

The Household Knights of Edward I

Volume 2

Ruth Louise Ingamells

Ph. D. (University of Durham)

Department of History, 1992.

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## CHAPTER 6

### GASCONY AND IRELAND

In 1272 the main dominions of Edward I outside England were Ireland and the duchy of Gascony. As Duke of Aquitaine he held Gascony as a fief from the French crown, following the treaty of Paris in 1259. In 1279 the crown gained the county of Ponthieu through the right of Edward's wife, Eleanor of Castile. The royal court resided in England for most of the reign. Edward I visited Gascony in 1272-4 and 1286 but he never went to Ireland. Both countries had their own administrative structure at the head of which was an official who represented the king in his absence.

Edward recruited a number of knights from Gascony and Ireland. The appearance in the household of some of these knights was clearly due to the need for men during a military campaign. However, as Edward visited his dominions outside England infrequently one would expect that the household knights provided an important link between Gascony, Ireland and the royal court. The amount of time that the knights spent in their homelands and the part they played in Irish and Gascon affairs will be evaluated. In England the household knights played a relatively limited role in local administration except where the custodianship of castles was concerned. This chapter will attempt to ascertain whether it was the same in Edward's other dominions.

From 1171 onwards the English kings used gifts of Irish lands to reward royal servants. By 1227 it was much more difficult to create major new lordships but occasionally opportunities still

arose in Ireland to reward their knights.<sup>1</sup> Partly as a consequence of such grants over twenty household knights held land in different regions of Ireland during Edward I's reign. In 1252 Geoffrey de Geneville had been granted the marriage of Matilda, the daughter and co-heiress of Walter de Lacy. Through this marriage he gained half the lordship of Meath, including its castle of Trim.<sup>2</sup>

The manor of Gormanston on the border of Dublin and Meath had been given to the great grandfather of Amaury St Amand in 1230. Roger Mortimer of Wigmore had gained his land in Ireland through his marriage to Maud the daughter and co-heiress of William de Braose by Eve, the sister and co-heiress of the earl of Pembroke. After the death of Walter Marshal, earl of Pembroke in 1245, Roger acquired lands in Kildare, Carlow and Kilkenny.<sup>3</sup>

Edward had granted a number of his followers lands in Ireland before he ascended the throne. Robert de Beames received lands in Ulster. He had granted them to his brother Hugh who was a member of Edward's household in 1283-4. The manor of Kilmeaden in Waterford was bestowed upon Robert de Ufford.<sup>4</sup> In 1268 Warin Bassingburn was given the manor of Amy in Limerick, which was leased after his death in 1269 to Hugh FitzOtto, the steward of Edward's household.<sup>5</sup>

Grants of Irish lands were made to household knights during Edward I's reign but they were fewer in number. The most significant gift was received by Thomas de Clare, the younger son of Richard, earl of Gloucester. Thomas was a member of Edward's *familia* prior to 1272 and he received wages as a member of the

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<sup>1</sup> R. Frame, *Colonial Ireland 1169-1369* (Dublin, 1981), 64-5

<sup>2</sup> *CDI*, iii, nos 268, 307

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of the Gormanston Register*, ed. Mills and McEnery viii; *CDI*, i, nos 1400, 2948

<sup>4</sup> *CDI*, ii, no. 1976; Sutton, *Robert de Ufford*, 34

<sup>5</sup> *CDI*, ii, no. 741; *CCR 1268-72*, 242

king's household in 1283-4. The Clare family had substantial estates in Ireland. Thomas himself held lands in Limerick and Cork as a result of his marriage to Juliana, the daughter of Maurice FitzMaurice. In 1276 he was granted the lordship of Thomond.<sup>6</sup> Frame has described this grant as a 'throwback'. He was a 'king's man planted in a fringe region where a lordship might still be carved out by the sword'. Thomas gained Thomond, the castle of Bunratty and the cantred of Tradery in county Clare from Robert Muscegros in exchange for lands he had acquired in England after the civil war.<sup>7</sup>

The other grants of Irish lands were much smaller. Otto de Grandson received the castle, cantred and land of Okeny, the town of Tipperary, the castle and town of Kilfeacle, the land of Muskerry, the manor of Kilsheelan and the town of Clonmel. These lands had originally been given to Grandson as a life grant but in 1281 they were granted to him in perpetuity. In addition he received Estremoy. This land had originally been given to another household knight, John Ferre, but he surrendered the land to the king in return for 1,000 marks.<sup>8</sup> In 1278 John Walhop, a member of the royal household in the 1270s, received 30 librates of waste land in Ireland.<sup>9</sup>

No other household knights were given lands in Ireland. The amount of land at the king's disposal in Ireland was becoming increasingly limited. In addition, the newly conquered territories of Scotland and Wales gave a king, who was not noted for his lavish generosity, the opportunity to bestow lands confiscated from Welsh

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<sup>6</sup> Moor, *Knights*, i, 208; *CChR 1257-1300*, 254; *CDI*, ii, no. 1193-5; *Calendar of Ormond Deeds 1172-1350*, ed. Curtis, 143, 147

<sup>7</sup> Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, 65; *CDI*, ii, nos 1204, 1223

<sup>8</sup> *CDI*, ii, nos. 1126, 1847

<sup>9</sup> *CDI*, ii, nos. 1466, 1613, 1625-6

and Scottish 'rebels' upon his followers.<sup>10</sup>

However, Ireland was still seen as a region which could provide rewards, albeit of a different nature, for Edward's household knights. In 1305, the king ordered John Wogan, the justiciar, to give John Louth and William Pouton the custody of a castle each in the march. It has been impossible to trace which castles they were assigned but their appointment was a reward for the service both men had rendered in Scotland and Gascony. These knights did not hold any other lands in Ireland.<sup>11</sup>

Robert Hausted and Lawrence de la Rivers were granted the wardship of lands in Ireland. The former received the marriage of the daughter of Henry Pecche in 1291. In 1307 Lawrence was given custody of James de Bohun's lands in Ireland. Robert FitzMaurice received the custody of land to the value of £40 in 1276.<sup>12</sup> Adam de Cretings was allowed to marry Juliana, the widow of Thomas de Clare: through this marriage he acquired the manor of Inchiquin and the town of Youghal in Cork.<sup>13</sup>

The other household knights who held land in Ireland included John Fulburn, Robert Hausted, Henry Cantok, and William Montague. They had estates in the County of Dublin. William de Cantilupe, Robert FitzMaurice and John FitzSimon all held land in Cork. William FitzWarin's interests lay in Connaught.<sup>14</sup>

In some cases it has been possible to establish only a tenuous link between a household knight and an Irish family or

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<sup>10</sup> See chapter 9

<sup>11</sup> *CJR*, 1305-7, 103

<sup>12</sup> *CDI*, ii, no. 1225; *CDI*, iii, p. 834; *CDI*, v, no. 649

<sup>13</sup> *CDI*, iii, no. 1142

<sup>14</sup> *CDI*, ii, p. 371, no. 1618; iii, nos 690, 732, 997; iv, nos 412; *CJR* 1295-1307, 75, 77, 162, 222; *CJR* 1305-7, 55, 311; *Ormond Deeds 1172-1350*, 24-6; *Gormanston Register*, ed. Mills and McEnery, viii, 130-1

region.<sup>15</sup> Eustace Hatch appointed attorneys in Ireland in 1275, 1293 and 1299 but it has been impossible to trace any of his land holdings. However, his attorneys were William Hatch, the sheriff of Louth and John Hatch, justice of the Bench of Common Pleas. These men had lands in Dublin. It is possible that Eustace had estates in that area. Henry Cantok was the brother of Thomas Cantok, the chancellor of Ireland. Their family lands were in Dublin and Tipperary.<sup>16</sup>

Thomas de la Cornere was part of Edward's household in 1283-4. In 1281 he had compensation for the losses he had sustained while he had been part of the forces led by <sup>de</sup> chief justiciar of Ireland against the Irish rebels. His estates probably lay in Carlow. In the mid 1280s he was involved in a plea against Roger Waspsail concerning land in that area.<sup>17</sup>

Nicholas de Boys was sent by the king to Ireland in 1302. His mission was to treat with the magnates concerning the need of the king for arms and men in Scotland. There is no direct evidence that he had any land in Ireland but a family named Boys held lands within the barony of Bantry in county Wexford. The records suggest that Nicholas was a family name.<sup>18</sup>

In 1307 Lawrence de la Rivers went on a similar mission to Ireland. He was instructed to discuss the provision of Irish

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<sup>15</sup> A number of household knights such as Hugh d'Audley the younger, son of James d'Audley and Thomas and Hugh Turberville were related to families with Irish lands, but they themselves do not seem to have been involved with Ireland.

<sup>16</sup> *CDI*, iii, no. 997; iv, no. 412; *CJR 1295-1305*, 222; *CJR 1305-7*, 55, 311; *Gormanston Register*, ed. Mills and McEnery, viii, 130-1

<sup>17</sup> *CDI*, ii, no. 1892; iii, nos 11, 12

<sup>18</sup> The mission of 1302 is discussed by J.F. Lydon in 'Edward I, Ireland and the War in Scotland 1303-4' *England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*; 'Irish Levies in the Scottish Wars 1296-1302', *The Irish Sword*, v (1962); E. St John Brooks, *Knights Fees in the Counties of Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny*, 109; *CPR 1301-2*, 73-4

troops for the war in Scotland. In April 1307, Lawrence was described as part of the council in Ireland. He may have had Irish origins. In 1286 a Lawrence de la Rivers represented William de la Rivers in a plea of *mort d'ancestor* concerning land in Meath.<sup>19</sup>

Many of these household knights had considerable estates in England and the amount of time these men spent in Ireland varied. The visits of some knights to Ireland and their direct involvement in Irish affairs were minimal. It seems unlikely that Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, an important landowner in the Welsh Marches, visited Ireland between 1272 and his death in 1282. He received no royal protections for going there in that period. The duties he was assigned suggest that he was fully occupied in the service of the king in England. Mortimer was part of the council which ruled England during Edward I's absence on crusade. In 1273 he was part of a commission examining complaints which had been made against the justice of Chester. In 1276 he was guarding his lands against incursions from Llywelyn ap Gruffydd. He fought in the first Welsh war in 1277. In 1278 and 1279, Mortimer was allowed to appoint attorneys in Ireland because he was remaining in England. The witness lists reveal that he was at court during the months of May, June and November 1280. In June 1281 he was given the right to nominate attorneys in Ireland for the following two years. As the captain of the king's garrison at Montgomery and Whitchurch he was very active during the second Welsh war.<sup>20</sup>

Amaury St Amand became the heir to his family lands after the death of his eldest brother, Guy, in 1290. In addition to the lands

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<sup>19</sup> *CJR* 1305-7, 333; *CDI*, iii, nos 268, 307

<sup>20</sup> *CPR* 1272-81, 6, 131, 250, 335, 444; *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 31; *CWR*, 231; C53/68



in Ireland he held estates in Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Gloucestershire. There is no evidence to suggest that Amaury spent any time in Ireland during the remainder of the reign. He went to Gascony with John St John in 1294 and was captured at Rions. He was released in 1298 and served in Scotland in 1300 and 1301. Amaury despatched his representative, Geoffrey de Ingepenne to Ireland to purvey victuals on his behalf. In February 1302 he witnessed a grant at Roxburgh and in April he received a year protection for his lands in Ireland because he was remaining in England. He was briefly imprisoned in 1305 because as constable of Oxford he was responsible for the riot which broke out in the town and for the prisoners who escaped.<sup>21</sup>

Otto de Grandson received the grant of lands in Tipperary but it is doubtful if he actually visited Ireland between 1281 and 1307. His main estates were in Savoy and the tasks assigned to him by Edward left him little opportunity to visit Ireland. In the 1280s Grandson's attention was focused upon the conquest of Wales. He was in Gascony with the king in 1286 and then he went on crusade to Acre in 1290. In addition he was appointed to numerous diplomatic missions to France and Rome throughout the reign.<sup>22</sup>

In 1290 Otto de Grandson granted his lands in Ireland to his brother and his nephews who were also household knights. William de Grandson was granted the towns of Clonmel, Kilfeacle and the manor of Kilsheelan in 1290. There is no evidence that he ever visited these estates. In 1291 he was given leave by the king to appoint attorneys in Ireland. Peter de Staney was given custody of the castle and land of Acconagh and the vill of Tipperary in 1291. He

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<sup>21</sup> *CCR 1288-96*, 68, 102; *CPR 1292-1301*, 510; *CDI*, iv, no. 745; v, no. 27; *R.G.* iii, 2553; *Rishanger*, 149, 415; *CCR 1302-7*, 244; *Bl Add Ms 7966A*, f 83; *CIPM*, ii, no. 592

<sup>22</sup> See chapter 8

went on crusade with Otto and does not appear to have returned to England. Peter de Vuippens received the land of Estremoy and Okeny which were leased to the earl of Ulster. He also accompanied Otto to the Holy Land. There is no evidence to suggest that he visited Ireland between 1292 and 1307.<sup>23</sup>

William de Cantilupe had land in Yorkshire. He was a member of the household from the mid 1280s until the end of the reign. A brief survey of his career suggests that he spent relatively little time in Ireland. He accompanied the king to Scotland in 1291. William was in Gascony between 1294 and 1297: when he returned he fought at Falkirk. Cantilupe was sent abroad on the king's business in May 1299. He went with the king to Scotland in November 1299, 1300, 1301 and 1303. He received no protections for visiting Ireland. However, he may have been in Ireland in 1292. A William de Cantilupe was one of the jurors who testified in an inquisition at Dublin concerning land held by Adam de Cretings.<sup>24</sup>

However, there were other knights to whom their Irish lands and Irish concerns were of paramount importance. These included Thomas de Clare, Geoffrey de Geneville, John Fulburn, Henry Cantok and Robert FitzMaurice. Thomas de Clare and Geoffrey de Geneville both held land in England. Geneville was lord of Ewias Lacy and Ludlow. He was also lord of Vaucoulers in Champagne. Thomas de Clare had estates in Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Oxfordshire and Middlesex. However, their Irish lands were very substantial. These men spent a considerable amount of time in Ireland promoting their own

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<sup>23</sup> *CDI*, iii, nos 705, 732, 903; *The Household of Eleanor of Castile*, ed. Parsons, 110; C47/4/5, f 47v

<sup>24</sup> *CCR 1296-1301*, 81, 433; *CPR 1292-1301*, 419, 439, 578; *CCR 1302-7*, 68; Bl Add Ms 7966A f 81; E101/6/40; *CDI*, iv, p. 498

interests and those of the king.<sup>25</sup>

Thomas de Clare as lord of Thomond attempted to consolidate his own and the king's position. He exploited the divisions in the O'Brien family, allying himself with Brian the son of Conor against Turlough and the de Burghs. He and his allies undertook various expeditions. In 1278 Robert de Ufford was ordered by the king to raise a general summons to help him pacify Thomond, although the actual expedition did not take place until 1281. A compromise was reached in 1283 and the two factions agreed to the partition of Thomond. The peace was only temporary: Thomas had to intervene again in 1285.<sup>26</sup>

In return for the promises of a general summons to help him in Thomond, Thomas took part in campaigns to secure the peace in other parts of Ireland. He undertook two expeditions into Glenmalure, co. Wicklow during the justiciarships of Geoffrey de Geneville and Robert de Ufford.<sup>27</sup>

Geoffrey de Geneville was very prominent in royal service. He fought in the second Welsh war and undertook a number of diplomatic missions on the king's behalf but he spent many of the intervening years in Ireland. Geneville was resident in Ireland between 1273 and 1274 during his period in office as justiciar. He received a protection for his lands in England or the right to appoint attorneys because he was remaining in Ireland in 1277, 1278, 1289, 1292, 1295, 1302 and 1304. In 1301 he was appointed to a commission in Ireland to raise men to fight in Scotland.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England*, 194

<sup>26</sup> *P.R.I. rep. D.K.36*, 33; *CDI*, ii, p. 267, 410, nos 1476, 2286; G.H. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans 1169-1333* (Oxford, 1911-20) iv, 73; Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, 37-8

<sup>27</sup> *P.R.I. rep. D.K.36*, 33

<sup>28</sup> *CPR 1272-81*, 235, 279; *CPR 1281-92*, 318, 493; *CPR 1292-1301*, 133; *CPR 1301-7*, 27, 217

John Fulburn was the nephew of Stephen Fulburn, the Bishop of Waterford and Treasurer of Ireland. He was in receipt of fees and robes in 1284-5, 1285-6 and 1300-1. He had lands in Cambridge but his links with Ireland were strong. John received money in 1286 for conducting a force of 76 Welshmen to Swords (co. Dublin) to fight in Ireland. He was part of the king's army in Offaly in 1289 where he was captured by Calvagh O'Connor. Fulburn was eventually released after protracted negotiations. O'Connor demanded and obtained the release of his brother and the pardon for 1,000 marks which he owed to the king. At Easter 1290 new demands were made for the release of other prisoners held in Dublin but the king was unwilling to release any men who had broken the peace.<sup>29</sup>

Fulburn's place within the household in the 1290s meant that he spent very little time in Ireland. On 7 August 1291 he received a protection to go to England. He appointed attorneys in Ireland in 1292 and 1293. In 1294 he went to Gascony and was captured at Rions. John remained in prison in France until 1299. After his release he was on campaign in Scotland with the king in 1300 and 1303.<sup>30</sup>

There is no evidence that Henry Cantok, the brother of Thomas Cantok the chancellor of Ireland, held any lands in England. John FitzSimon was described as the son of Henry FitzSimon of Ireland.<sup>31</sup> Robert FitzMaurice, holder of the sergeantry of Cork, does not appear to have had any estates in England. The family origins of

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<sup>29</sup> H. Cole, *Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century*, 55, 73, 123, 126; *CDI*, iii, p. 310, nos 541, 548, 558, 585

<sup>30</sup> *CDI*, iii, nos 541, 558, 585, 937, 1065; *Cal. Chanc. Warrants*, 176, 178; *CPR 1281-92*, 252, 441, 480; *CPR 1292-1301*, 7, 450; *CJR 1295-1303*, 263; *Guisbrough* 247

<sup>31</sup> *CCR 1296-1302*, 1; *CDI*, ii, p 383

Robert FitzMaurice are obscure. He seems to have been related to a Gerald FitzMaurice who between 1283 and 1302 frequently made the yearly payments for the farm of the sergeancy of Cork on his behalf.<sup>32</sup> He may have been a younger son of Maurice FitzThomas of Molahiffe who died in 1306. By his second wife Sybil, Maurice FitzThomas had another son, Gerald FitzMaurice.<sup>33</sup>

However, membership of the royal household meant that even those knights whose main interests lay in Ireland spent a considerable amount of time away from their homeland. Robert FitzMaurice was a member of the household in 1278-9. In May 1276 the king ordered that he should receive two shillings a day while he was on the king's service in Ireland. In July 1279 he received a protection for his lands in Ireland because he was remaining in England for the next two years.<sup>34</sup>

Henry Cantok was in receipt of fees and wages between 1297 and 1306. He spent most of that time with the king: he went to Flanders in 1297 and fought at Falkirk in 1298. Cantok was part of the English garrison at Edinburgh in 1300. He was in Scotland with the king in 1301, 1303 and 1304.<sup>35</sup>

From this a number of conclusions can be drawn. With the exception of Thomas de Clare Edward I did not use his household knights to promote peace and stability in Ireland. Membership of the king's *familia* tended to remove knights from the arena of Irish faction fighting rather than submerge them more deeply. The fact

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<sup>32</sup> *CDI*, iii, nos 44, 51, p 123, 153; v, no. 58; The Robert FitzMaurice who died in 1283 probably came from Waterford. In 1287 a Thomas FitzRobert paid for plevin of Robert FitzMaurice.

