overstated. The outcome of these discussions was a set of three articles which Henry presented, to the king, at the next Parliament.³⁸¹

This document was significant because it supplied a legal framework for the earls to oppose both Gaveston's influence on the crown, and the king's support for him, whilst it preserved their own allegiances to the crown.³⁸² The first maintained a distinction between the crown as an office of the state and the person of the king: that the nobles' oaths of homage were made to the crown and, not the king himself. They argued further, that if the king was inappropriately advised and, the dignity of the crown was threatened, they were bound by their oaths to act. If appropriate restitution through legal channels was implausible (because the judges were influenced by the king) such abhorrent counsel must be removed through constraint. They referred, of course, to Piers Gaveston. The next article declared that such an individual (Gaveston) had created a barrier between the king and his counsellors, and that the king's excessive patronage of him had impoverished the crown and spread conflict in the realm. They maintained that Gaveston had placed himself as an equal to the king and weakened the crown: which could no longer be tolerated. The last article stated that Edward was blinded by lack of reason and had favoured Gaveston, against all advice. They argued further, that because the king had sworn at his coronation to uphold the laws and customs which the community had chosen and, as the parliament viewed Gaveston as traitorous, Edward must take appropriate action.³⁸³ Edward naturally refused and a further political stand-off ensued. Over the course of the next few weeks, pressure on the king intensified, as messengers arrived in the country from his father-in-law, Philip IV, king of France. Philip IV made it known that he regarded Gaveston as his enemy and, unless the king exiled him from the country, he would regard all who supported him in the same manner. It was also rumoured he sent money to assist Henry de Lacy in the process.³⁸⁴ Faced with such opposition, Edward II relented and

³⁸¹ *English Historical Documents, Volume 3. 1189-1327*, ed. H. Rothwell (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 525-6; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp. 81-2; Hamilton, *Piers Gaveston*, pp. 50-1; Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 148-9.

³⁸² 'Annales Londonienses', pp. 153-4; Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 147-9.

³⁸³ *English Historical Documents, volume 3, 1189-1327*, pp. 525-6; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp. 81-2; Hamilton, *Piers Gaveston*, pp. 50-1; Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 148-9.

³⁸⁴ Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 149; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, p. 84, Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, p. 28; E.A. Brown, 'The political Repercussions of Family Ties in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Marriage of Edward II of England and Isabelle of France' *Speculum*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (July 1988), pp. 573-595, 585-7.

agreed that Gaveston should be exiled and restored the lands of the earldom of Cornwall to the crown. Gaveston left the country the following month.³⁸⁵

At the twilight of his career, Henry de Lacy had publically stood in political opposition to the king for the first time in his life. In spite of this, Henry appeared to reconcile with the king fairly swiftly and was present at court often. In the second year of Edward's reign, Henry appeared as a witness to royal charters at least thirty times.³⁸⁶ Perhaps, as part of Edward's attempt to appease his earls, in November 1308, the king granted Henry with the right to hunt along preserved rivers throughout the realm.³⁸⁷ Henry continued to obtain signs of royal favour through the following year, although they were principally for the benefit of others. In March 1309, he was responsible for the appointment of Adam of Gordon, to the custody of Stichill in Scotland, rent-free.³⁸⁸ Henry also obtained confirmation of exemption from taxation, for John le Lentur, which had been granted by Edward I.³⁸⁹ In the same month, Henry acquired a licence to alienate in mortmain, the reversion of the manor of Eastbourne, to the abbot and convent of St Edmunds. A similar licence was granted in May, at the instance of Henry, for Stephen Waz, for land in Henton and Norton, in favour of the prior and convent of Henton.³⁹⁰ In August, Henry procured a pardon for Henry le Masceoun of Methley, for the death of John Levet of Pontefract and, in the following month, obtained exemption for life from taxes and being placed on assizes, for William Trente.³⁹¹ Henry was himself rewarded in October, with a grant of the issues of all penalties for trespasses committed in his park, at Canford in Dorset.³⁹² Henry clearly remained close with the king and, attempted to act as a moderate influence in the political events which followed, during 1309.

Henry's personal involvement in the renewed calls for reform in 1309 is difficult to ascertain. He does not appear to have attended the Dunstable tournament, at which the articles presented at the

³⁸⁵ *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, pp. 11-14; 'Annales Londonienses', p. 156; Hamilton, *Piers Gaveston*, pp. 50-3; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp. 83-88; Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, p. 28; Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 149-150.

³⁸⁶ *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward II (1307-1326) from the Charter Rolls in the Public Record Office*, ed. J. S. Hamilton (Kew: List and Index Society, 288, 2001), pp. 2-26.

³⁸⁷ *CPR 1307-1313*, p. 146.

³⁸⁸ *CPR 1307-1313*, p. 103.

³⁸⁹ *CPR 1307-1313*, p. 152.

³⁹⁰ *CPR 1307-1313*, pp. 153, 156.

³⁹¹ *CPR 1307-1313*, pp. 179, 188.

³⁹² *CPR 1307-1313*, p. 197.

April parliament, were said to have been finalised.³⁹³ He was, however, in attendance at the parliament in April and, again in July.³⁹⁴ At the July parliament, Henry was reported to have supported the king in his effort to reinstate the earldom of Cornwall to Piers Gaveston and, was among those who witnessed his formal restoration the following month.³⁹⁵ It was not long, however, before tensions overflowed. The first signs of this occurred, in October 1309, when Henry and a number of the other earls apparently refused to attend a parliament, if Gaveston was in attendance: unhappy with his continued arrogant behaviour.³⁹⁶ Parliament eventually met at the end of February 1310, where calls for reform were made once more. Following heated debates, Edward eventually agreed to the appointment of Ordainers who would be charged with the reform of the realm.³⁹⁷ Representative of his continued authoritative and respective position amongst the aristocratic elite: Henry de Lacy was one of those duly elected in March 1310.³⁹⁸ Set against this background of political upheaval, the situation in Scotland, however, had changed considerably.

By the end of 1309, Robert Brus had strengthened his position, and won significant numbers to his cause. Edward was left with little choice but to respond. The army was summoned to muster, at Berwick, for 8 September and, Henry was appointed the king's lieutenant and keeper of the kingdom 'custos regni', during the king's absence.³⁹⁹ Despite the previous tensions, Henry was therefore still held in high esteem by the king.⁴⁰⁰ In October, however, Edward issued orders to move the exchequer and the justices of the bench to York, by the following Easter.⁴⁰¹ This reportedly angered Henry, who threatened to resign as 'custos regni'.⁴⁰² The resolution to this particular matter is unclear. It was probable, however, that they reconciled any differences, because Henry remained as 'custos regni' until his death, which unfortunately, occurred just four months later.

³⁹³ Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 155-6. Phillips suggested that Henry's absence may have been due to ill-health rather than a particular disapproval of the actions of the other earls. Unfortunately there is no evidence to confirm or deny this proposition.

³⁹⁴ *Parliamentary Writs*, ii, pp. 25, 29; *Foedera*, ii, part I, p. 78.

³⁹⁵ Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 159; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, p. 103; *CCIR 1307-1313*, pp. 225-6.

³⁹⁶ *Guisborough*, p. 384; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, p. 110; Hamilton, *Piers Gaveston*, pp. 76-7; Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 161-2.

³⁹⁷ *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, pp. 18-21; 'Annales Londonienses', pp. 168-170; *Foedera*, ii, part I, p. 105; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, p. 111; Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 165-6; *CPR 1307-1313*, p. 215

³⁹⁸ 'Annales Londonienses', p. 172; *Parliamentary Writs*, ii, p. 43; Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, p. 30; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp. 111-2; Hamilton, *Piers Gaveston*, pp. 80, 157.

³⁹⁹ 'Annales Londonienses', p. 174; *Parliamentary Writs*, ii, pp. 30-3; *Foedera*, ii, part I, p. 116; Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 168-9.

⁴⁰⁰ *CPR 1307-1313*, p. 277

⁴⁰¹ Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 173-4; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, p. 114; TNA, E 159/84 m.13d.

⁴⁰² *CDS*, iii, no. 177, p. 33; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, p. 114; Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 173-4.

Henry died on 5 February 1311 and, was subsequently buried at St Paul's cathedral, with great honour.⁴⁰³ The loss of Henry was a serious setback to the crown and future political stability in England.⁴⁰⁴ Henry was highly respected and trusted by the king: he had been a significant presence for most of Edward's life. Henry was equally held in high esteem by the wider aristocracy.⁴⁰⁵ Henry's death represented the loss of both an ally to the crown and a force for moderation at court. It also signified a shift in the political dynamics, which saw the position of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, bolstered as a result of his succession to the de Lacy inheritance.⁴⁰⁶ This improved Lancaster's political position, not only through the increase to his already substantial wealth, obtained through from the de Lacy estates. He could also exert his influence across these newly acquired lands, with the possibility of gaining additional support from his new tenants. Henry de Lacy was, until his death, a formidable royal councillor and a faithful servant to the crown. His many years of loyal service saw him in receipt of considerable levels of royal patronage throughout his lifetime. These ranged from extensive grants of land to hunting rights within the king's forest and parks. Henry's lands and accumulated revenues were estimated, by Andrew Spencer, to have risen to a peak of £3500 per annum.⁴⁰⁷ This made him one of the wealthiest and foremost English nobles. Despite notable public differences of opinion with Edward II, Henry was considered by his contemporaries, to have been the closest councillor to not just one, but two kings.

⁴⁰³ 'Annales Londonienses', p. 175; '*...et supultus fuit cum maximo honore...*' in 'Annales Paulini', p. 269; *Flores*, iii, p. 149.

⁴⁰⁴ Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, p. 19.

⁴⁰⁵ Seymour Phillips goes so far as to state that 'no one else' would have been able to both play such a factor in the significant events preceding the election of the Ordainers in 1310, and been chosen as '*custos regni*' by the king in the same year.

⁴⁰⁶ Thomas, earl of Lancaster now held a total of five earldoms. In addition to Lancaster, he also held the earldoms of Leicester and Derby and now, through his marriage to Alice de Lacy, inherited the earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury from Henry.

⁴⁰⁷ Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp. 22-3 estimated a figure of 10,000 marks. This has been further examined by Andrew Spencer to give the above figure of £3,500. Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, p. 23.

Part II: The de Lacy Honour, Estate Management, Affinity and Religious Patronage

Chapter 5: The de Lacy Honour

This chapter will define the extent of the de Lacy lands, examine the strategies they employed in the management of their estates, including property acquisitions, and how they generated income, through the examination of surviving charters and the extant account rolls, combined with exchequer and chancery records.¹ The de Lacy's extant charters are instrumental as sources for information on the rights and privileges which they awarded to their followers and tenants. They also provide information on the rights and privileges they secured for themselves in charters where they are the grantee. In addition to this, the scale of particular grants can also serve to shed light on the nature of the relationship, and thus the level of favour held, between grantor and grantee. The vast majority of surviving charters relate to monastic endowments. These have survived as a result of their collation in the various chartularies and collections of religious institutions. The survival rate for extant acta which do not relate to religious affairs is lower. We are fortunate, however, that a significant number do survive which we can analyse. For Roger de Lacy, there are seven surviving charters in which he was the grantor.² Of these, except a grant to the burgesses of Pontefract, the remainder are to members of his affinity. There are seven in which Roger was named as the grantee. These are largely quit-claims of the grantor's rights to land in or near Roger's estates, although there are two which relate to the acquisition of land.³ For John de Lacy there are fifteen charters which name him as a grantor.⁴ These range from small grants of confirmation, to a more substantial exchange between John de Lacy and Rades Duffeld, of sixty acres of land in Fippin, Yorkshire, for Duffeld's rights in the woods of Fippin

¹ TNA, DL 42/1-2; 'Two *Compoti* of the Lancashire and Cheshire Manors of Henry de Lacy', ed. P. A. Lyons (Chetham Society, 1884); Platts, 'Land and People'; J. F. Baldwin, 'The household administration of Henry Lacy and Thomas of Lancaster', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 42, No. 166 (April 1927), pp. 180-200.

² (To the burgesses of Pontefract) Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 83r; (Colin de Darneville) MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 151r; (William de Beaumont) Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 151r; (Grant to Hugh Tirrel) Manchester University Library, TW/123; (Grants to Adam Dutton) Manchester University Library, GB 133 ARL/1/19; GB 133 ARL/1/71; GB 133 ARL/1/74.

³ TNA, DL25/43; DL 25/44; DL 25/45; (Grant of land and a mill in Hunslet, Yorkshire by Peter Alta Ripa for 100 marks of silver) DL 27/209; DL, 25/1198; (Sale by Adam de Criddling of the township of Criddling Stubbs, Yorkshire) DL 25/2136; DL 25/2401.

⁴ TNA, DL 25/47; DL 25/54; DL 25/2135; DL 25/2117; DL 25/2336; DL 27/30; DL 27/201; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 66 fo. 33r; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 151v; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 153r; BL, Harley 2044 fo. 148v; Lancashire Archives, DD KS10/1; YAS MD 102/99; *Yorks Deeds*, i, p. 190; West Yorkshire Archives, DD/WBD/IX/I.

and Almholve, Yorkshire.⁵ This number lowers to seven charters where John was named as the grantee.⁶ The majority of these relate to quit-claims of the grantor's rights to land in favour of John. For Edmund de Lacy only four survive which name him as grantor. One of these was a grant to John de Longvillers of land in Farnley, Yorkshire.⁷ There are eight charters which name Edmund as the grantee. The majority of these relate to tenements and rights of rents of de Lacy tenants, and additional quit-claims of the grantor's rights in favour of Edmund.⁸ The numbers for Henry de Lacy are, as expected, significantly more favourable, with thirty-five charters where he is named as grantor.⁹ These include grants to the burgesses of Pontefract, Denbigh and Clitheroe, in addition to more personal grants, such as an award of land in Waddington, Lincolnshire, to William de Stopham.¹⁰ There are then a further thirty extant charters which name Henry as a grantee. The majority of these relate to quit-claims of rights in favour of Henry, in addition to grants of rents and tenements within the de Lacy estates.¹¹

As the political careers of Roger, John, Edmund and Henry de Lacy indicate, the amount of land available to an aristocratic family was central to their wealth and ability to exercise power and influence in the localities. A magnate's estates were not simply a source of income but also provided followers who might staff his household and estate administration and perform other additional

⁵ Lancashire Archives, DD KS10/1

⁶ TNA, DL 25/56; DL 25/2910; DL 25/3102; DL 25/3235; DL 25/3626; Nottinghamshire Archives, DD FJ/1/1751/1; West Yorkshire Archives, DD/WBD/IX/3.

⁷ TNA, DL 25/2156; DL 25/2157. These two grants relate to a message of land in Pontefract awarded to Robert, son of Simon of Pontefract, probably a minor tenant. TNA, DL 25/2166 records a grant by Edmund to Miles Basset, of the service and homage of Roger the son of Hugh, in exchange for a tenement and Basset's rights in East Haddley, Yorkshire. For the grant of land in Farnley, Yorkshire to John de Longvillers, see London College of Arms, MS Vincent 225, p. 124.

⁸ TNA, DL 25/2071; DL 25/2134; DL 25/2161; DL 25/2162; DL 25/2162; DL 25/2163; DL 25/2164; DL 25/2165; DL 25/2167.

⁹ TNA, DL 25/68; DL 25/69; DL 25/70; DL 25/1882; DL 25/2125; DL 25/2138; DL 25/2173; DL 25/2174; DL 25/2190; DL 25/2337; DL 25/2338; DL 25/2449; DL 25/2479; DL 25/2519; DL 25/2563; DL 25/2672; DL 25/2771; DL 25/3249; DL 25/3436; DL 25/3628; DL 27/33; SC 1/18/188; E 326/10862; Lancashire Archives, PR 5013/1/1; PR 5013/1/2; DDKS 10/3; DDX 273/1; DD HE/25/16; DDPT 6/Billington/18 also see *Whalley Coucher*, iv, pp. 945-6; Leeds University Library, YAS DD53/III/464; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 83v; London College of Arms MS Glover 1 fo. 86r; BL, Harley MS 2074 194; West Yorkshire Archives Service, WMP/PO/1/185; *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 327.

¹⁰ TNA, DL 27/33 (Denbigh); Lancashire Archives, PR 5013/1/1; PR 5013/1/2 (Clitheroe); West Yorkshire Archives Service, WMP/PO/1/185 (Pontefract). For William de Stopham, see TNA, DL 25/3249.

¹¹ TNA, DL 25/2075; DL 25/2076; DL 25/2077; DL 25/2126; DL 25/2128; DL 25/2129; DL 25/2130; DL 25/2137; DL 25/2139; DL 25/2140; DL 25/2144; DL 25/2147; DL 25/2153; DL 25/2158; DL 25/2159; DL 25/2160; DL 25/2168; DL 25/2170; DL 25/2171; DL 25/2172; DL 25/2368; DL25/2395; DL 25/2430; DL 25/2469; DL 25/2475; DL 25/2672; DL 25/3438; Two documents are letters which appoint attorneys to take seisen of properties granted to Henry, see TNA, DL 25/2133 (for Owston, Yorkshire); DL 25/2812 (for Saltfleetby, Lincolnshire). DL 10/176 details letters, dated 1291, which give Henry houses in London, formerly held by the son of 'Aaron the Jew'.

services.¹² Large aristocratic estates held by barons and earls were characterized as ‘honours’.¹³ Rather than comprising swathes of uninterrupted land, they were a conglomeration of manors and holdings that often stretched across different counties, and intertwined with lands belonging to other nobles.¹⁴ The core of the de Lacy estates centred on their ancestral baronial honours of Halton, Clitheroe and Pontefract in Cheshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire respectively. By 1311, however, their lands had expanded to stretch across twenty counties (including: Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Dorset, Herefordshire, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Middlesex, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset, Staffordshire, Suffolk, Wiltshire and Yorkshire), and into Wales with the acquisition of Denbigh. Halton had passed into the de Lacy family via the marriage of Eustace fitz John, Roger’s great grandfather, in the 1150s, with the position of hereditary constable of Chester. The barony of Halton in Cheshire was held of the king in chief, for the service of 2 knights’ fees.¹⁵ Roger de Lacy inherited the land in 1190 after the death of his father John the Constable.¹⁶ By 1311, the Inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy indicated that the castle and manor were accompanied by over eighty acres of arable land and a fishery in Runcorn, with a water mill and a wood at Whiteley. In addition to this, a further one hundred acres of arable land was leased to tenants. There was also a halmote and a free court at Halton. At the manor of Moore a further forty acres of arable land was leased. The manor of Congleton comprised eighty burgages, approximately one hundred acres of arable land, another water mill, an annual market and a portmote (borough court). The honour also included a second fishery at Thelwall, which rendered 100s per annum.¹⁷ On the border of the honour of Halton, the de Lacys also held additional lands in Widnes. This included a

¹² Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp. 46-7; L. Wilkinson, ‘The *Rules* of Robert Grosseteste Reconsidered: The Lady as Estate and Household Manager in Thirteenth Century England’, in *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe c.850 – c.1550, Managing Power, Wealth and the Body*, ed. A. Maslakowvic and C. Beattie and S. Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 293-306, pp. 293-4.

¹³ Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 219

¹⁴ Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 219.

¹⁵ Prior to the agreement reached between Henry de Lacy and Edward I, whereby de Lacy entailed his lands to the crown and earl of Lancaster, as part of arrangements for his daughter’s marriage, Halton would have been held in chief from the earldom of Chester. The knights’ service listed as due in Cheshire from the constable in 1252 was 8 knights’ fees. It is unclear how much of this figure related specifically to Halton. *Calendar of County Court, City Court and Eyre Rolls of Chester, 1259-1297*, ed. R. Stewart-Brown (Manchester: Chetham Society 84, 1925), pp. xlvi, li. In Henry’s inquisition *post mortem* this was recorded as pertaining to the constableness and held together with the manors of Runcorn, Whiteley, Moore, Congleton and Thelwall, in service of the king for 2 knights’ fees. TNA, C 134/22/1 (inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy).

¹⁶ C.L. Kingsford, P. Dalton (rev.) ‘Lacy, Roger de, Soldier and administrator’; *The Red Book of the Exchequer* ed. H. Hall (3 Vols. London: Rolls Society, 1896), Halton does not appear to be listed in the 1166 *Carta*. It is recorded as in possession of the king in Domesday.

¹⁷ TNA, C 134/22/1 (inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy); DL 10/ 371; DL 41/224-227; DL 41/246-247.

capital messuage, ninety-six acres of demesne land, sixteen bovates of land leased to tenants and a windmill.¹⁸ Halton was a substantial baronial holding for the family and represented a significant part of their landed wealth. In 1194, Roger inherited the honours of Clitheroe and Pontefract following an agreement between Roger and his grandmother, Aubrey de Lisours, the cousin and heir of Robert de Lacy.¹⁹

The honour of Clitheroe centred on the wapentake of Blackburnshire, with the caput situated south of the Forest of Bowland and Lancaster, and midway between Pontefract and Halton. In 1102, King Henry I awarded Blackburnshire to Robert de Lacy, baron of Pontefract, and at the same time confirmed his possession of Bowland.²⁰ Roger de Lacy extended the honour to include the barony of Penwortham in 1205.²¹ He had also acquired the manor of Rochdale by the time of his death in 1212.²² Penwortham was located on the edge of the Forest of Bowland, to the north of Halton, and consisted of a capital messuage, twenty-four acres of meadow in demesne and a fishery in the Ribble Estuary.²³ Rochdale was located to the east between Halton and Pontefract. The estate included the manor of Castleton, which consisted of six 'wasted' messuages in 1311, a water mill and a weekly market and annual fair.²⁴ John de Lacy obtained Tottington in 1235.²⁵ This acquisition served to secure the route between Pontefract and Halton to the west and provided the de Lacys with a stronghold over much of the northwest of England between York and Chester. Tottington included a capital messuage,

¹⁸ Additional land was parcelled out to a number of sub-tenants in return for approximately 4 knights' fees. The most significant of the de Lacy sub-tenants in Widnes was Sir Robert de Latham who held Knowsley, Raby, Huyton and Tarbock in return for one and a half knights' fees, 10s 7d sac fee and a requirement for suit of court. TNA, C 134/22/1 (inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy); DL 10/ 371; DL 41/224-227; DL 41/246-247.

¹⁹ TNA, DL 42/2 fo. 110; EYC, iii, p. 208; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v, pp. 533-4; *Pipe Rolls 7 Richard I*, p. 98.

²⁰ W. Farrer, *The Lancashire Pipe Rolls and Early Lancashire Charters* (Liverpool: H Young and Sons, 1902), pp. 382-3; TNA, DL 41/98 formerly TNA, DL 41/1/1.

²¹ TNA, DL 42/1/79.

²² The 1212 Survey shows Roger de Lacy in possession of 5 knights' fees worth of land in the honour of Clitheroe. He held the barony of the constableness for the service of 4 knights' fees. *Liber Feodorum*, i, p. 211.

²³ The free tenants at Penwortham included William de la Mare who held tenements in Langton by service of 50s per annum and William de Coudrey, who held a fishery at Otrepol at fee farm and rendered 26s 8d per annum. A further five men are listed as having provided knights' service in exchange for lands in Penwortham. Adam de Freclon held land for service of 1 knight's fee, 4s for sac fee and service at the court of Penwortham. Sir Thomas de Bethom held land by service of half a knight's fee, 18d for sac fee and the same suit of court. Nicholas de Eton and his wife Joan, daughter and heir of Richard de Stokfort, held Berkdale, a moiety of Clakton and Bretherton in exchange for half a knight's fee and 22 ½d for sac fee. Richard de Hokton held Gunnolfsmores and Whithill in the Wood for half a knight's fee, 2s for sac fee and service at the court of Penwortham. The townships of Duxbury and Adlington, Standish and Langtree also provided annual rent to the honour. TNA, C 134/22/1 (inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy).

²⁴ TNA, C 134/22/1 (inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy); DL 10/ 371; DL 41/224-227; DL 41/246-247.

²⁵ *Victoria History of the Counties of England Lancashire*, vol. 1, (London: Archibald Constable and Company, 1906), pp. 312-9. This appears to be the only source for this acquisition.

approximately one hundred acres of land, a pasture, water mill and a park.²⁶ The 1236 survey, taken after the collection of aid for the marriage of the king's sister, recorded that John held 12 knights' fees in Clitheroe, Penwortham and Widnes.²⁷ By the time of the Inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy, the family estate in Clitheroe included the castle, an orchard, twenty acres of demesne lands, four and a half acres of meadow and a water mill.²⁸ Further income was also derived from the rights to tolls in Clitheroe, Blackburn and Bowland and the free court worth 100s per annum, with a further £6 13s 4d per annum from the burgesses.²⁹ By 1311, the honour had increased to include approximately one thousand four hundred acres of land in Accrington, Burnley, Briercliffe, Cliviger, Habergham, Haslingden, Great and Little Marsden, Pendleton, Standen and Worston, with the addition of the manors of Colne, Downham, Ightenhill and Walverden. There were twenty-nine vaccaries (breeding farms) in the honour of Clitheroe, including Hoddesden, Penhill, Romesgrave, Rossendale and Trawden, which according to the surviving household accounts provided annual revenue from their lease of approximately £3 each.³⁰ Although during much of his lifetime, Henry had held Clitheroe in chief of the king, at the time of his death, the lands in Lancashire were held from Thomas, earl of Lancaster, for the service of 14 and a third knights' fees, accompanied with an annual render of 105s 8d for the guard of the castle of Lancaster.³¹ Along with Clitheroe, as part of his deal with his grandmother Aubrey, Roger also received the large honour of Pontefract.

Pontefract consisted of the castle and honour and was held in service from the king for 3 knights' fees.³² Although there is no mention of Pontefract Castle in Domesday, it is probable that a castle was constructed here prior to that built by Ilbert I de Lacy in the eleventh century.³³ The 1166 *cartae* recorded that Henry (I) de Lacy, antecedent of Robert de Lacy, held Pontefract from the king,

²⁶ Of the 'free-tenants' listed in the Inquisition *post mortem*, Sir Henry de Bury held land in Clitheroe, Bury and Shuttleworth for half a knight's fee and rent of 12d per annum, and Henry de Trafford held the manor of Chadderton for 1 knight's fee. In Tottington, Roger de Chadreton held land by homage, Robert de Bradeschagh had free pasture for 12d per annum, and Richard de Radcliff held twenty acres of land, however, the terms of his service are unknown. TNA, C 134/22/1 (inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy); DL 10/ 371; DL41/224-227; DL 41/246-247.

²⁷ *Liber Feodorum*, i, p. 595.

²⁸ The castle at Clitheroe was first built before c. 1186. An endowment of the chapel at Clitheroe can be dated to this year, during the time of Robert de Lacy. J. McNulty, 'Clitheroe Castle and its Chapel: their Origins', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, XCIII (Liverpool, 1942), pp. 45-53.

²⁹ TNA, C 134/22/1 (inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy); DL 10/ 371; DL 41/224-227; DL 41/246-247.

³⁰ *Two Compoti*, pp. 111, 183. For further details, see the later chapter on Estate Management, pp. 151-2.

³¹ TNA, C 134/22/1 (inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy); DL 10/ 371; DL 41/224-227; DL 41/246-247.

³² TNA, C 134/22/1 (inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy). Held from Edward I.

³³ A more detailed discussion on the origins of the castle at Pontefract can be found in P. Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire 1066-1154* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 67, 75-6.

however, at a value of 60 knights' fees of the old feoffment.³⁴ When Roger de Lacy acquired the honour of Pontefract from his grandmother in 1194, however, the king retained the castle of Pontefract.³⁵ Roger did not obtain formal possession of the castle until 1199.³⁶ By 1311, the honour consisted of land in the West Riding of Yorkshire, formed from the wapentakes of Osgoldcross, Staincliffe and Staincross, which were valued at £35 13s 4d per annum.³⁷ The inquisition *post mortem* for Henry de Lacy notes that the honour contained over a dozen demesne manors (including: Ackworth; Almondbury; Altofts with Warenfeld; Bradford; Campsall; Castleford; Cridling with the ancient manor of Beal; Elmsall; Kippax; Knottingley; Owston; Rounday; Scholes with Morwick; Tanshelf; and Whitgift). Together this represented more than six hundred acres of additional arable land, water mills and parks.³⁸ West of Lincoln, as part of the hereditary de Lacy lands, Henry held the wapentake of Risley, of the honour of Tickhill, in chief of the king, with other lands in Nottinghamshire. These included the wapentake of Allerton and Kneesall manor, of the fee of Ghent by the service of half a knight's fee.³⁹ In addition to this, Henry had possession of the manor of Plumtree, Nottinghamshire for the service of one and a half knights' fees. Henry also had land in Cauldon in Staffordshire, from the heirs of Edmund, baron of Stafford, for one third of a knight's fee.

Although the de Lacys held significant possessions in the North, they also acquired lands elsewhere. Marriage was an important function by which noble families could control and manage the distribution and inheritance of land.⁴⁰ Successful marriage agreements were therefore of significant value to a noble family as a mechanism for increasing their lands. Prudent marriages by the de Lacy heirs during the thirteenth century added to their estates. There is no surviving evidence to indicate whether Roger's wife Maud or Matilda de Clere, brought any land as a marriage portion, although it is

³⁴ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, p. 421. 20 of these fees were disputed with Guy de Laval, so Henry only paid on the value of 40 knights' fees of the old feoffment. It is unclear from surviving records exactly when the knights' service due from Pontefract changed, however, by the time of Edward I it was held in chief of the king for only 3 knights' fees. It is possible that this occurred when Henry entailed his estates to the crown as part of the arrangements for his daughter's marriage. Either way this represented an extremely beneficial deal for the de Lacy family.

³⁵ See above chapter on Roger de Lacy, p. 39.

³⁶ *Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden*, iv, pp. 91-2.

³⁷ TNA, C 134/22/1 (inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy); DL 10/ 371; DL 41/224-227; DL 41/246-247.

³⁸ TNA, C 134/22/1 (inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy); DL 10/ 371; DL 41/224-227; DL 41/246-247.

³⁹ Henry also maintained another 10 knights' fees of land ranged across Allerton, Bathley, Buckton, Carlton, Claborough, Clombre, Costhorpe, Cottam, Harworth, Hayton, Hardwick, Keyworth, Kirton, Kneesall, Lympole, Maplebek, Marnham, Morton, Muskham, Skegby, Sternethorp, Sutton and Weston.

⁴⁰ Waugh, *The Lordship of England*, pp. 28-63; Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, pp. 547-9; See also S.M. Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power in the Twelfth-Century Anglo Norman Realm* (Manchester University Press, Manchester 2003).

likely that she did.⁴¹ John de Lacy's marriage to Margaret de Quincy, however, helped to bring the family the earldom of Lincoln, which also provided a third penny of the county.⁴² The marriage, via the earldom, also brought a potential claim to the custody and constableness of Lincoln castle and additional rents in the castle's bailiwick.⁴³ Much of John's fortunes can be traced to arrangements made by Ranulf III of Chester, regarding the Chester inheritance, prior to his death in 1232.⁴⁴ These arrangements increased Margaret's already considerable position as an important heiress and transformed John's political fortunes. Margaret's inheritance from her mother included an honour that became one of the de Lacy family's most favoured possessions, Bolingbroke.