<sup>33</sup> Nicholas FitzMaurice was the son and heir of Thomas FitzMaurice. K.W. Nicholls, 'The FitzMaurices of Kerry', *Journal of Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, iii (1970) 29-31

<sup>34</sup> *CDI*, ii, nos 1226, 1536

<sup>35</sup> Bl Add Ms 7966A, f 86v; Bl Add Ms 8835 f 58v; E101/6/40; Bl Add Ms 7965, f 66; *Liber Quot*, 194

that twenty-six members of Edward's household had lands or received wardships or castles shows that Ireland was not remote from the English court. Frame's work on the links between the Ireland and the English court and baronage during Henry III's reign showed that Ireland was not 'distant or inaccessible'. The activities and movements of such men as John Fulburn between England and Ireland prove that this continued under Edward I. The household knights of Edward I continued to provide a vital link between the king and a country he had never visited.<sup>36</sup>

The most important post in royal government in Ireland was the office of justiciar. Prior to Edward I's accession to the throne of England the lands he had gained from his father in 1254 were the only areas where he could employ and reward his household. Edward naturally appointed his most loyal and reliable knights as justiciar of Ireland. The military expertise they had gained in the household would have been of crucial importance in Ireland where the justiciar often had to take military action against Irish rebels. Geoffrey de Geneville had been the acting governor of Ireland in 1264-5 in the absence of the chief justiciar and he had successfully led an expedition against the Geraldines. Robert de Ufford held the office between 1268 and 1269. James d'Audley had been justiciar of Ireland between 1270 and 1272. The reappointment of Geoffrey de Geneville and Robert de Ufford was a continuation of that trend. Geoffrey was justiciar between 1273 and 1276, Ufford as his successor held the office until 21 November 1281.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> See a forthcoming article by R. Frame in *Thirteenth Century England*, iv, ed. P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd

<sup>37</sup> *CDI*, ii, p 151, no. 1883; iv, p 121, no. 166; *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, ed. J.T. Gilbert (1884), ii, 318; *CPR 1266-72*, 104-5, 726; *Moor, Knights*, v, 75-6; *CPR 1247-58*, 34, 78

The men who were appointed as justiciar of Ireland were not necessarily household knights. As the reign progressed there were other royal servants at Edward's disposal, all of whom held land in Ireland.<sup>38</sup> Indeed it is difficult to ascertain whether Geneville's connection to the household was the crucial factor in his appointment or whether he was chosen because he was a major Irish magnate as were most of the justiciars. William Oddingseles, justiciar between 1294 and 1295, had been attached to the household of Henry III. In 1261-3 he received an annual fee of 30 marks. However, there is no evidence to suggest that he was a member of Edward's household.<sup>39</sup> Thomas FitzMaurice had been the king's custodian of the prison at Cork and the castle of Dungarvan in 1284. He seems to have joined the king in Wales in 1282-3 but the household wage records of 1283-4 do not indicate that he was part of the household. John Wogan and the contingent of men he brought from Ireland to fight in Scotland in 1301 clearly became part of the household during that campaign. However, there is no evidence to suggest that he was a permanent member of the household prior to his appointment as justiciar.<sup>40</sup> He did have considerable experience as royal administrator. John had been a justice in England and Wales. William de Vescy was another prominent royal servant who had held a number of offices in England.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> William Oddingseles was chief lord of a fee in Connaught. William de Vescy was lord of Kildare, Thomas FitzMaurice was the cousin of John FitzThomas, the lord of the barony of Offaly and he himself held land in Thomond, Decies and Desmond. *CDI*, ii, nos 69, 2175; *CDI*, iii, no. 1051; v, no. 820; *Red Book of the Earls of Kildare*, ed. G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin: Irish Mss Commission, 1964), 140; *Moor, Knights*, iii, 281; *CIPM*, iii, no. 469; *Gormanston Register*, ed. Mills and McEnery, 7

<sup>39</sup> *CLR* 1260-7, 62, 91, 124

<sup>40</sup> Bl Add Ms 7966A, f 82v

<sup>41</sup> *CPR* 1272-81, 428; *CPR* 1281-92, 123, 485, 510; For the career of William de Vescy see chapter 4

As justiciars of Ireland, Geneville and Ufford had a variety of tasks to perform.<sup>42</sup> Geneville's main responsibility as justiciar was to defend the king's position and to maintain internal peace and stability. He conducted expeditions against the Geraldines, in the mountain areas of modern day Wicklow in 1274 and 1276. Upon both occasions he was defeated at Glenmalure. Geneville also had to deal with the virtual open warfare which developed in Ulster between William FitzWarin and the Mandevilles.<sup>43</sup>

Geneville's preoccupation with Irish security is revealed by his account of 1273-4. The expenses allowed to him included; repairs to the castles and houses of Athlone, Rindown and Roscrea; the wages of the men going to Glenmalure and the expenses of Theobald le Butler who was remaining in the March. In 1274-5 he received expenses for the fortifications at Ballymore, Rindown and Roscommon and for guarding the country around Loughsewdy in west Meath. In 1275-6 he was allowed £2,331 19s 4d in his account for the expedition to Glenmalure.<sup>44</sup>

The king had his own treasurer and chancellor in Ireland but the justiciar also received orders concerning financial affairs. One of Geneville's first tasks was to audit the account of Hugh, Bishop of Meath, relating to the final years of Henry III's reign. In 1273 the king instructed Geneville to be present at an inquisition conducted by the treasurer and the chancellor into the

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<sup>42</sup> Ufford and Audley also bore the title of justice of Chester during their tenure as justiciar of Ireland. See chapter 4 The existence of a justice of Chester responsible for issues concerning that county and Ireland in the early years of Edward's reign confirms Frame's views about the strength of the links between Ireland and the Bristol hinterland. See above, vol. 2, p 13, n36

<sup>43</sup> A.J. Otway-Ruthven, *A History of Medieval Ireland*, (1968), 201-2; For a discussion of Geneville's campaigns see J.F. Lydon, 'The Years of Crisis 1254-1315', *A New History of Ireland II 1169-1534*, ed. A. Cosgrave (Oxford, 1987), 257-8

<sup>44</sup> *P.R.I. rep. D.K.36*, 40-1



king's debts in Ireland.<sup>45</sup>

As chief justice, Geneville presided over a court of pleas which followed the justice of Ireland. Geoffrey heard a wide range of cases including homicide, robbery and common pleas. He also had to summon men to appear before the king: for instance Geoffrey had to instruct William FitzWarin to attend the king's court in connection with the disinheriting of and his subsequent persecution by the sons of Henry de Mandeville.<sup>46</sup>

As justiciar of Ireland, Geneville was responsible for summoning parliaments and great councils. He called a great council to settle the dispute between the Geraldines and the Burghs while he was the acting governor in 1264-5. At this council he negotiated an agreement whereby the magnates swore to observe an ordinance in which they were to receive back all the property they had held before the war.<sup>47</sup> Sometimes the negotiations which the justiciar had to conduct were between the king and the Irish nobles. After Edward I had agreed to the request for English law to be used in Ireland by the native Irish he ordered Ufford to set up a conference of Irish magnates. They had to give their consent to the measures and discuss a higher payment.<sup>48</sup>

The justiciar, advised by a council, was responsible for taking some of the decisions concerning the day to day running of

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<sup>45</sup> *CDI* ii, p 151, no. 973; Lydon, 'The Years of Crisis', 190-1. There were attempts under Geneville to improve and revitalize royal administration in Ireland. However, the receipts only improved during Ufford's tenure in office. Lydon suggests that this was due to the work of the treasurer rather than Ufford or Geneville

<sup>46</sup> Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, 97; *CDI*, ii, nos 1133, 1918

<sup>47</sup> *Documents on the Affairs of Ireland Before the King's Council*, ed. G.O.Sayles (Dublin, 1979), 9

<sup>48</sup> *CDI*, ii, nos 1020, 1400, 1408; For a discussion of the request and its implications see A. Gwynn, 'Edward I and the Proposed Purchase of English Law for the Irish c 1276-80' *TRHS*, 5th series, x (1960), 111-127; Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, 109

Ireland.<sup>49</sup> However, the independence of household knights as justiciars of Ireland must not be exaggerated. Geneville despatched frequent reports to the king often asking for help and advice. In 1275 Geoffrey sent a messenger to Edward with information concerning the state of Ireland. The envoy returned, carrying Edward I's assurance that he would provide remedial measures in his Easter parliament. Geneville was not satisfied. He claimed that more immediate action was necessary.<sup>50</sup>

Geneville and Ufford remained in Ireland during their tenure in office. They had to appoint a lieutenant if they were absent. In May 1279, the king instructed Ufford to journey to England. Edward commanded the bishops and magnates of Ireland to be obedient to his deputy, Stephen, the Bishop of Waterford.<sup>51</sup>

Ireland had its own chancery. Thomas de Clare was the chancellor of Ireland in 1275; his tenure in office was of short duration. At Easter 1276, Fromond le Brun was referred to as the chancellor. Clare's appointment as chancellor was unusual: the position was usually held by an Irish cleric such as Walter, Bishop of Meath. Thomas' appointment may have been a temporary measure. Fromond le Brun was chancellor in 1273 and 1276 and it is possible that Clare was appointed because le Brun was absent or ill for a period of time.<sup>52</sup>

As chancellor, Thomas was given a number of miscellaneous duties to perform. He was often empowered to make judicial inquiries. In February 1275 he was instructed to undertake an

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<sup>49</sup> Geoffrey de Geneville continued to be part of this council after his tenure as justiciar. He was part of the council discussing the provision of arms for Scotland in April 1307; *CJR 1305-7*, 333

<sup>50</sup> *Documents on the Affairs of Ireland*, ed. Sayles, 11

<sup>51</sup> *CDI*, ii, 1512, 1565, 1646

<sup>52</sup> *CDI*, ii, nos 499, 1937

investigation into certain matters which had been put forward by William de Castro. He and the Bishop of Waterford were given the authority to remove William FitzWarin from his position as seneschal of Ulster. Later that same year he was appointed to a delegation to treat with Teige O'Connor over a lease for Connaught.<sup>53</sup>

Below the key positions of justiciar and chancellor it was the knights attached to the household of the justiciar who filled the offices of Irish local administration. These included the ten men who appear in the accounts of the Irish exchequer as receiving fees or robes as part of the king's household in the 1270s.<sup>54</sup>

All these men held land in various areas of Ireland. Nicholas Dunhevet held a manor in Louth and possibly some land in Ormond. Richard FitzJohn and Robert Nugent had estates in Meath. William Cantenton and David Barry both held lands in Cork. The interests of Walter l'Enfaunt lay in Kildare and Limerick. Some of these men, such as Richard FitzJohn and Nicholas Dunhevet, did hold lands in England. However, they seem to have spent most of their time in Ireland.<sup>55</sup>

It was these knights rather than those who were attached to the English royal household who were responsible for preserving Irish peace and stability. It was they who served in the military campaigns that the justiciar had to undertake. Ralph de Curteys and Milo Dywe both lost horses in the expedition to Glenmalure in 1276. In 1280 Nicholas Dunhevet received 220 marks for horses lost in the king's service between 1275 and 1276. Walter l'Enfaunt was paid to

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<sup>53</sup> *CDI*, ii, p 203, 289, nos 1091, 1135, 1196, 1207, 1241, 1346

<sup>54</sup> See above, vol. 1, pp 60-1

<sup>55</sup> *CJR 1295-1305*, 165, 207, 331, 359; *Red Book of Earls of Kildare*, 101; *Llanthony Prima and Secunda Irish Cartularies* ed E. St John Brooks, (Dublin, 1953), 91; *CDI*, iii, p 214, 360, no. 1045; *P.R.I. rep. D.K.36*, 41

guard Ballymore and William Cadel was retained to protect O'Dempsey against hostile attacks.<sup>56</sup>

Similarly these 'household knights' played an important role in Irish local administration. William Cadel was seneschal<sup>57</sup> of Carlow between 1278 and 1285 and he was also seneschal of Kildare between 1278 and 1280. Ralph le Curteys was appointed seneschal of Meath in 1276. Nicholas Dunhevet received £8 for the custody of the castle Roscrea in 1277-8 and £10 in arrears for his guardianship of the castle of Athboy.<sup>58</sup>

They were also employed in the Irish judiciary. Walter l'Enfaunt was a justice of gaol delivery in Waterford in 1290. In 1299 he was one of the justices of the justiciar's itinerant court. During the same year he was also described as a justice of the bench in Dublin. He was a justice in eyre in Cork and Louth in 1302. In 1305 he was one of the justices in Dublin who was dealing with the pleas relating to the Hospital of St John the Baptist. Richard FitzJohn acted as a justice in the liberty of Meath in 1276. His appointment was due to his association with Geoffrey Geneville. Richard FitzJohn held land at Moylagh in Meath.<sup>59</sup>

Only a very small number of knights belonging to the king's household in England were appointed as the sheriff of one of the twelve shires or as the seneschal of one of the Irish liberties while the lands were in the king's hands.<sup>60</sup> One household knight was

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<sup>56</sup> *CDI*, ii, no. 238, p 329; *P.R.I. rep. D.K.36*, 33

<sup>57</sup> These were of course Irish liberties.