The honour of Bolingbroke consisted of the castle and manor, soke, woods in Kirkby and Hundleby and a vaccary named Hill Dyke, with an additional park belonging to the castle. This was held for a sum of one and a half knights' fees from the king.⁴⁵ Bolingbroke was acquired by Margaret de Lacy after the death in 1243 of her mother, Hawise de Quincy, who in turn had received the castle and manor from her brother, Ranulf III, earl of Chester, in the division of his estates after his death.⁴⁶ Bolingbroke, an honour that dated to as early as Domesday, was of considerable importance, both monetarily and strategically for its geographic location.⁴⁷ Earl Ranulf III had also undertaken extensive building work on Bolingbroke castle during the 1220s, providing it with substantial fortifications.⁴⁸ The 1242 to 1243 survey revealed that Hawise was charged scutage on 10 knights' fees that she held in demesne in Lincolnshire, which pertained to the honour of Bolingbroke.⁴⁹ The same survey recorded that Hawise had at least twenty-eight tenants who held land from her within

⁴¹ S. M. Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power*, p. 181; Matilda had dower land in Ingoldmells, Skegness, Great Steeping, Burgh le Marsh, Partney, North Thoresby and North Coates in Lincolnshire, with additional land in East Halton in Lincolnshire and Snaith in Yorkshire. *Liber Feodorum*, I, pp. 163, 249, 285, 360, 362. East Halton and Skegness would subsequently form part of Margaret de Lacy's dower. Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 63.

⁴² Eales, 'Henry III', pp. 100-113; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*. The 'third penny' was a grant of the third of the profits of the royal borough and county courts. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 209.

⁴³ A much stronger claim to the constableness of Lincoln castle, and additional rents in the bailiwick, came via the marriage of Henry de Lacy to Margaret Longespée.

⁴⁴ See above Chapter John de Lacy, pp. 64-5.

⁴⁵ TNA, C 134/22/1 (inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy); DL 10/ 371; DL 41/224-227; DL 41/246-247.

⁴⁶ See above Chapter John de Lacy, p. 142. *CCIR 1242-1247*, p. 89; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 37, 49; Eales, 'Henry III'.

⁴⁷ Sanders, *English Baronies*, pp. 17-18.

⁴⁸ R. Eales, 'Castles and Politics in England 1215-1224', in *Thirteenth Century England II*, ed. C. Lloyd and P. Coss (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988), p. 38; M. W. Thompson 'The Origins of Bolingbroke Castle, Lincolnshire', *Medieval Archaeology* 10, (1966), pp. 152-158; *Beeston Castle, Cheshire: Excavations by Laurence Keen & Peter Hough, 1968-85*, ed. P. Ellis (London: English Heritage, 1993), p. 211.

⁴⁹ *Liber Feodorum*, ii, p. 1002; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 37.

Bolingbroke. Hawise was able to secure knights' service from these tenants which ranged from between one third of a knight's fee to 3 knights' fees from these tenancies.⁵⁰ Bolingbroke was therefore of substantial value to the de Lacy family estate portfolio. Margaret de Quincy did not pass the honour of Bolingbroke to her son Edmund de Lacy, as he predeceased her.⁵¹ During Henry's tenure, Bolingbroke was particularly important within the administration of the de Lacy estates as a whole. It served as one of seven primary receiverships, in conjunction with Halton, Clitheroe, Pontefract, Lincoln, Holborn and Denbigh.⁵² In addition to Bolingbroke, as part of the substantial de Quincy inheritance, Henry obtained possession of the manor of Sedgebrook.

Sedgebrook was part of Margaret de Quincy's dower lands, which Henry subsequently held for the service of half a knight's fee, from Margaret, countess of Cornwall.⁵³ He also held a further nine acres of meadow at Stenwith and 5s 6d of rent, as a parcel of the manor of Greetham. Margaret inherited the manors of Greetham and Thorley from her mother, which in turn passed to Henry.⁵⁴ The manor of Greetham was held from the king and valued at a substantial £22 5s 11 ½d. Thorley manor included three hundred and sixty acres of wood and was valued at 73s 10 ½d.⁵⁵ To the east of Lincoln, as part of Margaret de Quincy's inheritance from her father, Henry held the manor of Kingston Lacy in Dorset, by knights' service of the honour of Leicester.⁵⁶ This included rents in Wimborne and Blandford, pleas from the hundred of Badbury, and an advowson of the church of Blandford. Henry also obtained Margaret's land at Grantchester manor and Babraham in Cambridge.⁵⁷ These estates served as a critical junction across the southern borders of the de Lacy lands.

⁵⁰ *Liber Feodorum*, ii, pp. 1087-8.

⁵¹ TNA, DL 25/52-3 (Bolingbroke and Wrangle); Thirty-four of Margaret's surviving deeds refer to property acquisitions near her Lincolnshire estates; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 63 and n. 334.

⁵² J. F. Baldwin, 'The Household Administration of Henry Lacy and Thomas of Lancaster', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 42, No. 166 (April 1927), pp. 180-200, p. 183.

⁵³ For the assignment of Margaret's dower lands, which included Sedgebrook, Ingoldmells, North Thoresby and East Halton in Lincolnshire see *CCIR 1237-1242*, pp. 261-3; Wilkinson has valued the demesne properties in Margaret's dower at £315 per annum. Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 47.

⁵⁴ Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 40, 47; For Hawise, TNA, DL 25/51; For Margaret, DL 25/2383.

⁵⁵ For Hawise inheritance in Greetham, see W. Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, ii (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925), p. 83; for Thorley see Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, ii, p. 162; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 41; TNA, C 134/22/1 (inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy); DL 10/371; DL 41/224; DL 41/225; DL 41/226; DL 41/227; DL 41/246; DL 41/247.

⁵⁶ Margaret's inheritance from her father was detailed in a concord drawn up in 1230. TNA, DL 25/2336; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 63.

⁵⁷ As part of this, Henry de Lacy also received service of half a knight's fee held each by John Turpyn and Nicholas de Pershut, for land in Winterslow, Wiltshire and Tytherington, Gloucestershire; TNA, C 134/22/1 144

The material benefits that came to Edmund de Lacy through his marriage to Alice of Saluzzo in 1247 are difficult to trace. Although no evidence survives for Alice's marriage portion, the marriage itself tied Edmund much closer to the crown and brought with it substantial connections at court. Their son, Henry de Lacy's marriage to Margaret Longespée, however, brought significant additional landed wealth to the family.⁵⁸ Through this marriage, Henry gained access to the lands associated with the earldom of Salisbury. These included: the manors of Aldbourne, Amesbury, Trowbridge and Winterborne in Wiltshire; Charlton and Henstridge in Somerset; the manor of Canford in Dorset with the hundred of Cogdean and a large chace; the castle and manor of Clifford in Herefordshire, which included a capital messuage, one hundred and twenty acres of arable land, twelve acres of meadow and pasture and a water mill at Middlewood. In Suffolk, Henry held ten acres of land accompanied by 19s 3d in rent at Cowlinge, as a parcel of the earldom of Salisbury. Likewise, he held Holmer manor in the parish of Little Missenden in Buckinghamshire. Henry also had the manors of Edgware, Kingsbury, Colham and Uxbridge in Middlesex.⁵⁹ The Longespée lands included those of the la Haye family, which had passed to Henry's father-in-law, William Longespée, via his marriage to the daughter of Nicholaa de la Haye. These also came with, arguably, stronger rights to the constableness of Lincoln castle than those associated with the earldom of Lincoln. The la Haye lands included the manor of Brattleby, with its members Swaton in Kesteven and Sutton in Holland, with the free court of La Haye in West Riding; formed as a parcel of the earldom.⁶⁰ The honour of Brattleby itself represented a significant prize, since it was assessed for scutage at 16 knights' fees.⁶¹ Henry also obtained Horbling manor, in South Kesteven, which he subsequently held from Thomas, earl of Lancaster, in return for half a knight's fee. This expansion of key territorial interests in Lincolnshire, which consolidated the de Lacy influence within the county, was therefore a probable significant motivation for this marriage. These marriages were critical to the de Lacy family fortunes. Each

(inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy); DL 10/ 371; DL 41/224; DL 41/225; DL 41/226; DL41/227; DL 41/246; DL 41/247.

⁵⁸ TNA, E 326/194, covenant between Edmund de Lacy and William Longespée which detailed agreement for marriage negotiations.

⁵⁹ TNA, C 134/22/1 (inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy).

⁶⁰ These de la Haye lands had passed to Henry's father-in-law, William Longespée, via his marriage to the daughter of Nicholaa de la Haye. For further information on Nicholaa see Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 12-26.

⁶¹ Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 109; *Pipe Rolls 13 John*, p. 58; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 12.

marriage in turn provided the family with additional land, titles and influence, combined with closer links with the royal court. They also served to extend the de Lacy influence across the northern counties. This expansion of their wealth and fortune would likely have been a considerable factor in the subsequent marriage of Henry's daughter, Alice, to Thomas of Lancaster in or around 1294.⁶²

In order to consolidate or expand their holdings and often in-lieu of other favours, members of the aristocracy, including the de Lacys, also exchanged areas of land with one another. On the borders of their Lincolnshire territory, the de Lacys acquired the honour of Donington in Leicestershire, centred on the town and castle and which included the wapentakes of Plumtree and Risley, a parcel of the earldom of Chester.⁶³ Initially held by Roger de Lacy, the castle at Donington was retained from John de Lacy's inheritance, by the king, as surety for his continued loyalty. The return of the castle was only secured in 1214, as part of a new arrangement with the crown.⁶⁴ In 1254, Edmund de Lacy completed an exchange with his mother, who held Donington in dower, which traded the manor of Donington for the manor of Kneesall in Nottinghamshire.⁶⁵ This facilitated a further exchange of manors with Roger de Quincy.⁶⁶ It was probable that this exchange was intended to consolidate existing territorial interests at the de Lacy estates of Pontefract. Scholes and Kippax are situated on the northern boundary of Pontefract and provided a strategic location close to the main route north between Leeds and York. This served to provide an additional vantage point over the northern road as well as a potential resting place should the need arise. Elmsall, Kneesall and Wadenhoe are to the south and west of the de Lacy lands in Lincolnshire, along the route north, and were perhaps of less strategic importance or economic value at the time, given the position of other de Lacy estates in Lincolnshire.⁶⁷

Likewise, in 1282, Henry de Lacy reached an agreement with Roger de Mowbray to exchange the manors of Thoresby, Waithe, Halton-on-Humber, Steeping, Hill Dyke, Thorley, Greetham,

⁶² See above Chapter Henry de Lacy, p. 108. *CChR 1257-1300*, pp. 455-6. There is no exact date for the marriage. However, it can have occurred no later than the 28 October 1294. It was at this point when Alice was recorded as Thomas' wife in the royal charter to Henry, that confirmed his lifetime rights to hold the land promised to Thomas and the crown as part of the marriage arrangements.

⁶³ TNA, C 134/22/1 (inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy); DL 10/371; DL 41/224; DL 41/225; DL 41/226; DL 41/227; DL 41/246; DL 41/247.

⁶⁴ *Rotuli Patentium*, p. 119; for the terms of the original arrangement see *Rotuli Clausarum*, p. 147; *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus*, pp. 483-4, 494-5.

⁶⁵ TNA, DL 25/2243; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 56-7.

⁶⁶ Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 56-7. See above, p.78

⁶⁷ See above Chapter Edmund de Lacy, p. 78.

Ingoldmells, part of the manor of Waddington, land in Sibsey and the marsh in Bolingbroke, Lincolnshire, for Roger's manors of Thirsk, Kirkby, Burton in Lonsdale, Hovingham in Yorkshire, Melton Mowbray in Leicestershire, Epworth and the Isle of Axholme in Lincolnshire.⁶⁸ Melton Mowbray created a link between the de Lacys' Lincolnshire estates and those toward the west, while Epworth provided a staging point to the north between Pontefract and Bolingbroke. Hovingham allowed for expansion of the northern estates towards the east, while Thirsk provided a gateway between the forest of Bowland and the Yorkshire Moors. These exchanges served to expand and reinforce the de Lacy territorial interests on the boundaries of their existing estates. These two exchanges, in particular, related to land held at key points on the main route through the north of England, between the de Lacys principle estates in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

⁶⁸ *CCIR 1279-1288*, pp. 191-2.

Chapter 6: Estate Management

The efficient management of estates was integral to a noble's ability to maintain his wealth and influence. As Scott Waugh has shown, legal reforms in the twelfth century, such as the writ of *novel disseisin*, limited the ability to adjust rents and services in line with economic trends. Neither could a lord simply reclaim land which he had given in service, except through direct purchase, or due to a lack of available heirs.¹ As a result, earlier methods of estate management were replaced in favour of more direct administration of demesne lands. This in turn had its own repercussions. Direct management required the employment of expert personnel who were capable of running large and complex estates efficiently, in order to bring financial benefits to the lord. These changes contributed to the professionalization of estate management during the thirteenth century.² This coincided with the production of manuals that sought to offer advice on the most appropriate way to engage in household and estate administration.

The *Rules* of Robert Grosseteste, for example, was a treatise which focused on the correct management of a noble's estate.³ Grosseteste's *Rules* contained a personal dedication to the countess of Lincoln, who was probably Margaret de Quincy, and it was no doubt produced principally for her benefit.⁴ The *Rules* were divided into two parts: rules i to xii focused on daily management of an estate: while xiii-xxviii referred to good management of a household. The *Rules* thus provided a detailed breakdown on how a noble might best benefit from the annual produce of their demesne lands.⁵ While the *Rules* (c.1245 to c.1253) were created for the use of an estate's lord, Walter of Henley's *Husbandry* (c.1276 to c.1290) and the anonymous *Seneschaucy* (c.1260 to c.1276) appear to have been aimed at the estates leading officials.⁶ Henley's *Husbandry* focused on agricultural

¹ S. L. Waugh, 'Tenure to contract: Lordship and Clientage in Thirteenth Century England' *The English Historical Review*, Volume CI, Issue CCCI (October 1986), pp. 811-839, pp. 813-4; Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348*, p. 208.

² Waugh, 'Tenure to contract', pp. 814-5.

³ *Walter of Henley's Husbandry, together with an anonymous Husbandry, Seneschaucie and Robert Grosseteste's Rules*, ed. E. Lamond (London: Longmans, 1890); D. Oschinsky, 'Medieval Treatises on Estate Management', pp. 296-309.

⁴ Oschinsky, 'Medieval Treatises', p. 305; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 58.

⁵ Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 60.

⁶ J. Sabapathy, *Officers and Accountability in Medieval England 1170-1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 53-4, 78.

processes, areas of work which would have been the prime concern of the estate administrator, while the *Seneschaucy* detailed its information from the perspective of the duties of manorial staff.⁷

These works in combination with surviving account rolls for the years 1295 to 1296, and 1304 to 1305, allow us to examine the estate structures used by the de Lacys to maximise their income at the end of the period covered by this thesis.⁸ Despite no earlier account rolls having survived, it is highly likely that Henry de Lacy built upon, and refined, existing mechanisms of estate management put in place by his forebears, most probably John de Lacy and his wife, Margaret. Aristocratic estates often sought to mirror and echo developments in the management of crown lands. To assist them in the management of their lands, they employed a variety of estate officials. These included receivers or treasurers, who were responsible for the collection of money from the manors within their purview. They in turn, reported to an estate's steward who oversaw the overall administration of the estates. The steward was therefore one of the most important officials in the smooth running of an aristocratic estate.⁹

The steward acted as the principal agent for his lord and was responsible for the management of a particular honorial estate.¹⁰ In the case of magnates with large groups of estates, an estate steward could often also be responsible for other individual manors as well.¹¹ Stewards were often recruited from among a lord's senior landholders and, in some cases, were existing members of their affinities. When Roger de Lacy assumed the lordship of Pontefract in 1194, he placed Robert le Waleys as steward of the honour.¹² The Waleys family were counted as senior tenants of the Lacys and held 3 knights' fees of land in Burghwallis, Skellow, Sutton and Cottingley.¹³ Robert le Waleys subsequently appeared as a witness to a number of Roger de Lacy's charters, including to the burgesses of

⁷ Oschinsky, 'Medieval Treatises', p. 306.

⁸ TNA, DL 29/1/1, DL 29/1/2 (Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts of the Possessions of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln); *Two Compoti*.

⁹ Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, pp. 2, 140-1; Denholm-Young, *Seigniorial Administration*, pp. 25-31; Miller & Hatcher, *Medieval England*, pp. 189-197; Waugh, 'Tenure to contract', p. 815.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Robert Heppale, discussed below, held the position of steward of Clitheroe, as well as steward of Ightenhill, and chief instaurator of Blackburnshire.

¹² Le Waleys also served as Roger's under-sheriff in Yorkshire. *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, pp. 74-5, Waleys is listed as 'vicecomite Ebor.'; Pipe Rolls 13 John, pp. 33-4, Le Waleys made payment of £666 not to render his account as steward in 1211.

¹³ *Early Yorkshire Families*, ed. C. Clay and D. Greenway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 95-6; *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland*, ed. G. E. Cokayne (13 vols. Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1987, reprint of London, 1910-1959 edition), ii, pp. 317-323. More information on the Le Waleys family and their landholding can be found in S. Rose, *Landed Society in the Honour of Pontefract, 1086-1509* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Lancaster, 2010), pp. 53, 57-8.

Pontefract in 1194.¹⁴ The household rolls also highlight the names of some of the estate officials employed by the de Lacys to manage their estates. During 1295 to 1296, the steward for the honour of Clitheroe was Robert Heppale. In addition to Clitheroe, Heppale also held the positions of steward of Ightenhill and instaurator of Blackburnshire.¹⁵ He was involved with the render of accounts for Accrington, with the sergeant there Robert de Ryley; at Colne, with the receiver Simon Noel; at Ightenhill with Peter de Ruddeby; at the Forest of Trawden with other instaurators and herdsmen; and for the render of Standen, with Thomas the sergeant.¹⁶ Other estate officials named in the rolls included: William of Wombwell, the constable of the castle of Halton, who also acted as a receiver; William of Hesketh, steward of Congleton; and Alexander Mercer, a provost.¹⁷ The earl's auditors were responsible for ensuring that all stock, income and expenditure was accounted for, and then to take in any remaining sums and direct them accordingly to where the earl required them.¹⁸ The earl's auditors in this year were his principal clerks, William Nony and Thomas Fishburn.¹⁹

The majority of service was undertaken in return for wages, as opposed to gifts of land etc. The accounts reveal that in 1295 to 1296, Robert Heppale received wages of £13 6s 8d as seneschal of Clitheroe, while the constable was paid £7 10s for 'Fee and Robe'.²⁰ Likewise, the steward of Halton and Widnes was paid £6 13s 4d, and the constable, William of Wombwell, received £7 10s.²¹ The level of wages paid to the constables, stewards and receivers of Clitheroe, Halton and Widnes, are similar to those paid, by the Bigod earls of Norfolk, to stewards not considered of knightly status. Those in East Anglia and Chepstow received sums of approximately £10 per annum in 1285.²² The accounts also reveal other positions within the wider management of the estates, although paid at much smaller sums. Thomas, the sergeant of Standen, for example, received an annual wage of £2 5s

¹⁴ *EYC*, iii, no.1523, 1524-1526, pp. 209-214.

¹⁵ *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 130, 322, Lancashire Archives, DDHE 18/7; Lancashire Archives, DDWH 1/61; Lancashire Archives, DDHE 103/1.

¹⁶ *Two Compoti*, pp. 1, 3, 17, 20, 41.

¹⁷ *Two Compoti*, pp. 53, 57, 66.

¹⁸ Campbell, *Seigniorial Agriculture*, p. 2; Denholm-Young, *Seigniorial Administration*, pp. 131-151; Two amounts of £162 listed as transported from Halton and Widnes during the year to Oliver Stanfield the constable of Pontefract. *Compoti*, p. 52.

¹⁹ *Two Compoti*, pp. 1, 43, 53.

²⁰ *Two Compoti*, p. 15.

²¹ *Two Compoti*, p. 51. The steward was possibly William of Hesketh, who was named as steward in 1304 to 1305, but not directly for Halton in the render of account for 1295 to 1296. Of additional slight interest, in 1304 to 1305, William of Wombwell's wages were listed for the position of receiver, rather than constable, although it is probable that he fulfilled both roles. *Compoti*, p. 64.

²² Morris, *Bigod Earls*, pp. 121, 147-9. According to Morris, stewards considered knights could expect higher wages closer to £30 per annum.

6d and a further payment of 6s 8d for robes.²³ At Ightenhill, a parker and porter were paid sums of £2 5s 6d respectively.²⁴ His counterpart at Halton received wages of £1 12s in both 1295 to 1296 and 1304 to 1305.²⁵ The gamekeeper at Clitheroe responsible for Salt Hill, Downham Wood and Worston, and the keepers of the boundaries of the forests of Rochdale and Barnoldswick, both received wages of £1 6s.²⁶ The stockman at Accrington, Gilbert of Leigh, was paid an annual wage of £2. These positions and their associated wages demonstrate that the de Lacy family employed non-tenurial staff, not considered of knightly standing, as professionals to carry out the various specialised duties across their estates.²⁷

Despite there being no surviving records of account covering the tenures of Roger de Lacy or John, the departmentalisation of responsibilities within the estates was well established by the time of Henry de Lacy. It is therefore highly probable that this was due to the continuation of practices from previous generations. The rolls show that the estates revenues were organised via the process of audit and account, with the financial year running from Michaelmas to Michaelmas (September). The various estate officials then presented their accounts annually to a receiver, and collected funds were despatched to a particular treasury. This detailed and smooth running administrative structure demonstrated that the estates officers on the Lacys' lands followed contemporary practices, such as those outlined in the treatises on estate management. Echoes of Grosseteste's *Rules* regarding the appropriate responsibilities of an estates' steward to ensure the good management of a lord's property and stock, and forward the revenues to the lord's treasury are, for example, prevalent.²⁸

The administration of agriculture across the de Lacy estates appeared to have been set along lines of regional specialisms, associated with the best use of land management for the particular area. The lands in Lincolnshire were predominantly concerned with the cultivation of crops, representing the wider availability of arable land, although wool production also occurred. The Lancashire estates

²³ *Two Compoti*, pp. 40, 42.

²⁴ *Two Compoti*, p. 15. The accounts also reveal wages were paid for a harrower and two stable-hands. *Two Compoti*, pp. 17-18.

²⁵ *Two Compoti*, pp. 51, 64.

²⁶ *Two Compoti*, pp. 15-16.

²⁷ It is interesting to note that the honour and the usage of waged administrators appear to have coexisted here beyond the apparent 1266 watershed as outlined by Steve Waugh and David Carpenter. Carpenter, 'The Second Century of English Feudalism', p.35; S. Waugh, 'The Third Century of English Feudalism', ed. M. Prestwich and R. Britnell and R. Frame *Thirteenth Century England VII* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), pp. 47-60.

²⁸ Wilkinson, 'The Rules of Robert Grosseteste', pp. 390-1; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 60; Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley and other treatises on Estate Management*.

focused on rearing livestock; the Yorkshire estates concentrated principally on the production of wool; and the Lincolnshire estates were more concentrated on arable crops.²⁹ In 1294 to 1295, the manor of Ightenhill served as receiver for the de Lacy lands in the honour of Clitheroe in Lancashire. These covered the accounts from approximately thirty different locations (including: Accrington, Colne, Cliviger, Clitheroe, Downham, Ightenhill, Pendleton, Penwortham and Worston, accompanied by the breeding farms in the Forests of Trawden, Pendle, Rossendale and Accrington, with Accrington Grange).³⁰ The extant account rolls reveal that twenty-eight breeding farms presented their accounts in 1295 to 1296. Five of these were located within Trawden; eleven in both Pendle Forest and Rossendale; while Accrington hosted a single much larger farm.³¹

Although initially created to satisfy local demand, by the middle of the thirteenth century production of oxen had increased substantially, and high numbers of surplus animals were sold at markets for meat or draught.³² This provided additional income to the de Lacy estates. Each breeding farm was leased to a keeper. They were responsible for the upkeep of the entire farm and its stock and were, in turn, answerable to the instaurator or stockman for the given bailiwick.³³ The breeding farms in Trawden Forest each contained a standing herd of between thirty-five and forty-four cows, a single bull and a varying number of steers, heifers, yearlings and calves.³⁴ The eleven breeding farms in Pendle managed a holding stock of between thirty-two and fifty-two cows; while Rossendale held between thirty-two and forty-four cows.³⁵ Surplus animals were sent to the farm at Accrington, which was used as a central hub and held over two hundred animals at one time. At Accrington, estate officials then took charge of the movement and sale of stock. Simon the Geldhird was responsible for the older and barren cows, while oxen were sent to Geoffrey the Parker and William of Antley.³⁶ The head instaurator, Gilbert of Leigh, was in charge of the management of the whole estate, and was responsible for the redistribution of cattle amongst the farms and the market of surplus stock.³⁷ In 1295

²⁹ Platts, 'Land and People', pp. 98-9; TNA, DL 29/1/2, DL 29/1/2; *Two Compoti*.

³⁰ *Two Compoti*, pp. 1-42.

³¹ *Two Compoti*, pp. 1-42; M. A. Atkin, 'Land Use and Management in the Upland Demesne of the de Lacy Estate of Blackburnshire c. 1300', *Agricultural History Review*, 42 (1994), pp. 5-6.

³² Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, p. 140.

³³ Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, pp. 140-1.

³⁴ *Two Compoti*, pp. 20-3.

³⁵ *Two Compoti*, pp. 23-30 for Pendle, pp. 30-36 for Rossendale.

³⁶ *Two Compoti*, pp. 23-36; Atkin, 'Land Use and Management', p. 5.

³⁷ *Two Compoti*, pp. 23-36; Atkin, 'Land Use and Management', p. 5.

to 1296, one hundred and thirty-six cows and four bulls were delivered to Gilbert, sixty cows were redistributed across the breeding farms and seventy-two cows and four bulls were sold. An additional one hundred and eighty-three oxen, deemed as old or 'crom', were transferred to Gilbert. Of these one hundred and thirty-seven were then sold.³⁸ In this year, the sale of hide, meat and stock generated a total income of £90 2s 3d.³⁹ The breeding farms therefore represented a substantial part of the de Lacy estates' annual income generation. Although some crops production occurred, the principal focus for the Lancashire estates agriculture during this period was livestock.⁴⁰

The Lincolnshire estates, with more available arable land, were more focused on the cultivation of crops such as wheat and barley.⁴¹ Areas such as Bolingbroke, Donington and Sedgebrook grew wheat, while Brattlebury, Waithe and Swaton concentrated on the production of barley.⁴² Wool production in the area was also considerable, with significant stocks of sheep held at various locations. In 1295, approximately two thousand fleeces were collected at Bolingbroke.⁴³ As the earl's principal estate, Bolingbroke was used as a central core for the collection of revenues from the Lincolnshire lands. It housed a central treasury or wardrobe, and income from other estates was directed here when needed by the estates auditors.⁴⁴ Officials from the de Lacy lands across Lincolnshire were called to Bolingbroke, where accounts were rendered and audited under the supervision of William de Nony and the estates steward, Roger Cobeldick. In 1295, the total revenues from the Lincolnshire estates were approximately £2556.⁴⁵

Despite an intervening period of almost ten years separating the two surviving account rolls, little in the way of radical change in the estates and their management occurred during this time. The 1304 to 1305 accounts begin with the render from Halton, provided by the same men: William of Hesketh the steward, and William of Wombwell, as receiver.⁴⁶ Halton and Widnes produced an annual revenue of £415 4s 5d for this year, which represented a small increase in profit from the previous

³⁸ *Two Compoti*, pp. 37-40. The latin word 'cron' or 'crom' was used to describe old animals, with 'cromium' the process by which old stock was weeded out; R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word List* (Oxford University Press, Oxford 1999), p. 122.

³⁹ *Two Compoti*, p. 39.

⁴⁰ *Two Compoti*, p. 39.

⁴¹ For more detailed discussion regarding crop cultivation in the Lincolnshire estates, see Platts, 'Land and People'.

⁴² TNA, DL 29/1/1 and DL 29/1/2; Platts, 'Land and People', p. 99.

⁴³ TNA, DL 29/1/1; Platts, 'Land and People', p. 100.

⁴⁴ Baldwin, 'Household Administration', pp. 186-7.

⁴⁵ Platts, 'Land and People', p. 99; Baldwin, 'Household Administration', p. 163.

⁴⁶ *Two Compoti*, p. 57.

accounts of approximately £60.⁴⁷ The honour of Clitheroe, likewise, recorded a small increase in annual revenue. The accounts for this year presented a sum of £1146 6s and 6d, an increase of approximately £100.⁴⁸ The Lincolnshire estates' profitability similarly improved during this period, with an increase in profit of approximately £500 recorded in 1304 to 1305.⁴⁹ This increase of profit was demonstrative of the effective management of the de Lacy estates, whereby all potential available income was maximised.

Increased commercialisation in England during the thirteenth century contributed to a growth in the level of markets and fairs. This was partly a response to an increased population, and also due to the development of new agricultural land, and a rise in overseas trade in wool, cloth and tin. As such, more markets and fairs were required to trade.⁵⁰ Like many other aristocratic families, the de Lacys were able to capitalise on this development. Edmund de Lacy obtained grants for weekly markets at Bradford and Rochdale, and a market and annual fair at Tanshelf.⁵¹ The most prolific emergence of markets and fairs, however, came under the tenure of Henry de Lacy. Henry was able to obtain grants, from the king, for the right to hold at least twenty weekly markets and annual fairs between 1278 and 1305. These were at manors ranged across ten counties (Cheshire, Dorset, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire (8), Middlesex, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset and Yorkshire). In May 1278, he secured a grant of a weekly market and an annual fair at his manor of Donington.⁵² He obtained the award of a weekly market and two annual fairs, in November 1280, at his manor of Buckby, Northamptonshire.⁵³ In January 1282, Henry received grants from the king for a weekly market and annual fair at his manors of Sutton, Luton and Swaton, Lincolnshire. In addition to these, he obtained a weekly market and two annual fairs at Congleton; a weekly market and annual fair at Wainfleet in

⁴⁷ *Two Compoti*, p. 63. It is also interesting to note that the steward, William of Hesketh was paid the same annual fee in 1304-1305 as in 1295-1296. There was no apparent increase in wages over the intervening ten years. *Two Compoti*, p. 64.

⁴⁸ *Two Compoti*, p. 113.

⁴⁹ TNA, DL 29 1/1; Platts, 'Land and People', p. 99.

⁵⁰ R. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society 1000-1500* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 79.

⁵¹ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 79; *CChR 1226-1257*, pp. 356, 362; *CChR 1226-1257*, p. 472; S. Letters, *Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516* <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2/html> (Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research).

⁵² *CChR 1257-1300*, p. 207.

⁵³ *CChR 1257-1300*, p. 232. This grant was subsequently confirmed by royal charter six months later, on 18 May 1281. *CChR 1257-1300*, p. 249.

Lincolnshire; and weekly markets at his manors of Wrangle and Tetney in Lincolnshire.⁵⁴ In December 1293, Henry obtained further grants for weekly markets and annual fairs at his manors of Almanbury, Bradford, Campsale and Pontefract, Yorkshire. In Lancashire, he secured a weekly market and annual fair at Brumley and an annual fair at Slaidburn. To these he added a weekly market and annual fair at Charlton in Somerset, Uxbridge in Middlesex, and Middleton in Oxfordshire. In 1305, Henry added two further markets and fairs to his portfolio. In April 1305, he obtained a grant of a weekly market and annual fair at Swinefleet, in Yorkshire.⁵⁵ Then, in October 1305, he secured a grant for an additional weekly market and annual fair at his manor of Wainfleet in Lincolnshire.⁵⁶ The surviving account rolls demonstrated that the de Lacys were able profit from this increased commercialisation and gained additional income as a result. Tolls for markets and fairs in Congleton, Clitheroe, Halton and Rochdale are listed as sources of income: Congleton provided 7s; Rochdale £2 13s 8d; Clitheroe raised £6; whereas Halton supplied a much larger £16 11s 6d.⁵⁷ The increase of available markets and fairs across the de Lacy estates was, therefore, a shrewd method for raising additional income.

Aristocratic landholders were also able to accrue income through the lease of land to tenants, in conjunction with money from other fines, tolls and fees. In 1295 to 1296, rents in the honour of Clitheroe were recorded for the following manors: Colne; Haslingden; Tottington; Rochdale; Worston; Pendleton; Ightenhill; Habergham; Padiham; Burnley; Marsden; Penwortham; Downham; Accrington; Huncoat; Cliviger; and Clitheroe.⁵⁸ This included the rental of fourteen mills and an iron forge, as well as the hall, grange and kitchens at Accrington. The total income for this year was presented as £1043 13s 4d.⁵⁹ The honour of Halton, with its adjoining neighbour Widnes together returned an annual income of £345 13s 2 ½d. This included revenues from six fisheries and six mills, four of which were in Widnes. Congleton recorded two sets of accounts in the roll. One is for the preceding year 1294 to 1295 and the other, the render for 1295 to 1296. It is unclear from the evidence as to whether the 1294 to 1295 render was missed in the previous year or whether this occurred for some other reason. The

⁵⁴ *CChR 1257-1300*, p. 260.

⁵⁵ *CChR 1300-1326*, p. 51.

⁵⁶ *CChR 1300-1326*, p. 61.

⁵⁷ *Two Compoti*, pp. 6, 12, 47, 55.

⁵⁸ *Two Compoti*, pp. 3-14.

⁵⁹ *Two Compoti*, p. 14.

manor provided revenue from rents for the two years combined of £48 11s 4d, which included two mills, the tolls from the fair and market, and rent from the freemen and burgesses.⁶⁰ The income from rentals was therefore of significance to the de Lacy estates' overall profitability. In addition to this, the accounts also reveal income from six wardships held by Henry de Lacy at this time. These provided an additional annual income of approximately £20.⁶¹

Despite a lack of surviving earlier accounts, the estate administration of the de Lacy family, particularly under Henry de Lacy, was both efficient and demonstratively lucrative. The effective management of livestock within the de Lacy's Lancashire estates is indicative of their use of regional specialisms to maximise their estate productivity. This is reflective of Campbell's wider findings in his research of seigniorial administration. Indeed, their increased acquisition of markets, fairs and profitable rentals, is also suggestive of the de Lacy's reactions to increased commercialisation and their capitalisation of economic trends.⁶² The evidence from the northern estates is also comparable to that highlighted by Platts in his research of the family's Lincolnshire estates.⁶³ Both regions' estates were managed effectively and where possible, maximised their income potential. Although the Lancashire estates recorded a lower increase in profits than their Lincolnshire counterparts, this was still a demonstrated increase. The Lincolnshire estates' higher profitability was associated to their links with the more commercially lucrative wool trade; their increased level of arable production; and their close proximity to international commerce, such as that available via the Boston market.⁶⁴ These findings also echo Platts' conclusion that Henry de Lacy, in particular, enjoyed the benefits of effective inter-generational estate management, with historical roots to those measures put in place by his grandmother, Margaret de Quincy.⁶⁵ The de Lacy's use of professional officials allowed for the supervision of their widespread estates in a coordinated and practical manner. This was concurrent with recommended practices outlined in contemporary treatises on estate management, as highlighted by Oschinsky. The increased departmentalisation present within the running of the estates went hand

⁶⁰ *Compoti*, pp. 53-6.

⁶¹ These included the wardship of the heirs of Ralph Starky, Thomas de Waleton, Geoffrey Chedel, Richard de Whiteley and Hugh of Dutton. *Two Compoti*, p. 48.

⁶² Campbell, *Seigniorial Agriculture*, pp. 427-9.

⁶³ G. Platts, 'Land and People', pp. 98-100.

⁶⁴ Britnell, *Commercialisation of England*, pp. 89-90, 118-120

⁶⁵ G. Platts, 'Land and People', p. 100.

in hand with a need for trained and specialist officials occupied with its management.⁶⁶ The account rolls demonstrate that the various personnel employed by the de Lacy family were able to manage the estates effectively and provided stability over many years. This, in turn, allowed for an increase in profitability and the maximisation of income from their extensive lands. Prudent marriages, accompanied by loyal royal service, supplemented by business deals with other landholders, enabled the de Lacys to reinforce and expand their existing holdings and increase the monetary value of their more significant honours. Although this was not unusual for an aristocratic family of the time, the benefits of the de Lacy marriages, in particular, that of Henry de Lacy and Margaret Longespée, was of substantial significance, compared to those made by their contemporaries. These mechanisms meant that by the time of Henry de Lacy's death in 1311, the family estates were worth an estimated £3500 per annum.⁶⁷ It is easy, therefore, to see why the marriage between Alice de Lacy, Henry's heiress, and Thomas of Lancaster in 1294 was such an attractive match for the latter.

In comparison with the income of other comital families, the richest earldom was by far that of Cornwall, valued at £7155 under Edmund, earl of Cornwall, in 1294.⁶⁸ The next was the de Clare family, with Gilbert de Clare estimated to have accrued estates worth £4500 to £5000.⁶⁹ Edmund of Lancaster was valued at approximately £4000 in 1290.⁷⁰ This was then followed by the earls of Warenne, who were estimated to have accrued approximately £3000.⁷¹ The Bigod earls of Norfolk have been comprehensively valued at £2500.⁷² While at the lower scale of valuations, the earldom of Hereford was at £2000 per annum.⁷³ The de Lacys' landed wealth meant that they were one of the wealthiest comital families in England, with only Cornwall, Clare and Lancaster above them.⁷⁴

⁶⁶ D. Oschinsky, 'Medieval Treatises', p. 308.

⁶⁷ Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp. 22-3 estimated a figure of 10,000 marks. This has been further examined by Andrew Spencer to give the above figure of £3500. Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, p. 23.

⁶⁸ Spencer, *Nobility*, p. 17. This was from a valuation in Midgley, L., *Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall 1296-1297* (London: Camden Society, 3rd Series, 66, 68, 1942-45), pp. 66-8. See also, Vincent, N., 'Edmund of Almain, second earl of Cornwall (1249-1300), magnate', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) and Denholm-Young, N., *Richard of Cornwall* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1947), p. 163. Denholm-Young estimated Edmund's father's income to have been £5000 to £6000.

⁶⁹ Spencer, *Nobility*, pp. 18-19; Altschul, M., *A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217-1314* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1965), pp. 203, 205.

⁷⁰ Spencer, *Nobility*, p. 16.

⁷¹ Spencer, *Nobility*, p. 25.

⁷² Morris, *Bigod Earls*, pp. 40-1.

⁷³ Spencer, *Nobility*, p. 21.

⁷⁴ It should be noted, however, that Gilbert de Clare, who also married into the royal family (to the king's daughter Joan of Acre), died in 1295, leaving a son who was a minor. Cornwall died childless in 1300. His lands reverted to his cousin the king. By the end of his life, therefore, de Lacy was second only to Lancaster in 'active'

wealth. The arrangement for his daughter's marriage to Lancaster meant that Henry's lands would ultimately transfer to Lancaster, and the crown, upon his death. Except the castle and honour of Halton which had been awarded to Alice for life, in 1290. see TNA, DL 10/170

Chapter 7: The de Lacy Affinity

In order to examine the development of the de Lacy honour, we must establish the nature and extent of Roger, John, Edmund and Henry's affinities. Affinities or followings were of distinct importance to a magnate's ability to exert power within the localities and can be considered, in one sense, a keystone of their lordship.¹ This distinct body simultaneously met a lord's needs for prudent counsel and administrative expertise, yet also provided associated support when needed to extend his influence over local affairs. This mechanism was therefore the most important to a magnate's demonstration of his aristocratic prowess.² The thirteenth century saw significant changes to the frameworks of power amongst the aristocracy. A number of recent studies of comital families allow us to place the progress of the de Lacy family honour within the context of these developments.

David Crouch's work on William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, offers the closest comparative example of affinity development in the earlier years of the de Lacy family's history. The Marshal was able to rise from the position of a household knight to become the earl of Pembroke and eventually the regent of England for the young king Henry III, before his death in 1219.³ The end of the twelfth century, when William Marshal was elevated to the baronage, was also a time of progressive change amongst the lesser knights in England, as their allegiances became more mobile.⁴ Crouch argued that the Marshal cemented his power base on the 'rubble of an older society' and the way in which he wielded lordship was 'something new'.⁵ The Marshal, according to Crouch, was one of the first magnates in England whose affinity was not based on traditional tenurial ties and allegiances but one compiled through mutual political interest and more subtle methods of reward.⁶ Crouch identified at least sixty-eight of the Marshal's surviving charters, of which fifty crucially contained a list of

¹ Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 169.

² Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon*, p. 149.

³ Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 1.

⁴ Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 144

⁵ Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 141,144; The decline of the 'traditional' honorial following is discussed in a crucial debate by Crouch, Carpenter and Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', pp. 165-203. Crouch has also presented an additional model for the period 1150-1250, in Crouch, 'From Stenton to McFarlane', pp. 179-200. The continued importance of 'honorial feudalism' into the thirteenth century is examined by Carpenter in 'The Second Century of English Feudalism', pp. 30-71. See above, pp. 27-9.

⁶ Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 144.

witnesses.⁷ His investigation concluded that the nature of the Marshal's affinity was not centred on tenurial ties, since the majority of the Marshal's knights held no land from him. Crouch also noted that the composition of the Marshal affinity was mainly drawn from the West Country and stretched across Gloucestershire, Somerset and Wiltshire to the Thames Valley.⁸ Despite few ties of tenure, the Marshal demonstrated a clear geographical element to his affinity in order that he might apply his lordship and influence over a specific area.

John Maddicott's work on Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, presents another study of a comital following.⁹ De Montfort was a man who made his own fortune and acquired his lands through marriage to the king's sister. This would therefore have particular implications for the make-up of his affinity. Maddicott's analysis revealed that de Montfort's affinity also had a clear geographical basis, and was formed predominantly from men who held lands in Leicestershire and the neighbouring county of Warwickshire. Although some key members of his affinity were de Montfort's tenants, a significant proportion were not.¹⁰ Maddicott argued that de Montfort was able to take advantage of a lack of serious rivals to his position as the predominant magnate within Leicestershire. This meant that he was the only serious candidate within the area who could offer patronage and leadership to the local minor baronage.¹¹ De Montfort's adoption of men from outside his own honour was one way in which he was able to supplement his influence and increase his powerbase over a period of time.

Marc Morris's work on the Bigod earls of Norfolk provides a comparative study of a comital family who were well established in East Anglia by the thirteenth century.¹² Like many nobles, the Bigod earls surrounded themselves with individuals to assist them, both in the management of their widespread estates, as travelling companions, and to increase their political standing.¹³ Morris utilised letters of protection and grants of privilege awarded to Roger Bigod III, in conjunction with surviving charter witness lists and the earl's testament, to identify the names of men within his affinity and examine how its composition altered over time.¹⁴ These records indicated that the majority of the

⁷ Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 144.

⁸ Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 150-1.

⁹ Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*.

¹⁰ Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, p. 61.

¹¹ Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, p. 62.

¹² Morris, *Bigod Earls*, pp. 59-60.

¹³ Morris, *Bigod Earls*, pp. 59-60.

¹⁴ Morris, *Bigod Earls*, pp. 60-1.

affinity had direct tenurial or historic links with the Bigod family.¹⁵ By the end of his political career, Roger had recruited a number of new individuals to his affinity, many of whom had few traceable tenurial links with the Bigods.¹⁶ This is indicative of the changing nature of affinities during this period. Morris' examination also revealed a particular geographical cohesion to the Bigod's affinity. The vast majority of its members came from East Anglia, with a significant proportion hailing from Suffolk. Despite the earl's acquisition of lands throughout England, Wales and Ireland, the bulk of his income came from his eastern estates.¹⁷ An affinity which was developed in this way, served to strengthen a magnate's powerbase and influence across his 'home' estates.¹⁸ The Bigod earls, a well-established family over several generations, had affinities which contained more tenurial bonds than those of newer aristocrats, such as Simon de Montfort. It is clear, however, that each of these affinities maintained a geographical focus in their composition.

This chapter will explore the nature and composition of the de Lacy affinity, and how this changed over time. This will be accomplished through an analysis of the extant de Lacy *acta* which have accompanying witness lists. Of those which survive for Roger de Lacy, there are thirty-two which contain a list of witnesses. The number for John de Lacy increases to forty-eight charters, while for Edmund de Lacy, there are significantly less at only twelve. The number of charters for Henry de Lacy available for analysis is seventy-one.¹⁹ The affinities will be reconstructed using the method adopted by Grant Simpson in his assessment of the following of Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester.²⁰ Simpson suggested that the witnesses from the lists could be placed in three groups: those who witnessed six or more charters belonged to the 'inner' circle - individuals considered important to a lord and those who held key positions in his household and estate administration; those who witnessed three or more charters were part of the 'outer' circle - individuals still counted as significant but more transient in their relationship to a lord; and those who witnessed two or fewer and

¹⁵ Morris, *Bigod earls*, p. 65.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-8.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

¹⁸ Caroline Burt's work on the earls of Warwick provides another examination of a less 'traditional' comital affinity. C. Burt, 'A 'Bastard Feudal' Affinity', pp.156-180. Burt's work also emphasised the need for revised thought on the issue of noble involvement in local government, via the means of affinities. She suggested that one should not readily assume that lords increasingly made use of the retention of local officers during the thirteenth century, as a method of controlling influence in the localities.

¹⁹ Although more charters survive for Henry de Lacy, the use of his personal seal to attest a significant number adversely affected the amount of charters with witness lists available for examination.

²⁰ Simpson, 'The *familia* of Roger de Quincy', p. 107.

about whom there is little information. Using this model will allow a demonstration of the nature and shape of the affinity for each member of the de Lacy family, including both its geographical nature and the evidence for tenurial or non-tenurial ties.

i) Roger de Lacy

A total of ninety-five laymen and fifteen ecclesiastics witnessed charters for Roger de Lacy.

Employing the above method, it is possible to identify fourteen individuals who fall into the 'inner' circle of Roger's affinity¹ and an additional thirteen which can be grouped into his 'outer' circle.²

These figures cover the range of Roger's career, from his inheritance of the de Lacy lands to his death in 1211. The number of men Roger is likely to have kept about him at any one time would no doubt be lower. It is likely, therefore, that Roger would have kept an inner circle of approximately eight to twelve men. Placed alongside other noble affinities which have been examined by scholars, Roger can be shown to have utilised a reasonably sized affinity. This can be contrasted with the inner circles of William Marshal's approximately eighteen knights; Roger de Quincy's approximately fifteen; and those of Roger Bigod III, Simon de Montfort and William de Valence at between six and twelve knights.³ The analysis of Roger de Lacy's charters reveals that the majority of the affinity members had tenurial ties to Roger, along with some additional familial links and that there was, significantly, a particular geographical cohesion to its composition, centred on established landholders from Cheshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire.

As with most noble affinities, members of the lord's family often witnessed their charters. In this instance, there are three individuals named as Roger's 'brothers' in the witness lists; Eustace who appeared ten times, Richard who appeared eight and Geoffrey, who appeared seven times.⁴ Little

¹ These are, Robert le Waleys (16), his son Henry le Waleys (7), Hugh of Dutton (15), Adam of Dutton (12) and Geoffrey of Dutton (10) Hugh Despenser (10) and his brother Thomas Despenser (15), William de Longvillers (11), William Stapleton (9), William de Beaumont (9), Colin de Quartermass (8), and Roger de Lacy's 'brothers', Eustace of Chester (10), Geoffrey of Chester (8) and Richard of Chester (7).

² John of Birkin (3), William fitz William (3), Henry de Longchamp (3), Eudone de Longvillers (3), Roger de Montbegon (3), Adam of Newmarket (3) and his brother, Henry of Newmarket (3), Adam de Rainville (3) and his son, Thomas de Rainville (3), Jordan Saint Mary (3). Baldwin de Fossa and Robert, both clerks of Roger de Lacy and also Geoffrey, listed as Roger's butler, also fall within this category appearing four times each and are included here.

³ Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 137-141; Simpson, 'The *Familia* of Roger de Quincy', p. 107; Maddicot, *Simon de Montfort*, p. 60-69; Morris, *Bigod earls*, pp. 69-70.

⁴ For Eustace of Chester, see BL, MS Harley 3868 fo. 14v also in *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 135-7; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 137-8, 286-7; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, p. 392; *Whalley Coucher*, iii, pp. 801-2; TNA, E 329/317 also printed in *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 16-19; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 9 fo. 114r-v; Manchester University Library, GB 133 ARL 1/71; GB 133 ARL 1/19. For Richard of Chester, see BL, MS Harley 3868 fo. 14v also in *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 135-7; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 83r; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 137-8; *Whalley Coucher*, iii, p. 802; TNA, E 329/317 also printed in *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 16-19; Manchester University Library, GB 133 ARL 1/71; GB 133 ARL 1/19. For Geoffrey of Chester see TNA, E 329/317 also printed in *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 16-19; Oxford Bodleian Library MS Dodsworth, 155 fo. 151r;

information can be found on these men and it is highly probable that they were either illegitimate children of John the Constable or otherwise related to Roger, perhaps through marriage.⁵ The most prevalent witness was Robert Walensis. Robert Walensis (le Waleys) served as both steward of Pontefract and also as Roger's under-sheriff in Yorkshire; he witnessed sixteen charters.⁶ He was often listed with his son Henry le Waleys. It was not an uncommon practice for first-born sons to accompany their fathers in the operation of their duties, particularly where it was likely the son would go on to assume the position.⁷ Henry, in turn, witnessed seven charters.⁸ The Waleys were a substantial knightly family and held land in Newton Wallis, Burghwallis, Skellow, Sutton and Cottingley and were an established family within the wider de Lacy honour.⁹ The Waleys continued their association with the de Lacy family after Roger's death; Henry le Waleys became steward under John de Lacy, as his father had been to Roger.

The Dutton family, whose name came from Dutton in Cheshire, where they originally held land, were associated with Roger through his links in Cheshire. They were probably the third generation of Duttons from the line's founder, Odard of Dutton;¹⁰ Hugh of Dutton and his brothers, Geoffrey and Adam are variously named as witness to Roger's charters.¹¹ Hugh of Dutton served as Roger's steward and constable at Halton castle and witnessed fifteen of Roger's charters.¹² His brother

Whalley Coucher, i, pp. 286-7; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, p. 393; *Whalley Coucher*, iii, pp. 801-2; Manchester University Library, GB 133 ARL 1/71; GB 133 ARL 1/19.

⁵ They are likely to be illegitimate because they are not named in any other documentary sources with familial or relational identifiers, such as 'brother' or 'uncle'. Rather than being given the de Lacy designation they are known as 'of Chester'. They also follow traditional naming conventions which can be seen used during previous generations of the family – Eustace and Geoffrey.

⁶ *Pipe Rolls 13 John*, pp. 33-4. Robert offered to pay £666 not to render his account as steward in 1211. For Robert le Waleys, see *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, pp. 357-8; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C XII, fo. 245r-v, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, p. 125; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius, C XII fo. 203r, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, p. 128; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 56r, also in *Yorks Deeds*, vi, pp. 58-9; *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, pp. 126-7; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, p. 35-6; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 9 fo. 114r-v; TNA, E 326/9240, also in BL, MS Harley 3868 fo. 14v and *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 135-7; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 151r; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 137-8, 286-7.

⁷ Although stewardship of Pontefract was not a 'hereditary' position, Henry le Waleys subsequently held the office from 1214 to 1218. *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, p. 224; *Chartulary of Byland Abbey*, p. 75.

⁸ For Henry le Waleys, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 35-6; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C XII, fo. 245r-v, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, p. 125; TNA, E 326/9240, also in BL, MS Harley 3868 fo. 14v and *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 135-7; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 22, 286-7.

⁹ Henry le Waleys, father of Robert and grandfather of Henry, held 3 knights' fees of the honour of Pontefract from Henry (I) de Lacy in the 1166 *Cartae*; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, I, p. 422; *Complete Peerage*, xii, pp. 317-323; *Early Yorkshire Families*, pp. 95-6.

¹⁰ *Whalley Coucher Book*, i, p. 17; *Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, pp. 26-7.

¹¹ *Whalley Coucher Book*, i, pp. 16-19.

¹² *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 22. For Hugh of Dutton, see Manchester University Library, GB 133 ARL 1/71; GB 133 ARL 1/19; Lancashire Record Office DDTO/BoxAA; Lancashire Record Office DDTO/Accession2836 Box 166

Adam witnessed twelve and Geoffrey slightly fewer at ten.¹³ The Duttons also witnessed a number of charters for Ranulf III, earl of Chester, no doubt in their capacity as men of the constable of Chester.¹⁴ A rather peculiar tale also ties the de Lacys and the Dutton family. When Ranulf III, earl of Chester, was besieged by the Welsh at Rhuddlan castle in c. 1196, he sent for support to Roger de Lacy.¹⁵ The despatch arrived during the Chester fair, and so Roger gathered up all the available men along with a number of minstrels and players and went to his aid. The Welsh forces mistook the rabble for a military force and raised the siege. In gratitude, Ranulf conveyed authority over all minstrels to Roger de Lacy. This was, in turn, conveyed to Hugh of Dutton, his steward, and the privilege remained in the family for centuries.¹⁶ Hugh's brother, Adam of Dutton, made a gift of a moiety of the village of Warburton, to the church of St Mary and St Werburgh for the benefit of the souls of his son and also the soul of John the constable and the bodies and soul of Roger the constable and his wife.¹⁷ A grant such as this indicates the closeness between the Dutton family and the affection held for their lords, the de Lacy constables of Chester. Roger awarded Adam, for his homage and service, with twelve

V; *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, p. 157; London College of Arms, MS B20 fo. 10r also in *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 591-3; TNA, E 329/317 also printed in *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 16-19; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 18-22; TNA, E 326/9240, also BL, MS Harley 3868 fo. 14v, also printed in *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 135-7; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, p. 392.

¹³ For Adam of Dutton, see Lancashire Record Office DDTO/Accession 2836 Box V; *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, p. 157; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C XII, fo. 245r-v, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, p. 125; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius, C XII fo. 203r, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, p. 128; TNA, E 329/317, also printed in *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 16-19; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 18-21; TNA, E 326/9240, also in BL, MS Harley 3868 fo. 14v, also printed in *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 135-7; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 43r; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 286-7; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, p. 392. For Geoffrey of Dutton, see Manchester University Library, GB 133 ARL 1/71; GB 133 ARL 1/19; Lancashire Record Office DDTO/Box AA; London College of Arms, MS B20 fo. 10r, also in *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 591-3; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 21-2; TNA, E 326/9240, also in BL, MS Harley 3868 fo. 14v, also printed in *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 135-7; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 43r.

¹⁴ Barraclough, *Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, p. 211.

¹⁵ The date for this supposed tale is approximate having been alleged to have occurred during the reign of Richard I, placing it before 1199 and after 1194, when Roger assumed the name de Lacy. There are no surviving primary sources for this tale. The secondary sources appear to have originated with G. Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester* (3 vols. London: Routledge, 1882), and were probably taken from Peter of Leicester's *Antiquity of Chester*, now out of print, where the original deed by de Lacy to Hugh is allegedly copied. For this last see, 'The Minstrel Court of the Duttons', in *The Patrician*, Vol. VI, ed. J. Burke (London: Churton, 1848), p. 129.

¹⁶ *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 16-19.

¹⁷ *Cockersand Cartulary*, iv, pp. 735-6.

bovates of land in Aston by Sutton, Cheshire.¹⁸ He also confirmed grants of land which his father John the constable, had awarded Adam at Halton and Clifton in Cheshire.¹⁹

Another established family which served the de Lacys identified from the charters is the Longvillers. William de Longvillers was described as Roger's household steward and witnessed eleven of Roger's charters.²⁰ The Longvillers, like the Duttons, had a prior association with the de Lacy family. Eudo de Longvillers was recorded in possession of 1 knight's fee of Henry (I) de Lacy in 1166.²¹ William's father had served Robert de Lacy as steward of Pontefract and held land in Clitheroe and Skipton.²² William's brother Eudo also witnessed at least two of Roger de Lacy's charters.²³ The Longvillers' association with the de Lacys continued after Roger's death and throughout the lifetime of his son, John.²⁴ Roger's 'inner' circle also included those who had served with him in a military capacity. William de Beaumont had served with Roger on crusade under Richard I, and when Roger inherited the honour of Pontefract in 1194, one of his first grants of land was to William.²⁵ He awarded him twelve bovates of land near Huddersfield as an eighth of a knight's fee, in part exchange for Beaumont's provision of escorts for Roger's despatches between Halton and Pontefract.²⁶ His appearance as a witness on nine of Roger's charters suggests that their relationship remained a close one.²⁷ The histories of some members of the inner circle are more difficult to trace from the sources.

¹⁸ Manchester University Library, GB 133 ARL 1/71. Roger also confirmed a grant to Adam Dutton of one fourth part of the vill of Tabley in Cheshire, to be held by the hospital of St John of Jerusalem, see GB 133 ARL 1/74.

¹⁹ For the confirmation charter, see Manchester University Library, GB 133 ARL 1/19. For John the constable's grants see, Manchester University Library, GB 133 ARL 1/44; GB 133 ARL 1/81.

²⁰ Longvillers is described as '*senescalus hospitii mei*' in *Whalley Coucher*, i, no. X, p. 135. For William de Longvillers see, *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, pp. 126-7; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, p. 35; London College of Arms, MS B20 fo. 10r, also in *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 591-3; TNA, E 326/9240, also in BL, MS Harley 3868 fo. 14v, also printed in *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 135-7; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 9 fo. 114r-v; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 43r; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 137-8, 286-7; *Whalley Coucher*, iii, pp. 801-2.

²¹ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, p. 423.

²² *Victoria History of the County of Lancashire*, VI, ed. W. Farrer and J. Brownhill (London: Constable and Company, 1911).

²³ For Eudo de Longvillers see, TNA, E 326/9240, also in BL, MS Harley 3868 fo. 14v, also printed in *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 135-7; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 43r.

²⁴ By 1242, the land the Longvillers' held from the de Lacys had increased to 3 knights' fees. *Liber Feodorum*, ii, pp. 1102-3.

²⁵ Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 151r.

²⁶ M.L. Faull and S.A. Morehouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500* (West Yorkshire Metropolitan Council, 1981), ii, p. 409.

²⁷ For William de Beaumont see, Lancashire Record Office DDT0/Box AA; *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, p. 157; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C XII, fo. 245r-v, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, p. 125; London College of Arms, MS B20 fo. 10r, also in *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 591-3; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 43r; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 151r; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 286-7.

William Stapleton, for example, witnessed nine of Roger's charters, yet there is little information about his personal history.²⁸ The Stapletons were another established family within the honour of Pontefract and had held land there as early as 1166.²⁹ Further grants of land were awarded to Hugh, son of Robert Stapleton, in Horton and Clayton by Robert de Lacy prior to his death in 1194.³⁰ Hugh was probably the father of William Stapleton. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, William Stapleton held land in Saddleworth, where he had built a chapel.³¹ Like other members of Roger's affinity, he was also a benefactor of Kirkstall abbey, to whom he made a grant of land in Stapleton.³² The strength of William's loyalty to the de Lacy family was demonstrated when he was named as one of the men who stood surety for John de Lacy's relief.³³

Thomas Despenser II and his brother Hugh witnessed a number of charters for Roger de Lacy; fifteen were witnessed by Thomas II and ten by Hugh.³⁴ Thomas Despenser II held the manor of Barrow, part of the fee of the constable of Chester.³⁵ He was also lord of Arnesby and Loughborough in Leicestershire.³⁶ Their father, Thomas Despenser I, served the earl of Chester and possibly also Roger's father John the Constable. It is unclear whether the Despenser name came from service in that capacity to the earls of Chester or the hereditary constables. They appear to have, at one time or other,

²⁸ For William Stapleton, see *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, pp. 357-8; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C XII, fo. 245r-v, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, p. 125; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C XII fo. 203r, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, p. 128; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 35-6; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 43r; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 151r; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 286-7.

²⁹ Robert Stapleton held 2 knights' fees of Henry (I) de Lacy. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, p. 423.

³⁰ *EYC*, iii, p. 204.

³¹ Records show that he had obtained license for divine offences to be celebrated in the chapel from the dean of Whalley, with the consent of Roger de Lacy. T. D. Whitaker, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley and Clitheroe in the Counties of Lancaster and York* (London: Nichols and Bentley, 1818), p. 450-1.

³² *Kirkstall Coucher*, no. 221, pp. 155-6.

³³ *ROF*, pp. 494-5.

³⁴ For Thomas Despenser II see, Manchester University Library, GB 133 ARL 1/71; GB 133 ARL 1/19; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C XII, fo. 245r-v, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, p. 125; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 56r, also in *Yorks Deeds*, vi, pp. 58-9; London College of Arms, MS B20 fo. 10r, also in *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 591-3; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 21-2; TNA, E 326/9240, also in BL, MS Harley 3868 fo. 14v, also printed in *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 135-7; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 43r; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 151r; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, p. 393. For Hugh Despenser, see Manchester University Library, GB 133 ARL 1/71; GB 133 ARL 1/19; Lancashire Record Office, DDTO/Box AA *Charter Roll of Leper Community of Edilsford*; Lancashire Record Office, DDTO/Accession 2836 Box V; *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, p. 157; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 18-20; TNA, E 326/9240, also in BL, MS Harley 3868 fo. 14v, also printed in *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 135-7; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 151r; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 137-8; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, p. 393.

³⁵ Barraclough, *Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, no. 357, pp.355-6. This grant was witnessed by Thomas' brother Hugh, and two other members of Roger's inner circle, Hugh and Geoffrey of Dutton.

³⁶ *Excerpta è Rotulis Finium in Turri Londinensi Asservatis. Henrico Tertio Rege. A.D. 1216-1272*, ed. C. Roberts (2 vols. London: Record Commission, 1835-1836), i, p. 18. Hugh paid 25 solidatus for his inheritance relief for Arnesby in 1218, after the death of his brother Thomas.

served both. Thomas Despenser I appeared as a witness to charters for both Hugh and then Ranulf III, earls of Chester. It is difficult to ascertain whether he served as direct man to the earl, or in a position as man of the constable, or indeed both. Thomas Despenser I appeared with John the Constable in c. 1178 on a charter of Hugh, earl of Chester.³⁷ He then appeared in the charters on three occasions with Roger, prior to his assumption of the de Lacy name.³⁸ Thomas Despenser I witnessed at least eleven separate charters for Ranulf III.³⁹ All five Despenser brothers appeared in the witness lists together on at least one charter for the earl, c.1214 to 1217.⁴⁰ Thomas Despenser II and his brother Hugh then witnessed charters on at least a further seven occasions, where they were both listed together.⁴¹ Hugh Despenser separately witnessed a further five after the death of Roger de Lacy in 1211. One of these included John de Lacy as a witness.⁴² It is therefore highly probable that Thomas II and Hugh Despenser moved into Ranulf III's circle following Roger's death and during John de Lacy's minority, and then subsequently moved back into John de Lacy's affinity after he had come of age. The last member of the 'inner' circle, Colin de Quartermars, is more difficult to trace. His family held land in Pontefract and he was married to Huwelina, daughter of Ivo de Longvillers; in 1226 they were in possession of Badsworth.⁴³ He was confirmed in possession a quarter of a knight's fee from the earldom of Lincoln in 1242 to 1243 and a half a knight's fee in Barrow of the earldom of Aumale.⁴⁴ Colin witnessed a total of eight of Roger de Lacy's charters.⁴⁵

The 'outer circle' of Roger's affinity consisted of members of other notable landholding families from across the de Lacy estates. These included men such as Jordan St Mary, who held land

³⁷ Barraclough, *Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, no. 192.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, nos. 209, 261-2.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, nos. 231, 265, 272, 288-9, 302-3, 313, 334, 341 and 351. It is possible that some of these occasions took place while Roger was in service to the crown in France, however, the dating of the charters makes this difficult to confirm.