<sup>58</sup> *CDI*, ii, no. 891, p 178, 238, 257, 329; *Gormanston Register*, ed. Mills and Mc Enery, 13; *P.R.I. rep. D.K.36*, 37, 44

<sup>59</sup> Moor, *Knights*, i, 305; *CDI*, ii, p 238; *CJR 1295-1303*, 165, 207, 223, 226; *Register of the Hospital of St John the Baptist Dublin*, ed. E. St John Brooks (Dublin: Irish MSS Commission, 1936), 445, 459; *Llanthony Prima and Secunda Irish Cartularies*, ed. E. St John Brooks, 91, 235

<sup>60</sup> Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, 173-4

appointed as a royal seneschal. William FitzWarin was seneschal of Ulster between 1272 and 1281. He was admitted as a knight only in 1290 but he was part of the household at the beginning of the reign. He was described as such in December 1276. At that time he was a royal valet.<sup>61</sup>

William FitzWarin held land in Connaught. His appointment as seneschal can be attributed to his position in the household in the sense that he probably gained preferment over other local candidates who desired the post. He was also considered to be loyal and reliable.<sup>62</sup> Ironically the well-known personal feud between FitzWarin and Henry de Mandeville led to the outbreak of open warfare. FitzWarin allied with the Irish chiefs of Antrim and the O'Neills of Inishowen while Henry de Mandeville formed an alliance with O'Neill and O'Cahan. The Mandeville family was eventually supported by Richard de Burgh, the new earl, who destroyed FitzWarin's lands in the area.<sup>63</sup>

This dispute began while William FitzWarin was supposedly fulfilling his judicial duties as seneschal of Ulster. In 1272 William FitzWarin set up an inquisition into the activities of Henry de Mandeville who had been the bailiff of Twescard for many years. From the findings of the investigation FitzWarin concluded that Mandeville had abused his position. In 1273 the king ordered

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<sup>61</sup> *CPR 1272-81*, 187, 296; *CDI*, ii, p 238, nos 929, 1371, 1729; iii, 45; *P.R.I. rep. D.K.36*, 50

<sup>62</sup> *CDI*, ii, nos 929, 1761; *CJR 1295-1305*, 368

<sup>63</sup> The eventual outcome of this dispute is unclear. In April 1282 FitzWarin was prosecuted by the sons of Henry de Mandeville for their father's death and for disinheriting them. He seems to have been acquitted; he certainly continued in the king's service. In 1284 he was appointed as one of the justices enquiring into charges that the Archbishop of Armagh had been appropriating the vacancies of certain churches. In 1286 he went to Gascony with the king and in 1286 he was appointed as a justice in Oxford; Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, 203; *CPR 1281-92*, 215, 239

FitzWarin to act upon the complaints he had received.<sup>64</sup>

As seneschal of Ulster, William FitzWarin was responsible for the care of the lands and castles of the liberty. He had to deal with all matters connected with the Burgh inheritance of Ulster. In April 1273 the king informed him that dower had been wrongly assigned to the earl's widow. William FitzWarin and a representative of the justiciar of Ireland were instructed to handle the problem. It was also his duty to collect the money owed to the king in the liberty.<sup>65</sup>

In addition, three household knights were appointed as sheriffs in Ireland. Adam de Cretings, who was in receipt of fees and robes in 1284-5 and 1288-9, was sheriff of Cork in 1293. Otto de Grandson was appointed as sheriff of Tipperary during Henry III's reign. He held the office until 1276. Thomas de Clare was sheriff of Limerick in 1275-6. All the men held land in the county to which they were appointed. Cretings and Clare were in Ireland during their tenure as sheriff. However, Grandson did not execute his duties as sheriff in person: William Waley and then John le Coventry accounted on his behalf.<sup>66</sup>

This analysis clearly demonstrates that very few household knights served in official positions other than that of chief justiciar during Edward I's reign. All those who held the post had lands in Ireland. In general membership of the English royal household meant that Irish knights spent most of their time away from Ireland. With one or two notable exceptions, such as Clare and

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<sup>64</sup> *CDI*, ii, nos 929, 954, 1691, 2274

<sup>65</sup> *P.R.I. rep. D.K.36*, 54; *CDI*, ii, nos 950, 1352, 2073; *CPR 1272-81*, 397

<sup>66</sup> *CDI*, iii, p 497-8, no. 1101; iv, p 10; *P.R.I. rep, D.K.35*, 48, 50; *CJR 1295-1303*, 75; A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Anglo-Irish Shire Government in the Thirteenth Century', *Irish Historical Society*, v, 13; *P.R.I. rep. D.K.36*, 25, 34, 39

Geneville, local administration in Ireland and the preservation of Irish peace and stability was conducted by the knights attached to the household of the justiciar of Ireland. The knights of the king's own household did however, provide vital links between the court and Ireland.

## II

A relatively small number of knights held land in both Gascony and England. Gascony had been an integral part of the Angevin Empire from the twelfth century. It had an established structure of lordship and few royal servants had been rewarded with lands in the duchy. William Montravel who had lands near Bordeaux also had estates in England. In addition, John de Grailly and his son Peter both held lands in Le Médoc. Both their family estates were at Greilly in Gex.

As a result of Edward's visit to Gascony in 1286 a large number of Gascon knights joined the household.<sup>67</sup> Thirty-seven household knights had land in Gascony. The knights held land in many different regions of the province, including some major lordships such as Albret. These knights helped to consolidate the loyalties of the nobility within the duchy. John de Grailly, his son Peter and Pons, lord of Castillion held land in Médoc. The estates of William Montravel, Bertram of Podensac and Raymond de Bouglon, the Captal de Latresne, were in Gironde and Bordeaux. Aimar d'Archiac came from Saintonge. Oger Mote the elder and his son held land at Meilham on the north east border of the Agenais. Arnald Marmande, lord of Taillecatvat also had estates in that

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<sup>67</sup> See chapter 1

region Luke de Tanv held the town of Lalinde in Perigord and the interests of Alexander de la Pebree, lord of Bergerac and his nephew Guy lay in the Dordogne. William, lord of Rions had estates in the Entre deux Mers.

In the south of the province was the lordship of Amanieu VII. of Albret. Arnald and Elie Caupenne and Gaillard Tilh had lands in the Dax region. Arnald Gavaston, Arnald Montague, Otto Doazit and Arsinus and Miles de Noaillan had estates in Bearn. Barrau de Sescas was based in Bayonne.<sup>68</sup>

These knights strengthened the ties between the Gascon nobility and Edward I. The Gascon nobles remained very loyal to the English king during the war with France. Vale states that in 1286 four bannerets, three knights and a large number of Gascon squires were members of the king's household. However, he did not fully appreciate the extent of household ties among the Gascon nobility. Between 1286 and 1288 a large number of Gascons were admitted as knights and bannerets. Of the 112 lordships listed by Vale as being in English allegiance in June-July 1294, eleven per cent of the holders had been members of the household during the reign. Among them were Gaillard Castetpugon, Arnald Gavaston, Arnald Marmande, lord of Taillecavat, Bertram de Podensac, Elie de Caupenne, Willaim, lord of Rions, Amanieu VII. lord of Albret and Otto Doazit. Vale believed that many of the Gascon nobles remained loyal to Edward I because they knew that they could gain many important benefits and privileges through their membership of the royal household.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> RG, ii, 233, 280, 387, 946, 1654; RG, iii, 369-70; C47/4/5, f 45v; Vale, 'The Gascon nobility and the Anglo-French War 1294-8', 135-7

<sup>69</sup> RG, iii, 2592, 4220, 4248, 4528, 4932 (14), 4971 (7), 4985 (214), 4923, 4220; E101/13/30; Vale, 'The Gascon Nobility and the Anglo-French War', 135-7



In addition there were a number of Gascon knights who served and remained loyal to Edward between 1294 and 1298 who do not appear on the above list. Raymond de Champagne, the seneschal of the Agenais and Barrau de Sescas, the admiral of the fleet of Bayonne were admitted to the household in 1297. Bertram de Moulons, a member of the household in the 1280s, had his horses valued as part of the king's army in 1297. Arnald de Caupenne, the younger brother of Elie, received payment for being part of the king's garrison during the war.<sup>70</sup>

These men remained very loyal to the king throughout the conflict with France. In March 1297 Arnald de Caupenne received £50 for serving with two horses. Gaillard Castetpugon served with twelve horses at Saint Quiterie in 1297. Miles de Noaillan received payment for serving with eight squires at Bayonne on 12 June 1296. Arnald Marmande received a prest for his horses and wages in 1297.<sup>71</sup> Vale cites the extraordinary loyalty of Bertram of Podensac. He fought for the king and lost his lordship and his life. One of his last wishes was that he should be buried at Podensac after Edward had recovered the duchy.<sup>72</sup>

Six Gascon knights received an annual pension financed from the lands confiscated from aliens in England in 1299. These grants were a reward for the good service that the knights had rendered during the war and to provide them with compensation for the losses they had sustained. Raymond de Champagne received 150 *l.chip*<sup>73</sup> each year, Pons, lord of Castillon was given 1050 *l.chip.*, Gaillard Castetpugon, 50 *l.chip*, Arnald de Caupenne, 150 *l.chip*, Arnald

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<sup>70</sup> Bl Add Ms 7965, f 60; E101/13/20; E101/684/50 m 2

<sup>71</sup> RG, iii, 3382, 4061, 4519; E101/152/8 m 5; E101/153/7 m 18

<sup>72</sup> Vale, 'The Gascon Nobility and the Anglo French War', 139

<sup>73</sup> *Libri Chipotenses*. A local Gascon currency. The normal conversion rate was five chipotenses for one of sterling.

Gavaston 100 *l.chip* and Barrau de Sescas, 50 *l.chip*.<sup>74</sup> These sums were paid yearly in two installments.

These knights also provided the king with the loyalty of their family, associates and neighbours. A petition from Arnald Gavaston to the king in 1297 informed Edward that he would have to promise good rewards if he wanted to gain the loyalty of the men of Béarn. This suggests that Gavaston was using his influence in the region to try to ensure that it remained faithful to the king.<sup>75</sup>

Similarly, when Amanieu d'Albret joined John St John in 1294 he was accompanied by a large number of men from the surrounding lordships of Marensin and La Labourd. Among them were a number of household knights, including Miles Noaillan and Gaillard Castetpugon.<sup>76</sup>

In Ireland membership of the English royal household tended to divert knights away from Ireland and Irish affairs. To a certain extent this was true of some household knights who held lands in Gascony. Prolonged service in the royal household meant that such men as Luke de Tany, William Montravel, Arnald Gavaston and Elie de Caupenne were away from Gascony for long periods of time. This can be seen from the career of William Montravel. He witnessed a grant by the king in February 1281. William served in Wales between 1282-3 where he was responsible for a contingent of Gascon knights. Montravel journeyed to Gascony with the king in 1286, returning to England in 1290. His name appears as a witness to royal charters in October 1290, January 1291 and July 1291. He went to Gascony in 1294 but he must have returned to England in 1298 because he fought

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<sup>74</sup> *RG*, iii, 4528-9, 4603, 4671

<sup>75</sup> Vale, 'The Gascon nobility and the Anglo-French War 1294-98,' 137

<sup>76</sup> *RG*, iii, clxiii

at Falkirk.<sup>77</sup>

Miles de Noaillan who was in receipt of fees and robes in 1299 and 1300 was employed in Scotland. He served in the garrison at Berwick from 20 November 1299 to 1 January 1300, and was then part of the garrison at Edinburgh. He fought in the king's army in Scotland from 24 June to 29 August. Miles then joined the garrison at Lochmaben.<sup>78</sup>

However the main influx of Gascons into the household occurred during Edward I's stay in Gascony from 1286 to 1289.<sup>79</sup> Fourteen of these Gascon knights remained in the household only for the duration of Edward's visit. They did not accompany him to England in 1289. Roger Mauleón, Otto Doazit and Alexander de la Pébrée went to England in 1289 but they returned to Gascony the following year. Barrau de Sescas and Raymond de Champagne were members of the household during the 1297 expedition to Flanders. There is no evidence to suggest that these men remained part of the household when Edward returned to England.<sup>80</sup>

One consequence of the pattern of Gascon membership was that more knights were employed in the administration of the duchy than their counterparts in Ireland. In Gascony as in Ireland the key offices of the duchy were held by household knights. The main official was the seneschal. On occasion the king would also nominate a man to be his lieutenant. According to Trabut-Cussac the lieutenant was often appointed to limit the power of the seneschal. Both officials had to represent the military power of the king.

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<sup>77</sup> CCR 1272-9, 412; RG, iii, xxxiii; CPR 1281-92, 238; CPR 1292-1301, 364; CDI, iii, 362, 364, 382; E101/3/27

<sup>78</sup> *Liber Quot*, 124, 145, 148, 195; Trabut-Cussac, *l'Administration anglaise en Gascogne*, 172

<sup>79</sup> See chapter 1

<sup>80</sup> C47/4/5, ff 45, 48-9; B1 Add Ms 7965, f 60

Military expertise was vital in Gascony because of rebellious vassals such as Gaston de Béarn. It was of even greater importance during the conflict with France during the 1290s. As the king's household was one of the most important military training grounds it is not surprising that the seneschal and the king's lieutenants should have been frequently drawn from its ranks.<sup>81</sup>

Of the seven men appointed as seneschals of Gascony between 1272 and 1307, Hugh Turberville (1271-2) and John St John (1294-7) received fees and robes as household knights.<sup>82</sup> A number of the others were also clearly attached to the household. Luke de Tany was the seneschal of Gascony between 1272 and 1278. John de Grailly who had been seneschal between 1266 and 1268 was reappointed in September 1278. He held the office with one brief interruption until 1287.<sup>83</sup>

Of the remaining seneschals, John Havering held the office between 1289 and 1294 and 1305 and 1307. He was closely associated with Edward's household. Havering had been released from Wallingford under the prince's protection in 1266 and had held Devizes on Edward's behalf in 1272. From 1303 he was attached to the council of the prince of Wales. He was reappointed as seneschal in 1305 prior to Gascony being given to the prince in 1306. John Vaux, the seneschal of Gascony in 1287, had been a member of Henry III's household. However, he fought with the earl of Norfolk during the first Welsh war and there is no evidence to suggest that he was a member of Edward's household in 1287.<sup>84</sup>

Trabut-Cussac listed eleven men who were appointed as

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<sup>81</sup> Trabut-Cussac, *L'Administration anglaise en Gascogne*, 218

<sup>82</sup> *CPR 1266-72*, 542; *RG*, iii, 2933

<sup>83</sup> *CCR 1258-66*, 211; *CCR 1266-72*, 661; *RG*, ii, 302

<sup>84</sup> Moor, *Knights*, v, 96-7; *G.E.C.*, vi, 405; *CPR 1258-66*, 528, 659; *RG*, ii, 1050; *CLR 1260-70*, 130

lieutenants of Gascony between 1272 and 1307. Five of these men, Thomas de Clare, John St John, John de Grailly, Guy Ferre,<sup>85</sup> and Barrau de Sescas were household knights. Edward I occasionally appointed a man as both lieutenant and seneschal. John St John was named as the king's lieutenant on 12 July 1293. He became the seneschal in 1294. John de Grailly was both lieutenant and seneschal in 1283.

In addition, Otto de Grandson and Robert Burnell were appointed as the king's lieutenants in Gascony in February 1278. Their task was to solve the problems and difficulties created by Luke de Tany's tenure as seneschal. Grandson remained as the king's lieutenant until 1279. In 1303 Grandson and Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, were appointed to reorganise the Gascon administration after the war with France.<sup>86</sup>

In contrast to those appointed to the key offices in Ireland the seneschals of Gascony tended to be knights who did not hold land in the duchy. Theoretically this prevented them from becoming involved in local intrigue. Household knights, as 'outsiders', were ideal for such a post. However, it would be unwise to overemphasize this point. Luke de Tany, John de Grailly and Barrau de Sescas did have estates in Gascony.<sup>87</sup>

The household knights who were appointed as seneschals of Gascony were men of considerable social standing. Otto de Grandson was an important noble from Savoy and Thomas de Clare was the younger son of the earl of Gloucester. The knights often had quite considerable administrative and military experience. Luke de Tany

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<sup>85</sup> This must have been Guy Ferre the younger, because Guy Ferre the elder was the *Magister* and councillor of Edward I's eldest son at the time. See above, 150

<sup>86</sup> Trabut-Cussac, *L' Administration anglaise en Gascogne*, 371-2; *RG*, ii, 187-8

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 143

had been constable of Corfe in 1266 and constable of Tickhill and Knaresbrough. He had accompanied Edward to the Holy Land in 1270. John St John had served in Wales in 1277 and 1282-3 and he was a member of the king's council.<sup>88</sup>

In contrast Guy Ferre the younger and Barrau de Sescas were only simple knights when they were appointed as the king's lieutenants. Ferre and Sescas were chosen because of the political chaos of the late 1290s. Guy Ferre the younger had been part of the expedition to Gascony in 1294. He had remained there throughout the war. His appointment was the result of the contacts he had made during the campaign and the fact that he was in Gascony and available to serve in 1298. He must have had detailed knowledge of the current situation in the duchy at that time. Barrau de Sescas jointly held the office of the king's lieutenant with another Gascon in 1299. He had been chosen because he was the admiral of the king's fleet in Gascony. Both Ferre and Sescas were in office during the time when Gascony was actually in the hands of the Pope. This may explain Edward's willingness to appoint such humble lieutenants.<sup>89</sup>

The position of household knights who held the office of the king's lieutenant could be eclipsed by the arrival of a higher ranking nobleman. John St John was originally appointed as the king's lieutenant in 1293 but in 1294 he was referred to as the king's seneschal. His place appears to have usurped by John of Brittany, the king's nephew. The earls were always unwilling to tolerate a household knight being appointed to a position which outranked their own. Household knights were appointed as the

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<sup>88</sup> Trabut-Cussac, *L' Administration anglaise en Gascogne*, 143; *RG*, iii, xix; Moor, *Knights*, v, 96-7; *CPR 1266-72*, 125, 442; *CPR 1266-72*, 55, 130

<sup>89</sup> *RG*, iii, 2272; E101/4/1; *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 67, 105

lieutenant only when more prestigious men such as Edmund, earl of Cornwall or Maurice de Craon were not available.<sup>90</sup>

The role of the seneschal and the king's lieutenant in Gascony has been described by Trabut Cussac.<sup>91</sup> The household knights who held these posts did not necessarily execute all the orders delivered to them in person. The acquisition of more territories in the 1250s and the increase in appeals to the French court meant that de Tany and his successors spent a great deal of their time in Paris. Some lieutenants even returned to England during their tenure in office. Guy Ferre the younger held the office between 1298 and 1299: an entry in the 1300 wardrobe account book reveals that he returned from Gascony in February 1299 but he did not hand over his office until November 1299. It would be wrong, however, to assume that the seneschal was always absent from his post. During the crisis of 1294-8 John St John was in Gascony defending it from the French until he was taken prisoner.<sup>92</sup>