⁴⁰ Barraclough, *Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, nos. 351. There is a second charter which names all the brothers in the witness list, no. 381. Barraclough, however, suggests that this may have been a forgery and should be viewed with caution.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, nos. 211, 214, 258, 359-60, 379, 394. No 211, the earliest in date, was a charter granted at the instance of Roger de Lacy. The remaining six charters all appear to be dated after the time of Roger's death and during John's minority.

⁴² *Ibid.*, nos. 384, 386, 389 and 408; with John de Lacy, no. 290.

⁴³ *EYC*, iii, pp. 253, 401. Colin de Quartermars is listed in possession of a feudal tenement valued at a quarter of a knight's fee of the honour of Pontefract created after 1166, in the feodary of 1235-1236.

⁴⁴ *Liber Feodorum*, ii, pp. 1103, 1083.

⁴⁵ For Colin de Quartermars, see *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, p. 157; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C XII, fo. 245r-v, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i. p. 125; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C XII fo. 203r, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i. p. 128; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 56r, also in *Yorks Deeds*, vi, pp. 58-9; London College of Arms, MS B20 fo. 10r, also in *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 591-3.

in Fryston, west Yorkshire;⁴⁶ and John of Birkin, who held land in Birkin, Yorkshire of the honour of Pontefract. Birkin also attended Roger's honorial court, in addition to being listed as a witness in the charters.⁴⁷ His association with the de Lacys continued under John de Lacy; he also stood surety for John's relief.⁴⁸ Adam de Rainville and his son Thomas de Rainville also witnessed together on at least two of Roger's surviving charters.⁴⁹ Adam was a prominent landholder in the honour of Pontefract and held 4 knights' fees of land in Smeaton.⁵⁰ He was made constable of Pontefract by Roger. His father also named Adam, had previously served Robert de Lacy as steward. Adam also appeared at the county, wapentake and honour court.⁵¹ Due to their notable positions, John of Birkin and the Rainvilles' may have been part of Roger's 'inner circle'.

Other notable figures who appeared in Roger's 'outer' circle included Roger de Montbegon.⁵² Roger de Montbegon is noteworthy for his later association with 'the Northerners'.⁵³ Roger was the son of Adam de Montbegon and Maud, daughter of Adam fitz Swain. The Montbegon family held the barony of Hornby in Lancashire, along with other estates in Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and the West Riding of Yorkshire.⁵⁴ Similarly, Adam of Newmarket and his brother, Henry are worthy of attention here. Although little appears to be known about Henry, Adam served with King John in Ireland in 1210. In 1213, he found himself under suspicion and was imprisoned at Corfe castle; he also had to provide his sons as hostages.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, little is known of Henry Longchamp, who witnessed three of Roger de Lacy's charters.⁵⁶ Henry was the son of Hugh Longchamp and held land in Wilton in Herefordshire. Roger de Lacy witnessed a charter that confirmed Henry's inheritance in

⁴⁶ For Jordan St Mary, see *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, pp. 357-8; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C XII fo. 203r, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, p. 128; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 151r.

⁴⁷ *EYC*, iii, nos. 1526, 1686. For John of Birkin, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 35-6; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 151r.

⁴⁸ *ROF*, pp. 494-5.

⁴⁹ For Adam de Rainville, see *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, pp. 357-8; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 35-6. For Thomas de Rainville, see *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, pp. 357-8; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 35-6; London College of Arms, MS B20 fo. 10r, also in *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 591-3.

⁵⁰ *Liber Feodorum*, ii, p. 1102.

⁵¹ *EYC*, iii, nos. 1526, 1686, 1784; viii, p. 174.

⁵² For Roger de Montbegon, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 35-6; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 43r.

⁵³ Holt, *The Northerners*, pp. 5-6, 10, 16, 19.

⁵⁴ *Liber Feodorum*, i, p. 496; *Calendar of Fine Rolls 10 Henry III*, nos. 126-129.

⁵⁵ *Rotuli Patentum*, p. 105.

⁵⁶ For Henry Longchamp, see Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 151r; Lancashire Record Office, DDT0/Box AA *Charter Roll of Leper Community of Edilsford*.

1205.⁵⁷ The charter witness lists also highlight a number of key household staff who often accompanied Roger de Lacy, namely his clerical staff. Three are listed as clerks: Baldwin de Fossa; Adam de Kellington; and Robert ‘the clerk’.⁵⁸ They also include six individuals named as chaplains and one named as a doctor.⁵⁹ One of Roger’s chamberlains is also revealed, in the form of Adam de Pontefract, along with a butler named Geoffrey.⁶⁰ Roger’s chaplains probably offered him spiritual advice and performed religious duties. The clerks presumably formed the administrative arm of the household responsible for keeping records and writing correspondence; they also probably wrote the majority of Roger’s charters.⁶¹

Roger’s ‘inner’ circle was assembled from key de Lacy tenants and men with long associations with the family, who were also able to serve in key household positions. In this respect the composition of his affinity could be regarded as predominantly ‘traditional’. These were men who could provide him with additional support and influence across his honorial estates. It is unclear to what extent Roger provided them with additional grants of land, beyond those already discussed. Roger was, however, able to use the appointments to positions, such as those of under-sheriff and constable, to reward members of his affinity. Such positions were also extended to those men considered in his ‘outer’ circle. In return, they provided him with the means to exert his influence across his wide estate lands. Roger’s use of positions and probable money-fees rather than grants of land, to reward his followers, are a notable indicator of his adoption of ‘bastard feudal’ components in the maintenance of his affinity.⁶²

⁵⁷ *Rotuli Chartarum 1199-1216*, pp. 146-7; see also Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms*, p. 80; D. Balfour, ‘The Origins of the Longchamp Family’, *Medieval Prosopography*, Vol. 18 (Western Michigan University: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997), pp. 84-86.

⁵⁸ For Baldwin de Fossa, see Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 151r; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 591-3. For Adam de Kellington, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 35-6. For Robert the clerk, see *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 18-20; BL, MS Harley 3868 fo. 14v, also in *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 135-7; Lancashire Record Office, DDTO/Accession 2836 Box V.

⁵⁹ Anselm, Albino, Humphrey, Peter, Richard and Roger are recorded as chaplains ‘*capellanus*’. See Lancashire Record Office, DDTO/Accession 2836 Box V; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 56r, a copy of this charter is in *Yorks Deeds*, vi, pp. 58-9; TNA, E 329/317; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 9 fo. 114r-v; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 43r. For Walter the Doctor ‘*medico*’, see TNA, E 326/9240; BL, MS Harley 3868 fo. 14v; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 135-7.

⁶⁰ For Adam of Pontefract ‘*tunc camerario*’, see Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 56r; For Geoffrey the butler ‘*pincerna*’, see BL, MS Harley 3868 fo. 14v, also printed in *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 135-7.

⁶¹ BL, MS Harley 3868 fo. 14v, also in *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 135-7. Robert the clerk is noted as having written the charter, ‘*qui hanc cartam scripsit*’.

⁶² See above, pp. 26-7.

ii) John de Lacy

There were approximately one hundred and eighty-one laymen and twenty-eight ecclesiastics who witnessed John de Lacy's charters. Utilising Simpson's methodology, as we did for Roger, it is possible to assign eighteen men to John's 'inner circle',¹ and a further twenty-two to his 'outer circle'.² What is immediately apparent is the intergenerational continuity of family relationships present between John's affinity during the earlier years of his career and that of his late father. Colin de Quartermars, John of Birkin, William de Beaumont, Hugh of Dutton, Henry de Longchamp and Henry le Waleys, all appeared as part of John's father's affinity. Hugh of Dutton and Henry le Waleys subsequently served as seneschals for John; with Hugh of Dutton witness to ten of John's charters and le Waleys witness to six.³ Colin de Quartermars witnessed nine of John's charters, while William de Beaumont appeared seven times and John of Birkin a more substantial eleven.⁴ During John de Lacy's tenure, John of Birkin also became the sheriff of Yorkshire and was later keeper of the forests of Sherwood and Derby.⁵ It is clear from the continuation of names from one generation to the next, that

¹ Inner Circle: William de Beaumont (7), John of Birkin (11), Robert of Kent (6), Robert of Chester (7) and Roger of Chester (7), Geoffrey of Dutton (8), Hugh of Dutton (10), Henry de Longchamp (7), Walter de Ludham (6), Adam de Nereford (12), Gilbert de Notton (13), William de Notton (6), Henry of Nottingham parson of Rothwell (12), Colin de Quartermars (9), Robert Stapleton (9), Baldwin Teutonicus (le Tyas) (10), Henry le Waleys (6) and Osbert the clerk, parson of Donington (8).

² Outer Circle: Peter de Alta Ripa (3), Roger de Barsel (3), Roger de Bulgrave (3), John of Criggleston (5), Henry of Goldhall (5), Adam of Grillington (3), Walter de Hoole (3), Stephen de Humerton (3), William of Carlton (3), William de Longchamp (4), William de Longvillers (4), Adam of Newmarket (3), Henry of Newmarket (5), Robert de Newton (3), Roger de Notton (3), Thomas of Polington (5), Robert of Standon (3), Henry Teutonicus (le Tyas) (4), Baldwin de Vere (3), Geoffrey dean of Whalley (3), Alan the cleric (4) and Master Roger of Kippax the doctor (3).

³ For Hugh of Dutton, see *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 6, 33, 72-4, 138; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 393-4; Leeds University Library, YAS MD 102/00, also in *Pudsay Deeds*, ed. R. P. Littledale (Yorkshire Archeological Society Record Series, 1916), Vol. 56, pp. 107, 389; TNA, E 329/372; E 329/171. For Henry le Waleys, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 37-8; *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, p. 131; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 36-7; West Yorkshire Archives Service, WYL156/MX/M6/1/31; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 153r.

⁴ For Colin de Quartermars, see *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 36-7, 72-4; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C XII fo. 209r-v, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, p. 133; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, p. 146; TNA, E 329/171; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 fo. 237r; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 fo. 179v. For William de Beaumont, see BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C XII fo. 209r-v, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, p. 133; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, p. 146; Leeds University Library, YAS MD 102/00, also in *Pudsay Deeds*, pp. 107, 389; *Yorks Deeds*, i, p. 190. For John of Birkin, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, p. 146; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C XII fo. 209r-v, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, p. 133; Leeds University Library, YAS MD 102/00, also in *Pudsay Deeds* pp. 107, 389; Leeds University Library, YAS MD 335/7/15; *Yorks Deeds*, i, p. 190; BL, MS Harley 2044 fo. 148v; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 fo. 237r; TNA, DL 25/55.

⁵ Listed as sheriff of Yorkshire, *CFR Henry III (1220-1221)* no. 352; *CFR Henry III (1221-1222)* no. 43. John paid a fine of 300 marks for the inheritance of the lands of his mother Mathilda, which included custody of the forests of Sherwood and Derby, *CFR Henry III (1223-1224)* nos. 195-196.

John's royal wardship did not impact negatively upon existing ties between the de Lacy family and their men. As John de Lacy's career developed, new names appeared in his affinity. One such was Adam de Nereford, who served as John's seneschal in Pontefract between 1232 and 1238 and who witnessed twelve of John's charters.⁶

The Nereford family probably originated in Norfolk and held land of the honour of Richmond, in Yorkshire.⁷ It is unfortunately unclear whether Adam de Nereford held any land direct from the de Lacy family. He married the widow of Roger le Poitevin, Iseult de Leathley. Gaining possession of her dower lands, however, proved difficult and resulted in litigation.⁸ It would appear that Adam's personal landed ties to the Lacy estates were small, and he is perhaps therefore indicative of a lessening emphasis on land-holding stewards.⁹ After John's death, Adam served briefly as sheriff of Yorkshire in 1246 and then subsequently as steward to Peter of Savoy, earl of Richmond c.1251 to c.1252.¹⁰

In contrast to Adam de Nereford, the le Tyas family were recipients of a direct grant of land from the de Lacy family. Henry le Tyas (Teutonicus) was given the manor of Slaithwaite by Roger de Lacy after he inherited his estates in 1194.¹¹ Henry made a grant to the nuns of Kirklees of one mark of rent from the mill at Slaithwaite, or if the mill failed, one mark from his farm.¹² The 1226 survey indicated that he held seven librates of land in Fulbeck and Ledenham in Lincolnshire from the king.¹³ Henry witnessed four charters for John de Lacy, a number which would normally place him within the

⁶ For Adam de Nereford, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 40-2; *Yorks Deeds*, vi, p. 59; *York Deeds*, x, p. 130; *Coucher Book of Selby*, i, pp. 115-6; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 151v; Oxford Bodleian Library, Dodsworth 8 fo. 87r-v; BL, Additional Charter 7465; TNA, DL 25/54; DL 25/55; Leeds University Library, YAS MD 335/5/1.

⁷ *EYC*, v, p. 227; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ii, p. 588, a Godwin de Nereford held Newton Morel for half a knight's fee. Adam de Nereford is frustratingly absent from the Chancery and Exchequer Rolls and the various feudal assessments contained in the *Liber Feodorum* and *Red Book of the Exchequer*.

⁸ A claim by Adam and Iseult occurred in the Curia Regis Rolls for Henry III, against Brian de Insula for land in Smalley, Breckenhill and Saxton which was allegedly part of her dower. There does not, however, appear to have been any resolution to the case listed. *Curia Regis Rolls of Henry III 9-10*, pp. 124, 386.

⁹ Denholm-Young, *Seigniorial Administration*, pp. 68-9.

¹⁰ *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, p. 268; BL, MS Cotton Nero D III, fo. 165d; TNA, JUST 1/1046 m. 49.

¹¹ The award is listed as having occurred between 1195 and 1211 however the original charter recording the grant appears to have been lost. A. S. Ellis, 'Dodsworth's Yorkshire Notes (Agbrigg)', *The Yorkshire Archaeological & Topographical Journal*, vol. VIII (London, 1884), pp. 1-29, 27.

¹² This grant was subsequently confirmed by John de Lacy in 1218. Leeds University Library, YAS MD 335/7/15.

¹³ *Liber Feodorum*, i, p. 359.

outer circle.¹⁴ It is possible, however, that as Slaithwaite passed to his brother Baldwin, Henry's death was untimely; as such, a consideration on whether he should be counted part of John's 'inner' circle should be made. Baldwin le Tyas, Henry's brother, witnessed a total of ten of John's charters, and is placed firmly within his 'inner' circle.¹⁵ Baldwin was lord of Lede and also, through his marriage to Margery de Eland, of Butterworth, Woodsome and Farnley, which was subsequently named Farnley-Tyas.¹⁶ The le Tyas were therefore a knightly family able to offer substantive influence and support to John de Lacy. Baldwin's son, Franco le Tyas, subsequently witnessed charters for Edmund de Lacy.

Another family association which continued during John's lifetime was that of the Dutton family. Geoffrey of Dutton served as John's seneschal and appeared on the witness lists eight times.¹⁷ Geoffrey was the son of Adam of Dutton and held land in Warburton. Geoffrey was also part of the retinue which accompanied John de Lacy when he went on crusade with the earl of Chester. In order to fund the journey, he leased some of his land in Cheshire.¹⁸ Dutton's journey on crusade with John was representative of a close relationship between the two, reinforced through the possible marriage of Geoffrey to John de Lacy's daughter, Alice; he subsequently received the manor of Clifton as a gift.¹⁹ It is probable that Alice was an illegitimate daughter, as she would likely have otherwise made a more advantageous marriage. John's legitimate daughter Matilda, for example, married Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, in 1237.²⁰ Geoffrey's son, also named Geoffrey, would continue the Dutton association with the de Lacy family during Edmund's tenure.

¹⁴ For Henry le Tyas, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 36-7; BL, MS Harley 2044 fo. 148v; TNA, E 327/116; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 9 fo. 226r.

¹⁵ For Baldwin le Tyas, see *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 36-7, 72-4; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 393-4; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 36-8; Leeds University Library, YAS MD 335/7/15; *Yorks Deeds*, i, p. 190; TNA, E 329/171.

¹⁶ Margery de Eland was the widow of Gilbert de Notton. *Lancashire Inquests, Extents and Feudal Aids: 1205-1307*, Vol. 1, ed. W. Farrer (Liverpool: Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 48, 1903), p. 61. The 1242 survey listed Baldwin as holding half a knight's fee from John de Lacy, *Liber Feodorum*, ii, p. 1103.

¹⁷ For Geoffrey of Dutton, see *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 72-4; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 393-4; *Yorks Deeds*, i, p. 190; *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, p. 131; TNA, E 329/372; E 329/171; *Whalley Coucher*, iv, p. 1075.

¹⁸ University of Manchester Library, MS Arley Charters GB133 ARL/1/94; *Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Norman World*, ed. K. Hurlock and P. Oldfield (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 136-7.

¹⁹ J. Burke, *Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry*, Vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn, 1847), p. 1509; J. Croston, *County Families of Lancashire and Cheshire* (London: Heywood Press, 1887), p. 219; Hurlock and Oldfield, *Crusading and Pilgrimage*, p. 136. The charter by which John granted Clifton to Geoffrey appears to have been lost. There are no surviving primary sources which confirm the marriage although a number of later secondary accounts make reference to it.

²⁰ M. Altschul, 'Clare, Richard de, sixth Earl of Gloucester and fifth Earl of Hereford (1222-1262)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

Another significant figure within John's 'inner' circle was Gilbert de Notton.²¹ The Notton family association with the de Lacys was not a new one. Gilbert's father, William de Notton, appeared as a member of Roger de Lacy's honorial court at Clitheroe.²² Gilbert subsequently served John de Lacy as seneschal of Pontefract between 1224 and 1232, during which time he witnessed a substantial thirteen of John's charters.²³ In the 1212 survey, Gilbert held one and a half knights' fees of land in Clitheroe from the de Lacys, which his father no doubt held before him.²⁴ With his wife, he also held one and a half knights' fees of land in Barton.²⁵ Gilbert also held land from Roger de Montbegon, another associate of the de Lacys. He held twelve bovates of land in Chadderton, and additional land in Croxton, both for a quarter of a knight's fee.²⁶ In addition to this, he had fourteen bovates of land in thenage from the king at Kaskenmoor in Lancashire, with a further four bovates held from both Roger Montbegon and William de Neville.²⁷ Gilbert's son, William de Notton, was named constable of Pontefract in 1226. William de Notton witnessed a total of six of John's charters.²⁸ William's younger brother, Roger de Notton, witnessed three of John's charters.²⁹ The Nottons were an established knightly family, whose service was significant to the de Lacys across several generations. The Nottons work with the de Lacy family conveys a relationship that was both close and considered important and worthy of cultivation.³⁰ In similar fashion, another knightly family with a long association to the Lacys were the Stapletons.

²¹ *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, p. 316.

²² *Kirkstall Coucher*, p. 194.

²³ For Gilbert de Notton, see BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C XII fo. 209r-v, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, p. 133; *York Deeds*, i, p. 190; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, p. 146; *Cockersand Chartulary*, ii, pt.1. pp. 412-3; Leeds University Library, YAS MD 102/00, also in *Pudsay Deeds* pp. 107, 389; Leeds University Library, YAS MD 335/7/15; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 66 fo. 33r; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 9 fo. 226r; TNA, E 327/116.

²⁴ *Liber Feodorum*, i, p. 225.

²⁵ *Liber Feodorum*, i, p. 214.

²⁶ *Liber Feodorum*, i, pp. 214-5, 226.

²⁷ *Liber Feodorum*, i, p. 216. Gilbert also held an additional four bovates from William Radcliffe in Edgeworth and two bovates from Adam of Prestwich in Failsworth.

²⁸ For William de Notton, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, p. 146; Leeds University Library, YAS MD 102/00, also in *Pudsay Deeds* pp. 107, 389; Leeds University Library, YAS MD 335/7/15; *Cockersand Chartulary*, ii, pt.1, pp. 412-3.

²⁹ For Roger de Notton, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 40-1; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 36-7. In 1242-1243, Roger de Notton held 1 knight's fee of the earldom of Lincoln. *Liber Feodorum*, ii, p. 1103.

³⁰ The Nottons held officer positions such as constable and steward for the de Lacys across the generations, however, from the surviving records they do not appear to have been rewarded with any new grants of land for their service.

The Stapletons were a well-established family and had held land in Stapleton, Darrington and Thorpe Stapleton from Ilbert de Lacy, as early as the Domesday Survey.³¹ Robert (I) Stapleton was listed as in possession of 2 knights' fees of Henry (I) de Lacy in the 1166 *cartae* of Henry de Lacy.³² William Stapleton had witnessed charters for Roger de Lacy and was also one of the twenty knights who stood surety for John de Lacy's relief in 1213.³³ He held lands in Saddleworth and was also a benefactor of Kirkstall Abbey.³⁴ His son, Robert (II) Stapleton, served at the centre of the John de Lacy's household as chamberlain, and witnessed a total of nine of John's charters.³⁵ In 1242 to 1243, Robert (II) was noted as in possession of 2 knights' fees, less a fifth, of the de Lacy fee.³⁶ His service to the de Lacy family continued after the death of John. He was subsequently granted free warren in Stapleton, Thorpe Stapleton and Cudworth in 1255.³⁷ The association and use of important tenant families, like the Stapletons, allowed for a greater continuity of influence. The position of chamberlain was an important position within an aristocratic household and suggests that there was a significant level of trust between John and Robert (II).³⁸ Two other members of John's 'inner' circle, designated as clerks, despite significant appearances within his charters, are difficult to trace from the surviving evidence: Henry of Nottingham and Osbert of Donington.³⁹

Henry of Nottingham, the parson of Rothwell, witnessed a total of twelve charters for John de Lacy.⁴⁰ Henry was a canon of Southwell and in 1219 was the rector of Bulwell in Nottinghamshire; he also appeared to have held a stipend from the chapel of Pontefract prior to 1241.⁴¹ Henry no doubt served John de Lacy in the capacity of clerk, but there is little other evidence which survives to

³¹ *EYC*, iii, pp. 292-5; *Early Yorkshire Families*, p. 83.

³² *Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, p. 422.

³³ *EYC*, iii, p. 293; *Rotuli de Finibus*, p. 494.

³⁴ *Kirkstall Coucher*, pp. 155-6; *Whalley Coucher*, pp. 146-8.

³⁵ For Robert Stapleton, see BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C XII fo. 209r-v, also in *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, p. 133; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 40-4; TNA, E 327/116; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 151v; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 fo. 237r; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 9 fo. 226r.

³⁶ *Liber Feodorum*, ii, p. 1102.

³⁷ He appeared as a witness to Edmund de Lacy, London College of Arms, MS Vincent 225, p. 124. For the grant of free warren, see *EYC*, iii, p. 293; *CChR 1226-1257*, p. 443.

³⁸ C.M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (London & New York: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 42, 44, 50.

³⁹ *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 38-42.

⁴⁰ For Henry of Nottingham's witnessed charters, see TNA, DL 25/54; DL 25/55; E 329/171; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 36-7, 72-4; *Whalley Coucher*, iv, p. 1075; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 38-9; *Yorks Deeds*, x, p. 130; *Coucher Book of Selby*, i, p. 115-6; West Yorkshire Archives Service, WYL156/MX/M6/1/31; Leeds University Library, YAS MD 335/5/1; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 fo. 179v.

⁴¹ *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, p. 317; *Liber Feodorum*, i, p. 287; *CCIR 1237-1241*, p. 329.

identify him further.⁴² Likewise, the career of Osbert the clerk is also difficult to establish in great detail. Osbert, the parson of Donington, witnessed a total of eight of John's charters.⁴³ Donington was part of the Lacy estates in Leicestershire. Osbert subsequently witnessed a charter of Edmund de Lacy's to Stanlaw abbey, and was later awarded with the rectorship of Silkeston in 1255.⁴⁴ Despite this, there is little other surviving evidence to expand on his career.

Another key person in John's 'inner' circle, and the holder of a position within his household, was Walter de Ludham. Walter's father was Eustace de Ludham, deputy sheriff of Nottinghamshire in 1214 and sheriff of Yorkshire in 1225.⁴⁵ Eustace was known to have rebelled with John de Lacy and John was instrumental in obtaining a pardon for the arrears of Eustace's resultant fine in 1216.⁴⁶ Eustace had obtained land in Horspool, Hoveringham, Gonalston, Thurgaton, Southwell, Newark and Lowdham.⁴⁷ Walter had subsequently inherited from his father following his death, sometime after 1241. In 1243 he was also in possession of five and a quarter bovates of land in the king's gift in Carlton-in-Lindrick, Nottinghamshire.⁴⁸ He also held additional land in the manor of Langsett, Yorkshire,⁴⁹ and served in the capacity of John's receptor or receiver, and subsequently appeared as a witness to six of his charters.⁵⁰ His service to the de Lacy family extended further. He also served as an adviser to Margaret de Lacy, countess of Lincoln, and regularly witnessed charters for her as her representative or attorney.⁵¹ Walter's close association with the de Lacy family continued after John's death. The family's faith in his service was demonstrated by his position as the first seneschal to

⁴² It is probable, however, that this Osbert was the same 'Osbert of London, clerk,' presented by John de Lacy as constable of Chester, to part of the church of Clipston c. 1229. Given the number of documented men named Osbert connected to John, it is therefore highly likely that this was an early method by which John retained or rewarded Osbert for his service. *The Acta of Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln 1309-1325*, ed. D. Smith (Lincoln Record Society, 2000) no. 321, p. 151.

⁴³ For Osbert the clerk, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 41-2; *Yorks Deeds*, x, p. 130; *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 36-7; Leeds University Library, YAS MD 335/5/1; TNA, DL 25/54; DL 25/55; E 329/372.

⁴⁴ *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 77; J. Raine, 'An Original Grant from Edmund de Lacy, Constable of Chester, to his tenants at Westchep, near Pontefract', *Yorkshire Archaeological & Historical Journal*, vol. i, pp. 169-174, 171.

⁴⁵ Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 50; *Yorks Deeds*, ii, p. 119; *CPR 1216-1225*, p. 524.

⁴⁶ Holt, *The Northerners*, p. 50.

⁴⁷ These lands were given by Robert, son of Roger de Pascy, and had been held by Elias de Pascy; the gift was subsequently confirmed in a further grant by Emma de Bella Fago, who held Lowdham, part of the honour of Tickhill, in 1235. *CChR 1226-1257*, p. 212.

⁴⁸ *CIPM Henry III*, Vol. 1, p. 9 (no. 36).

⁴⁹ West Yorkshire Archives, MS SpSt/4/11/79/1-2. Feoffment between Walter de Ludham and Elias Midhope related to the manor of Langsett and a later agreement regarding remission of rent.

⁵⁰ For Walter de Ludham, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 37-9; *Yorks Deeds*, x, p. 130; *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 36-7; Leeds University Library, YAS MD 335/5/1; TNA, DL 25/54; DL 25/55.

⁵¹ Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 62; TNA, DL 42/2 fo. 241v; DL 25/52; DL 27/32; DL 36/3/117; *CChR 1242-7*, p. 475; *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 96; *CCIR 1251-1253*, p. 34.

Edmund de Lacy during his minority.⁵² He was also subsequently named as one of Edmund's representatives in the negotiation of his son's marriage to Margaret Longespée. His advice was clearly held in high regard.⁵³

John, like his father before him, also made use of members of his own family within his affinity. Robert of Chester and Roger of Chester, listed as knights and John's 'brothers' in his charters, appeared seven times each respectively.⁵⁴ Robert of Chester was probably Roger de Lacy's brother and therefore John's uncle, who was given lordship of Flamborough. He was also known as Robert, constable of Flamborough.⁵⁵ There is unfortunately no surviving evidence to elaborate on the life of Roger of Chester. In a similar way, the career of the final member of John's 'inner' circle, Robert of Kent is also difficult to follow with great detail. Robert of Kent was seneschal of Pontefract during 1218 to 1224, between the tenures of Henry Wallensis and Gilbert de Notton, and is known to have accompanied John to the crusades.⁵⁶ During this time he appeared on a number of charters, styled as seneschal, and was a witness to six of John's personal charters.⁵⁷ In spite of this, there appears to be no evidence of him holding land from the de Lacys, and he does not feature in the surveys contained in the *Liber Feodorum* and Red Book of the Exchequer (*Liber Rubeus Scaccario*).⁵⁸ Robert was probably a clerk, but his career prior to, and after, his tenure as seneschal to John, is unfortunately unclear.

⁵² *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, p. 268.

⁵³ TNA, E 326/194; Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 55.

⁵⁴ For Robert of Chester, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 37-9; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 72-3; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 153r; TNA, E 329/171; E 329/372. For Roger of Chester, see *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 36-7, 72-3; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 393-4; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 38-9; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 153r; TNA, E 329/171.

⁵⁵ In 1211, Roger de Lacy gave to Robert of Flamborough the daughter of Robert de Liversegge, with a sixth part of Rochdale. *EYC*, iii, p. 212. See also *Early Yorkshire Families*, pp. 21-2 and *EYC*, xii, pp. 142-5. The genealogy of the Constables of Flamborough is discussed here. Robert the Constable is labelled as an illegitimate son of William son of William fitz Nigel, this designation would appear to be incorrect. It is probable that the land was passed to Robert, by his older brother Roger, having been inherited through the line back to their great-grandfather Eustace fitz John and his marriage to Agnes, daughter of William fitz Nigel, constable of Chester. After the latter's death without an heir, Eustace inherited the lands and title of Constable of Chester; these were subsequently passed down through the male line to Roger 'de Lacy', son of John the Constable (son of Richard, son of Eustace). See also *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entries for 'Eustace fitz John', 'John the Constable' and 'Roger de Lacy'.

⁵⁶ *Cartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 36-7.

⁵⁷ *Cartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 37-8, 141, 154, 171, 176, 186, 286; *Cartulary of St John of Pontefract*, ii, pp. 335, 340, 359, 559, 565, 569, 573. For Robert of Kent's witness of John's charters, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 36-8; *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, pp. 128-9, 131; Leeds University Library, YAS MD 335/7/15; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 fo. 237r.

⁵⁸ A Robert of Kent does appear in the *Liber Feodorum*, listed as a clerk of the king's chapel, however the date for this given as 1237 and the lands to which the reference relates do not appear to be linked to the de Lacys. It is therefore not possible as yet to ascertain whether or not this was the same man. *Liber Feodorum*, ii, p. 616.