A considerably larger number of household knights held positions in the lower levels of Gascon administration than their counterparts in Ireland. Three household knights were appointed as lieutenants of the seneschal of Gascony. Elias Hauville was a lieutenant of Luke de Tany between March and June 1275. Oger Mote served as John de Grailly's lieutenant in the Agenais from January 1280 to November 1284. Miles de Noaillan was John Havering's lieutenant in Bordeaux in 1293.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> *RG*, iii, lxxxiii

<sup>91</sup> Trabut-Cussac *L'Administration anglaise en Gascogne*, 154-161

<sup>92</sup> *Liber Quot*, 193; Trabut-Cussac, *L'Administration anglaise en Gascogne*, 164

<sup>93</sup> *RG*, ii, 596; Trabut-Cussac *L'Administration anglaise en Gascogne*, 373-6

Five household knights served as under-seneschal in the provinces. Raymond de Champagne was seneschal of Saintonge in 1281. He then held the office of seneschal of the Agenais between 1286 and 1294. William Dean was appointed as seneschal of the Agenais in 1305. Elie de Caupenne served as the seneschal of Périgord-Limousin-Quercy between 1287 and 1289. He was reappointed in 1289; his brother, Arnald secured the same office in 1303. In the same year Pons, lord of Castillion, became seneschal of Saintonge.<sup>94</sup>

The local administrative officials in Gascony were *prévôts* and bailiffs. Four household knights served as *prévôts* and two were appointed as bailiffs. John Ferre was the *prévôt* of Barsac in 1277. William Montravel was the *prévôt* of the land of Dydona in Entre deux Mers in 1281. In 1305 he received custody of the region for life. Raymond de Champagne served as the *prévôt* of Oléron. Elias Hauville was the bailiff of Labourd between 1275 and 1276. Gaillard Castetpugon held the position of bailiff of Fleurance, Lectoure and Réjaumont from June 1304 to June 1305. In August 1304 he was also appointed bailiff of Lomage. Amanieu d'Albret was the *prévôt* of Bayonne in 1305.<sup>95</sup>

Seven household knights were appointed as guardians of castles in Gascony. Hugh de Brok was in charge of the castle of Bayonne from May 1288 to June 1289. He also held the office of mayor of Bayonne. Edmund de Jolens guarded the castle of Marmande between 1285 and 1299. Oger Mote was custodian of the castle of Mauléon in 1276. Elie de Caupenne had custody of Mauléon in 1293. Oger Mote

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<sup>94</sup> *RG*, ii, 995; *RG*, iii, lxxxiii, 995, 4759, 4764, 4775; E101/159/6

<sup>95</sup> Fleurance, Lectoure and Réjaumont all fell within the Lomage rejoin. The bailiff of Lomage had jurisdiction over the others but it was unusual for all the offices to be in the hands of the same person. Trabut-Cussac *L'Administration anglaise en Gascogne*, 343; *RG*, ii, 138, 490; E101/160/2



the younger was the guardian of the castle of Penne d'Agenais in 1304-5. Gaillard Castetpugon had custody of the castle of Sempuy in 1304-5. He held these castles because he was bailiff of Lomage. Elias Hauville, the bailiff of Labourd, was the warden of the castle of Bayonne and Sault de Navailles in 1275 and mayor of Bayonne.<sup>96</sup>

Elias Hauville, Hugh de Brok and William Dean did not hold any land in Gascony. Their connection to the royal household was responsible for their *début* in Gascon administration. Elias Hauville, lieutenant of the seneschal, bailiff of Labourd and mayor and castellan of Bayonne in 1275-6 went to Gascony in the retinue of Luke de Tany. He may have been in <sup>the</sup> household prior to appointment as lieutenant. When he returned to England he served the king in Wales and by 1279 he was marshal of the king's household.<sup>97</sup>

Hugh de Brok, who was in receipt of fees and robes in 1284, 1285, 1286 and 1288-9, was appointed as castellan and mayor of Bayonne during Edward I's visit to Gascony. William Dean was a member of the household in 1300. His selection as seneschal of the Agenais in 1305 was a direct consequence of his place within the king's *familia*. The under-seneschal of the Agenais was the only seneschal still to be chosen directly by the king.<sup>98</sup>

All the other knights who served in Gascony held land within the duchy. A number of knights were appointed to offices while they were attached to Edward's household between 1286 and 1289. Edmund de Jolens became custodian of the castle of Marmande in 1286. Elie de Caupenne, who had fought in the second Welsh war, was appointed as the seneschal of Périgord-Limousin and Quincy in 1287. His

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<sup>96</sup> RG, ii, 957; E101/160/2 m 5, 7; Byerly, *Records 1286-9*, no. 1834

<sup>97</sup> E101/3/21

<sup>98</sup> It was the last province to be acquired.

brother, Arnald de Caupenne was his successor in 1303. This was partly the result of Elie's recommendation and partly because he had been a member of the household between 1299 and 1301.<sup>99</sup>

William Montravel was attached to the household in 1278. He was part of the king's *familia* throughout the 1280s. William was probably appointed as the *prévôt* of the land of Dydona in Entre deux Mers in 1281 as a reward. Amanieu d'Albret was described as a squire of the king in 1289. He was closely associated with Otto de Grandson in the diplomatic missions to secure peace between France and England in the 1290s. This may have been partly responsible for his appointment as *prévôt* of Bayonne.<sup>100</sup>

However, it would be unwise to exaggerate the importance played by household connections in these appointments.<sup>101</sup> Most of the men belonged to prominent local families in the region in which they held office. Elie and Arnald de Caupenne were the sons of the lord of Caupenne. William Montravel, the *prévôt* of Dydona in Entre Deux Mers held land in Libourne. Amanieu was the seventh lord of Albret.<sup>102</sup>

Of the remaining knights it is unlikely that their brief appearance in the king's household from 1286 to 1289 was responsible for their appointments. Oger Mote<sup>103</sup> the younger was appointed as the lieutenant of the seneschal in the Agenais in 1280 and the guardian of Penne D'Agenais in 1304 because he held land at

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<sup>99</sup> Byerly, *Records 1285-6*, nos 1677-80; *Liber Quot*, 188-195; Bl Add Ms 8835, f 32; Bl Add Ms 7965, f 60; E101/3/27; E101/352/31

<sup>100</sup> *RG*, ii, 506, 1422-4

<sup>101</sup> E101/352/31; Bl Add Ms 7965, f 60

<sup>102</sup> *RG*, ii, 369-70; Trabut-Cussac *L'Administration anglaise en Gascogne*, 187

<sup>103</sup> Oger Mote the younger was not in receipt of fees and robes until 1286. An Oger Mote served as part of the household during the second Welsh war but that was probably his father

Marmande and on the border of the Agenais at Mauléon.<sup>104</sup>

Gaillard de Castetpugon's spell in the household in 1288-9 did not have any real bearing upon his appointment as the bailiff of Fleurance, Lectoure and Réjaumont in 1304. Similarly, Raymond de Champagne's appointment as seneschal of Saintonge in 1281 and the Agenais from 1286 to 1294 was not due to a connection with the royal household. He was not admitted as a household knight until 1297. Raymond was in essence a professional administrator.<sup>105</sup>

From this analysis it is clear that those Gascons who were recruited as household knights played a much more significant role in the administration of Gascony than did their counterparts in Ireland. Their greater involvement below the rank of seneschal of Gascony was mainly due to Edward I's visit to Gascony in 1286-9. This allowed a number of Gascons to be recruited to the household for a brief time without their being diverted away from Gascon affairs. The knights who served as the seneschal or the king's lieutenant were clearly selected because of their membership of the royal household. The others were appointed partly because of their local ties although their connection with Edward's *familia* ensured that they were preferred to other local candidates.

Two household knights were appointed as the guardian of Ponthieu a county in northern France which Edward I acquired through the right of his wife, Eleanor of Castile. In 1279 Eleanor's mother Joan, the daughter of Simon Dammartin, Count of Aumale, and Marie, countess of Ponthieu, died. Eleanor's elder brother Ferdinand was dead but he had left a son. In spite of this

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<sup>104</sup> Byerly, *Records 1285-6*, nos 1677-80; E101/352/31

<sup>105</sup> *RG*, ii, 1063

Edward I successfully pressed his wife's claim to the county.<sup>106</sup> The second husband of Joan became a member of Edward's household after her death.<sup>107</sup>

William de Fiennes was appointed as the custodian of the county in the month following Joan's death. He was related to Eleanor and was a member of her household. William was instructed to investigate the conditions within the county. Thomas de Sandwich was appointed as the seneschal of the county in May 1279. He was a close associate of Roger Leyburn and he had held various administrative posts. Thomas received fees and wages as a member of the king's household in 1284-5. His appointment was renewed in 1281 and he held the office until 1288. William de Fiennes was briefly reappointed in 1289. His successor was not a household knight but then in 1291 the county was given into the hands of Edmund, earl of Lancaster.<sup>108</sup>

In addition Hugh Famechon was knighted by John de Grailly in Ponthieu in 1280. He was a member of Edward's household in the 1280s. Hugh held the post of bailiff of Abbeville; his tenure in office was marked by a number of disputes. Parsons demonstrated that Edward and his wife were closely monitoring the administration of the county in the years after they acquired it. The appointment of household knights as seneschal and the admittance of Hugh to the royal household was another way of tying the county more closely to the English crown.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> H. Johnstone, 'The County of Ponthieu, 1279-1307' *EHR*, xxix (1914), 436-7

<sup>107</sup> See chapter 1

<sup>108</sup> For a discussion of the role the household knights as seneschal of Ponthieu see Johnstone, 'The County of Ponthieu', 442-3

<sup>109</sup> Parsons, 'The Beginnings of English Administration in Ponthieu', 374-5, 378

For most of the period between 1272 and 1307 the islands of Jersey and Guernsey were under the control of a household knight. In 1275 the islands were granted to Otto de Grandson who was to hold them at the king's pleasure. In 1277 this grant was renewed and this time the custody of the islands was granted to him for life. This grant was confirmed in 1284 and Grandson held the islands until his death in 1328. Grandson was relieved of the custody of the islands only during the war with France. In 1294, Henry Cobeham who was in receipt of fees and robes as a household knight in 1290 was appointed as the keeper of the islands.<sup>110</sup>

Otto de Grandson was given the islands for life in 1277 as compensation for the debts which the king owed him and as a reward for his service. He was appointed as 'lord of the islands'. As such he was given leave to enjoy their revenue.<sup>111</sup> The appointment of a household knight as warden was not unusual. Most of the wardens during Henry III's reign were attached to his household. Drew Barentin was the warden between 1240 and 1252. In 1240 he was described as the king's knight and in 1234 he received 10 marks as his yearly fee. Geoffrey Lucy, another custodian of the islands, received the arrears of his wages and robes in 1255.<sup>112</sup> Hugh Turberville, who was appointed while Prince Edward was lord of the islands, was a knight of his household.

However, not all the wardens of the islands were attached to the king's *familia*. Arnold Jean, the custodian between 1271 and 1275, was a Gascon. There is no evidence that he was a household knight: the only references to an Arnold Jean relate to a

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<sup>110</sup> CPR 1272-81, 81, 125; CCR 1279-88, 268; CPR 1292-1301, 81

<sup>111</sup> CPR 1272-81, 188, 389

<sup>112</sup> CLR 1226-40, 28, 478; CLR 1251-60, 208, 238; C62/50 m 8

merchant.<sup>113</sup>

Le Patourel stated that in thirteenth century the wardens were drawn from men who had been sheriffs, constables of castles, wardens of the forests, royal justices and wardens of the Cinque Ports as well as being soldiers. Both Grandson and Turberville had considerable administrative experience. The latter had been constable of Carmarthen and Cardigan, sheriff of Hereford and seneschal of Gascony in 1271-2. The former was a skilled diplomat and was important in Gascon administration.<sup>114</sup>

However, Grandson did not perform the duties of warden in person. His diplomatic activities and the other offices he held meant that he never visited the islands between 1272 and 1307. This was not unusual. Many of the wardens appointed during the thirteenth century were frequently absent. Bailiffs and sub wardens were appointed to deal with the daily administration of the islands.<sup>115</sup> One household knight, William de Grandson, was appointed in this capacity. He was selected because he was Otto's brother.<sup>116</sup>

The wardens were ultimately responsible for the activities of their sub-wardens and the administration of the islands. In 1292 William de St Remy, bailiff of Guernsey, was condemned for oppressive conduct and corruption. In 1293, the king demanded the seizure of William St Remy's goods. The order stated that if William's goods were not sufficient then Otto's goods were also be seized. In 1302 Grandson was instructed to appear before the king and his council to answer certain complaints from the island's

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<sup>113</sup> CLR 1245-51, 34, 36

<sup>114</sup> J. Le Patourel, *The Medieval Administration of the Channel Islands* (Oxford, 1937), 30; Moor, *Knights*, v, 56-7

<sup>115</sup> The distinction between the two officers was not defined until the end of Edward I's reign; Le Patourel, *Channel Islands*, 51

<sup>116</sup> CCR 1296-1302, 591

inhabitants.<sup>117</sup>

During the period 1294-8 the islands were feared to be in danger from an attack by the French. It was therefore decided that another resident knight should be appointed. Henry Cobeham was the keeper from 1294-7. He received protections for being on the island in 1294, 1295 and 1296.<sup>118</sup>

Unlike the early Angevin kings Edward spent most of his time in England. As a result the vast majority of the knights attached to his household were English. This altered briefly between 1286 and 1289 when the royal court was in Gascony and a large number of the native inhabitants joined Edward's *familia*. In many cases their stay in the household was very brief and they did not return to England with the king. The composition of the court was clearly affected quite drastically by the dominion in which it resided. A number of knights who had lands in Edward's other dominions were attached to the household while it was in England. The largest group of these were the knights who had lands in Ireland.

From the twelfth century royal servants had been rewarded by grants of land in Ireland. As a result a considerable number of household knights and their families had estates in Ireland and England. In many cases the main estates of these knights were still in England; this coupled with their duties as household knights meant that some of them rarely visited the lordship. This meant that their active involvement in Irish affairs was limited. There were exceptions such as Thomas de Clare and Geoffrey de Geneville, but membership of the royal household meant that even Irish knights who held no lands in England tended to spend a considerable amount

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<sup>117</sup> CCR 1288-96, 319; CCR 1296-1302, 591

<sup>118</sup> CPR 1292-1301, 73, 157, 222

of time away from Ireland. Edward I clearly did not use his household knights to promote peace and stability in Ireland although their loyalty to him must have been very valuable. However, their frequent visits to the English court did provide a link between Edward and the country he never visited.

Fewer household knights had lands in both Gascony and England. This suggests that there was a degree of integration and unity between the baronage of England and Ireland that did not exist between those of Gascony and England. However, the appearance of a large number of Gascons in the household between 1286 and 1289 strengthened the ties between Edward and key sections of the Gascon nobility. This was partly responsible for their loyalty to the crown between 1294 and 1298. If Edward had been forced to undertake a military expedition in Ireland he could surely have relied upon similar support from the household knights who had lands in Ireland.

The king's chief representative in his dominions was often a household knight. In Gascony and Ireland these were offices which had heavy duties attached to them and the knights undertook their responsibilities in person. However the wardenship of the Channel Islands was often bestowed upon a knight as a reward. The presence of a warden was required only during the war with France.

Below the position of chief justiciar or seneschal the part played by the knights in the administration of Edward's dominions was similar to that of their counterparts in England. Their involvement was overshadowed by prominent local men. In Ireland most of the posts were held by knights of the household of the justiciar. A larger number of household knights were involved in the administration of Gascony. This was a consequence of his two visits to Gascony. When the court was in England Edward bestowed



certain offices in England's local administration upon his knights. The positions in the duchy were filled by men serving in Gascony with the seneschal. However, when the court was in the duchy household knights were despatched to fill vacant posts and knights such as Robert Malet and Peter Ferrand were sent on judicial enquiries. Some of these knights held their offices only for the duration of Edward's visit. In the years following Edward's visit other Gascons who had been attached to Edward's *familia* received offices in the duchy's administration. Their connection with the royal household may have enabled them to gain preferment over other local men.

From this study of the role of the Gascon and Irish knights in Edward's dominions a number of conclusions can be drawn. The knights of Gascony and Ireland, like the English, were absorbed into the royal household mainly because of the assistance they could give him in the military campaigns. Edward did not primarily retain them so that he could employ them in the administration of his dominions or to direct and regulate the internal affairs of Gascony and Ireland. Membership of the royal household meant that they had to spend a considerable amount of time away from their estates. However, the links these knights provided with their homelands ensured the loyalty in a crisis of subjects whom he never or rarely saw.

## CHAPTER 7

### SCOTLAND AND WALES

The Edwardian conquest of Wales and the attempted conquest of Scotland represent Edward I's most notable success and failure. The household played an important part in the military campaigns in Scotland and Wales, but the role of the household knights in administering the newly or partially conquered territories also needs to be considered. The duties undertaken by the knights were very different from those they performed in English local administration because of the post-conquest hostility and chaos they encountered. It is therefore necessary to study their roles in Scotland and Wales separately.

The only office in English administration which was frequently held by a household knight was that of constable of a royal castle. This was because the custodian needed to be a man of military and administrative ability. One would therefore expect the knights to have a significant role in the administration of Scotland and Wales.