Several members of John's 'outer' circle were also, in some part, members of his father's affinity. The Newmarket brothers, Adam and Henry, appeared in the witness lists a number of times, marking them as worthy of attention. Adam and Henry unfortunately have difficult histories to trace.⁵⁹ Both brothers appear listed together in the witness lists for a number of grants to religious houses in Yorkshire in the early thirteenth century. It is probable that this particular Henry was the Henry of Newmarket who married Denise, daughter of Otto de Tilly, widow of Henry de Puteaco; from this marriage he held 4 knights' fees of the honour of Tickhill.⁶⁰ In 1218, he subsequently paid a fine of 40 marks to the king for his second marriage to Frethesenta Paynell, widow of Geoffrey Luterel.⁶¹ Both of the brothers were counted in his Roger's 'outer' circle and witnessed three of his charters together.⁶² Their association with the de Lacys saw them both consequently witness charters for John de Lacy: Henry witnessed five charters; Adam appeared as witness to three.⁶³ Adam was listed in the 1242 survey in possession of 3 knights' fees.⁶⁴ Like the Newmarkets, William de Longvillers also continued his association with the de Lacys.⁶⁵ Having served Roger de Lacy, William subsequently witnessed at least four of John de Lacy's charters.⁶⁶

The remainder of John de Lacy's outer circle are unfortunately difficult to trace due to their lack of landholding ties to him or their appearances within the wider surviving evidence. John of Criggleston, who was at one time steward to John de Lacy, witnessed five of his charters in this capacity.⁶⁷ He held an eighth of a knight's fee in Foulridge, in Lancashire, from the earldom of Lincoln in Blackburnshire in 1242 to 1243.⁶⁸ Henry of Goldhall and Thomas of Polington both appeared five times in the witness lists of John's charters, but no further record of them can be

⁵⁹ Various cited as Neufmarche, Novo Foro and Novo Mercato. See *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, ii, pp. 532-5; *Early Yorkshire Families*, pp. 65-6.

⁶⁰ *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, ii, pp. 593-4.

⁶¹ *CFR 1217-1218*, no. 72; *Pipe Rolls 3 Henry III*, p. 196; See also the Henry III Fine Rolls Project www.finerollshenry3.org.uk

⁶² See above, p. 171.

⁶³ For Henry of Newmarket's appearances as a witness for John de Lacy, see *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 33, 72-4; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 393-4; *Yorks Deeds*, i, p. 190; *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, p. 131; TNA, E 329/171. For Adam of Newmarket's witness appearances, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 38-9; *Coucher Book of Selby*, i, p. 316; *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 36-7.

⁶⁴ *Liber Feodorum*, ii, p. 1102.

⁶⁵ See above, p. 168.

⁶⁶ For William de Longvillers' witness of charters, see BL, MS Harley 2044 fo. 148v; TNA, E 327/116; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 9 fo. 226r; Oxford Bodleian Library, Dodsworth 66 fo. 33r.

⁶⁷ For John of Criggleston's witness of John's charters, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 37-8; *Coucher Book of Selby*, i, pp. 115-6; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 fo. 179v; TNA, DL 25/54; DL 25/55.

⁶⁸ *Liber Feodorum*, ii, p. 1107.

found.⁶⁹ Likewise, another of John's seneschals, rather unfortunately named only as Alan 'the cleric', witnessed at least four of John de Lacy's charters.⁷⁰ In part, due to the lack of any other given name, further identification of Alan is not possible.⁷¹ William de Longchamp, who appeared in at least four of John's charters, is no doubt connected to the above mentioned Henry de Longchamp.⁷² They appeared together in only one charter witness list but unfortunately there is no indication as to their relationship.

A further twelve individuals appeared in the witness lists of John's charters at least three times, although little additional evidence about them can be found.⁷³ Of these men, Geoffrey the dean of Whalley and Roger the doctor of Kippax both appeared on the witness lists of Roger de Lacy.⁷⁴ Robert de Newton may have held land of William Longespée.⁷⁵ Lastly, Baldwin de Vere is worthy of notice here. Although he only witnessed three charters for John de Lacy, after he had become earl of Lincoln, his main period of association with the de Lacys occurred prior to this, as he was in service to Ranulf III, earl of Chester.⁷⁶ Baldwin witnessed at least seven charters for the earl of Chester, three of which also named John de Lacy.⁷⁷ Ranulf III awarded Baldwin a third part of demesne land in Great Tew, Oxfordshire in 1229, for his homage and service; he also accompanied the earl to France in 1230.⁷⁸ After Ranulf III's death, Baldwin appeared in the service of the king in 1233.⁷⁹ Then, in 1236,

⁶⁹ For Henry of Goldhall, see *Yorks Deeds*, x, p. 130; Leeds University Library, YAS MD 335/5/1; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 fo. 179v; TNA, DL 25/54; DL 25/55. For Thomas of Polington, see *Yorks Deeds*, x, p. 130; Leeds University Library, YAS MD 335/5/1; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 fo. 179v; TNA, DL 25/54; DL 25/55.

⁷⁰ For Alan 'the cleric', see *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 73-4; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 393-4; TNA, E 329/171; *Lancashire Deeds Volume 1 and Shuttleworth Deeds Part 1*, ed. J. Parker (Manchester: Chetham Society, 91, 1934), pp. 100-1.

⁷¹ It is possible that Alan 'the cleric', may have been one of either Alan le Mala Palude or Alan le Norreys, who also appeared in the witness lists for John's charters and on separate occasions to Alan 'the cleric'. Neither of them are, however, referred to as 'senescallus'. Lacking any other details in the charters regarding Alan the cleric, further clarification has not proved possible from surviving records.

⁷² See above, p. 171.

⁷³ These were: Peter de Alta Ripa, Roger de Bacsof (Bashall), Roger de Bulgrave, William of Carlton, Adam de Grillington, Walter de Hoole, Stephen de Humerton, Robert de Newton, Robert de Standon, Baldwin de Vere, Geoffrey, dean of Whalley and Master Roger the doctor of Kippax.

⁷⁴ See above, p. 173.

⁷⁵ A Robert Newton held one half a knights' fee of land in Newton and Trickingham of William Longespée in 1242 to 1243, however, it is not possible to link these names as the same person.

⁷⁶ For Baldwin de Vere's witness of John's charters, see Oxford Bodleian Library, Dodsworth 8 fo. 87r-v; *Yorks Deeds*, vi, p. 59; BL, Additional Charter 7465.

⁷⁷ *Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, pp. 273-4, 363-4, 430-1, 432-3; with John de Lacy, pp. 377-378, 387-8, 430-1.

⁷⁸ *Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, pp. 421-2; *CPR 1225-1232*, p. 360.

⁷⁹ In 1233, Baldwin was listed in the Pipe Roll as in the king's pay and service at Clun. R. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, Vol. XI (London: John Russell Smith, 1860), p. 230.

he was trusted to deliver missives to Frederick II, the Holy Roman Emperor.⁸⁰ Baldwin is an example of a knight who held land from outside the de Lacy's estates. Yet he still appeared as an associate of John de Lacy and can be counted as part of the outer circle of his affinity. Although perhaps not counted as significant as John's inner cohort of advisers, the outer circle of his affinity still provided a considerable amount of support and advice. They also allowed for a greater reach of influence beyond the immediate environs of the de Lacy estates and toward the wider aristocratic community.

John de Lacy's 'inner' and 'outer' circles of his affinity were initially formed from the remains of his father's. Later in his career, his following had evolved to contain a mixture of men with direct tenurial ties to him and of knights who also held from other lords outside of his demesne lands. He appeared to have rewarded some of these men through positions within his household and estate administration, rather than with new grants of land. Cash rewards may have been used, but are impossible to trace in the absence of extant account rolls for this period in the de Lacys' history. These elements demonstrate that, although John's affinity was focused on a core 'traditional' composition, he was clearly open to the use of 'bastard feudal' methods to expand and maintain his affinity. Like his father, John chose to maintain a number of men in his affinity with strong local ties to the de Lacy lands. These close geographical connections helped to enable him to retain and expand his influence across his estates. Quite probably it empowered him to obtain and cement his position as the leading councillor to the crown by the time of his death.

⁸⁰ *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 376-8; *CPR 1232-1247*, pp.150-1; Weiler, *Henry III of England*, p. 79.

iii) Edmund de Lacy

Due to Edmund's early death at the age of twenty-eight, in 1258, the number of surviving charters by which a reconstruction of his affinity can be made is unfortunately small. A total of twelve charters, with accompanying witness lists, meet the requirements for this analysis. Despite this, a number of individuals can be identified and placed within his 'inner' and 'outer' circles. A total of forty-two men, including nine churchmen, appear within the witness lists. Four of these men witnessed five or more charters, and a further nine witnessed three or more. This is suggestive of an 'inner' circle of at least thirteen men.¹ Extracting the names of those men who might have formed an 'outer' circle is obviously more problematic, with a further twenty-nine individuals whose names are mentioned in his witness lists at least once. It is also important to consider the impact that another royal wardship had upon the de Lacy affinity. John's widow, Margaret, continued as countess of Lincoln, which allowed for an element of continued cohesion on the composition of the affinity. A number of men subsequently served both Margaret and Edmund. Certain key figures known to have been associated with, or employed by, Edmund de Lacy, such as Walter de Ludham,² make very few appearances in the witness lists for the extant *acta*.³ Due to the chance survival of a letter, however, we are able to establish that on at least one occasion, Edmund travelled to a tournament with a personal retinue of twenty knights.⁴ This letter is of particular interest, not least because it has been convincingly dated by Martha Carlin and David Crouch to between the summer of 1248 and 1250.⁵ Edmund was proclaimed of age at eighteen in May 1248 and duly succeeded to his lands.⁶ This letter, within just two years of his succession, demonstrates that, even at this early stage of his aristocratic career, Edmund was

¹ Thomas Bella Aqua (3), John Bek (4), Hugh Despenser (4), Geoffrey of Dutton (4), Richard Foliot (4), John de Hoderode (10), Adam the Abbot of Kirkstall (3), Robert Noel (5), Henry the rector of Normanton (3), Robert de Nottingham, rector of Almonbury (3), Osbert the rector of Silkeston/parson of Donington (7), Robert de St Andrews (9), Francone le Tyas (Teutonicus) (4). Adam de Novo Mercator and John de Alta Ripa both appeared on two occasions and are also included here.

² See above, pp. 73, 79.

³ Walter de Ludham was listed in TNA, DL 25/2243; one would have expected him to appear more often.

⁴ *Lost Letters of Medieval Life*, ed. D. Crouch and M. Carlin (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 207-210. The letter from an unknown knight to his bailiff, advised of the imminent arrival of himself and his lord, Edmund de Lacy, with a company of twenty knights.

⁵ *Lost Letters*, p. 208.

⁶ *CPR, 1247-1258*, p. 14.

already able to command a substantial retinue of knights. Unfortunately no names of the knights are contained in the letter.

The most frequent witness to Edmund's charters was John de Hoderode (or Hoderoyd). John was Edmund's seneschal of Pontefract between 1246 and 1258.⁷ During this time he witnessed a total of eleven of Edmund's extant charters.⁸ He was granted freedom from being placed on assizes and being made sheriff or other bailiff of the king in 1249, and again in 1254, at the instance of Edmund de Lacy: no doubt so he could focus on his duties as seneschal.⁹ In 1255, he was appointed as a king's justice, to take an assize of *darrein presentment* in Yorkshire.¹⁰ John de Hoderode held land in South Kirkby of the honour of Pontefract. He may have held additional land in Clayton via marriage; he also held the manor of Fixby from the earl of Warenne.¹¹ John does not, however, appear to have a enjoyed significant landed interest within the de Lacy estates themselves, in contrast to some of the other de Lacy seneschals. This would support the argument, made by Denholm-Young, of a decline in the emphasis of long-serving seneschals who held substantial land interests within their lord's demesne. Such men were gradually replaced by professional stewards, who often viewed such positions as a short-term step on the path toward a future administrative career in service of the crown.¹²

Another member of Edmund's affinity who did not have any tenurial links to the de Lacy estates was Robert of St Andrews. Robert of St Andrews witnessed at least nine of Edmund's charters, and was no doubt a close and significant member of his 'inner' circle.¹³ Robert was formerly a part of the retinue of Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester.¹⁴ A knight without any apparent land of his own,

⁷ *Cartulary of St John of Pontefract*, ii, p. 316.

⁸ For John de Hoderode, see BL, Lansdowne 203 fo. 49; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 9 fo. 174v-175r; London College of Arms, MS Vincent 225 p. 124 also in *Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, pp. 314-5; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 43-5; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 34-5; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 fo. 304v; TNA, DL 25/2157; DL 25/2166; DL 25/2243.

⁹ *CPR 1247-1258*, pp. 56, 328.

¹⁰ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 438.

¹¹ John's wife was Dionisia, daughter of Michael Briestwistle, who had held Fixby, see *Yorks Deeds*, iv, p. 52. His son (also named) John de Hoderode, appeared in possession of Fixby in 1286, see *Yorks Deeds*, iv, p. 53, 164-5. William de Beaumont paid 8s relief in 1298 to take hold of the land, formerly held by Robert de Hoderode (son of John) of the earl of Warenne. W.P. Baildon, *Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield Volume 2: 1297 to 1309* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 38. Robert later confirmed a charter of his grandfather regarding grant of land in Clayton, Yorkshire, see Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/SR/1/25/C15.

¹² With reference to Adam de Nereford, see above, p. 174. Also Denholm-Young, *Seigniorial Administration*, pp. 68-9.

¹³ For Robert of St Andrews, see BL, Lansdowne 203 fo. 49; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 9 fo. 174v-175r; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 43-5; *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 33; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 fo. 304v; PRO DL 25/2166.

¹⁴ Simpson, 'The Familia of Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester', p. 117.

Robert had joined Edmund's affinity prior to 1256, when he accompanied Edmund to Wales, as part of the Lord Edward's campaign. He was notably referred to in royal letters close as one of Edmund's *familiares*.¹⁵ Francis Teutonicus (le Tyas) was likewise referred as in the same manner. Francis was the son of Baldwin le Tyas, who held land of the de Lacys and had been a member of Edmund's father's affinity.¹⁶ Francis probably inherited his father's lands, and as such, was an important landed tenant within Edmund's 'inner' circle. He witnessed at least four of Edmund's charters.¹⁷ In addition to le Tyas, the appearance of members of the Despenser and Dutton families also suggests that there was a continuity of connections between the generations of these families and the de Lacys. Hugh Despenser and Geoffrey of Dutton both appeared on at least four occasions in Edmund's charter witness lists.¹⁸ Hugh Despenser also served as part of the team of negotiators for the marriage of Edmund's son, Henry to Margaret Longespée in 1256.¹⁹ Both men came from substantial knightly families with deep-rooted connections to the de Lacy family.

Richard Foliot was another member of Edmund's circle and enjoyed equally deep-seated connections with the de Lacys. Richard was the son of Jordan Foliot, who had served Edmund's father, John de Lacy. The Foliots were an established knightly family and tenants of the Lacys in Pontefract. Jordan Foliot was also one of the twenty de Lacy tenants who had stood surety for John de Lacy's inheritance fine in 1213.²⁰ The Foliots held land in Fenwick and Norton stretching back to 1166.²¹ In 1212, Richard's father, Jordan Foliot held 3 knights' fees of land from the de Lacys across Saxby, Firsby, Stretton, Ingham and Hackthorn.²² He then obtained Grimston in Nottinghamshire, following the death of his uncle, Robert Bardolf.²³ When Jordan Foliot died in 1236, despite Richard not having reached majority, John de Lacy was able to intercede with the king and obtained his

¹⁵ *CCIR 1254-1256*, p. 450.

¹⁶ See above, pp. 174-5.

¹⁷ For Francis le Tyas, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 43-5; *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 33; TNA, DL 25/2157.

¹⁸ For Hugh Despenser and Geoffrey of Dutton, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 43-5; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 33-5.

¹⁹ TNA, E 326/194. Hugh Despenser was married to Aline, daughter of Philip Basset, who in turn, was married to William Longespée's aunt. Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 55. The marriage is also discussed by Waugh, whom Wilkinson notes has mistakenly listed William de Ludham rather than Walter de Ludham as the fourth member of Edmund's negotiators: Waugh, *The Lordship*, pp. 57-8.

²⁰ *ROF*, pp. 494-5.

²¹ Jordan (I) Foliot, held 3 knights' fees of Guy de Laval and 2 knights' fees of Henry (I) de Lacy, in the 1166 *Carta. Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, pp. 421-2; Clay, *Early Yorkshire Families*, p. 34.

²² *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ii, p. 522.

²³ *CFR 1224-1225*, nos. 228-229.

father's lands for him in return for a fine of 25 marks.²⁴ This was a significant act of intercession by John de Lacy, which reflected the considerable favour in which the Foliots were held by the de Lacy family.²⁵ Richard subsequently witnessed at least four of Edmund de Lacy's charters.²⁶

Another of Edmund's established landed knights was Sir John Bek. John Bek appeared as a witness on at least three of Edmund charters.²⁷ The Bek family were well established landholders in Eresby, Lincolnshire.²⁸ John's brother Thomas was the bishop of St Davids, while his brother Anthony was the bishop of Durham.²⁹ John travelled with Edmund to France as part of Eleanor of Provence and the Lord Edward's retinue in 1254, and received letters of protection and exemption from serving on assizes.³⁰ John was subsequently awarded the right to hold a market in Spilsby and to enjoy free warren in his demesne lands in Lincolnshire in 1255.³¹ As a significant landholding family, the Beks were able to offer considerable influence to Edmund across his estates. John's association with the de Lacys continued after Edmund's death. In 1266, he served Alice de Lacy; he delivered the final payment of her fine for the wardship of Edmund's lands to the king's wardrobe.³² He then later served as part of Henry de Lacy's affinity.³³

Despite few appearances in Edmund's extant *acta*, two additional names are worthy of note here, through their association with Edmund de Lacy in other available evidence. Richard le Norman was Edmund's master or tutor during his minority.³⁴ After he had come of age, Richard le Norman's association with Edmund remained. He appeared as a witness to his charters and was, at Edmund's

²⁴ *CFR 1235-1236*, no. 168.

²⁵ The wardship of Richard Foliot would have no doubt fallen to the crown had Jordan's estates been taken. So it was probably in John's interests to enable Richard's inheritance, thus providing himself with the wardship during his minority.

²⁶ For Richard Foliot, see BL Lansdowne 203 fo. 49; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 43-5; TNA, DL 25/2166.

²⁷ For Jon Bek, see BL, Lansdowne 203 fo. 49; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 9 fo. 174v-175r; TNA, DL 25/2166.

²⁸ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 158; Lincolnshire Archives 2ANC3/A/1.

²⁹ D. Walker, 'Bek, Thomas (d. 1293), bishop of St. David's', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); P. Morgan, 'Bek Family (c. 1150-c. 1350), gentry', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); C.M. Fraser, *A History of Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham, 1283-1311* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957); J. Fowler, 'On a Window Representing the Life and Miracles of S. William of York', *Yorkshire Archaeological & Topographical Journal*, vol. 3 (1875), pp. 198-348, 172.

³⁰ *CPR 1247-1258*, pp. 374-5.

³¹ *CChR 1226-1257*, p. 450.

³² *CPR 1266-1272*, p. 5.

³³ See below p, 189.

³⁴ *CLR 1240-1245*, p. 148.

instance, exempt from serving on assizes in 1254.³⁵ Likewise, Walter de Ludham served as Edmund's seneschal during his minority. He also served as an attorney to his mother, Margaret de Lacy, countess of Lincoln.³⁶ He was awarded the custody of Gunthorpe manor, with the soke of Ludenham, by the king in 1255, for the annual rent of £66.³⁷ The following year, he formed part of the representatives for the negotiation of the Longespée marriage with Edmund's son, Henry.³⁸

Although Edmund's affinity was not as heavily dominated by tenants, it was still similar in its composition to those of his father and grandfather; and a significant proportion of his witnesses remained landholders within his estates. This was, in part, due to the strong geographical links present within his father's and grandfather's affinities, and the cultivation of close connections which were maintained among the various generations of these landholding families. Although less emphasis on the importance of tenurial ties in the composition of affinities had begun during this period, long standing loyalties served to reinforce existing ties between the de Lacys and their landholding families. The paucity of surviving records makes a thorough assessment of the extent of any 'bastard feudal' elements within the composition and construction of Edmund's affinity difficult. It is clear, however, that Edmund's affinity was open to those of knightly status who had no prior tenurial connection to the Lacy estates. The established strength of the family estates during this time also represented a significant draw for those who sought to obtain advantage by engagement in their service.

³⁵ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 328.

³⁶ See above, p. 178.

³⁷ *CPR 1247-1258*, p. 447.

³⁸ See above, p. 79.

iv) Henry de Lacy

The early death of Edmund de Lacy presented the de Lacy affinity with yet another period of wardship. One again, however, the presence of his mother Alice and grandmother Margaret, who acted as custodians of Henry's lands during his minority, provided an additional layer of cohesion which helped to maintain the existing ties between the de Lacy family and the members of its following. There are at least seventy surviving charters for Henry de Lacy which contain witness lists.¹ These reveal that more than one hundred and fifty separate individuals, both laymen and ecclesiastic, served as witnesses. Eighteen men can be identified as having formed a core 'inner' circle for Henry, although it should be noted that they did not all serve at the same time.² From the analysis of the surviving *acta* we are able to establish that Henry's affinity was not adversely affected by his wardship. Indeed, it may have benefited from additional connections gained during his time as a royal ward. Existing tenurial ties within the previous three generations continued and were cultivated further, while at the same time new connections were established as a result of Henry's position as earl of Lincoln and his close association with the crown.

One key member of Henry's early inner circle and, representative of the transition from the previous generation, was John Bek. John Bek was part of Henry's father, Edmund's affinity and after his death, during Henry's wardship, continued to perform service to the de Lacy family, in particular for Alice de Lacy.³ As a member of Henry's 'inner circle', he was able to provide substantial advice and support. He witnessed a total of seventeen of Henry's *acta*.⁴ John's son Walter Bek, also

¹ An additional 2 charters have been used in the analysis of Henry's affinity which have not been included in this total figure of 70. These 2 charters only include the names of either one or two witnesses. They have been used, however, in the calculation of the total number of charters witnessed by the particular individual(s). Namely, Miles de Stapleton, see Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Top Yorks c. 72 fo. 66r-v; and for Roger de Trumpington, see BL, MS Cotton Tiberius D VI, pt.1 fo. 114 (15c).

² These were: John Bek (17), Walter Bek (8), Gilbert de Clifton (6), Roger Cobeldick (5), Hugh of Dutton (5), Thomas de Fishburn (9), Robert fitz Roger (14), Robert de Hertford (12), Adam de Huddleston (4), Peter de Malore (8), Alexander de Montfort (6), James de Neville (10), Robert Shireland (4), John Spring (5), Miles Stapleton (6), William de Stopham (14), Roger de Trumpington (9) and William Vavasour (28).

³ See above, p. 186.

⁴ For John Bek's witnessed charters, see TNA, DL 25/67; DL 25/68; DL 25/2189; DL 25/2364; DL 27/35; E 42/199; E 326/3498; E 327/447; *Whalley Coucher*, iv, pp. 945-6, also Lancashire Record Office, DDPt/Box6/Billington/18; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 83v; *Yorks Deeds*, vi, p. 59; *Lancashire Deeds 1*, pp. 101-2; *Cockersand Chartulary*, i, part 1, p. 63; *Cockersand Chartulary*, ii, part 1, pp. 413, 446-7; BL, MS Lansdowne 203 fo. 15v also BL, Harley 2044 fo. 118v; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, p. 595.

subsequently witnessed at least eight charters.⁵ During Henry's minority, John was appointed a royal justice in 1266 with Alexander de Montfort, another subsequent member of Henry's 'inner circle', who was to enquire into the costs of repairs to the king's land in Hoyland.⁶ In 1274, he was again appointed to determine the losses inflicted upon Flemish merchants.⁷ He was recorded as a justice of the bench during 1276 to 1278; and in 1276 was granted the right to crenellate (or fortify) his manor at Eresby.⁸ He was one of the men, appointed in 1279, to investigate trespasses of the king's money, when Edward I decided to initiate a recoinage.⁹ During the next two years he was given further commissions of 'oyer and terminer' in Lincolnshire.¹⁰ In 1281, he also assisted Edmund, earl of Cornwall, in judging a case between English merchants and the count of Flanders.¹¹ He served as a justice in Lincolnshire between 1283 and 1286.¹² In 1289, he was commissioned to investigate events surrounding a fire and deaths at Boston market.¹³ These years of service saw John awarded with the favourable grant of the marriages of the heirs of Richard de Harcourt, in 1292.¹⁴ In 1296, he was noted as in the king's service in Scotland, staying with the treasurer of Scotland for at least a year.¹⁵ In 1297, he was used to select and retain knights and yeomen from Lincolnshire for the forthcoming campaign to Scotland.¹⁶ In the same year he was given license to grant rents from Waddingworth to the abbot and convent of Kirkstead, in exchange for other rents; and in the following year, he received confirmation of the grant of the manor of Cotes by Bolingbroke.¹⁷ John's position as a leading landholder in the de Lacy estates would have provided him with some established local influence. His subsequent standing as a respected and loyal king's justice would have been of additional benefit to

⁵ For Walter Bek's witnessed charters, see TNA, DL 25/2364; DL 25/3202; DL 36/1/119; E 42/199; *Lancashire Deeds 1*, pp. 102-3; BL, MS Lansdown 203 fo. 15v also BL, Harley 2044 fo. 118v; *CChR 1257-1300*, p. 412; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, p. 595.

⁶ *CPR 1258-1266*, p. 657.

⁷ *CPR 1272-1281*, pp. 60, 86, 89, 95, 123.

⁸ *CPR 1272-1281*, pp. 153, 158, 287-8.

⁹ *CPR 1272-1281*, pp. 297, 312, 338; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 245-9.

¹⁰ *CPR 1272-1281*, pp. 319, 409-414.

¹¹ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 36.

¹² *CPR 1281-1292*, pp. 68, 95, 102, 105, 256.

¹³ *CPR 1281-1292*, pp. 319, 329-330.

¹⁴ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 6.

¹⁵ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 201.

¹⁶ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 309. See also Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 479-484; C. Burt, *Edward I and the Governance of England 1272 -1307* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2013), pp. 177-205.

¹⁷ *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 295, 390.

Henry de Lacy.¹⁸ Bek would have provided him with an ability to exert influence within the localities, as well as substantive legal advice.

Another critical member of Henry's early inner circle, who held a similarly influential position to Bek, was William le Vavasour. William le Vavasour was a significant tenant of the de Lacy family and held the manor of Cocksford from the honour of Pontefract, as well as the manor of Cockerington, in Lincolnshire.¹⁹ William was a long serving member of Henry's following and witnessed a total of twenty-eight of Henry's *acta* during his lifetime.²⁰ William was the son of John le Vavasour, whose family had held land at Hazelwood, near Leeds, as early as 1166. The 1166 *cartae* showed the Vavasours held 2 knights' fees of the old feoffment of William de Percy II and half a knight's fee of the old feoffment of Skipton.²¹ The date when William succeeded to his father's estates is, however, unfortunately unknown. The findings of an inquisition *post mortem* in 1313 showed that he held land in Bilton of the Brus fee for one fifth of a knight's fee and Healaugh, in Yorkshire, for one third of a knight's fee of John de Mowbray, as well as further land in Elmsall, Pykeburn and Waddeworth. The family manor of Hazelwood and a moiety of Stutton was held of Sir Henry de Percy for half a knight's fee and one tenth of a knight's fee respectively. He also held land in Woodhall, Sicklinghall and Spofford from the same. In addition to this, he held the manors of Cokesford and Fryston for half a knight's fee and 1 knight's fee respectively, from the earl of Lancaster; and had further land in Stobs, Smithton, Stapleton, Badsworth, Adingham and Drayton at the time of his death.²² William was therefore in possession of substantial land, held from outside the de Lacy fee, which would have provided Henry with additional influence both in, and near, his northern estates.

William was of a similar age to Henry de Lacy and was clearly well regarded by Henry for his service, both as a major landholder and a knight; and later as Henry's steward. He was part of Henry

¹⁸ This is reflective of Carpenter's view of knightly office holding as beneficial to both magnate and knight. Carpenter 'Bastard Feudalism Revised: A Debate', p. 189; Carpenter, 'The Second Century of English Feudalism', pp. 63-67.

¹⁹ *CIPM*, v, no. 395, pp. 216-7; A. Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, p. 154.

²⁰ For William le Vavasour, see TNA, DL 25/71; DL 25/2189; DL 25/2271; DL 25/2364; DL 25/3202; DL 25/3249; DL 25/3436; DL 25/3442; DL 25/3628; DL 26/2565; DL 36/2/45; DL 36/2/248; E 327/447; E 42/199; E 326/3498; E 326/10862; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 155 fo. 83v; BL, Harley 2074 fo. 165r; *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 75-6; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, p. 595; *Whalley Coucher*, iv, pp. 944-6 also Lancashire Record Office, DDPt/Box6/Billington/18; St John's College Cambridge, D 16.11 also in *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 185; *Coucher Book of Selby*, i, pp. 3-4; *Yorks Deeds*, vi, p. 59; *CCIR 1279-1288*, p. 191; *CChR 1257-1300*, p. 46; East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, DDX 152/3/1.

²¹ Clay, *Early Yorkshire Families*, p. 95.

²² *CIPM*, v, no. 395, pp. 216-7.

de Lacy's military retinue for the king's Welsh campaigns in 1277 and 1282.²³ In 1283 to 1284, Henry awarded him with a quarter of a messuage in Almondbury, accompanied by the rent of the manor, for life.²⁴ Henry also awarded him with £20 of annual rent from North and South Elmsall and Moorthorpe.²⁵ William also fulfilled the position of an attorney, as in 1285, he was nominated in this capacity by the abbot of the Holy Trinity and of Mont St Catherine, Rouen, during his absence overseas.²⁶ The following year, in 1286, he fulfilled the same duty, alongside Peter of Chester, for Henry de Lacy, during his absence in Gascony with the king.²⁷ William was then granted permission to alienate land in Hazelwood for a chaplain to conduct services there; before he then joined Henry de Lacy in Gascony toward the end of that year.²⁸ Like John Bek, William served for prolonged periods as a justice of the crown. He was first appointed a king's justice in 1287, when he was one of the men appointed in Yorkshire to enforce the Statute of Winchester.²⁹ Perhaps in acknowledgement of this service, in 1290, he was granted permission to fortify his home at Hazelwood, creating a castle.³⁰ William accompanied Henry de Lacy to Gascony in 1294, but had returned to England before 1297, when he was appointed with another of Henry's men, Thomas Fishburn, to arrest any trespassers in de Lacy's forests during Henry's absence.³¹ In the same year, he was also appointed by the king to levy men for the campaign in Scotland.³² He served as a justice in Yorkshire in 1298, before he was again appointed to select footmen from Yorkshire to be sent to Scotland between 1299 and 1301.³³ William remained active in the service of Henry de Lacy and the king in the campaign in Scotland. As a result of this service, in 1299, William was named as a baron by the king and then summoned to parliament regularly between 1299 and 1313.³⁴ This probably served to reinforce his position, and any influence he was able to provide, as a member of Henry's 'inner' circle. He was also present as part of the

²³ *CPR 1272-1281*, p. 189; *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 13.

²⁴ TNA, DL 25/2174.

²⁵ TNA, DL 36/1/119.

²⁶ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 157.