Edward I did recruit household knights from among the Welsh and Scottish marchers during the Welsh and Scottish wars but they did not form a significant proportion of the household.<sup>1</sup> However, the lands held by some of the knights in the marches were quite substantial. In the Welsh marches Roger Clifford the elder held Clifford's castle in South Wales. Roger Lestrangle was lord of Ellesmere in Shropshire, John Lestrangle V was lord of Knockin, Roger Mortimer the elder was lord of Wigmore, Geoffrey de

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter 1

Geneville, lord of Ewyas Lacy and Ludlow and William de Braose was lord of Gower.<sup>2</sup> Owen de la Pole, the only Welshman to be recruited as a household knight, was the eldest son of Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, the holder of the barony of Powys. Gruffydd had joined the king in 1274 and had remained loyal during both Welsh wars so his land was given back to him intact in 1278 and 1284. When Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn died in 1286 the barony was divided between his six sons; the five younger sons held their land from Owen. Therefore Edward I gained control over a group of Welsh lords by having Owen as a member of his household.<sup>3</sup>

Among the household knights who held land in the Scottish marches between 1296 and 1307 was Robert Clifford, the holder of half the hereditary sheriffdom of Westmorland. John Cromwell, another member of Edward's *familia*, married Idonia, the widow of Roger Leyburn,<sup>4</sup> in 1302. This meant that two of Edward I's knights had control over the most important lordship of the western march. It dominated Cumbria and controlled the western entrance to Scotland.<sup>5</sup> However, the other household knights from the borders boasted much smaller land-holding than their counterparts in Wales. William de Felton held the manor of Edlingham in Northumberland.<sup>6</sup> With the exception of the Scottish knights who were recruited to the household and then rebelled, such as Simon Fraser and Reginald Crawford, the lands of the household knights provided a solid block

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<sup>2</sup> *G.E.C.*, i, 337; iii, 276; vii, 347; xii, part i, 346, 351, 608; Moor, *Knights*, i, 144; *CPR 1288-96*, 204; *CWR*, 258

<sup>3</sup> R. Morgan, 'The Barony of Powys 1275-1360', *Welsh History Review*, x, (1980-1)

<sup>4</sup> See chapter 1

<sup>5</sup> Hall, 'The Lords and Lordship of the West March, Cumberland and Westmorland 1250-1350', 82-3, 208-9; *CIPM*, iii, no. 70

<sup>6</sup> *G.E.C.*, v, 289

of support for Edward I in the marches.<sup>7</sup>

The loyal presence provided by the household knights in the Welsh marches was strengthened on 2 June 1282 when Edward I granted Roger Mortimer the younger the lands of Llywelyn Fychan. These lands became known as the barony of Chirk. This was part of an attempt to create a new block of marcher lordships. John Warenne, earl of Surrey, was given Bromfield and Yale. Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, was endowed with Denbigh and Reginald Grey received Dyffryn Clwyd.<sup>8</sup> Robert de Creuker who was in receipt of fees and robes in 1285-6 and in 1289-90 was also granted land in Wales. He left family estates in Kent in return for lands in Flintshire and Dyffryn Clwyd. This was part of an attempt to settle native Englishmen in the area.<sup>9</sup> However, his right to the lands was challenged and he appears to have exchanged them for two manors in Cambridge.<sup>10</sup>

A number of household knights received lands in Scotland. The grants were probably made at Carlisle in 1298 after the king's victory at Falkirk. John St John acquired land in Galloway and Robert Clifford received the castle of Caerlaverock.<sup>11</sup> The lands of Nicholas Creighton were bestowed upon John St John, while Adam de Swinburn received the lands of John Montgomery which the bailiffs of the earl of Lincoln claimed belonged to Henry de Lacy. Walter de Beauchamp was also endowed with estates in Scotland, This may have been the land of Gilbert de Hayes which Aymer de Valence

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<sup>7</sup> For those that rebelled see chapter 1

<sup>8</sup> This suggests that this land was granted to him not because he was a household knight but because he came from a marcher family of standing and like the other men was a trusted friend of the king

<sup>9</sup> R.R Davis, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford, 1987), 363, 370; *CPR 1272-81*, 297; *CWR*, 233; *CPR 1281-92*, 60; *Cal Chanc Warrants*, 9

<sup>10</sup> See chapter 9

<sup>11</sup> *Chron. Lanercost*, 194

recommended he should receive.<sup>12</sup>

Unfortunately, there is no complete list of those who received lands. However, at the July parliament of 1302 it was decided to force those who held land in Scotland to provide men to serve in the Scottish castles. The policy was unsuccessful and was not repeated but it reveals who had been granted estates, including William Latimer, John and Peter de Chauvent, Nicholas Malemaynes, Simon Lindsay, John Botetourt, William de Cantilupe, John de Merk, Robert de Scales and Walter de Teye. The number of men they were ordered to provide must have reflected the size of the lands they received. John Botetourt had to provide four men, William de Cantilupe, two and Robert de Scales and John de Merk had to provide one each.<sup>13</sup>

Edward I's grant of the barony of Chirk to Roger Mortimer the younger made a positive contribution to the strengthening of the Welsh march but it seems unlikely that his gift of lands in Scotland had a comparable effect. Guisborough stated that many of the grants of 1298 were made in 'hope'. He meant that many of the estates that had been granted had not actually been conquered. This applied to the 1,000 marks of land given to John St John in Galloway. As he was unable to receive money from these lands the king gave him the equivalent amount of money, rents and land in England until he was able to do so. As many of the lands remained unconquered they can hardly have provided an effective bulwark of support and loyalty.<sup>14</sup> Edward I's real motivation in granting the lands was to give his household knights an incentive to fight in

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<sup>12</sup> CPR 1296-1301, 428; CDS, ii, no. 1615

<sup>13</sup> CDS, ii, nos 1045, 1183, 1321; v, no. 305

<sup>14</sup> M.C. Prestwich, 'Colonial Scotland' *Scotland and England 1268-1815*, ed. R.A. Mason (Edinburgh, 1987), 8; *Guisborough*, 329; CDS, ii, no. 1153

Scotland.<sup>15</sup>

The household knights who held lands in the marches had an important role to play in protecting border areas from further encroachment or attack by Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, Robert Bruce and other rebel leaders. The knights could be relied upon to keep their lands in the marches loyal to the king. In April 1282, William de Braose the elder was instructed to prevent his people in Gower from communicating with the Welsh rebels and providing them with supplies. He was ordered to imprison anyone who disobeyed. In July 1282 he was asked to remain in west Wales and support the local garrisons rather than join the king at Rhuddlan. During the same year Roger Mortimer the younger had to ensure that no victuals from his area reached the Welsh in Berwyn.<sup>16</sup>

In November 1287 William de Braose, Roger Lestrangle, John Lestrangle, Roger Mortimer of Chirk, Owen de la Pole and John Tregoz were instructed to dwell on their lands in Wales and the border until the rebellion of Rhys ap Maredudd was over. These orders were repeated in November 1288 along with instructions to send out spies to bring back information on the movements of Rhys ap Maredudd. Rhys appears to have been received by some men in Gower. William de Braose was ordered to proclaim throughout his lands that nobody should receive Maredudd upon pain of death.<sup>17</sup>

The knights were always the first to respond and defend the land if it was under attack. The knights of the Welsh marches were most active in the years before 1294. They faced the piecemeal

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<sup>15</sup> This was particularly important in the aftermath of the problems over military service in 1297 although the household had remained loyal to the king during that time; See chapter 8

<sup>16</sup> *CWR*, 247, 253; *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 84

<sup>17</sup> *CWR*, 315-6, 319, 322; *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 166

encroachments by Llywelyn ap Gruffydd in the early 1270s<sup>18</sup> and the full scale rebellions of 1282, 1294-5 and 1297. A letter from the Chancellor to Roger Mortimer in 1273 reveals that the Welsh were plundering Brecon and asked for Roger's help.<sup>19</sup>

The second Welsh war was precipitated by Llywelyn ap Gruffydd's brother, Prince Dafydd, who stormed the castle of Harwarden which belonged to Roger Clifford on 22 March. Roger Clifford the elder was captured.<sup>20</sup> Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, the captain of the march, was instructed to pursue the rebels. John Lestrangle and Roger Lestrangle accompanied him. Bogo de Knoville received similar orders he was told to relate to Roger Mortimer the king's instructions for pursuing the malefactors.

After the attack on Harwarden, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd turned his forces towards Oswestry and other castles, including Carreg Cennen. A letter, probably from Gilbert de Clare to John Kirkby, demanded that William de Braose join Clare for an attack on the Welsh who had taken the castles of Carreg Cennen and Llandovery.<sup>21</sup>

The household knights from the Welsh borders were also employed in negotiations with the Welsh. In 1274, Roger Clifford was part of a delegation which met the Welsh representatives at the ford of Montgomery in May. The purpose of the meeting was to make a truce

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<sup>18</sup> The marcher lords, among them household knights such as Roger Mortimer of Wigmore attempted to improve independently their position and power in the marches in the 1270s. The contribution this made to the growing tension between Edward I and Llywelyn ap Gruffydd is well known. See Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, 312; *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 15, 17-8, 26-7, 52, 94

<sup>19</sup> *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 109

<sup>20</sup> *Rishanger*, 97; 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, A.D. 1-1291', *Annales Monastici*, ed. H.R. Luard (Rolls Series 1864-9), ii, 39; *Flores*, iii, 56. *Flores* dates Clifford's capture as 11 April and says that the attack took place at Flint and Rhuddlan. This is clearly incorrect. The writ informing Roger Mortimer of the situation was dated 25 March. *CWR*, 212

<sup>21</sup> Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, 348; *CWR*, 212, 244; *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 44

between Llywelyn ap Gruffydd and Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford. In November 1274, Grimbald de Pauncefoot and Master Henry de Bray were ordered to maintain the peace between the burgesses of Abergavenny and the Prince of Wales.<sup>22</sup>

On 8 May 1275 a letter from the king to Bogo de Knoville enclosed a missive from Llywelyn ap Gruffydd. Knoville was asked to meet the Prince of Wales at the ford of Montgomery. Llywelyn ap Gruffydd intended to make amends for the trespasses and injuries he had done. This commission appears to have been ineffective. A letter from Bogo to the king dated early 1276 reveals that Llywelyn had done nothing to redress the damages.<sup>23</sup>

The role of Roger Clifford the younger, Roger Leyburn the younger, Thomas Multon, Michael Upsale and Andrew le Rat who held land in Scotland and the Scottish border during the 1270s and 1280s differed greatly from that of their peers in Wales. Relations between England and Scotland were peaceful.<sup>24</sup>

The role of the household knights in the Scottish march changed in the late 1290s. In 1296 Edward I launched a campaign into Scotland. He wished to force John Balliol, whom he had chosen as Alexander III's successor after the death of Margaret of Norway, to surrender three major Scottish castles. From then to the end of the reign the defence of their area from attacks and the extension of English power into Scotland became a priority of household knights who held land in the Scottish march.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> *CPR 1272-81*, 48, 126

<sup>23</sup> *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 57, 82; *CPR 1266-72*, 511, 596; *CIMP*, ii, no. 525

<sup>24</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 357-8

<sup>25</sup> W.C. Dickinson, *Scotland From the Earliest Times to 1603*, 3rd ed. revised by A.A.M. Duncan (Oxford, 1977), 140-3, 147-8; *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, ed. E.L.G Stones (1965), 56-7; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 358-366



Robert Clifford spent nearly all of the years between 1296 and 1307 in Scotland or the marches. He and other marcher lords provided the first response to the rebellions in Scotland in 1297 and 1306.<sup>26</sup> The other household knights who held land in the marches figure less prominently in Scotland's defence than their counterparts in Wales. This was because they were fewer in number and, with the exception of Clifford and Cromwell, they held much smaller lordships, often further from the border. Felton had a manor in Northumberland. He spent most of the years from 1296 to 1307 in Scotland serving as constable of Linlithgow.<sup>27</sup>

The household knights were often given official posts in the newly acquired lands. In both Wales and Scotland household knights were appointed as wardens of the march. In November 1276, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore was named as the captain of Shropshire, Staffordshire and Hereford. At the renewal of conflict in 1282 he was reappointed as the captain of the king's garrison of Montgomery and Oswestry and keeper of the surrounding border areas. After Mortimer's death in October 1282 the position was filled by Roger Lestrangle, lord of Ellesmere.<sup>28</sup>

The first household knight to be appointed as warden of the Scottish march was Robert Clifford. On 2 April 1296 he was chosen to keep and defend the Scottish march with 100 men at arms and 500 foot soldiers until three weeks after Easter. He was formally reappointed as captain of the Scottish march on 18 October 1297.<sup>29</sup> This appointment was renewed and extended on 25 November 1298 when

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<sup>26</sup> See above, vol. 1, pp 92-92, 96

<sup>27</sup> *Liber Quot*, 64, 137, 166; *CDS*, ii, nos 1321, 1707, 1933, p 512; *CPR 1292-1301*, 593; E101/8/23; E101/9/24; E101/364/13, f 40v

<sup>28</sup> *CPR 1272-81*, 171; *CWR*, 212, 231, 244

<sup>29</sup> It is possible that he had already assumed the position earlier in the year when he and Percy commanded the important raid into Annandale which led to the treaty of Irvine

he was named as the king's lieutenant and captain of the march in Cumberland, Westmorland and Annandale as far as the bounds of Roxburgh. He maintained this position until 1300. He was mentioned as captain of Westmorland on 17 July 1299.<sup>30</sup>

John St John succeeded Robert Clifford on 5 January 1300. He was appointed as the king's captain and lieutenant in Annandale, Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancaster. He retained the office until his death in 1302. After John St John's death Richard Siward was appointed as warden of Galloway and Annandale until further notice. John Botetourt was chosen as the new captain of Cumberland, Annandale, Westmorland and Lancaster in January 1303. A similar position was given to William Latimer the elder. He was selected as the king's captain and lieutenant in Nottingham, Derbyshire, York and Northumberland on 25 November 1298.<sup>31</sup>

The captains and wardens of the march had to defend the area from attack and to extend the sphere of English power. When Clifford was appointed in 1296 he was ordered to do his utmost to take hostages in the forest of Selkirk, Liddesdale, Annandale, Nithsdale and Galloway. In December 1297 Clifford, accompanied by 100 men and 20 foot soldiers, led a raid from Carlisle into Annandale. He burnt ten townships and then withdrew.<sup>32</sup>

The defence of the Scottish march remained a priority of Clifford's successors. When John St John was appointed in 1300 there was unrest in Galloway and Caerlaverock had been captured by the Scots. The king warned him that the Scots were waiting for an opportunity to attack and ordered him to be very careful. John was

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<sup>30</sup> Dickinson, *Scotland*, 155; *Documents*, ed. Stevenson ii, 36; *CDS*, ii, nos 734, 1032; *CPR 1292-1301*, 315; *CDS*, v, p 158

<sup>31</sup> *CDS*, ii, p 358, nos 1325, 1437; *The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds 1212-1301*, ed. A. Grandsen (1964), 154

<sup>32</sup> *CDS* ii, no. 734; *Guisborough*, 307; *Rishanger*, 183

planning to make a foray against the enemy. Edward gave him various instructions concerning the expedition; if he captured any castles he had to ensure that they were well stocked before he passed them on to whoever the king appointed as constable.<sup>33</sup>

After his abortive attempt to conduct a major winter campaign in 1299, Edward I did not attempt any further large-scale expeditions at that time of the year. However, he did expect his captain in the marches to keep up the pressure on the enemy by making a series of forays. On 17 November 1301 John St John was ordered to have 120 men at arms ready to make a series of forays into Galloway until the following Easter. These activities must have been curtailed by the truce which came into operation on 26 January 1302 and lasted until November.<sup>34</sup>

After the end of the truce in November 1302 the new warden of the march, John Botetourt, recommenced the winter raids. In January 1304 he was preparing to make a foray against the enemy, retaining Robert Clifford and John St John, the son of the former warden of the march, to accompany him.<sup>35</sup>

The defence of the Scottish march was not without its difficulties. John St John was instructed to defend the march with 20 or 30 men at arms and as many hobelars as he wished. However, in February 1300 he wrote to the king and informed him that the men of the nearby area were refusing to come to his aid. Edward I responded by giving him the power to distrain and punish all those within his jurisdiction who would not assist him.<sup>36</sup>

As wardens of the Scottish march Clifford, Botetourt and John

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<sup>33</sup> *CCR 1296-1302*, 334; *Documents*, ed. Stevenson, 410

<sup>34</sup> *CDS*, ii, no. 1257

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1437

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1126, 1133-4; *CPR 1292-1301*, 491

St John had the power to accept those Scots who wished to join Edward I into the king's peace. Acting upon the king's orders the wardens were also allowed to restore land to those rebels who agreed to join the king.<sup>37</sup>

The wardens had ultimate authority over the castles within Annandale, notably Dumfries and Lochmaben. Each castle had a separate constable but the warden would assist in their defence if they were attacked. He might also demand the arrears of pay for their men. Some of his own men were often stationed at the castles. In August 1298 Robert Clifford defended the peel of Lochmaben from Robert Bruce. In February 1299 he demanded pay for the garrison's crossbowmen and for those coming to join him from Carlisle. On 30 April 1300 John St John informed the king that Lochmaben and Dumfries were poorly supplied. The king responded by ordering the treasurer to obtain victuals from Ireland.<sup>38</sup>