²⁷ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 246; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 323-6.

²⁸ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 261.

²⁹ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 265; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 280-1.

³⁰ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 383.

³¹ *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 87, 234.

³² *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 313-4; *Parliamentary Writs*, Vol. 1, pp. 304-5; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 469-517.

³³ *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 381, 383, 438, 512; *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 2.

³⁴ J. Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerages of England, Ireland and Scotland* (London: Henry Colburn, 1846), p. 534; *Parliamentary Writs*, pp. 881-2.

military force led by Henry de Lacy at the siege of Caerlaverock in 1300.³⁵ During 1302 to 1303, William was sent to Yorkshire by the king, to procure supplies for the continued campaign in Scotland.³⁶ Between 1304 and 1307, William again served as a justice in Yorkshire, for both the king and in the service of Henry de Lacy, where he investigated cases in Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick, Leicester and London.³⁷ In 1305 he was awarded with the custody of the lands of Ralph de Lasceles in Scotland.³⁸ William le Vavasour's position as a leading landholder and justice was therefore of substantial importance to Henry de Lacy, and his long standing service saw him counted as a key member of his inner circle. His subsequent positions as a judge and baron would have provided Henry with additional influence across his estates and amongst the wider aristocratic political community.

In a similar capacity, another key long serving member of Henry's affinity was William de Stopham. William witnessed a total of fourteen of Henry's *acta* between 1282 and 1305.³⁹ He was a significant tenant of the de Lacys: he held Towton within the honour of Pontefract and also Baildon and Weston near Henry's land at Bradford.⁴⁰ William's personal association with Henry began as early as 1277, when he served in Henry's military retinue during the king's Welsh campaign.⁴¹ Stopham was also part of Henry's entourage given protection during travel overseas on 'the king's business' in early 1291 and he was subsequently part of Henry's mission to Gascony in 1295.⁴² In the same year, Henry gave the manor of Waddington, except the advowson of the church, to his 'dear bachelor'.⁴³ An award given in this manner both served to reinforce the existing tenurial connection between the two men and was demonstrative of the favour in which Henry held William, and also served to strengthen

³⁵ E. Foss, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Judges of England from the Conquest to the Present Time: 1066-1870* (New Jersey: The Lawbook Exchange, 1999), p. 689; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 517-520.

³⁶ *CPR 1301-1307*, pp. 99, 159.

³⁷ *CPR 1301-1307*, pp. 277, 348, 354, 358, 404, 405, 407, 475, 479, 540-2.

³⁸ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 320. He was also tasked with the provision of care for his son and heir, who had been deemed an idiot.

³⁹ TNA, DL 25/71; DL 25/2074; DL 25/2174; DL 25/2190; DL 25/2364; DL 25/3202; DL 25/3442; DL 26/2565; DL 36/1/119; DL 36/2/189; DL 36/2/248; BL, MS Harley 2074 fo. 165r; St John's College Cambridge, D 16.11 also in *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 185; East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, DDX 152/3/1.

⁴⁰ *CIPM, II*, no. 792; *Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids: with other Analogous Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office. AD. 1284-1431* (6 vols. London: HMSO, 1899-1920), VI, pp. 19, 23; A. Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, p. 154.

⁴¹ *CPR 1272-1281*, p. 189.

⁴² *CPR 1281-1292*, pp. 413, 420. Letters of protection were first issued in 1291. It is unclear whether this expedition occurred when suggested or was delayed until 1293 when Henry was to travel with Edmund, earl of Lancaster to treat with the French. This subsequent mission was also further delayed by the outbreak of war in Wales.

⁴³ TNA, DL 25/3249.

his service going forward. Although John Bek, William de Stopham and William le Vavasour were existing tenants of the de Lacy family, Henry de Lacy did not restrict himself to such ties as prerequisites for membership of his following. He was readily able to make use of men without any pre-existing tenurial ties. Two such men were Alexander de Montfort and Roger de Trumpington.

Alexander de Montfort served as Henry's steward and witnessed at least six of Henry's *acta*.⁴⁴ Alexander was in service to William Longespée, earl of Salisbury, prior to his association with the de Lacy family. He witnessed two of William Longespée's charters to Bradenstoke priory between 1250 and 1257.⁴⁵ He remained in Lincolnshire after Longespée's death and, in 1260, was appointed as a crown official to check the quality of wine in Lincoln.⁴⁶ He may have been at one time also constable of Lincoln castle as, in 1264, he was ordered to give control of the castle to William de Grey.⁴⁷ In 1265, he was listed as 'serjeant of the queen' and was subsequently awarded the custody of Queen Eleanor's lands, farms and wards in Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire after the period of baronial reform and rebellion (1258 to 1265).⁴⁸ In the same year, alongside Anthony Bek, he was ordered to take into royal custody all land of the rebels in Lincolnshire.⁴⁹ Alexander then subsequently entered into service with the de Lacy family, due most likely to the association with the Longespée family, through the marriage of Henry and Longespée's daughter, Margaret. Alexander also served as a justice on a number of occasions in Lincolnshire between 1266 and 1287.⁵⁰ He was later rewarded by de Lacy with land in Riby, Lincolnshire, held in return for the service owing from one quarter of a knight's fee.⁵¹ It is possible that an association with Henry de Lacy occurred during his time as a royal ward and Alexander's own service to the queen. Once Henry had inherited his lands and become earl of Lincoln, it would perhaps have been natural for Alexander to have migrated toward his service, given his prior association with the Longespée family.

⁴⁴ For Alexander named as steward, see Lincolnshire Archives, 2ANC1/24/2; *CChR 1257-1300*, p. 397. For Alexander's witnessed charters, see *Yorks Deeds*, vi, p. 59; *Lancashire Deeds 1*, pp. 101-3; Magdalen College Oxford, MS Wansborough 27; *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 327; BL, Lansdowne 203 fo. 15v also BL, Harley 2044 fo. 118v.

⁴⁵ *Cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory*, nos. 364, 367, pp. 113, 115-6.

⁴⁶ *CPR 1258-1266*, p. 66.

⁴⁷ *CPR 1258-1266*, p. 313.

⁴⁸ *CPR 1258-1266*, pp. 336, 440-1.

⁴⁹ *CPR 1258-1266*, p. 490.

⁵⁰ *CPR 1258-1266*, p. 567; *CPR 1266-1272*, p. 592; *CPR 1272-1281*, pp. 120, 177, 210, 243, 326, 347; *CPR 1281-1292*, pp. 49, 287.

⁵¹ Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, ii, p. 92.

Like Alexander, Roger de Trumpington also had existing connections with de Lacy's marital family. Roger de Trumpington witnessed at least nine of Henry's *acta* before his death in 1289.⁵² Roger probably moved into the de Lacy sphere following the acquisition of the Quincy lands, but also probably, in part, due to a close geographical link. Inquisitions in 1270 revealed that Roger held 1 knight's fee in Trumpington, which had been held of Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester.⁵³ Trumpington was near Cambridge and local to Henry de Lacy's manor of Grantchester.⁵⁴ Roger was a notable crusader who had travelled to the Holy Land with the Lord Edward in 1270.⁵⁵ It is also possible that this pre-existing association with the Lord Edward brought him into the de Lacy sphere. That Roger chose to serve de Lacy represented that there was no single model for service during this period.⁵⁶ The fact that de Lacy and Trumpington were close neighbours suggests, at the least, a geographical link to their association. It is more likely, however, that the increased potential rewards from service to de Lacy over those available from the Mortimers drew him into Henry's service. After his death, Roger's son Giles inherited his father's lands and continued the family association; Giles subsequently witnessed at least three of Henry's charters.⁵⁷

Other members of Henry's affinity also had established pre-existing familial connections with the de Lacys. The Stapletons, in particular, had served them across several generations. Miles de Stapleton represented the latest in a long established relationship between the Stapleton family and the de Lacys. He inherited his family lands in Yorkshire and was counted as a de Lacy tenant.⁵⁸ Miles witnessed at least six of Henry de Lacy's charters between 1295 and 1308.⁵⁹ His position within the de Lacy affinity is, however, a peculiar one compared to those of his predecessors. In 1298, he served in Scotland at Falkirk under Henry de Lacy and again at the siege of Caerlaverock in 1300. He then

⁵² TNA, DL 25/71; DL 25/2364; DL 25/3442; DL 27/33; DL 36/2/48; DL 36/2/122; E 326/3498; E 327/447; *CH Christchurch Twynham*, BL, MS Cotton Tiberius D VI, pt 1, fo. 114 (15c).

⁵³ *EYC*, vii, p. 109.

⁵⁴ *CIPM*, vol. ii, no. 711; A. Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, p. 127.

⁵⁵ R. L. Ingamells, *The Household Knights of Edward I* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Durham, 1992), p. 32.

⁵⁶ A. Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, p. 127. Spencer notes that both Trumpington and de Lacy held these manors from the Mortimers of Wigmore.

⁵⁷ For Giles' inheritance, see *CIPM*, vol. ii, pp. 438–9. For Giles' witnessed charters, see TNA, DL 25/2403; DL 25/3249; *Whalley Coucher*, iv, pp. 944–5.

⁵⁸ *CIPM*, vol. v, no. 498, pp. 278–9.

⁵⁹ For Miles' witnessed charters, see TNA, DL 25/2074; DL 25/2519; DL 25/3249; DL 25/3421; *Cartulary of Drax*, Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Top Yorks c. 72 fo. 66r–v; *Coucher Book of Selby*, i, pp. 3–4.

accompanied Henry to the papal court, and was described as a knight of his household.⁶⁰ Although Miles was a tenant of Henry de Lacy, and listed as one of his household knights, he later moved to serve as a royal official for the crown. He was constable of Knaresborough castle between 1302 and 1307 and was then appointed to serve as steward of Edward I's son, Prince Edward, between 1303 and 1306.⁶¹ In 1305, Henry de Lacy requested that Miles manage his household during his absence at the papal curia. However, the prince replied that this was not possible without the king's permission.⁶² Despite Henry's considerable influence as a leading earl, a direct order from the king, and the potential rewards offered by direct service to the crown, would no doubt supersede any prior familial or tenurial ties between the Stapletons and the de Lacys. As we have seen, the Duttons were another family who enjoyed a long standing association of the de Lacys.⁶³ Like Miles de Stapleton, Hugh of Dutton also continued an established relationship between the families and witnessed at least five of Henry's *acta* between 1283 and 1285.⁶⁴ This Hugh was probably the son of Thomas Dutton, the sheriff of Cheshire in 1268.⁶⁵ Unfortunately little else is known about Hugh's service during this time.

In contrast, a key administrative official within Henry's affinity, Gilbert de Clifton, provides an interesting study. Gilbert de Clifton witnessed at least six charters for Henry de Lacy during his lifetime.⁶⁶ Gilbert was sheriff of Lancashire in 1278, and again between 1284 and 1290.⁶⁷ He served Henry de Lacy as seneschal of Blackburnshire from 1291 to 1302.⁶⁸ Gilbert held the manors of Clifton and Westby and also addition land in Skales, Plumpton Field, Great Field and Goosnargh in Lancashire.⁶⁹ Gilbert provides us with a particular insight into the manner by which Henry and other

⁶⁰ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 539; A.K. Musson, 'Stapleton, Miles, first Lord Stapleton (d. 1314), baron and administrator', *ODNB* (September 2004).

⁶¹ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 539; Musson, 'Stapleton, Miles'; T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of England*, Vol. 2 (London: Longman, 1920), p. 175.

⁶² Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of England*, Vol. 2, p. 175.

⁶³ See above, pp. 166-8, 173-174, 185.

⁶⁴ For Hugh of Dutton's witnessed charters, see DL 25/67; DL 25/68; DL 25/69; DL 25/ 2072; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Ch. Cheshire a.1 no.1.

⁶⁵ Ormerod, *History of Chester*, Vol. 1, p. 644.

⁶⁶ For Gilbert's witnessed charters, see TNA, E 42/199; *Whalley Coucher*, iv, pp. 945-6, also Lancashire Record Office, DDpt/Box6/Billington/18; *Lancashire Deeds I*, pp. 101-3; *Cockersand Chartulary*, ii, part.1, p. 413; *Whalley Coucher*, ii, p. 595.

⁶⁷ *List of Sheriffs of England and Wales from the Earliest Times to A.D. 1831*, (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1963), p. 72; *Yorkshire Hundred and Quo Warranto Rolls, 1274-1294*, ed. B. English (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society. 151, 1994), p. 50.

⁶⁸ 'Roll 1235: 5 Edward I', in *Calendar of the Lancashire Assize Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, ed. J. Parker (2 Vols. Manchester: Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 47 and 49, 1904-1905), pp. 143-151. (4 John-13 Edward) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/lancashire-assize-john-edw1/pp143-151>

⁶⁹ Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History*, vol. 2, p. 55.

earls were able to exert influence within their estates. The Hundred Rolls Inquiry of 1274 to 1275 revealed that Henry de Lacy had apparently refused the king's officials entry to his demesne lands, and prevented them from carrying out their duties, unless his own bailiffs were present.⁷⁰ When the lead commissioner came to Yorkshire, he reportedly told the Staincliffe jurors to speak without fear of the earl's bailiffs. Gilbert de Clifton's reaction to this was to issue a tirade of insults toward the commissioner including that, had he been present, he would have thrown him out. When someone did subsequently complain to the jurors about actions taken by de Lacy's bailiffs, Clifton seized their goods in retribution.⁷¹ This particular account demonstrates the extent to which some comital administrators viewed their lord's lands as sacrosanct and independent during this period.⁷² The Blackburnshire estates were of significant value to the de Lacy family and Henry needed a loyal and capable servant to administer them for him. Gilbert's previous experience as a sheriff afforded Henry with a seasoned official he could trust, represented by his appointment as the seneschal of Blackburnshire and demonstrated by his actions.

Another key member of Henry's administrative officials was Thomas Fishburn. Thomas was from Fishburn, near Embleton, an estate tied to the de Lacys.⁷³ Fishburn witnessed at least nine of Henry's charters between 1291 and 1301.⁷⁴ More significantly, he functioned as one of Henry's lawyers. Fishburn had entered Henry's service by at least 1291 and within two years had been appointed as a justice in eyre for Tindale in Cumbria.⁷⁵ In 1295 to 1296, he fulfilled the position of an estate auditor for de Lacy in the honour of Clitheroe and was responsible for the accounts in that year

⁷⁰ Spencer, *Nobility & Kingship*, pp. 154-5; *Yorkshire Hundred and Quo Warranto Rolls*, p. 33.

⁷¹ In Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, pp. 155-7.

⁷² Although Spencer is a somewhat reticent to position Clifton's views as mirrored by de Lacy and the other earls, it is doubtful that Clifton would have felt as empowered to act in such a manner without his approval. Spencer does conclude that the lack of any negative reaction was most likely due to the strong friendship between the king and de Lacy. This meant that, as for as the king was concerned, for a while yet, his 'friend' de Lacy could wield power within his lands as he saw fit.

⁷³ Gilbert de Hansard held Embleton by a grant of John de Lacy, which was confirmed by King John in 1199 and the de Lacys retained an overlordship. *Rotuli Chartarum 1199-1216*, p. 23; *Victoria History of the County of Durham*, III, ed. W. Page (London: St Catherine Press, 1928), pp. 239, 326; *The Earliest English Law Reports*, ed. P. Brand (4 Vols. London: Selden Society, 111, 112, 122, 123, 1996), vol. ii, p. 264; Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, p.148.

⁷⁴ For Thomas Fishburn's witnessed charters, see TNA, DL 25/2190; DL 25/2523; DL 25/3202; DL 25/3421; DL 36/2/210; *Coucher Book of Selby*, i, pp. 3-4; BL, Cotton Vespasian, E XVIII fo. 228v (13c); BL, MS Cotton Vespasian, E XVIII fos. 229v-230 (13c); East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, DDX 152/3/1.

⁷⁵ *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 4, 8; *CCIR 1288-1296*, p. 309.

with another clerk, William de Nony.⁷⁶ In 1297, Fishburn was also appointed to arrest and prosecute any trespassers in de Lacy's forests during Henry's absence in Gascony.⁷⁷ Henry nominated him as his attorney during his mission to the papal curia in 1300, and again in the following year.⁷⁸ It does not appear from the records that Fishburn held any land directly from Henry de Lacy. As such, he would have been rewarded with money fees for his service.⁷⁹ As a royal justice and attorney, Fishburn would have been of vast importance to Henry de Lacy. Not only would he have provided influence on justice for him within the localities, but he would have also offered legal advice and acted as a councillor. Men in positions such as this were able to exert the king's laws on behalf of their lords in legitimate and also more surreptitious ways. As a result, they were of critical import to a lord's ability to exert influence.⁸⁰ In similar fashion to his father and grandfather before him, Henry de Lacy was cognisant of the need to maintain such men within his affinity. Thomas Fishburn, John Bek, William le Vavasour and Alexander de Montfort were also all royal justices. In addition to these four men, Henry de Lacy had strong links with a further three royal justices: Peter Malore, Robert de Hertford and Roger Cobeldick.⁸¹ Malore and de Hertford were both retained in de Lacy's military service during the years of action in Wales and Scotland.⁸² Robert de Hertford subsequently witnessed twelve charters for de Lacy between 1282 and 1295; Peter Malore witnessed eight of de Lacy's charters between 1283 and 1292.⁸³ Roger Cobeldick witnessed five charters and also served as de Lacy's steward.⁸⁴ As a

⁷⁶ *Two Compotus*, p. 52. Two amounts of £162 are listed as transported from Halton and Widnes during the year to Oliver Stanfield, constable of Pontefract.

⁷⁷ *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 87, 234.

⁷⁸ *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 539, 611.

⁷⁹ He was in receipt of 20 marks of annual rent from Edenham, Rocksburgh in 1301, however, this was granted by John de Balliol, later confirmed by the king and not Henry de Lacy. *CCIR 1296-1302*, p. 545.

⁸⁰ Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship'; Carpenter, 'Kings, Magnates and Society', pp. 47-8; Spencer, *Nobility & Kingship*, p. 148; see also P.A. Brand, *The Origins of the English Legal Profession* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

⁸¹ For Malore's commission as a justice see *CPR 1281-1292*, pp. 507, 511, 515; For de Hertford's commissions see, *CPR 1281-1292*, pp. 306, 336, 399, 404, 408, 411, 452-5, 457, 489, 514, 517, 518, 520-1. Henry de Lacy also nominated Hertford as his attorney with Thomas Fishburn during his absence in 1291. *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 410. For Cobeldick's commissions see, *CPR 1301-1307*, pp. 189, 478. Henry nominated him as his attorney with Thomas Fishburn during his absence in 1305, *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 380. Prior to his association with de Lacy, Cobeldick worked as an attorney for the abbot of Crowland, Lincolnshire. *CPR 1281-1292*, pp. 313-4, 324, 353.

⁸² For Robert de Hertford's military summons, see *Parliamentary Writs*, p. 667; For Malore, see *Parliamentary Writs*, p. 722.

⁸³ For Robert de Hertford's witnessed charters, see TNA, DL 25/3202; DL 25/3249; DL 25/3436; DL 26/2565; DL 36/1/119; DL 36/2/189; BL, MS Harley 2074 fo. 165r; BL, Cotton Vespasian, E XVIII fo. 228v (13c); BL, MS Cotton Vespasian, E XVIII fos. 229v-230 (13c); *Whalley Coucher*, pp. 944-5; *CChR 1257-1300*, pp. 412; *CChR 1257-1300*, p. 460 also in *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 189. For Peter Malore's witnessed charters, see TNA, DL 25/2271; DL 25/2338; DL 36/2/189; DL 36/1/108; BL, Cotton Vespasian, E XVIII fo. 228v (13c); BL, MS Cotton Vespasian, E XVIII fos. 229v-230 (13c); *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 481; *CChR 1257-1300*, pp. 412.

⁸⁴ For Roger Cobeldick's witnessed charters, see PRO DL 25/2173; DL 25/2403; DL 25/2519; DL 25/2523; DL 36/2/210.

result, through the men in his affinity, Henry may well have exerted a strong influence on any judicial proceedings involving them, across his estates and within the wider political community.

Perhaps not altogether surprisingly, of affinities of the four generations of de Lacy men examined in this thesis, Henry de Lacy's affinity provides the closest example of a 'bastard feudal' picture, as presented by Caroline Burt, David Carpenter and Peter Coss, whereby there was a clear representation of the 'personal contract' having superseded tenurial bonds as the principal tie between lords and vassals.⁸⁵ In fact, it should be described rather more as firmly 'traditional' in character, with perhaps minor 'bastard feudal' tendencies at best. Henry combined the more customary grants of land with monetary payments, when necessary, to maintain an affinity that provided him with the counsel, military strength and political influence he needed. His ability to do this was in part, as a result, of the wealthy, extensive and well-tended estates which he inherited. He was able to rely upon a network of tenants and administrators cultivated and maintained over the previous three generations. The core of his affinity therefore consisted of a few key men with strong tenurial links, in conjunction with men who had established familial connections to the de Lacy family. When needed, Henry reinforced these ties with additional grants of land, such as those made to William de Stopham and William le Vavasour. Later additions to the following appear to have been made in an 'ad hoc' or 'as necessary' fashion. Henry does not appear to have made any coordinated effort to recruit from particular areas within or without his estates. It is evident that Henry's marriage to Margaret Longespée did have an impact on the composition of his affinity, as men with ties to the lands he had acquired through his wife were drawn to his service. The men with no pre-existing ties who gravitated to his affinity, however, did so less as a result of any close geographical link, although some did have these, but more due to the political sway an established earl and strong military commander, like de Lacy, could provide. This finding is comparative with those experiences outlined by Carpenter's exploration of the earls of Derby and Morris' study of Roger (III) Bigod.⁸⁶ In addition to this, Henry's long and close friendship with the king provided him with yet another avenue by which he could obtain favourable rewards. This relationship also provided additional connections through which he could reinforce the

⁸⁵ McFarlane's definition in McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', pp. 23-4; See also Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised'; Crouch and Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised: A Debate'; Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised: A Reply' whose collective work has modified the definition.

⁸⁶ Carpenter, 'The Second Century of English Feudalism', pp. 47-59; Morris, *Bigod Earls*, pp. 64-73.

strength of his following. In conjunction with the power provided by his landed wealth, Henry de Lacy was able to exert enough influence to maintain a position as one of the leading magnates in England, in both financial and political terms, throughout his lifetime.

Chapter 8: Religious Patronage

Religious patronage was a fundamental aspect of noble society during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The intent behind the majority of religious patronage was centred on associated reciprocal benefits from such donations. Principally, the spiritual or '*pro anima*' advantages, which they sought to procure via the benefaction of a particular religious community.¹ A significant number of the grants made to religious houses included specific reference to the grantor's soul, and often those of their family. Indeed, Roger de Lacy's confirmation charters to Stanlaw abbey and the priory of St John of Pontefract both included phrases to this effect.² Noble families, however, did not just view this system of gifts to religious houses simply as a way for one's soul to be saved in the afterlife. They also saw the foundation and material support of religious communities, as David Crouch has outlined, as a means by which to enhance and promote their status as elite landholders in the localities.³ This support also acted as a focal point by which tenants and followers could demonstrate loyalty to their lord through grants to his favoured community.⁴ Furthermore, Janet Burton has argued that the adoption of particular religious orders by royal benefactors, especially the reformed orders like the Cistercians in the twelfth century, had an impact upon patterns of noble patronage, as the aristocracy mirrored and emulated court fashions. Burton has also highlighted a gradual increase in tensions between the ideal of monastic life and the often conflicting expectations of patrons and benefactors.⁵ Building upon this idea, Elizabeth Gemmill has suggested that members of the nobility often viewed patronage rights as tangible property. This increased the potential for conflict as members of the aristocracy sought both

¹ For more on the importance of such gifts, see B. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order c. 1130 – c. 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); J. Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire 1069-1215* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 144-5; J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 210-224.

² Roger's charter to the priory of St John of Pontefract reads: '*...pro salute anima mee, et omnium antecessorum et heredum meorum...*', *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, I, p. 35; Roger's confirmation grant to Whalley abbey went further, and stated it was made for his soul, the souls of his parents, his ancestors and his heirs: '*pro salute anime mee, et patris mei, et matris mee, et omnium antecessorum et heredum meorum in puram et perpetuam elemosinam*', TNA, E 329/317.

³ Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain*, pp. 237-260; D. Crouch, *The English Aristocracy 1070-1272: A Social Transformation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 224-246.

⁴ Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy*, p. 251.

⁵ J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, pp. 210-232. An earlier exploration of the exercise of religious patronage in the thirteenth century is covered in S. Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1955). See also, D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971) 2 Vols.

to manage and secure them for their families.⁶ Gemmill's case studies of the spiritual interests of the earls of Lancaster, Oxford, Pembroke, Richmond and Warwick, concluded that royal exploitation of religious benefices was a particular source of tension between the aristocracy and the crown throughout this period.⁷ The findings of these earlier studies are relevant to this chapter's examination of the de Lacy family's foundation and endowments of religious communities, and their association with individual religious communities.⁸

We are fortunate that a significant number of extant charters for the de Lacy family shed light on their religious interests: this is true of twenty-nine charters in the case of Roger de Lacy; thirty-seven for John de Lacy; twelve for Edmund de Lacy; and thirty-five for Henry de Lacy. Their charters document grants and confirmations of lands and rights which cover areas as far apart as Cheshire, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Oxfordshire, Suffolk, Yorkshire and Wiltshire. When used in conjunction with chancery, exchequer and surviving household records, information drawn from charters can be used to develop case studies for the patronage of this particular noble family, as Jennifer Ward demonstrated in her analysis of the religious interests of the Clare family.⁹ This chapter identifies and examines the changing patterns of religious patronage and fashions of endowment followed by the de Lacy family between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries. It explores whether it is possible to discern individual or familial preferences toward particular houses and how far their religious benefactions reflected contemporary fashions for the endowment of particular orders or types of communities.

When he adopted the de Lacy name in 1194, Roger de Lacy not only gained his father's lands, but subsequently inherited the lands of Robert de Lacy, via his grandmother, Aubrey de Lisours.¹⁰ This gave him control of significant areas of land in Halton, Widnes, Clitheroe and Pontefract. With

⁶ E. Gemmill, *The Nobility and Ecclesiastical Patronage in Thirteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 46-67.

⁷ Gemmill, *Nobility and Ecclesiastical Patronage*, pp. 103-173.

⁸ *The Cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory*; TNA, DL 42/5 (The Cartulary of Bury St Edmunds); *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*; *The Cartulary of Cockersand Abbey of the Premonstratensian Order*, 3 Vols in 7, ed. W. Farrer (Chetham Society, 1898); BL, MS Cotton Tiberius D VI, pt1, fo. 114 (Cartulary of Christchurch Twynham); *Cartulary of Fountains*; *The Cartulary of St John of Pontefract*; *Kirkstall Coucher*; *The Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*; Frost, *An Edition of the Nostell Priory Cartulary* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of York 2005); *The Sandford Cartulary*, ed. A.M. Leys (2 vols. Oxford: Oxfordshire Record Society, 19, 22, 1937-41); *The Coucher Book of Selby*; *Whalley Coucher*.

⁹ See J.C. Ward, 'Fashions in Monastic Endowment: the Foundations of the Clare Family, 1066-1314', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 32 (1981), pp. 427-451.

¹⁰ See above Chapter for Roger de Lacy, p. 39.

these lands also came the inheritance of his ancestors' connections with established religious communities. Roger's father, John the Constable, had founded the Cistercian abbey of Stanlaw in Cheshire c.1172 and also the hospital of St John at Castle Donington, Leicestershire.¹¹ One of Roger's earliest acts was, significantly, to issue a charter which confirmed the endowments of his father to the abbey of Stanlaw.¹² He later issued a charter which confirmed the grants of his antecedents Robert and Henry (I) de Lacy to the Cluniac priory of St John's, Pontefract.¹³ In addition to this, Roger also subsequently confirmed grants made by his great grandfather, Eustace fitz John, to the Gilbertine monks of Watton priory, which he had founded c.1150 in the East Riding of Yorkshire.¹⁴ Roger also probably provided support to the Augustinian priory of Norton.¹⁵ Despite these early charters of confirmation, Roger appeared to have focused the majority of his own benefactions on the Cistercian order. The de Lacys were not alone among the northern barons in doing this. After all, de Lacys' northern estates in the early thirteenth century were geographically and historically tied with the Cistercians' great northern religious houses.

The Cistercians had arrived in England in the 1120s and their expansion can be regarded as the most successful of the four main religious orders at the time. By the thirteenth century there were more than eighty Cistercian houses in Britain.¹⁶ The Cistercians' expansion and geographical dominance during the later twelfth century was most notable and successful in the northern counties such as Yorkshire, where they had received significant baronial support and patronage. These included

¹¹ Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 9 fos. 223v-224r, (s.xvii med); Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, Vol.2, ii (London, 1882), pp. 400-1; Suppe, F. 'John (d. 1190), soldier and landowner' *ODNB* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2004). John's younger brother, Robert fitz Richard, became prior of the Hospitallers.

¹² *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 16-19; TNA, E 329/317.

¹³ *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, p. 35.

¹⁴ Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 9 fo. 114r-v.

¹⁵ A collection of three charters, recorded as 'The Charters of Runcorn' have been compiled by the Information Service of Halton Borough Council, see Cheshire Archives, SF/RUNC/14. These are typed translations of three 'registered' charters, presumably now lost. These transcriptions are possibly related to 'The Foundation Charter of Runcorn (later Norton Priory)' *Chetham Society*, vol. 100, ed. J. Tait (Second Series, 1939) but this is, unfortunately, not indicated from the record.

The first is a charter by William fitz Nigel and detailed the award of Norton to the canons of St Mary in Norton, and also detailed the relocation of the canons of Runcorn to Norton. The second translation is of a confirmation charter by Roger de Lacy. This confirmed the awards William fitz Nigel, his son William, and John the constable, Roger's father, had made to the community. In addition, Roger then awarded them with two deer every year at the Assumption of Mary (15 August) from his park at Halton, in perpetuity. He also added further land at Sutton, Warburton, Moulton, and a parcel of land between Runcorn and Weston, in Cheshire. The witness list includes the names of known members of Roger's affinity: Hugh of Dutton, Adam of Dutton, and Hugh Despenser. Without additional information, however, it is not possible to confirm the veracity of these translations.

¹⁶ Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, pp. 69-74.

men such as William of Aumale, Robert and Waleran de Beaumont, the earls of Leicester and Worcester, and king David I of Scotland, earl of Huntingdon.¹⁷ Although it is difficult to ascribe particular motives for monastic endowment, Henry (I) de Lacy's foundation of the Cistercian abbey of Kirkstall, near Leeds, was said to have occurred as a result of his recovery from illness. To fulfil an apparent vow made should he survive, he established a daughter-house of Fountains abbey, in his west Yorkshire estates at Barnoldswick, near Skipton.¹⁸ The original site at Barnoldswick was unfortunately not ideal. It did not conform to the traditional Cistercian penchant for isolated sites; it contained a long standing church and was connected to several vills. In addition to this, there was also a question over de Lacy's rights to the land in question. Henry (I) held it from the earl of Norfolk, Hugh Bigod. Annual rents had not been paid, however, and the monastic foundation subsequently ended up in an expensive law suit bought by the Bigod earl. The abbot was eventually able to obtain assent from de Lacy to move the site and, in the same process, settled a dispute with William Peitevin who owned the land at the proposed new site, Kirkstall and subsequently secured it for the monastery. The new location also, rather helpfully, was situated on the route between the de Lacy lands of Clitheroe and Pontefract.¹⁹ Kirkstall abbey was well established by the time Roger inherited his father's lands in 1190 and due to these historical and geographical links was a natural beneficiary of Roger's continued patronage as lord of Clitheroe. He issued a confirmation of the grants of Robert and Henry (I) de Lacy to Kirkstall abbey, and then awarded them with additional land in Cliviger and Riston.²⁰ He also patronised other Cistercian communities. In addition to maintaining the historical link with Kirkstall, Roger confirmed grants made by Robert de Lacy to the abbey of St Mary in Craven (Sallay) and subsequently awarded them additional land in Ratho and pasture near Southport.²¹ Roger established links with the Cistercians at Byland abbey. He issued a charter which confirmed land to them in his fee including: Denby, Clayton, Flockton, Allerton, Crossley, Westbretton, Wilsden, Wythacres and Windhill, to hold in 'pure and perpetual alms, without any service'.²² In addition to these, he granted

¹⁷ A detailed and in-depth analysis of the coming of the Cistercians to Yorkshire is provided in Burton, *Monastic Order*, pp. 98-124.