Under the king's guidance the wardens had some discretion in the making of appointments within their area. On 23 April 1299 Clifford was empowered by the king to appoint Richard Siward or some other suitable person as warden of Nithsdale. The wardens were also involved in the preparations for a major campaign in Scotland. On 30 March 1304, John Botetourt was sent to the earl of Carrick on business. His mission was to obtain from the earl a siege engine to be used at the forthcoming siege of Stirling.<sup>39</sup>

The king's captain and lieutenant in the Scottish march took part in some of the negotiations to secure a peaceful settlement with the Scots. In March 1301 John St John was one of the English envoys chosen to treat with the representatives of the king of

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<sup>37</sup> *CDS*, ii, nos 1154, 1244; *CCR 1296-1302*, 421

<sup>38</sup> *CCR 1296-1302*, 233, 271, 286; *CDS*, ii, nos 1057, 1084; v, p 161

<sup>39</sup> *CDS*, ii, nos 1031, 1067, 1488; *Documents*, ed. Stevenson, 479, 483

France. The meeting took place at Canterbury and discussed the trespasses committed by the Scots. These negotiations did not have an immediate effect; it was a year before a truce was finally agreed.<sup>40</sup>

The role of Mortimer the elder and Roger Lestrangle as captain of the Welsh marches was strikingly similar to that of Clifford, St John and Botetourt in the Scottish marches. Their main duty was to defend the area assigned to them and to harass the Welsh. The household forces did not form one unit in 1277 and 1282. They were dispersed between a number of commanders and Mortimer as captain of the march had a detachment under his control.<sup>41</sup> In late November 1282 Roger Lestrangle wrote to the king informing him that he had been visiting the marches in his neighbourhood. Unfortunately, the enemy was lying beyond Berwyn. Roger stated that the mountains were so difficult and repellent that no army could pass through them. Lestrangle promised to guard the land carefully so that supplies could not reach the Welsh. At the end of the letter he reported that Llywelyn had advanced and that he and his men were going to move forward and meet him.<sup>42</sup> Another letter from Lestrangle dated 11 December 1282 reveals that the final result of this encounter was the death of the Welsh Prince and the 'flower of his army'.<sup>43</sup>

The captains of the Welsh march, like their Scottish counterparts, were empowered to receive rebels into the king's

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<sup>40</sup> *CPR 1292-1301*, 580

<sup>41</sup> See chapter 2

<sup>42</sup> *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 84

<sup>43</sup> *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 83. This letter confirms Guisborough's statement that it was Lestrangle and not Giffard or Mortimer the younger who was leading the force that killed Llywelyn ap Gruffydd. See *Guisborough*, 220-1; *Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. T. Stapleton, (Camden Society, 1849), 57-8; Ann. London., 90; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 193-4; L. B. Smith, 'The death of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd: The Narratives Reconsidered', *Welsh History Review*, xi (1982), 200-14

peace. They had ultimate authority over the castles in their areas, which in Wales were Montgomery and Oswestry, even though these castles retained their separate constables.<sup>44</sup>

The major difference between the captain of the Welsh marches and the warden of the Scottish marches was the duration of the office. Roger Mortimer the elder and Roger Lestrangle were appointed as captains of the marches only during the wars of 1277-8 and 1282-4. The office did not exist in the intervening period or the years following 1284. In contrast the post of warden of the Scottish march was of great significance throughout the period 1296 to 1307, even in the years when there were no major campaigns. This was due to the comparative success of the conquest in Wales compared with that in Scotland. The almost constant threat of rebellion or attack from rebels in the unconquered areas of Scotland meant that the presence of a warden of the Scottish march remained vital. The responsibilities of those household knights who were keepers of the Scottish march must have been heavier and more varied particularly when the king returned to England.

The wardens performed their duties in person, as was not the case with some of the purely administrative offices that the knights held in England. The knights spent the vast duration of their tenure in office in Wales or in Scotland, except during a truce. John St John, who was appointed in January 1300, was at Lochmaben from 12 January 1300 to 24 June. He was still there in July. John was at Caerlaverock with the rest of <sup>the</sup> king's army in August and received wages for being in Scotland until 9 November. He was absent at least briefly in March 1301 when he went to meet the French delegation at Canterbury. John was back at Carrick in September and was in Scotland throughout the winter making forays

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<sup>44</sup> CWR, 221

against the enemy. He was probably absent during the truce of January to November 1302; he was at Westminster in July.<sup>45</sup>

The household knights who were appointed as wardens and captains of the marches were men who could be trusted to be loyal to the king. They also tended to be men who held land in the marches and who had considerable military experience. Clifford was a major landowner in the western march. John St John had been granted land in Galloway in September 1298. John Botetourt had also received land in Scotland at some unspecified location. William Latimer had estates in Yorkshire and later on he received lands in Scotland from the king. In the Welsh marches, Roger Mortimer was lord of Wigmore and Roger Lestrangle was lord of Ellesmere.<sup>46</sup>

All the men had a great deal of military experience. John St John served the king in Wales in 1277. He had been joint commander of the forces with John of Brittany in Gascony in October 1294. In spite of the disaster at Bellegarde which led to his capture John St John had proved himself a competent military commander.<sup>47</sup> John Botetourt had a similar wealth of experience. He had served in Wales from 1282 to 1284. He was sub-captain of the king's fleet in 1294 and he sailed for Gascony with a small force in 1295. He accompanied Edward to Flanders in 1297 and fought at Falkirk in 1298 and Caerlaverock in 1300.<sup>48</sup> William Latimer had served in Wales during the second Welsh war and in Gascony in 1294.<sup>49</sup>

Roger Mortimer the elder had gained experience both in forays

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<sup>45</sup> *CDS*, ii, nos 1222, 1257; v, nos 19, 87, 243; *CPR 1292-1301*, 486, 504, 580; *Cal Chanc Warrants*, 111; *Liber Quot*, 139, 183

<sup>46</sup> See above, vol. 2, p 42

<sup>47</sup> *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 105; *CPR 1292-1301*, 84, 294; *CCR 1288-96*, 361; *CCR 1296-1302*, 83; *Cal Chanc Warrants*, 55; *Guisborough*, 519-20, 262-3

<sup>48</sup> *CPR 1292-1301*, 126, 149, 245; E101/351/9; Bl Add Ms 7965 f 64; E101/6/40; E101/6/37; *Liber Quot*, 196-7

<sup>49</sup> *CCR 1296-1302*, 7; *Guisborough*, 219-20, 244-6; E101/4/1; E101/4/8

against the encroachments of the Welsh in the 1260s and in the civil turmoils of the 1260s. He fought with the king at Northampton in 1264 and he was in charge of one of the contingents of Edward at Evesham. Roger was with Edmund, earl of Lancaster in 1272 during the siege of Chartley Manor. This was the result of a dispute between Edmund and Robert de Ferrers.<sup>50</sup> Roger Lestrangle had served in the first Welsh war and with Roger Mortimer before his demise in the second Welsh war.<sup>51</sup>

By the period 1272-1307 English castles were of military importance only during a time of crisis. In contrast the Welsh and Scottish castles were primarily instruments of military domination. In Wales Edward I had old Welsh castles such as Hope and Dolwyddelan revitalized and a series of new castles built. Flint, Rhuddlan, Aberystwyth and Builth were begun after the first Welsh war. Conwy, Harlech and Caernarfon were constructed after the second Welsh war and Beaumaris following the last Welsh revolt of 1294-5.<sup>52</sup>

In Scotland Edward was less ambitious, probably because of the financial situation and the expense of the Welsh castle building programme. Only three new castles, at Inverkeithing, Tullibody and Polmaise were planned. There is no evidence to suggest that any of these castles were ever completed. At Tullibody the English were driven away by the Scots. Similarly the improvement of existing

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<sup>50</sup> *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 17-18, 52; *Guisborough*, 189, 200; *Flores*, iii, 31-2 refers to a rising in the north put down by Edmund and Roger Mortimer. As Prestwich points out it was probably to the dispute at Chartley that the author is referring.

<sup>51</sup> C47/2/4

<sup>52</sup> Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, 315, 358-9; J.G. Edwards, 'Edward I's Castle Building in Wales', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxxii (1946), 15; *KW*, i, 309; *Cal Chanc Warrants Various*, 241



fortifications was much more limited than in Wales. Fortified peels were often constructed but the scale of the work was kept to a minimum.<sup>53</sup> However, the difference in the scale of construction work in Scotland did not mean that the castles were less important. In fact because large areas remained under Scottish control there was a greater need for the castles as bases of English authority.

In both Wales and Scotland a significant proportion of the men appointed as constables of castles were household knights, particularly during the period of conquest. Castell y Bere in north Wales was captured by the English on 25 April 1283. Roger Lestrangle was the leader of the siege and he initially held the castle. He delivered it to Walter de Huntercombe on 20 March 1284. The next constable was Hugh Turberville. His tenure was broken by a visit to Gascony and Roger Lestrangle resumed his guardianship. After his return, Hugh held the castle until his death in 1292. So, from its capture until 1292 Castell y Bere was held by household knights.<sup>54</sup>

In total, thirteen household knights served as constables of Welsh castles. Some, such as William Felton, chosen as constable of Beaumaris on 24 August 1295, were the keeper of only one castle. Into that category fall William Leyburn, constable of Criccieth, Hugh d'Audley, appointed as constable of Montgomery in November 1307, John de Bevillard, keeper of Harlech, Walter de Huntercombe, the constable of Castell y Bere and Gerald de St Laurent, the guardian of Flint. Other knights held more than one castle. Roger Lestrangle was placed in charge of Oswestry and Dinas Bran in 1277, and of Builth prior to October 14 1282. William Cicon held Rhuddlan until 1283 and then he became keeper of Conwy which he held until

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<sup>53</sup> *KW*, ii, 413, 418-20; *Documents*, ed. Stevenson, ii, 333

<sup>54</sup> *CWR*, 284, 302

his death. Bogo de Knoville was the guardian of Oswestry and Montgomery in 1274 and of Dolforwyn in 1278.<sup>55</sup>

Occasionally a household knight was appointed as the constable of a private castle if the heir was a minor or if the original owner had forfeited the land. Roger Lestrangle became the caretaker of Welshpool in 1294 because Owen de la Pole had died and his heir was a minor. After the first Welsh war Bogo de Knoville was asked to keep the lands of Cydewain and Kerry and the castle of Dolforwyn. He held the lands until they were granted to Roger Mortimer of Wigmore who had successfully besieged the castle in 1277.<sup>56</sup>

Four household knights were guardians of castles because it was one of the responsibilities of another office they held. Guncelin de Badlesmere was given power over Flint and Rhuddlan in 1278 because he was justice of Chester and keeper of the cantreds of Tegeingl and Rhos. Otto and William de Grandson and Hugh Turberville served as justice and deputy justices of north Wales. They were theoretically in charge of all the castles of the principality of north Wales. Bogo de Knoville and Robert Tibetot, justices of west Wales, were the custodians of the five castles in the region, Carmarthen, Cardigan, Aberystwyth, Carreg Cennen and Dinefwr.<sup>57</sup>

The extent of the knights' responsibilities for these castles varied. Each of the castles in north Wales had its own constable, such as Leyburn at Criccieth. However, Otto de Grandson

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<sup>55</sup> *CFR 1272-1307*, 38-9; *CPR 1272-81*, 256, 270, 297, 310, 464; *CCR 1272-9*, 398; *CWR*, 182, 241, 284; *KW*, i, 342

<sup>56</sup> *CPR 1292-1301*, 88; *CPR 1272-81*, 270, 297; *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 31

<sup>57</sup> R.A. Griffiths, *Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages*, i (Cardiff, 1972), 255; Moor, *Knights* i, 27; ii, 9; Byerly, *Records 1286-9*, nos 803, 3045; *CPR 1281-92*, 302; *CWR*, 296, 302; *CFR 1272-1307*, 317

as justice of north Wales does seem to have been involved in the castle building programme.<sup>58</sup> Badlesmere's involvement with Flint and Rhuddlan was limited because the castles had their own keepers of the works, their own receivers and later their own constables. In contrast Bogo de Knoville was actually the constable of the five castles which lay within the jurisdiction of the justice of west Wales. His successor Robert Tibetot had a succession of deputy constables but Bogo de Knoville did not. He must have taken care of the castles himself.<sup>59</sup>

Household knights also formed a significant proportion of the constables of Scottish castles. Of the thirteen castle garrisons listed for the payment of their wages in 1306-7, seven of the named constables were household knights. The proportion had been slightly less earlier on in the reign. In a document relating to the Scottish garrisons between August and September 1302 four out of the eleven constables were members of the household.<sup>60</sup>

In total twenty-two household knights were constables of Scottish castles during the reign. Following the treaty of Norham in 1291 Norman Darcy was named as constable of Stirling, and Ralph Basset of Drayton, constable of Edinburgh on 13 August 1291. William de Grandson was to be the guardian of Roxburgh and Nicholas de Segrave the constable of Ayr and Dumbarton. Richard Siward, who may have just joined the king, was chosen as the keeper of the three castles in Galloway and Nithsdale; Dumfries, Kirkcudbright and Wigton.<sup>61</sup> These appointments were only temporary while the king decided between the different claimants to the Scottish throne.

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<sup>58</sup> See below, vol. 2, p 80

<sup>59</sup> Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, 193

<sup>60</sup> *CDS*, ii, no. 1321; v, no. 492 (xii)

<sup>61</sup> *CDS*, ii, nos 517, 547; v, no. 589; *Rot. Scot.* i, 3, 5

They held the castles until John Balliol was enthroned as the King of the Scots in November 1292.

The main appointments took place in the years after Edward I's campaign of 1296. Osbert de Spaldington was selected as constable of Berwick on 16 May 1296. Many more were appointed in the years following Edward I's victory at Falkirk. Hugh d'Audley was made the new constable of Berwick on October 22 1298. The new keeper of Lochmaben was Robert de Cantilupe. John Kingston was appointed as constable and sheriff of Edinburgh in November 1298. He still held the office in 1307. Simon Fraser was warden of Selkirk forest and in charge of its fortification in 1298. One of Fraser's successors after he had deserted to the Scots was Hugh d'Audley.<sup>62</sup>

John d'Oyley was chosen as the constable of Dumfries in 1299. In 1301 this office passed to another household knight, Arnald Guillaume. Robert Felton followed the brief tenure of Richard Siward at Lochmaben in 1299-1300. Siward went on to be the constable and sheriff of Fife in 1302-4. William Felton, who was probably Robert's brother, was the guardian of Linlithgow from 1 September 1302 until 1305. William FitzClay and William Francis both served terms as keepers of Kirkintilloch.

Simon Lindsay was appointed as warden of the originally private castle of Hermitage in 1300 following the death of the owner, John Wake. William Latimer the elder was chosen as constable of Berwick in 1300. He held the office until 1301. Robert Clifford, John St John and John Botetourt as wardens of the Scottish march had ultimate authority over Lochmaben and Dumfries.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> *Rot. Scot.*, i, 23; *Documents*, ed. Stevenson, ii, 302, 318-325, 357; *CPR 1292-1301*, 392, 592; *CDS*, ii, no. 1033; v, p 158

<sup>63</sup> *CDS*, ii, nos 1057, 1101, 1116, 1154, 1165, 1171, 1256, 1321, 1350, 1371, 1529, 1686, 1962; *Documents*, ed. Stevenson, ii, 393, 412-3, 424, 494; *Rot. Scot.*, 35; *CCR 1296-1302*, 288

Household knights continued to be appointed as constables after the promulgation of the ordinance for the ruling of Scotland in 1305.<sup>64</sup> Eble des Montz was selected as constable of Jedburgh in January 1306. Other household knights appointed in 1306 included Robert Clifford as warden of Selkirk, Richard Siward became the keeper of Dumfries and Gilbert Pecche was chosen as the guardian of Aberdeen. In 1307 Peter de Brompton was appointed as custodian of Aboyne.<sup>65</sup>

Household knights were appointed as constables of Scottish and Welsh castles because of their availability. The fear of a rebellion or uprising meant that the constables had to spend most of their tenure in office at their post. The opportunity for rebellion created by an absent constable was amply demonstrated at Castell y Bere in 1294.<sup>66</sup> The constables became reluctant to leave their castles unattended. In 1299 Robert Felton, custodian of Lochmaben, wrote to the king's treasurer asking for his robes. Robert stated that he hadn't received any clothes for a long time and he could not leave the castle to buy any.<sup>67</sup>

Knights attached to the households of other lords had too many obligations to fulfill this commitment. Knights of the royal household employed solely in the service of the king had no such ties. John Kingston was constable of Edinburgh between 1298 and 1307. There is no mention of his being involved in any administrative activities in England during that period. He was granted

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<sup>64</sup> See below, vol. 2, pp 75-6

<sup>65</sup> Dickinson, *Scotland*, 159; *Anglo Scottish Relations*, ed. Stones, 245; *CDS*, v, no. 492 (xii)

<sup>66</sup> After the death of Hugh Turberville the castle passed to Robert FitzWalter. During his absence the Welsh rebels besieged the castle. See *CWR*, 360-1; Morris, *Welsh Wars*, 171

<sup>67</sup> *CDS*, ii, no. 1101

a year's protection for staying in Scotland in November 1298 and this was renewed in October 1299. Over the next few years he was constantly receiving payments for himself and his retinue in the garrison at Edinburgh. This does not mean that he never left the castle. In September 1301 he was at Bothwell castle and in 1302 he must have spent some time at Linlithgow because he was the keeper of its works.<sup>68</sup>

William Felton became constable of Linlithgow in September 1302. He spent most of the next few years in Scotland. William was absent on 8 October 1302 because someone had to fill his place at the castle's court. From November to December 1302 he was paid for having fifteen horses at Linlithgow. Felton was mentioned as being in Scotland in May 1303. In April 1304 the king wrote to him at Linlithgow concerning the harrassment of the castle by the garrison at Stirling. In March 1305 he and others received their arrears in robes and wages for the period of time they had served at Linlithgow.<sup>69</sup>

Those household knights who were constables of Welsh castles spent most of their tenure in office in Wales. William Leyburn, constable of Criccieth, did not accompany the king to Gascony in 1286 nor did he go on the expedition to the duchy in 1294. The amount of time which the household knights spent at their castles in Wales decreased in the late 1290s as the threat of an uprising in Wales receded. William Felton, the constable of Beaumaris between 1294 and 1300 received a protection to go to Ireland in 1295 for two years. He served in Flanders in 1297 and fought at Falkirk in 1298.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> *CPR 1292-1301*, 385, 446; *CDS* ii, no. 1271; v, p 185

<sup>69</sup> *CDS*, ii, no. 1655; v, no. 175

<sup>70</sup> *CPR 1292-1301*, 141; *CCR 1296-1302*, 208-9; *Documents*, ed.