¹⁸ Burton, *Monastic Order*, p. 118.

¹⁹ Burton, *Monastic Order*, pp. 118-120; Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 6-7.

²⁰ *Kirkstall Coucher*, pp. 53-4; 199-200; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 43r.

²¹ *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, pp. 126-7, 157.

²² *Yorks Deeds*, vi, pp. 58-9; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 56r.

to the monks at Fountains abbey land in his vill at Bradley, which was again to be held in ‘pure and perpetual alms’, free from service.²³ It was his father’s foundation at Stanlaw, however, which received the majority of Roger’s gifts. At least ten of Roger’s surviving charters relate to grants to the abbey. As well as the confirmation of his father’s gifts, Roger also awarded the abbey a message in Chester; 12s from Halton; a message in Gloverstone; and two bovates of land in Acton, Cheshire.²⁴ To this he added the church of Rochdale and all the land which he had purchased in Rochdale, Lancashire.²⁵ He then declared them to be quit of foreign service due in Acton and Little Woolton, Cheshire.²⁶

Unfortunately, the paucity of surviving records make it difficult to ascertain whether Roger sought to exert any patronage rights, such as rights over presentations to advowsons. An agreement between Roger and Alan the prior of Drax does, however, throw some light on this matter. The agreement noted that Alan would not make any claim upon the hospital of St Nicholas, Pontefract, on the death of the canon there, because Roger had granted him the custody during his lifetime.²⁷ Although the records may be small, this was clear evidence that Roger was prepared to protect his rights, where possible. Roger’s religious patronage of Stanlaw was also reflected in smaller grants made by members of his affinity. Hugh of Dutton donated the abbey land in Aston, Cheshire.²⁸ Hugh Despenser gave them an award of land in Willaston, Cheshire.²⁹ Likewise, William Stapleton donated land in Saddleworth, Yorkshire.³⁰ Other communities in Roger’s favour also received gifts. William Stapleton awarded land in Stapleton in Yorkshire to Kirkstall abbey.³¹ Likewise, the Rainville family made donations to the priory of St John of Pontefract of land at Bramley and Allerton Bywater in Yorkshire.³² These awards were expressions of loyalty and support to Roger. They were also a

²³ *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, pp. 125, 128; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius, C XII, fo. 245r-v; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius, C XII, fo. 203r.

²⁴ *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 18-22.

²⁵ For land in Rochdale purchased from Alan of Marland see, *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 591-3; London College of Arms, MS B10, fo. 10r; for the church of Rochdale see, *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 135-8; TNA, E 326/9240; BL, MS Harley 3868, fo. 14v.

²⁶ *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 392-3; *Whalley Coucher*, iii, pp. 801-2.

²⁷ TNA, DL 27/29.

²⁸ *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 23.

²⁹ *Whalley Coucher*, ii, p. 467.

³⁰ *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 146.

³¹ *Kirkstall Coucher*, pp. 155-6

³² *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 278-9, 281.

demonstration of Roger's fulfilment of the wider expectation upon aristocratic patrons to encourage support for their favoured religious communities amongst their tenants and followers.

Roger's strong support for the Cistercians and, in particular, his father's foundation at Stanlaw, can be seen to relate from pre-existing familial ties with the order. His piety would therefore be viewed as fairly conventional for a man of his status.³³ The Cistercians also enjoyed a resurgent popularity in the opening decade of the thirteenth century, buoyed by royal patronage. A colony founded by King John had moved to Beaulieu in c.1204, in part as a peace offering made by the king during his reconciliation with the order, after attempts at heavy taxation on the English monastic houses.³⁴ Roger de Lacy's staunch support for the crown would probably, in part, have been echoed in his continued support for the Cistercian order in his northern estates in the years before his death in 1211.

The direction of Roger's son, John de Lacy's religious support can initially be seen to echo that of his father. The family's Cistercian foundation at Stanlaw abbey, of course, was the recipient of the greater part of John's support. In all they received the benefit of at least ten of John's charters. First, as his father had done, John confirmed to the abbey all his father's and grandfather's gifts and bequests.³⁵ He then subsequently granted them the village of Staining.³⁶ Staining was situated on a coastal plain in the parish of Poulton-le-Fyld, Lancashire, which together with Hardhorn and Newton formed a township. A significant proportion of the land in this area was donated for farming to either Stanlaw or Cockersand abbey. Located to the south of Staining, John later gave the abbey the marsh of Mere. He confirmed this earlier award again after he had become earl of Lincoln.³⁷ John also confirmed his father's award to the abbey of the church of Rochdale.³⁸ To this, he added the church of Blackburn, together with the chapels of Walton and Salmesbury in Lancashire, and his own part of the church of Whalley.³⁹ After he became earl of Lincoln, he subsequently gave the advowson of the

³³ D. Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France: 900-1300* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 54.

³⁴ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain*, pp. 74-5.

³⁵ TNA, E 327/116; Oxford Bodleian Library MS Dodsworth 9 fo. 226r; *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 32.

³⁶ *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 419-420.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 393-4. Given as '*marisco de Mora*', unfortunately both words appear to mean the 'marsh'. However, this could relate to an area south of Staining now known as Marton Mere, now a nature reserve: it would have been a marsh area during this period.

³⁸ *Whalley Coucher*, ii, pp. 137-8.

³⁹ TNA, E 329/372; E 329/171; *Whalley Coucher*, pp. 73-5.

church of Eccles to the abbey.⁴⁰ John also obtained burial rights associated with his family's continued patronage of Stanlaw and expressed a right that his body should be interred at the abbey after his death.⁴¹ Although there is no similar surviving charter for John's father, as he was also buried at the abbey, Roger de Lacy must have obtained similar rights during his lifetime. Stanlaw was clearly a religious house with which John and his family identified closely.

Another religious community that stood high in John's regard was the priory of St John, based at the de Lacy family stronghold of Pontefract, Yorkshire. This Cluniac priory, established by Robert de Lacy c.1090, had been shown some favour by John's father after Roger inherited Pontefract in 1194.⁴² John likewise issued a charter which confirmed the awards of his father, Roger, and his ancestor Robert de Lacy, to the priory.⁴³ John then gave them the right to extend their burial grounds in Pontefract and erect a burial chapel.⁴⁴ He awarded them a bovate of land in Ledsham and allowed for further expansion within the city.⁴⁵ John also confirmed his father's award of the church of Kippax.⁴⁶ The wording of the charter suggests that there may have been some confusion over the 'ownership' of Kippax prior to John's confirmation. In his grant, John stated that, having seen the deeds of his father, the truth had shown itself to be other than he had known.⁴⁷ In addition to these gifts, for the health of the soul of Eudo the chaplain, one of John's household officials, he awarded the priory a toft with buildings in Pontefract and 12d of annual rent.⁴⁸ These benefactions also served to reinforce John's personal association with Pontefract as the caput of an important de Lacy honour.

The Cistercian order continued to be the monastic order most heavily favoured during John de Lacy's lifetime. John continued his father's patronage of Kirkstall abbey and awarded them with additional land in the forest of Bowland.⁴⁹ To the Cistercians at Fountains abbey, John presented land

⁴⁰ *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 36-7.

⁴¹ *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 33. It is possible to confirm that the John in this charter, is John de Lacy and not his grandfather, John the constable, from those in the witness list: R prior of Norton (rather than Henry, who was prior until c.1195, and was witness to several of John the constable's charters. see J. Patrick Greene, *Norton Priory, The Archaeology of a Medieval Religious House* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) p. 63; Hugh of Dutton (seneschal), Henry de Newchamp and Henry of Newmarket are all known members of John de Lacy's affinity.

⁴² See above, p. 203.

⁴³ *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 38-9.

⁴⁴ *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, pp. 36-7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-1 (Ledshem), pp. 37-8.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* The Latin reads '*aliter se habuit veritas quam credebamus*'.

⁴⁸ *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, i, p. 146.

⁴⁹ *Kirkstall Coucher*, pp. 202-3.

in Bradley, which he had acquired from Jordan de Reis, and confirmed to the abbey the holdings which his father had given them in the area.⁵⁰ Bradley became the abbey's southernmost grange. In addition to this, John also witnessed the grant to this house of the vill of Stainburn, given by Hugh de Lelay.⁵¹ John de Lacy also confirmed the award of land in the West Riding of Yorkshire, made by his father to Byland abbey.⁵² He made a gift to Sallay abbey in Lancashire and donated ten bovates of land in Almpton, Nottinghamshire, to Rufford abbey.⁵³ To the nuns of Kirklees priory, who followed Cistercian customs, John confirmed the annual rent of 1 mark from the mill of Slaithwaite, which one of John's knights, Henry Le Tyas, had bequeathed to them.⁵⁴ To the Cistercians at St Mary in Craven (Sallay), John first confirmed the land that Roger de Lacy had given them in Akerland, near Bolton.⁵⁵ John then increased this with an additional award of a further seventy acres.⁵⁶ In addition to this, he gave half a mark of silver for a light in Sallay church; paid from the manor of Clitheroe; and confirmed the grant of Richard of Bolton of land in Rodhill, with the annual rent again payable to the monks at Clitheroe.⁵⁷

The Cistercians were not, however, the sole recipients of John's religious benefactions. John made several gifts to other monastic orders. To the Benedictines at Selby abbey, he confirmed a grant of land in Chellow from Robert de Everingham, in his fee of Bradford.⁵⁸ In addition, he exchanged forty acres of land in Fippin with them, for their right in the covered wood at Fippin and Almholme.⁵⁹ John made links with the Premonstratensian Order of the Canons Regular at Cockersand abbey, who paid John the sum of 80 marks to confirm the grant of Hutton in Leylandshire.⁶⁰ John also gave twenty carucates of land in Halton to the Knights of the Temple of Solomon.⁶¹ John witnessed two other charters relating to the Templars. He confirmed Roger de Criddling's grant of all his chattels, and witnessed Saer de St Andrew's quitclaim to his brother's gift of land in Littlemore, to the knights of

⁵⁰ *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, i, pp. 125-6, 133; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C XII fo. 2093-v.

⁵¹ *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, ii, p. 668.

⁵² Bodleian Library Dodsworth 8 fo. 87r-v; *Yorks Deeds*, vi, p. 59.

⁵³ TNA, DL 25/56/47 (Sallay); Nottinghamshire Archives DD/SR/208/26 (Rufford Abbey);

⁵⁴ Leeds University Library, YAS MD 335/7/15, the charter includes the words '*milite meo*'

⁵⁵ *Chartulary of Cistercian Abbey of St Mary in Craven (Sallay)*, pp. 128-9.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁵⁷ *Chartulary of Cistercian Abbey of St Mary in Craven (Sallay)*, p. 131.

⁵⁸ *Coucher Book of Selby*, I, p. 315.

⁵⁹ TNA, DL 25/55; *Coucher Book of Selby*, pp. 115-6.

⁶⁰ *Cockersand Chartulary*, ii, pp. 412-3.

⁶¹ Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 fo. 237r.

the Temple.⁶² Without accurate dates, it is difficult to ascertain satisfactorily when John issued these charters relating to the Knights Templar. It is possible, however, that these were issued during or after his time on crusade with Ranulf, the earl of Chester, which would have placed him in likely close proximity to the order of the Temple.⁶³

John's influence can also be seen echoed in patronage gifts made by members of his affinity.⁶⁴ Geoffrey of Dutton confirmed his father's grants to Stanlaw abbey and made an additional gift of the mill and rents in Aston, Cheshire.⁶⁵ Likewise, Gilbert de Notton donated land in Eccles, Lancashire.⁶⁶ John's establishment of the importance of the priory of St John of Pontefract, at the centre of a significant de Lacy honour, was also supported by his followers. The priory received grants from the Foliot family of land in Pontefract and a mill in Norton, Yorkshire.⁶⁷ They were also given land by the Stapletons in Micklegate and Pontefract.⁶⁸ Episcopal records demonstrate that John de Lacy enacted patronage rights as a means to exert his power over newly acquired estates, including those he gained through his marriage to Margaret de Quincy. In particular, this was expressed through his use of presentations to advowsons. The use of advowsons by the nobility was an essential act of establishing their possession of patronage rights.⁶⁹ John first presented Osbert of London to the advowson of two-parts of Clipston, Northamptonshire.⁷⁰ He later presented Hugh of Newcastle to the same benefice after Osbert had vacated it.⁷¹ Likewise, John presented Richard of Munton as rector of Wadenhoe, Northamptonshire.⁷² John's wife, Margaret de Quincy, also made several presentations which

⁶² Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 fo. 179v; *Sandford Cartulary*, I, pp. 69-70.

⁶³ With reference to the context of these Templar charters, it should be noted that, according to Nicholas Vincent, while at Damietta, John made an award for the establishment of a chapel at Pontefract in honour of the Holy Sepulchre and Holy Cross. Vincent, 'Lacy, John de, third earl of Lincoln'.

⁶⁴ As with the awards made by his father's affinity, these both served as a demonstration of loyalty to John de Lacy and also fulfilled the expectation upon him as a religious patron to solicit further support from among his tenants and followers.

⁶⁵ *Whalley Coucher*, ii, p. 397.

⁶⁶ *Whalley Coucher*, I, p. 48.

⁶⁷ *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, I, pp. 278-9, 281-3.

⁶⁸ *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, I, pp. 141-2. Robert (II) Stapleton confirmed to the priory an earlier award made by Robert (I) Stapleton of a chapel and land in Stapleton, see *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, I, pp. 291, 293.

⁶⁹ Gemmill, *Nobility and Ecclesiastical Patronage*, pp. 46-7.

⁷⁰ Smith, *The Acta of Bishop Hugh of Wells*, p. 151. This was also probably the same 'Osbert the clerk' who later became parson of Donington. See above, pp. 178.

⁷¹ *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, Episcopi Lincolnensis*, ed. W. P. W. Phillimore (vol. ii) (Lincoln: Lincoln Record Society, 6, 1912-1913), p. 160.

⁷² *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, Episcopi Lincolnensis*, ed. F. N. Davis (York: Canterbury and York Society, 10, 1913), p. 168; *Robert Grosseteste as Bishop of Lincoln. The Episcopal Rolls 1235-1253*, ed. P. Hoskin (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015) p. 121.

included: the rectorship of Thoresby; the priory of Minting; and the prioress at Stixwold.⁷³ John de Lacy's use of patronage rights and his support for these principal religious houses was fairly traditional for his time period. They also echoed those of his father and other nobles at the beginning of the thirteenth century. John's death, in 1240, came on the cusp of the advancement of the Mendicant orders in England.⁷⁴

Surviving charters for Edmund de Lacy which related to religious matters are, unfortunately, very few. After all, Edmund was only ten when his father died and prior to 1248 was a royal ward. It was only then he was able to gain possession of his lands, and this was still considered to be remarkably young age for the time. It is unfortunate that he was much shorter lived than other members of his family. Nonetheless, like his father and grandfather before him, he issued several confirmation charters that were addressed to religious houses, upon obtaining his inheritance. To the Cistercian monks of the abbey of Stanlaw, he confirmed all the gifts his father, grandfather and his ancestors, Robert de Lacy et al, had given them.⁷⁵ Like his father, Edmund also secured the rights for his body to be buried at Stanlaw, for which he donated half of the advowson of the church of Blackburn.⁷⁶ Edmund was concerned to secure '*pro anima*' benefits from his religious endowments. He confirmed, to the abbot and monks of the Cistercian Roche abbey, all the lands which they possessed within his barony of Pontefract, constablership of Chester, barony of Tickhill and also those held in the soke of Snaith. Specifically, he stated that this was for the souls of his father, mother and his wife, Alice.⁷⁷ In addition to this, he confirmed land held by Selby abbey within his territories, in exchange for further services at the church of St Laurence in Snaith, and again stipulated this was for the souls of his father, mother and ancestors.⁷⁸ Edmund affirmed to St John of Pontefract the awards made by John and Roger, and in addition, gave them the town of Barnside with appurtenances and all payments due from it; and a further two bovates of land in Marsden, which had been held by William

⁷³ For Minting and Stixwold, see *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste*, pp. 111, 129, 162; for Thoresby, see *Robert Grosseteste as Bishop of Lincoln*, p. 42.

⁷⁴ C.H. Lawrence, *The Impact of the Mendicant Orders on Medieval Society* (London: Longman, 1994).

⁷⁵ *Whalley Coucher*, p. 33-4.

⁷⁶ *Whalley Coucher*, I, p. 77.

⁷⁷ Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 9 fos. 174v-175r.

⁷⁸ *Coucher Book of Selby*, ii, pp. 123-4. Edmund also made a grant to St Mary's Abbey, York for quitclaim of his right of return of the king's writ in the wapentake of Osgoldcross, as well as his demesne lands between Don and Armin and as far as the bounds of Roecliffe. TNA, DL 25/59.

de Vesey.⁷⁹ Edmund's patronage therefore mirrored that of his predecessors. There are, however, crucially, notable differences with evidence of support for the Mendicant orders of Friars, particularly the Dominicans.

The Dominican friars were conceived by St Dominic (c.1171-1221), an Augustinian canon. They arrived in England during the 1220s and based themselves in Oxford.⁸⁰ The evidence of Edmund's association with the Dominicans comes in a charter he made to St John of Pontefract. He awarded them a grant of a cartload of wood from his park, in recompense for a tithe which he had granted to the 'Friars Preachers' of Pontefract.⁸¹ Unfortunately, the nature of the tithe he awarded to the Friars Preachers (Dominicans) is unknown. Edmund's early interaction with the friars was indicative, perhaps, of his close ties with the royal household.⁸² The rise in popularity of the Mendicant orders had occurred while Edmund was still a ward of the royal court and it is, therefore, evident that his association with them would follow the favour bestowed on them by the crown. Indeed, Edmund's tutor during his wardship was Richard Wyke, a Dominican friar.⁸³ Furthermore, Edmund established a Dominican friary in Pontefract some time before his death in 1258, probably in around 1256, which was dedicated to the memory of his friend and mentor Richard, now bishop of Chichester, his childhood tutor.⁸⁴

It does not appear that Edmund made use of any of his patronage rights to present to advowsons in his short lifetime. Following his death, however, custody of the de Lacy lands was held by his mother, Margaret de Quincy, and his wife, Alice.⁸⁵ During this time, Margaret continued to exert her own personal rights of patronage to the religious communities she was associated with. She made presentations to the churches of Little Steeping and Toynton Superior in Lincolnshire, and the chapel at Caversham.⁸⁶ She also gave approval for the appointment of the prioress of Stixwold and

⁷⁹ *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, pp. 43-4.

⁸⁰ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 110.

⁸¹ *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, pp. 44-5.

⁸² Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 87, 92.

⁸³ Emphasising their personal connection, Richard Wyke had also made provision for Edmund in his will of a cross which had been given to him by Edmund's father, the earl of Lincoln. D. Jones, *Saint Richard of Chichester: The Sources for his Life* (Lewes: Sussex Record Society, 79, 1995), p. 68.

⁸⁴ Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*, p. 218.

⁸⁵ See above, pp. 83, 85.

⁸⁶ *Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, diocesis Lincolnensis*, ed. F. N. Davis (York: Canterbury and York Society, 31, 1925), pp. 1, 15, 213; For more on Margaret de Quincy's religious patronage see, Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 64-5.

the abbot of Humberston in Lincolnshire.⁸⁷ Although small in number, Edmund's charters reveal that his support for religious houses followed that of his father and grandfather. His religious patronage differed from them due to his support of the friars, a support that arose from a personal connection. His royal wardship provided him with an early association with the friars during a period which they enjoyed particular popularity at royal courts across Europe. His later endowments of the Dominicans suggest that his close ties with them continued into his majority. Upon Edmund's early death, his son Henry also went through a significant period of minority and royal wardship. When Henry attained his majority in 1272, he maintained his family's existing patterns of religious support and, at the same time, sought to broaden the spectrum of communities in his favour.

In line with the actions of his forebears, and perhaps as a means of identifying with them, Henry directed considerable generosity toward the Cistercian abbey of Stanlaw. Unfortunately, no charter of confirmation to the abbey has survived that was issued by Henry, like those that survive for Edmund, John and Roger.⁸⁸ Even so, the abbey did receive a substantial level of support from him. In 1277, in addition to the lands they had already obtained from the de Lacy family, Henry awarded them a further five bovates of land in Castleton, Rochdale.⁸⁹ He also, more significantly, gave them his backing for the transfer of the abbey to a new site at Whalley, Lancashire. In 1283, Henry awarded the abbey the advowson of the church of Whalley and approved a move to the new site, on condition that the remains of his ancestors were moved to the new abbey.⁹⁰ A licence for the alienation in mortmain was subsequently obtained from the king in December 1283.⁹¹ The transfer was not a smooth one and it was a number of years before it was formally completed. The bishop of Coventry and Lichfield was required to give his approval for the transfer and this was not successfully obtained until 1285.⁹² Henry also took this time to negotiate the renunciation of hunting rights in his forest, previously awarded to parsons of Whalley, and of any claims to the chapel at his castle of Clitheroe, as part of the bargain.⁹³ Papal approval had to be sought and obtained and this took a number of years before it was

⁸⁷ *Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend*, pp. 9, 19; See also, Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, p. 64-5.

⁸⁸ For Roger de Lacy, see *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 16-19. For John de Lacy, see TNA, E 329/317; E 327/116; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 9 fo. 226r; *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 32. For Edmund de Lacy, see *Whalley Coucher*, pp. 33-4.

⁸⁹ *Whalley Coucher*, ii, p. 595.

⁹⁰ *Whalley Coucher*, i, pp. 189-191; TNA, E 327/447.

⁹¹ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 109.

⁹² *Whalley Coucher*, i, p. 195; TNA, E 329/375.

⁹³ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v, p. 645.

successfully secured. Letters of petition to the papal court made various claims in support of their application, including that the majority of the abbey's holdings were closer to the new site; that they would be able to increase the number of resident monks; and not least, that the current site was heavily damaged by annual flooding.⁹⁴ In 1289, formal licence from the pope was finally secured for the transfer of the abbey, in conjunction with approval for the adoption of the church of Whalley on the death of the present vicar.⁹⁵ Even then, it was not until 1296 when the monks finally transferred to their new site and Henry de Lacy was said to have laid the foundation stone for the new monastery.⁹⁶

Henry made a number of gifts and agreements with other Cistercian houses. Kirkstall abbey, which had been given gifts by Henry's predecessors, received his continued support. He made a quitclaim to the abbey of all lands held from him in Accrington, Cliviger and Huncoat in Lancashire and Roundhay, Seacroft and Shadwell in Yorkshire, in exchange for an annual payment of eighty marks until they had received equal amounts of annual rents in the same counties.⁹⁷ In a similar fashion, Henry also continued his family's relationship with Rufford abbey, in Nottinghamshire. He confirmed to them land in Emtun, which they had held of his great-great-grandfather John the constable, for an annual rent of 10 shillings.⁹⁸ Byland abbey in North Yorkshire, which received gifts from both Roger and John de Lacy, also saw a confirmation of support by Henry. He quitclaimed to Byland lands held in his fee in Allerton, Bristfield, Denby, Clayton, Crossley, Flockton, Moorhouse, Westbretton, Whitley, Wooley, Wilsden, Whitacres, Windhill and Markhage.⁹⁹ Henry also authorised an exchange of land within his fee - the grange of Caldon in Staffordshire, for Adenay in Shropshire - between two other Cistercian houses, namely the abbeys of Buildwas in Shropshire and Croxden in Staffordshire.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ *Whalley Coucher*, pp. 191-3.

⁹⁵ *Whalley Coucher*, p. 182; *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 1, 1198-1304*, ed. W. H. Bliss (London: HMSO, 1893), pp. 499, 501.

⁹⁶ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, V, p. 639. An inspeximus and confirmation of the earlier charters were also entered on the Charter Rolls in August 1295, *CChR 1257-1300*, p. 460.

⁹⁷ TNA, DL 27/199.

⁹⁸ TNA, DL 27/35.

⁹⁹ *Yorks Deeds*, vi, p. 59; for Roger de Lacy's earlier grant see *Yorks Deeds*, vi, pp. 58-9; Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 8 (Monasticon Boreale) fo. 56r.

¹⁰⁰ Huntington Library, San Marino California, EL 11610 (Ellesmere Collection); Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v, p. 360.

In a contrast to his predecessors, however, Henry's charters reveal that he gave support to the Augustinians. Henry granted a windmill in Bicester to the monks of Bicester priory in Oxfordshire.¹⁰¹ He issued a confirmation of gifts made by Gilbert Basset and his father in law, William Longespée, to the monks in the manor of Bicester.¹⁰² In addition to this, Henry awarded them land in Ardington, with further meadow in Calvecroft and pasture for three oxen, sixty sheep and four pigs.¹⁰³ He gave land in Kinson, Dorset, to the priory of St Mary Bradenstoke, Wiltshire. In turn, the monks agreed to arrange for a canon to perform daily mass at Henry's chapel at his court of Canford.¹⁰⁴ Closer to his northern estates, Henry granted land in the manor of Inklemore and the soak of Snaith to the priory and convent of St Nicholas of Drax (Drax Priory), Yorkshire.¹⁰⁵ To Thornton abbey, Lincolnshire, Henry granted the manor of Halton on Humber.¹⁰⁶ He confirmed grants of land in his fee made to Nostel priory, West Yorkshire.¹⁰⁷ Henry also, significantly, made an award, specifically for the souls of his wife and mother, of land in Kingston Lacy and Holt to Christchurch priory, Dorset.¹⁰⁸ As part of this award, the priory agreed to have two chaplains perform daily mass in the chapel at Henry's manor Kingston Lacy, Dorset.¹⁰⁹ In conjunction with his association to the Cistercians and Augustinians, Henry also offered support and continued familial connections with Benedictine houses. His religious favour was therefore spread among the established monastic orders.

The Benedictine monks of Selby abbey in Yorkshire were the recipients of earlier generosity by John de Lacy, Henry's grandfather. Henry continued this association when he granted Selby further land in Whitgift, Fockerby and Haldenby, together with additional moorland in the manor and soke of Snaith.¹¹⁰ Henry made an agreement with St Werburgh's abbey in Cheshire, which allowed for rights of passage over the river Trent.¹¹¹ Blyth priory in Nottinghamshire, which was situated between

¹⁰¹ TNA, E 210/5533.

¹⁰² TNA, DL 25/71.

¹⁰³ TNA, E 326/3498.

¹⁰⁴ BL, MS Cotton Vitellius A xi, fo. 78(14c); BL, MS Stowe 925, fos. 113v-114(15c). Licence to alienate is listed in *CPR 1281-1292*, p.136.

¹⁰⁵ Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Top Yorks c.72 fo. 66r-v; *Patent Rolls 1307-1313*, p. 346.

¹⁰⁶ TNA, DL 25/73; *CChR 1257-1300*, p. 412; *Patent Rolls 1281-1292*, pp. 466-7, for the licence to alienate in mortmain – given as Halton by Killingholme.

¹⁰⁷ *Nostel Priory Cartulary*, p. 819.

¹⁰⁸ BL, MS Cotton Tiberius, D VI, pt.1, fo. 114 (15c).

¹⁰⁹ An Inspecimus and Confirmation of this charter is in *CChR 1300-1326*, p. 227. Licence to alienate is given in *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 136.

¹¹⁰ *Coucher Book of Selby*, I, pp. 1, 3-4.

¹¹¹ TNA, DL 41/111.

Henry's lands in Pontefract and Lincoln, received rights in Alverton wapentake from him.¹¹² Henry quitclaimed one hundred acres of waste in Ashridge to the nunnery of Bromhale.¹¹³ He also made further grants to the abbey of Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk. He awarded them a messuage in the manor of East Bradenham, in conjunction with the advowson of the church there, and gave them receipt of fines from frank pledge in Wainfleet, Lincolnshire.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, he made connections with the Premonstratensian abbey of St Martial, Newsham. Henry issued grants to the abbey relating to land in Habrough, Lincolnshire and Halton, Cheshire.¹¹⁵ In addition to the above awards to the principal monastic orders, Henry also confirmed to the Premonstratensian abbey of Cockersand a grant on lands in Hutton, in Leylandshire, which his grandfather John de Lacy had made to them.¹¹⁶ He confirmed Wendling abbey in Norfolk in possession of four and a half acres, which they had by the gift of Sir William of Wendling.¹¹⁷ In 1292, Henry also obtained the grant of a weekly market and annual fair at West Haddon, Northamptonshire, for the Cluniac priory of St Augustine in Daventry.¹¹⁸ There are no surviving charters which indicate particular grants of support by him for the Cluniac priory of St John of Pontefract. This could perhaps be in part, due to a dispute which arose between Henry and the priory of le Charite-sur-Loire, the senior house of the Cluniacs in France, relating to the appointment of priors. This was eventually resolved in 1285, when Henry agreed not to prevent the appointment of William de Bruges as prior of Pontefract, provided that, in the future, the order would submit an English candidate after the tenure of a foreign one.¹¹⁹ It is, unfortunately, unclear whether any additional sponsorship by Henry was given to the Pontefract priors. He did, however, attest to the king in 1299, that no foreign monks 'of the power of the king of France' were resident there. Henry was thus able to protect the priory from having its revenues seized by the crown.¹²⁰

¹¹² *The Cartulary of Blyth Priory*, I, p. 74.

¹¹³ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 185; St John's College, Cambridge, D 16.11.

¹¹⁴ TNA, DL 42/5, fo. 103 (14c); DL 42/5, fo.120 (14c) (Cartulary of Bury St Edmunds); *CChR 1300-1326*, p. 128 for the inspeximus and confirmation of the charter; *Patent Rolls 1307-1311*, p. 153 for the licence granted to alienate in mortmain.

¹¹⁵ BL, MS RP 9337, also BL, MS Lansdowne 203 fo. 15v.

¹¹⁶ *Cockersand Cartulary*, I, pt.1, p. 63.

¹¹⁷ TNA, E 42/199. William of Wendling was a king's justice and escheator. He does not appear to have been a tenant of Henry de Lacy. This charter of confirmation would appear to relate to lands which came into his possession in Norfolk, via his marriage to Margaret Longespée.

¹¹⁸ *CChR 1257-1300*, p. 416 'ad instanciam Comitis Lincolnie'.

¹¹⁹ TNA, DL 27/216.

¹²⁰ *Close Rolls 1296-1302*, p. 252; Spencer, *Nobility & Kingship*, p. 157.