If a household knight had to be absent a deputy was appointed. In 1307, Robert Clifford was given custody of Selkirk. Walter Burgdon was appointed to look after it on his behalf.<sup>71</sup> William St Albans was Bogo de Knoville's deputy at Montgomery in 1288.<sup>72</sup> Hugh Turberville, constable of Castell y Bere joined the king in Gascony in 1286. Roger Lestrangle took over as constable during his absence. However, it is not certain that Lestrangle was actually in Wales or at Castell y Bere, during his tenure in office. He was also the justice of the forest north of the Trent and he had many obligations in England.<sup>73</sup>

Household knights were also chosen as constables of Scottish and Welsh castles because they were loyal and trusted servants of the king. The castles were surrounded by a potentially hostile population. A disloyal constable could have disastrous consequences. Fraser was warden of Selkirk forest and the fortification there in 1298-99. In August 1299 he changed sides and joined the Scots. This allowed them to make major advances in the Selkirk region.<sup>74</sup>

Fraser was an exception. As a Scottish knight he was subjected to pressures and temptations unknown to most members of the king's *familia*. Most household knights were appointed precisely because they had no Scottish or Welsh ties and could therefore be expected to be loyal. None of the thirteen knights who held office in Wales

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ii, 393; E101/6/37

<sup>71</sup> CDS, v, no. 492 (xii)

<sup>72</sup> A.J. Taylor, 'Incident at Montgomery on New Years Day, 1288', *Studies in Castles and Castle-Building*, 179-84. This tells of an interesting little case which was brought against the deputy constable.

<sup>73</sup> CWR, 267, 293, 302, 325; CPR 1281-92, 267, 301

<sup>74</sup> For the rebellion of Simon Fraser see chapter 1

were Welshmen.<sup>75</sup> Some knights, Hugh Turberville, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, Roger Lestrangle and Bogo de Knoville, had lands in the marches but not in Wales.<sup>76</sup>

Of the twenty-two household knights appointed as constables of Scottish castles, three came from Scotland; Fraser, Richard Siward and Simon Lindsay. Many of the knights had no lands in Scotland. Hugh d'Audley's lands were in Oxfordshire, Robert de Cantilupe's estates were in Essex and Wiltshire, Arnald Guillaume was a Gascon, Robert Felton was a Norfolk landowner, who also held estates in the Welsh borders and Osbert de Spaldington had lands in Lincolnshire.<sup>77</sup> However, Edward I made more grants of land to his household knights in Scotland than in Wales. As a result a number of constables including John Kingston, William Felton, William Latimer, Robert Clifford, John St John and John Botetourt had estates in Scotland.<sup>78</sup>

The household knights chosen as constables had considerable military experience. William Leyburn had been part of the force gathered at Montgomery in 1277 and he fought in the second Welsh war. William Cicon had served in Wales in 1277.<sup>79</sup> Many of the

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<sup>75</sup> Griffiths demonstrated that the vast majority of the constables of castles in South Wales were Englishmen who held no land in the area. Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, 242

<sup>76</sup> *G.E.C.*, iii, 276; v, 289; vii, 347; xii, part i, 346; Moor, *Knights*, i, 31; iii, 38; *CPR 1288-96*, 204

<sup>77</sup> Of the men who were constables of Scottish castles in 1302 but who were not household knights only two were Scottish: Patrick, earl of Dunbar who held sway at Ayr and Alexander Balliol who was in charge of Selkirk. Balliol was close to the king and held lands in Kent. Of the others, Walter Burghdon held lands in Northumberland, Richard and Robert Hastang who were in charge of Jedburgh and Roxburgh respectively held lands in Ireland as did Nicholas Carew who was the constable of Bothwell. *CDS*, ii, no. 1321; v, no. 492 (xii); *CPR 1292-1301*, 298, 339; *CCR 1279-88*, 133; *CPR 1281-92*, 9, 62, 356, 383, 439, 446; *CCR 1296-1301*, 554

<sup>78</sup> *CDS*, ii, nos 1321, 1324; Moor, *Knights*, i, 27; iv, 268; *CCR 1288-96*, 255; See above, vol. 2, pp 42-3

<sup>79</sup> Morris, *Welsh Wars*, 263; E101/3/12; E101/4/1; E101/4/8; C47/2/4;



knights who served as constables of Scottish castles had begun their military careers during the campaigns in Wales. John Kingston, William Felton, William FitzClay and Peter de Brompton had all served in both Welsh wars. Kingston was present at the siege of Dryslwyn in 1287. William Felton was one of the men who led the recapture of Anglesey in 1294-5. Kingston, Felton, Brompton, Robert Felton, John d'Oyley and Hugh d'Audley<sup>80</sup> accompanied the expedition to Flanders in 1297. Gilbert Pecche, the future constable of Aberdeen, fought at Falkirk with six squires. Brompton served in Scotland in 1298 and 1300.<sup>81</sup>

All the household knights who were appointed as constables had been admitted to the household prior to their appointment. Some of the constables of Scottish castles had been part of the household in the 1280s but they do not appear in the household accounts in the 1290s or during their tenure in office. Hugh d'Audley had been admitted to the household in 1289-90 but he was not in receipt of fees and robes when he was constable of Berwick in 1298 or warden of Selkirk in 1302. Interestingly, he reappears in the lists in 1303-4. Peter de Brompton became the keeper of Aboyne in 1306. He was a member of the household in 1289-90 but not in the intervening years or in 1305-6. These men may have been attached to another royal household but no evidence has been found to confirm this supposition. However, their loyalty and their military experience could still be relied upon.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Hugh d'Audley was unlucky enough to be captured by the French in 1299 and 2,000 *livres tournois* had to be paid for his release. *CPR 1292-1301*, 429

<sup>81</sup> Moor, *Knights*, iii, 284; Byerly, *Records 1286-9*, nos 3276, 4046; Bl Add Ms 7965 f 66; E101/3/13; E101/3/20; E101/4/1; E101/6/37; E101/6/40; E101/8/23; E101/9/24; E101/364/13, f 79; C47/2/4; C47/2/6; *Liber Quot*, 195-210; *CPR 1292-1301*, 429

<sup>82</sup> C47/4/5, f 34; Bl Add Ms 7965, f 60; *Liber Quot* 188-95; Bl Add Ms 8835, f 54; E101/369/11, f 106-7

A number of Edward's knights who held castles in Wales were Savoyards. Otto and William de Grandson came from Grandson on Lake Neuchatel in Savoy. John de Bevillard, constable of Harlech, was probably their brother-in-law. His family came from the village of Bonavillars which was only a short distance from Otto's castle. William Cicon, constable of Rhuddlan and Conwy also appears to have come over with William and Otto.<sup>83</sup>

In Scotland only two household knights of foreign extraction were appointed as constables: Arnald Guillaume the constable of Dumfries was a Gascon knight, while William Grandson was the keeper of Roxburgh in 1291. The absence of the Savoyards in Scotland was the result of chronology rather than of policy.<sup>84</sup> The Savoyards had become attached to Edward I's household before he came to the throne there was no major influx of men from Savoy after 1272. By 1296 John de Bevillard and William Cicon were dead. Other nephews of Otto de Grandson did not return to England after they accompanied their uncle on crusade in 1290. Of the Savoyards who were members of Edward's *familia* in 1300, Peter de Chauvent had heavy responsibilities as chamberlain of the household.<sup>85</sup> Otto de Grandson was preoccupied with negotiations for a permanent peace between England and France.<sup>86</sup>

In addition, the scale of the castle building programme in Scotland was much smaller than in Wales. Taylor has demonstrated the immense Savoyard influence on the architecture of the Welsh

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<sup>83</sup> *KW*, i, 342-3; Taylor, 'Who Was 'John Pennardd Leader of the Men of Gwynedd'?', 219-20

<sup>84</sup> The exception was William Grandson who was briefly constable of Roxburgh in 1291-2

<sup>85</sup> *KW*, 342-3; Taylor, 'Who Was 'John Pennardd Leader of the Men of Gwynedd'?', 219-20

<sup>86</sup> see chapter 8

castles. At the start of his building project in 1278 and again at its revitalization after the second Welsh war Edward I turned for advice to Count Philip of Savoy. The Count sent him Master James of St George, who had just directed the building of a group of castles in Viennois. Master James was joined in 1282 by his son Giles.<sup>87</sup> The role and importance of Master James of St George in the design and building of Rhuddlan, Conwy and Beaumaris is well established and need not be discussed here.<sup>88</sup> However, Taylor has also suggested that Edward I relied upon the advice of other Savoyards including Otto de Grandson, and John de Bevillard. Both these men held important positions in the Welsh castle building programme.<sup>89</sup> As the Scottish castle building programme was much smaller, such advice and experience was not really necessary although Edward did employ Master James of St George at Linlithgow.

The main role of the constable of a Scottish or Welsh castle was to defend the fortification and the surrounding area from attacks, and to make forays against the enemy. In November 1287 during the rebellion of Rhys ap Maredudd, Bogo de Knoville, constable of Montgomery, was ordered to stay at the castle until the rebellion had been put down. He was instructed to pursue Rhys and his companions and to take the rebels prisoner. After the rebellion had been crushed an order went out to a number of constables, including Bogo de Knoville at Montgomery, Hugh Turberville at Castell y Bere and William Leyburn at Criccieth, instructing them to keep their castles well garrisoned. Hugh

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<sup>87</sup> A.J. Taylor, 'Castle Building in Thirteenth-Century Wales and Savoy', 20-22, and 'Castle Building in Wales in the Later Thirteenth Century: the Prelude to Construction', *Studies in Castles and Castle Building*, 100

<sup>88</sup> A.J. Taylor, 'Master James of St George', *Studies in Castles and Castle Building*, 63-87

<sup>89</sup> See below, vol. 2, p 80

Turberville was asked to send spies out and to pursue Rhys' men if necessary.<sup>90</sup>

The defensive role of the constable was even greater in Scotland than in Wales because Edward I failed to achieve a full conquest there. William Felton had to defend Linlithgow during a siege in early 1303. Measures had to be taken to improve the physical defences of the castle at that time. A ditch was dug and a brattice was erected by the loch. The windows of the great chapel were blocked up so that it could be used as a granary. It was possibly in response to these problems that William Felton wrote to the king complaining about the hostile garrison of Stirling. Felton requested thirty men to be sent to harass the nearby castle. When the king replied (April 1304) he refused to send the relief force because he said he was going to Stirling very soon; until then Felton and the nearby garrison of Kirkintilloch had to deal with the situation.<sup>91</sup>

Felton's brother Robert, constable of Lochmaben in 1299, was responsible for defending the castle against the hostile garrison at Caerlaverock. In a letter dated October 1299 Robert reported that the force at Caerlaverock 'has done and does great damages every day to the kings castle'. Felton informed the king that he had led a raid from Lochmaben which had killed many of the Scottish garrison including the constable, Robert de Cunningham. The latter's head was placed upon the great tower at Lochmaben.

These forays were not necessarily conducted by one garrison. Castle constables often co-operated and launched a joint raid. For the attack on Caerlaverock, Felton and his men had combined their

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<sup>90</sup> *CWR*, 322

<sup>91</sup> *KW*, i, 415; *CDS*, v, no. 363; E101/11/1, f 30

forces with the nearby garrison of Dumfries and its constable John d'Oyley. Simon Fraser, the warden of Selkirk, accompanied John Kingston on a foray from Edinburgh in 1298.<sup>92</sup>

The success of a foray could depend on crucial information about the activities of the enemy. Prior to the expedition from Edinburgh by John Kingston in December 1298, Fraser and Walter de Huntercombe, the warden of Roxburgh, were ordered to send out spies to discover their enemies' plans. On occasion the constable found it necessary to send the information which had been gathered to the king. It was John Kingston's letter of August 1299 which informed Edward of Fraser's treachery in the forest of Selkirk.<sup>93</sup>

Due to the military significance of these castles the constables naturally commanded much larger garrisons than that of an English castle such as Windsor. Hugh Turberville, the constable of Castell y Bere castle, had a garrison of 40 men in October 1285. This seems to have been the size of most of the Welsh castles in 1284-5. During a period of war the strength of the garrisons increased. Between 25 January and 5 March 1277 the garrison of Carmarthen had 99 men.<sup>94</sup>

The Scottish castles also had much larger garrisons than their English counterparts. The garrison at Edinburgh comprised 347 men at arms and 156 horses and hackneys on 28 February 1300. John Kingston's own retinue consisted of five squires, seven chargers, thirteen hackneys and 21 grooms. The size of the garrison shrank during the truce with the Scots in 1302. On 12 February 1302

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<sup>92</sup> *CDS*, ii, nos 1034, 1101; v, no. 204; *Documents*, ed. Stevenson, ii, 336-7, 340; *CPR 1292-1301*, 388

<sup>93</sup> See chapter 2; *Documents*, ed. Stevenson, ii, 339-40; *CDS*, ii, no. 1084x

<sup>94</sup> Prestwich, *Edward 1*, 189-90, 215; Morris, *Welsh Wars*, 121; *CWR*, 302; E101/3/12; E101/3/13

Kingston agreed to keep Edinburgh with 82 men, a bowyer, carpenter, smith and watchman until Pentecost. In September the garrison consisted of 41 men at arms and 40 foot soldiers, including 20 crossbow men.<sup>95</sup>

The constable was naturally the leader of the garrison's forces. However, the town of Berwick had a separate keeper. In 1300 this post was held by the household knight Walter de Teye. In 1298 the control of the town's forces was divided between the keeper and the constable: they took it in turns to command the men.<sup>96</sup>

During a campaign the constable of a castle was responsible for the transfer of troops or siege engines from his garrison to another castle. During the second Welsh war, Roger Lestrangle sent men from Dinas Bran and Oswestry to Rhuddlan. In 1298 William Felton, constable of Beaumaris, was accompanied by five hundred foot soldiers from Anglesey at the battle of Falkirk.<sup>97</sup> In 1300 John d'Oyley, the keeper of Dumfries sent siege engines to Caerlaverock. In March 1304 Kingston despatched the great 'targes' of the castle of Edinburgh to the siege at Stirling.<sup>98</sup>

As constables, household knights were responsible for the victualling of the castle. This was a very important duty. The danger that a castle might be lost through the lack of supplies is demonstrated by the fate of Castell y Bere in 1294.<sup>99</sup> As the

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<sup>95</sup> Prestwich, 'Colonial Scotland', 9; *CDS*, ii, nos 1132, 1286, 1324

<sup>96</sup> *CDS*, ii, no. 1022

<sup>97</sup> *List of Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, 20; *CCR 1296-1302*, 208-9

<sup>98</sup> *CDS*, v, no. 356; *Liber Quot*, 121

<sup>99</sup> On 18 October 1293 a group of knights were ordered to go to Castell y Bere with victuals and other necessities. The castle was 'destitute of suitable munition' and the king was worried that he might lose it to the Welsh rebels. It seems unlikely that this relief force was successful. Archaeological evidence suggests that the castle was destroyed and abandoned and no more was heard of Castell y Bere after 1294; *KW*, i, 268-9; Morris, *Welsh Wars*, 171; *CWR*, 360-1

garrisons were quite substantial a large amount of food was needed. Robert Clifford had 76 men at Dumfries in November 1298. From that date to June 1299 the castle was supplied with 120 quarters of wheat, 10 tuns of wine, 160 quarters of malt or barley, 20 quarters of peas or beans, 100 quarters of oats, 50 oxen, 10,000 herrings, 500 dried fish and 20 quarters of salt.<sup>100</sup>

During a campaign the victualling was centrally organized. In the second Welsh war Chester and Whitchurch were set up as supply bases. In Scotland the castles received their supplies from James Dalilegh at Carlisle and Richard Abington at Berwick. During the years when there was no campaign the constables made their own arrangements. William Felton received £58 18s 6d for the wheat, beef and oats he had bought for Beaumaris during the 194 days preceding 10 April 1299. The purveying of these victuals by the constable was not always trouble free. In 1296-7 Henry de Preston and other merchants of Lancaster petitioned the king for £107 9s 7d. They alleged that Felton had taken the equivalent value in corn, meal and oats. He had then broken their tallies and had ordered them to the exchequer without any guarantees.<sup>101</sup>