Surviving mortmain licenses also reveal that Henry granted other lands to religious houses. In 1303, he gave land in the moor of Inklesmore to the following communities in Lincolnshire: Thornton abbey (Augustinian) received one hundred and seventy-three perches of land; Wellow abbey (Augustinian) was granted forty-six perches; Newsham abbey (Premonstratensian) obtained thirty perches; Alvingham priory (Gilbertine) was given twenty-four perches; Nuncotham priory (Cistercian) received ten perches.¹²¹ In 1304, Henry awarded a gift to the priory of the Blessed Mary (Gilbertine), North Ormsby, of one hundred and ten perches in Inklesmore and the soke of Snaith and a further fourteen perches in Swainfleet.¹²² The following year, he gave a further twenty-four perches in Inklesmore to Alvingham priory.¹²³ Henry also made and supported several smaller grants. He awarded land to the church of All Saints, Greetham, Lincolnshire.¹²⁴ In 1292, he had transferred the chapel of Whitchurch to the church of Henstridge, a prebend of Wells, to the canon of Wells in perpetuity.¹²⁵ The next year, 1293, he supported the presentations of Llewellyn, son of Bleniu Vaghan, to the church of Nanelyn in Denbigshire; and John de Berchem to the church of Newchurch in the diocese of Canterbury.¹²⁶ Henry also supported the grant of a license to alienate in mortmain for Stephen Waz, Thomas the Cheeseman and John Guard, of land in Henton and Norton to the Carthusian priory of Henton, Oxfordshire, in 1309.¹²⁷ These smaller awards serve to demonstrate the varied nature of Henry's support for religious endowments.

The popularity of the Mendicants in England in the latter half of the thirteen century does not appear to have affected the level of Henry's support for the more traditional monastic orders. Indeed he issued grants well into the 1290s, albeit having secured the requisite royal licence for mortmain.¹²⁸ Although none of Henry's charters demonstrate specific support for the Mendicants, exchequer records provide evidence of more general marks of favour he made toward them. The earliest record

¹²¹ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 113.

¹²² This grant was made for the souls of himself; his ancestors; his heirs; and the faithful departed. He also wished for the celebration of an annual mass, on the anniversary of his death, with the distribution of 7d to 7 poor people, at the door of the priory. East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, DDX 152/3/1.

¹²³ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 389.

¹²⁴ TNA, DL 36/2/215.

¹²⁵ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 481.

¹²⁶ *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 11, 41. It is unclear why Henry chose to support these presentations over others, beyond the position of his overlordship of Denbigshire, relating to the presentation of the church of Nanelyn.

¹²⁷ *CPR 1307-1313*, p. 156.

¹²⁸ The Statute of Mortmain (1279) sought to prevent land being given to the church without royal assent. Burton, *Monastic Orders*, p. 235. See also, S. Raban, *Mortmain legislation and the English Church 1279-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

which associates Henry with the friars occurred in 1286, when he acquired his house in Holborn from the Friars Preachers (Dominicans). He paid £363 for their old house and its accompanying land when they moved to a new site.¹²⁹ The Holborn residence became one of his principal residences in the capital. The remaining encounters relate to grants of oaks from Henry's woodland. In 1298, Henry granted to the Dominicans of New Sarum thirteen oaks fit for timber from within the bounds of the forest of Clarendon, in aid of the building work being carried out on their church.¹³⁰ He gave the same number of oaks to the Carmelite Friars of London in his wood at Ashridge, in the king's wood of Windsor, in 1299.¹³¹ In 1302, he awarded the Friars Minor (Franciscans) of Reading, fifty-six oaks fit for timber from his wood at Ashridge.¹³²

The most noticeable shift in patterns of religious endowment that occurred during Henry's lifetime, which was different from those of the previous generations of de Lacys, related to the establishment of chantries. A chantry was the endowment intended to secure the performance of masses for the souls of a specific person or persons.¹³³ The foundation of chantries became increasingly popular from the latter part of the thirteenth century, although the practice of making a bequest to a religious institution in order to pray for an individual's soul had begun much earlier.¹³⁴ Henry de Lacy established a number of chantries after 1279. As we have already noted, he obtained licences in 1284 to alienate in mortmain for chaplains celebrating divine service in his manors of Canford and Dorset.¹³⁵ These were lands he obtained via his marriage to Margaret Longespée. Henry was able to use his religious patronage as a means of exerting his influence in these new territories. Likewise, he also established an endowment in Denbigh, to the value of £28 per annum, for seven chaplains to celebrate mass in the manor's chapel, covering an annual payment of £4 to each

¹²⁹ *CCIR 1279-1288*, p. 428.

¹³⁰ *CCIR 1296-1302*, p. 164.

¹³¹ *CCIR 1296-1302*, p. 249.

¹³² *CCIR 1302-1307*, p. 3.

¹³³ H. Colvin, 'The Origin of Chantries', *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2000), pp. 163-173, p. 164.

¹³⁴ Colvin stated that during 1300 to 1349, 934 licenses were granted for such endowments; this number had lessened to 666 during 1349 to 1399. By the end of the thirteenth century, the establishment of chantries had become increasingly popular as an expression of piety amongst the nobility. Colvin, 'Origin of Chantries', p. 165. David Crouch, in response to Colvin's paper, outlined the evolutionary process of chantries and successfully argued that it began prior to, and took root during, the twelfth century; D. Crouch, 'The Origin of Chantries: some further Anglo-Norman evidence', *Journal of Medieval History* Vol. 27, No. 2 (2001), pp. 159-180.

¹³⁵ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 474.

chaplain.¹³⁶ Denbigh was a significant new acquisition, which had been granted to Henry, in 1282, following Edward I's conquest of Wales.¹³⁷ This religious endowment was a further method of establishing his lordship within his new lands and a demonstration of power and influence. He also made new establishments elsewhere in his existing territories and those acquired through his marriage. In 1292, Henry arranged an endowment of seventy acres of land and 10s rent in Saxton for a chaplain to celebrate services in the chapel of St Mary in Saxton, Yorkshire.¹³⁸ He also made an agreement with the prior and convent of Castle Acre, Norfolk, to dedicate half an acre of land in Sutton in Holland, Lincolnshire, for the purpose of building a chapel there.¹³⁹ Henry's wife, Margaret Longespée, also intervened with the chancellor on behalf of the nuns of Lacock, Wiltshire.¹⁴⁰ In 1292, she made a request that they be granted licence to appropriate land, and she also sought exemption for them from taxation of the tenth.¹⁴¹

In addition to such chantry endowments, Henry also established the building of a college for scholars in Oxford. In 1306, Henry obtained a licence to alienate property to thirteen scholars dwelling in Oxford, after the completion of an inquisition *quod damnum*.¹⁴² This was to be built from the advowsons of the churches of Waddington, Willingham, Thoresby and Halton-on-Trent, Lincolnshire and Buckby, Northamptonshire.¹⁴³ The following year, Henry replaced the advowson of Willingham, with Wadenhoe, Northamptonshire, for the use of the scholars who were to reside in the newly founded house in the University of Oxford.¹⁴⁴ Henry's personal piety clearly also extended to the pursuit of education, as well as the salvation of the souls of his family. Endowments concerned with education were viewed as another method of charity and, as such, a trend had developed in the fashions of religious patronage for the support of scholars, colleges and education as a whole.¹⁴⁵ Henry may even have gained direct inspiration for this personally through his wife's aunt, Ela Longespée,

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ See above, p. 98.

¹³⁸ *CPR 1281-1292*, p. 474; TNA, C 143/39/14.

¹³⁹ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 66.

¹⁴⁰ Records related to Margaret, countess of Salisbury's, personal interventions and her wider support for her husband are, unfortunately, scarce.

¹⁴¹ TNA, SC 1 /27/74; SC 1/27/75

¹⁴² *Inquisition ad quod damnum* was a set of preliminary enquiries which took place prior to the granting of a licence to alienate in mortmain. P. Brand, 'The Mortmain Licensing System, 1280-1307', in *English Government in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. A. Jobson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 87-96; *CCIR 1302-1307*, p. 453.

¹⁴³ *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 455.

¹⁴⁴ *CPR 1307-1313*, p. 11.

¹⁴⁵ J. Ward, *Women in Medieval Europe, 1200-1500* (Routledge, 2016), pp. 234-248.

countess of Warwick. In 1266, Ela and her husband, Philip Basset, had granted the manor of Thorncroft to Merton college, Oxford.¹⁴⁶ Ela also established a chapel at Baliol college, Oxford.¹⁴⁷

Further insights into Henry's personal piety are provided by the contents of an early version of his testament which survives. This was drawn up in Bordeaux in 1287, although it should be noted that this copy of Henry's testament was probably superseded by another before his death.¹⁴⁸ The bequests relating to religious matters included arrangements for a gift of 13s 4d, for the benefit of Henry's soul, to every house of Friars Minors and Friars Preachers in England, and a similar gift of 7s 2d to every house of Carmelites and Augustinians. This bequest, in particular, demonstrated that Henry maintained a strong commitment to the friars. To the cathedrals of York, Lincoln and Salisbury, he intended to bequeath £66 each. These cathedrals were obviously closely linked to his principal territorial interests: the family's significant ancestral northern honour of Pontefract, Yorkshire; Henry's Lincolnshire estates; and of course, the lands he had acquired through his marriage to Margaret Longespée, together with the earldom of Salisbury.¹⁴⁹ Henry also set aside 7s 2d for every Mendicant leper house in towns where he held land. In addition to this, he also intended to confer £100 to both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to assist poor scholars. Henry's piousness clearly stretched to those less fortunate than himself. He also stated his intention to leave £132 for poor gentlewomen to marry in his fees in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. He planned to leave £198 to his tenants who had fallen into poverty, and a further £100 for the bridges and roads in all the counties where he held land.¹⁵⁰

Henry's personal piety, viewed through his intended gifts to women and the poor, the care of lepers, and the maintenance of bridges, reflected contemporary conventions and bequests in other wills of the period.¹⁵¹ The scale of Henry's envisioned sponsorships, however, was reflective of his substantial personal wealth. His choice of religious benefactions can be seen to have generally echoed

¹⁴⁶ *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume I The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. T. H. Aston (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 240-1; J. Ward, *English Noblewomen in the later Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 157-8. Aston states that Henry had been given permission to establish a college but that nothing came of it and he may have set up the Lincoln chest as an alternative. Aston, *The History of the University of Oxford*, p. 278.

¹⁴⁷ For more on this, including Ela's establishment of the Warwick chest for the support of poor students, see Ward, *English Noblewomen in the later Middle Ages*, pp. 157-8.

¹⁴⁸ Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/FJ/4/25/1.

¹⁴⁹ See above p. 145.

¹⁵⁰ Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/FJ/4/25/1.

¹⁵¹ Ward, *Women in Medieval Europe*, pp. 234-248.

those of the previous generations of his family. Whereas some noble families' gifts to religious houses tended to fall away in this period, Henry continued to make endowments throughout his lifetime. In similar fashion to the Clare family, as new territories came into his possession, the de Lacys and Henry, in particular, were able to make gifts to other monastic orders.¹⁵² He does not appear to have favoured one particular religious order over another, and his gifts in that respect were broad and diverse. Henry's later gifts to the Mendicant orders and the endowments of chantries can be seen to have followed, or in some cases, spearheaded popular and changing fashions of religious patronage in the latter part of the thirteenth century. Insight into Henry's particular and personal piety revealed that, like many members of the nobility, in death he sought to leave gifts for those less fortunate than himself and secure, in part, those monastic institutions that cared for them.

¹⁵² For more on the Clare family see Ward, 'Fashions in Monastic Endowment', pp. 427-451.

Conclusion

The death of Henry de Lacy in 1311 marked the end of the de Lacy family as a force on the aristocratic political landscape of England. His daughter, Alice, ‘*suo jure*’ countess of Lincoln and Salisbury, had married Thomas of Lancaster in 1294.¹ The marriage agreement Henry reached with Edward I stated that, should they have no children, the estates would fall to any heirs of Lancaster, and failing that, revert to the crown.² Henry had every reason to see this marriage, which also reinforced his long-standing friendship with the king, as a significant win for both himself and his daughter’s future. He could not have foreseen that Alice would have no children to continue the line, or that her marriage would be, by all accounts, an unhappy one, and her life so eventful.³ Her family’s long-standing loyalty to the crown would not save her from the fallout of Lancaster’s failed opposition to the king, in 1322. She was imprisoned at York and, much of her inheritance was surrendered to the crown: although she retained her titles and a life interest worth £330 per annum.⁴ Alice married two further times after Lancaster’s death and her release from prison. As with her first, however, both subsequent husbands predeceased her. She died, childless, in 1348 and the remainder of her estates were entailed to the house of Lancaster.⁵ Thus the line of the constables of Chester, having risen to the upper echelons of the English aristocracy, faded into the ether.

This examination of the de Lacy constables has highlighted a number of key points about the nature of lordship and how this developed within an aristocratic family over four generations. The first and, perhaps most obvious, conclusion was the extent to which their success was reliant on upholding a good interdependent relationship with the crown and royal government. This was not, however, enough on its own to sustain a powerbase. Key political alliances, coupled with a little bit of luck, were also required for any successful level of influence over the localities to have longevity. Although the de Lacys’ success hinged upon beneficial royal favour, this was a co-dependant relationship. The

¹ *CChR 1257-1300*, pp. 427, 455-6; *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 3. See above, pp.106, 109.

² *Ibid.*

³ L. E. Mitchell, ‘Martyr to the Cause: The Tragic Career of Alice de Lacy’, in *Portraits of Medieval Women: Family, Marriage, and Politics in England, 1225-1350* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), pp. 105-124; J. R. Maddicott, ‘Thomas of Lancaster, second earl of Lancaster, second earl of Leicester, and earl of Lincoln (c. 1278-1322), magnate’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁴ Mitchell, ‘Martyr to the Cause’, pp. 114-16; Maddicott, ‘Thomas of Lancaster’.

⁵ Mitchell, ‘Martyr to the Cause’, pp. 122-3; Maddicott, ‘Thomas of Lancaster’.

crown's requirement for strong lordship within the aristocracy was based on its own needs and expectations. This gave the de Lacy constables, opportunities to expand and reinforce their power and influence which, in turn, increased the level of the crown's dependence upon them, and increased the probability of additional royal favour. These conclusions add to and support the work of other scholars on noble families, such as, Charles Young on the Neville family; Colin Veach on the (Herefordshire/Irish) Lacys; and Marc Morris on the Bigod Earls.⁶

The careers of the de Lacy constables shed further light upon the effect of this relationship between the crown and aristocratic families. Roger de Lacy's political career, like his father and grandfather, was characterised by demonstrative and staunch service, both to his direct liege lord, and the crown. Although his descendants did engage with some martial conduct (particularly Henry), Roger was perhaps the de Lacy most associated with military action, the most notable of which was in France in 1202 to 1204. After successful command at Chinon and action in Normandy, Roger's lasting renown and reputation was probably connected with his defence of Chateau Gaillard, in 1203 to 1204. Although this action was ultimately unsuccessful, Roger's efforts in the defensive siege earned him substantial respect in the eyes of two kings (France and England) and contributed to his favourable treatment and ransom.⁷ The contribution made by King John towards Roger's ransom is, perhaps, a key factor which demonstrated the standing he obtained with the crown through military service. Few others, if any, saw John spend money in this way. Roger's experience also saw him charged with military command in England: protection of the Anglo-Welsh border during 1205 to 1207; and further action to restore order in the Marches in 1210. Although Roger was often involved in counselling the king and, served as sheriff of Yorkshire and Cumberland, he does not appear to have engaged in any substantive diplomatic roles. His military prowess was probably the most significant aspect which supported his relationship with the crown. Roger was able to use this to his benefit and advance his family's wealth and status. The swiftness with which Roger's estates were taken into royal custody upon his death, and the amount of money subsequently raised from these lands during his son's minority, was demonstrative of their value.

⁶ Young, *The Making of the Neville Family 1166-1400*, pp. 40-2, 62-3; Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms The Lacy Family, 1166-1241*, pp. 279-286; Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 60-70, 184-191.

⁷ *Chronica Majora*, ii, p. 489, 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', *AM*, ii p. 256.

Unlike his father, John de Lacy's early career and affiliation with the crown was characterised by shifting and inconsistent loyalty and rebellion. In contrast to his father, although he did serve in a military capacity and travelled on crusade with the earl of Chester, John appeared to favour diplomacy over militarism throughout his career. After a short period as a justice, he was employed as a royal envoy to Brabant, as part of negotiations for the marriage of the king's daughter.⁸ He was later closely involved with the coronation of Queen Eleanor, engaged in diplomatic negotiations with Scotland and Wales, and was part of the issue of Magna Carta (twice).⁹ While beneficial royal patronage was most certainly an aspect of John's career, the real transformation of his fortunes can be attributed to one man: Ranulf III, earl of Chester. His strengthened relationship with Ranulf III resulted in an advantageous marriage which brought with it the earldom of Lincoln. John's experience of civil war and rebellion, as well as his time on crusade, probably served to steer his relationship with the crown and focus on diplomacy over militarism. This was certainly mirrored by his closeness to the royal court and the king's council, in the latter half of his career. At the time of his death, John was counted as one of the king's leading councillors and was amongst the wealthiest earls in the country.

John's son, Edmund, was brought up within the king's household as a royal ward and his alignment with the crown was probably, therefore, a foregone conclusion. His fortunes were closely tied to the crown and Edmund was able to use this connection to consolidate his estates through additional royal patronage. In addition to this, through the efforts of his family, he was involved in an advantageous political marriage which tied him closer to the royal court.¹⁰ This also enabled him to develop close political allies and associations which he could use to reinforce his own place among the leading members of the aristocracy. He spent time in service to the crown, both to the king and the Lord Edward, in both a military and a diplomatic capacity, and did so faithfully. In part, this enabled him to arrange the successful marriage of his son, which was built upon the long-standing relationships between the Quincy, Longespée and de Lacy families. The marriage helped not only, to ensure the security of his son's inheritance but also to expand it. Although Edmund was set for a promising career within politics and royal government, this was cut short by his untimely death. While

⁸ *Rotuli Clausarum*, ii, p. 202; *CPR 1225-1232*, pp. 161-2; Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufien Empire 1216-1272*, pp. 36-8.

⁹ See above, p. 64.

¹⁰ See above, pp. 72-3.

we may have been deprived of a long standing and enigmatic career for Edmund, his son, Henry, was able to build upon these formidable foundations and close royal ties.

Much like his father, Henry's relationship to the crown and royal government was equally determined from a young age. His time spent as a royal ward and engagement in minor duties for the crown, placed him in an ideal position to cultivate political alliances. Not unsurprisingly, therefore, of the de Lacy constables, Henry's career was the most closely linked to the crown. This was characterised by inexorable loyal service and the rewards associated with it. His marriage to Margaret Longespée meant that he came to control both the earldom of Lincoln and Salisbury. At the time of his death in 1311, his estates had been valued at a significant figure of approximately £3500, more than three times the value than at the end of his grandfather's life.

The acquisition and management of these estates was of particular interest. The first major shift in the family fortunes occurred when Roger inherited the de Lacy lands from his grandmother Aubrey de Lisours, in 1194.¹¹ This provided Roger with a substantial increase in wealth and influence. Although the material benefits of royal patronage and favour accounted for the family's ability to sustain its influence in the long term, this gave no guarantee of substantial grants of land in perpetuity. Rather, it was astute and prudent marriages which accounted for the greatest additions to the Lacys' landed wealth. While there are no surviving records related to any benefits from Roger de Lacy's marriage; that of his son John, to Margaret de Quincy, was the first to bring substantial rewards. His ability to obtain this marriage was significantly linked to his association with Ranulph III, earl of Chester, although crown approval was also necessary. The marriage brought the family the earldom of Lincoln, together with the third penny of the county.¹² This all related to the arrangements made by Ranulf III, earl of Chester, prior to his death. These saw the earldom passed via his sister, Hawise, Margaret de Quincy's mother, and in turn, to John de Lacy.¹³ The substantial inheritance Roger was able to pass to his son had definitely boosted the family position within the wider aristocratic hierarchy. The family's long service to the earls of Chester as their constables, no doubt remained a

¹¹ TNA, DL 42/2 fo. 110; *EYC*, iii, p. 208; Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v, pp. 533-4; *Pipe Rolls 7 Richard I*, p. 98.

¹² Eales, 'Henry III and the end of the Norman Earldom of Chester', in *Thirteenth Century England I*, ed. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1985); Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*. The 'third penny' was a grant of the third of the profits of the royal borough and county courts. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 209.

¹³ See above Chapter on John de Lacy, pp. 67-8.

significant factor toward Ranulf III's plans. For John de Lacy, in particular, this transformed his family fortunes and transitioned his family from baronial to comital status. While Edmund's marriage to Alice of Saluzzo did not produce additional land, it tied the family closer to the royal court and probably paved the way for the marriage which would alter the family fortunes once again: Henry de Lacy's marriage to Margaret Longespée.

The de Lacy and Longespée marriage brought the lands of the earldom of Salisbury to the family. These included estates in Buckinghamshire, Dorset, Herefordshire, Middlesex, Wiltshire, Somerset and Suffolk. The Longespée lands also included those of the la Haye family, which had passed to Henry's father-in-law, William Longespée through his own marriage. This marriage allowed the family to acquire key territorial interests in Lincolnshire, which consolidated their influence within the county.¹⁴ These marriages were therefore critical to the de Lacy family fortunes. They provided the family with additional land, titles and influence, combined with closer links with the royal court. Each marriage, in turn, also coincided with a measurable shift in the family's focus on their regional landed interests: as they exerted their influence within their newly acquired lands. This research also supports the findings of Andrew Spencer, in his work on Edward I and the earls.¹⁵ Henry de Lacy was very much a willing counterpart in the arrangements for his daughter's marriage to Thomas of Lancaster. It not only served Edward I's political motivations but was seen by Henry as a sign of significant royal favour: it was most certainly not imposed upon Henry by the king. Henry's relationship to Edward I was a demonstratively close and harmonious one, which both men were able to use to their political advantage.

The implementation of Magna Carta in Henry III's reign does not appear to have impacted significantly upon the de Lacys' fortunes. Although the assignment of dower to Margaret de Quincy and later, Alice of Saluzzo, both exceeded the forty day timeframe set out in clause 7, this could perhaps be accounted for by the substantial nature of the estates, which needed to be thoroughly valued before they could be assigned. The successful administration of the de Lacy estates was, in part, due to their ability to maintain regional specialisms. The effective management during Henry's

¹⁴ TNA, C 134/22/1 (inquisition *post mortem* of Henry de Lacy). The de la Haye lands had passed to Henry's father-in-law, William Longespée, via his marriage to the daughter of Nicholaa de la Haye. For further information on Nicholaa, see Wilkinson, *Women in Thirteenth Century Lincolnshire*, pp. 12-26.

¹⁵ Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, pp. 40-1.

lifetime can be shown to have been affected by the earlier management of his grandmother, Margaret de Quincy. This mirrors the findings of Graham Platts, in his research of the de Lacys' Lincolnshire estates, and supplements our understanding of the de Lacys' management of their other landed interests.¹⁶ The sophisticated administration present within their lands, mirrored developments in royal estates, and was successful, largely due to the family's employment of a new class of professional officials. This echoes the early research undertaken by Noel Denholm-Young and Dorothea Oschinsky, on seigniorial administrations and the literature which was produced in the thirteenth century, to advise these new officers and the aristocracy, in effective estate administration.¹⁷ The de Lacys' ability to adapt to economic circumstances and increased commercialisation determined much of their success in the management of their extensive landed interests. This is reflective of the wider evolutions in agriculture and commerce during the thirteenth century. These findings further add to the work and research presented by Bruce Campbell, in his examination of the developments in the seigniorial and non-seigniorial sectors; in addition to those produced by Edward Miller and John Hatcher, in their analysis of commercial and economic developments in medieval England.¹⁸

The de Lacys' substantial estates enabled Roger de Lacy to maintain a strong local following. His affinity was composed of men with tenurial ties to him and long standing associations with the de Lacy family. Roger's affinity was, therefore, probably the closest of the de Lacys' to a 'traditional', honourial model of lordship, whereby lords recruited tenants into their personal service. This echoed the composition present within the affinities of the Bigod earls, highlighted by Marc Morris, who were able to draw upon the tenants from their substantial and well-established estates.¹⁹ Roger's affinity can be seen to contrast, however, with the affinity of William Marshal, earl of Pembroke. David Crouch concluded that the composition of the Marshal's affinity was based less on tenurial ties but rather an emphasis on mutual concern and more subtle rewards.²⁰ Roger's ability to draw upon men from the localities in his lordship mirrored the Marshal's use of men with close geographical links: it was their methodology of recruitment that differed. This strong localised element continued throughout the

¹⁶ Platts, 'Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire', pp. 98-100.

¹⁷ Denholm-Young, *Seigniorial Administration in England*, pp. 32-45; Oschinsky, 'Medieval Treatises on Estate Management', p. 308.

¹⁸ Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250-1450*, pp. 58-60, 181-4, 427-9; *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348*, ed. Miller and Hatcher, pp. 189-197.

¹⁹ Morris, *Bigod Earls of Norfolk*, pp. 60-1.

²⁰ Crouch, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219*, pp. 141-151.

generations of the de Lacy constables, reinforced by the careful management of their estates. It meant that there was little effect to the overall composition, but this enhanced their ability to exert their influence as their estates increased. John de Lacy's position as earl enabled him to attract new men from outside the de Lacy lands into his following. John does not appear to have rewarded these men with significant new grants of land. Instead, cash rewards may have been used, but are difficult to trace given the absence of extant account rolls. In this respect, John's affinity, like his father's, can be characterised as strongly traditional, with possible emergent 'bastard feudal' elements. In spite of a progressive shift toward affinities composed less on the basis of tenurial connections in this period, Edmund de Lacy appears to have bucked this trend. This was, no doubt, as a result of the established long standing loyalties and existing ties present in the followings of his predecessors. This significant continuity reflected the strength of the Lacy estates. Edmund's affinity, however, did not differ significantly from that of his father. Unfortunately, due to his untimely death, we are unable to ascertain whether the composition and structure of his affinity would have evolved in time. Three generations of uninterrupted and effective maintenance of the de Lacys' lands certainly affected the composition of Henry de Lacy's following. Indeed, his lordship continued to demonstrate a distinctly traditional element based on the dominance of lands with historic ties to the family. This is supportive of the conclusion made by Andrew Spencer, in his investigation of Henry's lordship of Pontefract, and places it in the context of his wider landed interests.²¹ Henry relied, much less, on methods like those used by Simon de Montfort, claimant to the earldom of Leicester, highlighted by John Maddicott, whereby he recruited a significant number of men from outside the immediacy of his honour, who lacked established lords.²² There was little need for Henry to move away from a following so closely knit with tenurial and geographic ties, to a more 'bastard feudal' affinity. This is not to say these elements were not present, indeed, Henry combined more customary grants of land with monetary payments, when needed. This, of course, leads back to the debate surrounding whether or not there was anything 'bastardized about bastard feudalism'.²³ The de Lacy affinities demonstrate the characteristics emphasised by David Crouch and David Carpenter, in their examination of 'bastard

²¹ Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship in Medieval England*, pp. 157-8.

²² Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp. 61-3.

²³ Crouch and Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', p. 172.

feudalism'. The de Lacys were able to work within the existing societal system and, '[adjust] their position', as necessary, which is further supportive of David Crouch's argument.²⁴ Indeed, the evidence for the de Lacys' use of men, who held official positions within the localities, demonstrated that they were able to manipulate this system in their favour, as David Carpenter maintained.²⁵ Like the generations before him, the core of Henry's affinity was composed of key men with strong tenurial links, further reinforced by men with established familial connections to the de Lacys. Nonetheless, Henry did not restrict himself to these as pre-requisites for membership of his following. New men gravitated to his affinity. They did so less due to close any geographical links and, more so, as a result, of the political influence and patronage that Henry could provide. In conjunction with the power provided by their landed wealth, the de Lacys were able to exert enough influence in the localities and the wider societal political framework, to maintain their position among the leading magnates in England.

Further light on the characters of the de Lacys can be seen through their preferences for religious support. The de Lacys managed the patronage and associations with various monastic orders and religious houses in much a similar vein as they did their affinities. Roger de Lacy's support for the Cistercians, for example, and in particular, his father's foundation at Stanlaw, was predominantly due to the family's pre-existing ties with the order. His piety was perhaps therefore conventional for a man of his status.²⁶ The Cistercians enjoyed a resurgent popularity during the opening of the thirteenth century. This was buoyed by royal patronage, and Roger's strong relationship with the crown may have played a part in his continued support for the order. The conclusions drawn on the de Lacys' religious patronage are supportive of those made by scholars, such as, Janet Burton and Elizabeth Gemmill, in their research on the religious houses and their relationships with the aristocracy.²⁷ John de Lacy's backing was fairly moderate and similar to other nobles of the period. The majority of his religious associations echoed those of his father and grandfather, with a few other minor connections which he established during his own lifetime. The most notable difference in patronage occurred in his

²⁴ Crouch and Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', p. 172.

²⁵ Crouch and Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', p. 181.

²⁶ Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France: 900-1300*, p. 54.

²⁷ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300*; Gemmill, *The Nobility and Ecclesiastical Patronage in Thirteenth-Century England*. See also, Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century*; Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*.

son Edmund's lifetime and was a response to the arrival of the Mendicants in England. This is perhaps the only striking element which indicated that the de Lacy family followed popular trends for religious endowment. If this was the case, given the royal favour the Mendicant orders received, Edmund could hardly be blamed for doing so. The overwhelming trend evident within the de Lacy family's patronage was one of inherited tradition and continued legacies. Henry de Lacy was subject as much to this as his predecessors. The principal contrast between the generations was Henry's usage of the establishment of chantries, as a new method to exert his influence through religious patronage within his existing and newly acquired territories. The surviving draft of Henry's testament also demonstrated that his personal piety was in line with contemporary trends. The gifts Henry intended to leave to women and the poor, and the care of the sick, replicated the conventions and bequests highlighted by Jennifer Ward, found in the testaments of other members of the aristocracy during this period.²⁸ His substantial wealth, however, enabled him to increase the scale of his donations. The de Lacy family, in this respect, were reflective of the wider aristocracy in their fashion for religious endowments. Their experiences were similar to those which Jennifer Ward has noted for the Clare family.²⁹ Like the Clares, the de Lacys maintained their personal relationships with existing familial religious connections, and sought to carefully manage their rights over advowsons. In contrast, however, where the Clares made few new grants to religious houses when they acquired the honour of Gloucester, the de Lacys' continued to make new awards and connections as they gained lands through acquisition and marriage.

The nature of the de Lacy constables' transition from baronial to comital standing sheds light on the mechanisms they used to accomplish, and then maintain, their status and landed wealth. The de Lacys' achievements in this were limited by the eventual lack of surviving male heirs, to continue the family's hold on their vast estates. In the end, four generations of successful development of their landed wealth, was to ultimately benefit the crown. The de Lacys were able to reinforce and expand their estates through a combination of royal patronage, political alliances and astute marriages. This study of their lives, political careers, and followings, both highlights and reinforces our understanding

²⁸ Ward, *Women in Medieval Europe, 1200-1500*, pp. 234-248.

²⁹ Ward, 'Fashions in Monastic Endowment', pp. 427-451.

of the transformation of aristocratic fortunes, elite families as political entities, and the evolving nature of lordship during the thirteenth century.

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