In 1298 John Kingston was assigned a special clerk, William Rue, at Berwick to deal with his requests. If the supplies were not available then Venray, the keeper of the town, had to inform the king and the goods required were sent from England. On 6 December 1298, Philip de Venray received £131 14s 9d for the necessities he had purchased for Kingston, including 100 horseshoes, 1,000 nails and three dozen saucers.<sup>102</sup>

Those household knights who were constables of Welsh castles

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<sup>100</sup> *Documents*, ed. Stevenson, ii, 333

<sup>101</sup> *Cal Anc Petitions Wales*, 223

<sup>102</sup> *Documents*, ed. Stevenson, ii, 333, 343, 348; *Liber Quot*, 121

were naturally involved in Edward I's massive castle building and restoration programme.<sup>103</sup> The constables were responsible for small scale construction work. In 1275 Bogo de Knoville as constable of the border castle of Oswestry was commanded to repair and ensure the upkeep of the castle. This was to be paid for out of the issues of his bailiwick.<sup>104</sup> In 1274-5 he was allowed £8 in his account for improving the defenses of the town and castle of Montgomery and £5 11s 2d for repairs at Oswestry. The following year he received £16 for work carried out at Montgomery, 45s for improving the mills at Oswestry and 105s for repairs to the castle itself. In 1279-80 he was given £60 from the farm of the town of Montgomery for work in the town and for modifying the lord's chamber. In 1284-5 he was allowed £78 9s 11d in his rent for the cost of a room constructed at Montgomery.<sup>105</sup>

If the castle was actually under construction or major repair work was taking place a special keeper of the works would be placed in charge. In 1298 William Felton, constable of Beaumaris, received a grant of wardship in lieu of the expense he had incurred on the works at the castle. However, the actual construction of the castle was not his responsibility. Master James of St George directed the work force of 400 masons, 2,000 minor workmen and 200 quarry men, while Walter of Winchester received the money for the work from the

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<sup>103</sup> Otto de Grandson and John de Bevillard played an important part in the supervision of this work. This will be discussed under Grandson's role as justice of north Wales. See below, vol. 2, p 80

<sup>104</sup> Bogo de Knoville was also responsible for minor repair work at the five castles of which he was in charge as justice of west Wales. In 1279-80 he was allowed £120 for the keeper of the works in west Wales and a further £12 5s for work at Dinefwr and £6 for work at Carmarthen. In 1280-1 he received £6 10s 3d for work at Carmarthen; C62/56, m.4; C62/57 m.6; For his role at Aberystwyth see *KW*, i, 308

<sup>105</sup> *List of Welsh entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, 3; *Cal Anc Petitions Wales*, 320; C62/51 m 2; C62/52 m 2, 9; C62/56 m 4; C62/57 m 6



exchequer in London.<sup>106</sup>

The pattern revealed at Beaumaris was repeated at most other major Welsh castles. One household knight was appointed as deputy keeper of the works. Eustace Hatch held that office at Caernarfon. He was responsible for arranging the transportation of materials to the castle and for the paying of the workmen. At Caernarfon, the erection of temporary defences in the form of a brattice was one of the first tasks to be undertaken. On 14 July 1284 Eustace Hatch paid the carpenters working on the brattice. The day before he had paid 42 carpenters who were working on the eight chambers being constructed inside the castle for the use of the king and queen. Eustace also arranged for the purchase and carriage of two millstones for the new mill and twelve pieces of iron to be used in the construction of the brattice.<sup>107</sup>

The scale of construction work in Scotland was smaller than that in Wales but the responsibilities of the constables were broadly the same. In 1306-7 Eble des Montz received £10 for mending the houses and doing other necessary repairs at Jedburgh. Simon Lindsay undertook various building projects at the castle of the Hermitage. In 1300 he was paid £20 for improving the walls, the motte, the fosses, the peel and the palisade. He constructed lodges within the castle for the safety of the garrison. Richard Siward strengthened the palisade at Lochmaben. At Kirkintilloch, William Francis repaired the castle's gate and drainage. In 1302-3 he received £37 towards the cost of improving the buildings, gates and

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<sup>106</sup> *Cal Anc Petitions Wales*, 320; *KW*, i, 389-99; Taylor, 'Master James of St George' 63-87; *CPR 1292-1301*, 390

<sup>107</sup> J.G. Edwards, 'Edward I's Castle Building in Wales', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1 (1946), 44; A.J. Taylor, 'The Birth of Edward of Caernarfon and the beginning of Caernarfon Castle', *History*, xxxv (1950), 258-9; E101/351/9; E101/352/2; E101/485/28

ditches and for the building of a new peel.<sup>108</sup>

The work undertaken at Linlithgow was on a much larger scale. In February 1302 Master James of St George and John Kingston were appointed as the keepers of the works. The project extended the site of the castle southwards to include the old church and churchyard. These were modified and became part of the fortifications. The plan was quickly executed. When William Felton became constable in September 1301 all that remained to be done was the construction of the fourteen perches of the peel and six brattices.<sup>109</sup>

As English rule in Wales became more firmly established the constables of Welsh castles began to perform certain administrative tasks. Edward I created and encouraged the growth of new towns in or around the castle walls at Flint, Rhuddlan, Aberystwyth, Conwy, Caernarfon, Harlech, Castell y Bere and Beaumaris. Those in charge of the castle were sometimes involved in the process of encouraging burgesses to settle in the towns. In 1278 Guncelin de Badlesmere, the keeper of the two cantreds, was ordered to proclaim that a market would be held every Thursday at Flint. He and Nicholas Bonel, the keeper of the king's construction works, were responsible for assessing the burgages at Rhuddlan and Flint. They granted them out at a fixed rent. Badlesmere cannot have been totally successful because there were still vacancies in July 1279.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> *CCR 1296-1302*, 288; *CDS*, ii, nos 1173, 1886

<sup>109</sup> *KW*, ii, 413-4, 416; E101/11/1 f 30; *CDS*, ii, nos 1174, 1886; A.J. Taylor, 'Documents concerning the Kings Works at Linlithgow in 1302-3', *Studies in Scottish Antiquity presented to Stewart Cruden*, ed. D.J. Breeze (Edinburgh, 1984) 190, 191

<sup>110</sup> *CWR*, 165; M.W. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (1967), 37-8

The constables gave seisin of land on the king's behalf. They became responsible for the estates adjacent to the castle during the minority of an heir. Roger Lestrangle was made bailiff of the lands of Gruffydd ap Madog of Bromfield on 3 December 1277 because he was keeper of Dinas Bran. He paid the issues from the land to the Bishop of St Asaph.<sup>111</sup>

As guardians of such lands the household knights sometimes had to defend the estates against judicial as well as military attacks. In 1277-8 Bogo de Knoville was the king's guardian of Kerry and Cydewain. On 9 December 1279 Walter Pedwardin and his wife claimed Cydewain against the king and Roger Mortimer. On the king's behalf, Bogo pleaded that Walter and his wife had first made their claim at Oswestry. They had not pressed the plea at that time and since then more than a year and a day had elapsed. Under Welsh law that meant that the plea was invalid.<sup>112</sup>

However, in spite of numerous campaigns in Scotland large areas remained under Scottish control. Between 1298 and 1303-4 Edward's effective rule was confined to the south eastern areas of Scotland. North of the Forth the Scots' ever-changing guardians remained in control. The campaign of 1303-4 brought the surrender of most of the Scottish nobility, Stirling castle was successfully besieged and Wallace was finally caught and executed. However, the murder of John Comyn heralded a new uprising in 1306.<sup>113</sup>

Under these conditions the administrative role of the constables of Scottish castles did not develop to the same degree as did that of their counterparts in Wales. No new towns were laid and quite frequently much of the land beyond their castle walls was

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<sup>111</sup> *CWR*, 160; *Welsh Assize Roll*, 55, 202

<sup>112</sup> *Welsh Assize Roll*, 187, 236, 242-3, 254-7

<sup>113</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 506; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 147

outside their control. However, some of the guardians of the Scottish castles were also the sheriffs of the surrounding areas. On 23 March 1304 John Kingston was ordered to give Sir Nicholas de Graham seisin of his lands. Kingston and the earl of Dunbar investigated the complaints of Joan de Clare that she had been seized by Herbert Morham while she was travelling under the king's protection. As constable of Edinburgh he imprisoned Herbert within the castle until his trial.<sup>114</sup>

The repeated success of Edward I in Wales gave the king the need and opportunity to set up a new administrative structure. The major changes were embodied in the Statute of Rhuddlan of 19 March 1284. The offices such as the justice of west Wales which had been established after the English victory of 1278-80 remained. The statute introduced English law and created a new organization to administer the king's land in north Wales. A large number of Edward's *familia* were appointed to the new offices which were created.<sup>115</sup>

In the year following the success of the 1304 campaign Edward I promulgated an ordinance for the ruling of Scotland. He decreed that Scotland should be administered by a lieutenant, a chancellor, a chamberlain, and a controller. The laws of the Scots and Bretons were forbidden and four pairs of Scottish and English judges were appointed. This was not comparable to the administrative structure set up in Wales nor did it become widely established. Bruce's uprising in 1306 prevented English rule from becoming permanent.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> CDS, ii, no. 1066; v, no. 355

<sup>115</sup> Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, 624-5; R.R. Davies, 'Colonial Wales', *Past and Present*, lxx (1974), 12, 14, 16; W.H. Waters, *The Edwardian Settlement of North Wales*, (1935), 8-9

<sup>116</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 506; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 147

Only two household knights were given positions in the limited administrative structure set up in 1305. William Inge was a member of the delegation of English justices sent to Scotland. He had a great deal of judicial experience. William did not appear in the lists of those receiving fees and robes prior to 1305: he may have been admitted to the household because of his appointment in Scotland. The king may have wished to bind him more closely to the crown.

John Kingston was named as one of the wardens of Scotland. It was their duty to guard the land until the arrival of John of Brittany. John was responsible for ensuring that the English defences in Scotland were adequate. In March 1306 he complained to the sheriff of Cumberland about the lack of victuals and money being supplied to Scottish castles. He was also expected to help suppress any uprising.<sup>117</sup>

In contrast, household knights were used extensively in the administration introduced into Wales. Most of the new offices required men with a combination of military and administrative experience. Knights who had been attached to the royal household for a number of years were often ideally suited for the posts. The first two justices of west Wales were members of Edward's *familia*. The origins of this office lay in the stewards and bailiffs of Carmarthen and Cardigan who dated back to Henry III's reign. The control of these areas and of Dinefwr and Carreg Cennen was unified under Bogo de Knoville in 1280. The bailiffs remained in charge of certain regions within west Wales. Bogo surrendered the office on 12 November 1281. Two months later the bailiffs of Carmarthen were ordered to account to Robert Tibetot, the new justice, for the

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<sup>117</sup> CDS, ii, no. 1745; v, p 190

issues of the murage.<sup>118</sup>

Bogo de Knoville and Robert Tibetot were each selected as the justice of west Wales because they were men upon whose loyalty the king could rely and they had considerable military experience.<sup>119</sup> This was a very important quality in the years after 1280. Their most pressing responsibility was the maintenance of law and order. The justice had to provide the first response to any Welsh uprising. Robert Tibetot was initially appointed as the commander in south Wales in 1282 but he was demoted because of the opposition of the magnates.<sup>120</sup> In July 1287 he raised a large contingent of men from Carmarthen and Cardigan. Robert played an important part in the subsequent sieges at Dryslwyn and Newcastle Emlyn.<sup>121</sup>

Both men had also held a number of other royal offices prior to their appointment as justice of west Wales.<sup>122</sup> Administrative experience was an important prerequisite of the justice of west Wales. Bogo de Knoville was instrumental in organizing the return of land to native rulers, often to the king's advantage. When he was appointed as justice in January 1280 he and Patrick de Chatworth were given the power to arrange the exchange of some of the king's estates in Carmarthen for Rhys ap Maredudd's portion of Dinefwr.<sup>123</sup>

The justice had to ensure that royal orders such as those relating to forest clearance were executed.<sup>124</sup> As the title implies,

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<sup>118</sup> Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, 19; *CCR 1279-88*, 105

<sup>119</sup> See above, vol. 1, pp 102-3

<sup>120</sup> See above, vol 1, p 102

<sup>121</sup> Griffiths, 'The Rebellion of Rhys ap Mereduc', 127, 136

<sup>122</sup> See above, vol. 1, pp 97, 162; Their successors had similar qualities; Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, 95

<sup>123</sup> *CWR*, 182, 185; *CFR 1272-1307*, 149; *Littere Wallie*, 188; *CCR 1279-88*, 105

<sup>124</sup> *CWR*, 185

they were also in charge of justice in west Wales. They presided at the county courts. It was their duty to empanel juries to appear before the itinerant judicial commissions, in particular the Hopton Commission.<sup>125</sup> The failure of jurors from Carmarthen to attend the session at Builth in 1280 led to Bogo being fined £40.<sup>126</sup>

Knoville and Tibetot undertook a variety of judicial inquiries. Occasionally the justice would be required by the king to undertake a special investigation. Bogo de Knoville had to examine the allegations of the Prince of Wales that Rhys ap Einon had plundered his lands of Merionydd. Llywelyn ap Gruffydd claimed that when his men had gone into the king's lands to make inquiries they were wounded, imprisoned or killed. Knoville's dealings with Llywelyn did not run smoothly. The Welsh prince complained that Bogo wanted to make him appear before him when and where he chose.<sup>127</sup>

Under the king's orders Bogo de Knoville handled crimes outside his normal jurisdiction. On 13 August 1280 Bogo was instructed to deal with the men committing robbery and murder in Brecon, Builth, and Cydewain. Those responsible were imprisoned.<sup>128</sup>

His position as justice of west Wales probably explains the appointment of Bogo as custodian of the nearby bishopric of St Davids. Richard, Bishop of St Davids, had died in April 1280. Knoville heard all the pleas and complaints regarding the diocese and its tenantry. On 30 June 1280 he served on a commission of oyer and terminer concerned with the death of an inmate of St Davids prison, Roger Tupe.<sup>129</sup>

The new bishop, Thomas, complained that Bogo de Knoville had

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<sup>125</sup> See below, vol. 2, p 85

<sup>126</sup> *Welsh Assize Roll*, 167

<sup>127</sup> *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 95; *Welsh Assize Roll*, 58, 63, 66

<sup>128</sup> *CWR*, 186

<sup>129</sup> *CFR 1272-1307*, 133, *Welsh Assize Roll*, 95

inflicted many grievous injuries upon the bishopric. He claimed that the tenants should not have had to appear before the king's ministers. In addition Bogo had apparently forbidden the men to sell and buy bread in Lampeter. He had also broken an agreement concerning the felon Rhys Vychan.<sup>130</sup>

There is no record of Bogo being involved in any other major activities or holding any other important posts outside Wales during his tenure as justice. This suggests that he spent most of his time in west Wales. In contrast Tibetot was frequently absent. Robert was in France between 1294 and 1297. As a result five different deputies were appointed during his term in office. The fact that Bogo de Knoville had no deputy suggests that he executed the tasks of the justice of west Wales in person.<sup>131</sup>

The first justice of north Wales, appointed on 20 March 1284, was Otto de Grandson. He had been attached to the royal household since his arrival in England in 1247. As the justice of north Wales, Grandson was in charge of the entire principality, a position which W.H. Waters, equated to that of a Viceroy.<sup>132</sup> As a member of the inner circle of Edward's *familia* Grandson was ideally suited to fill this important post. He was a councillor, a diplomat and a knight in whom Edward had great trust. During his career in royal service he had gained considerable administrative experience.<sup>133</sup> He had been appointed governor of the Channel Islands on 12 November 1275 and vice-regent of Gascony in 1279. He had also acquired some knowledge of Welsh affairs. In 1277 Otto was one of the English representatives who negotiated the treaty of

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<sup>130</sup> *Cal Anc Petitions Wales*, 232-3

<sup>131</sup> Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, 91

<sup>132</sup> Waters, *Edwardian Settlement*, 10

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 13; Grandson successors had similar administrative experience.



His experience of castles in Palestine and Savoy, where he had witnessed the rebuilding of Chillon and his own ancestral home at Grandson, was probably another reason why he was appointed. As justice he was in charge of the extensive building programme concerning the castles within the principality. It was upon his authority that payments were made for work at Caernarfon, Conwy and Harlech. For this purpose he was allowed to borrow from Italian merchants. In 1285 he was chosen as the custodian of the Archbishopric of York during the vacancy so that the proceeds could be used for the construction of the king's castles in Wales.<sup>135</sup>

However, Otto de Grandson spent little time in Wales. He was often at court. Otto was at Bristol with the king in December 1284, at Canterbury on 20 January 1285, at Chichester in July 1285 and at Woolmer in August 1285.<sup>136</sup> He left for Rome via Paris in late 1285. Grandson arrived there in February 1286. In June 1286 he journeyed north, joining the king in Gascony. Otto remained with the king and took part in the negotiations with the Spanish. He was one of the hostages who were held for the release and ransom of Charles of Salerno. In May 1288 he went on another embassy to Rome. Grandson returned to England in March 1290 but his stay was relatively brief. He took the cross and set out upon a crusade. He returned to the west in 1294. On his way back he visited Rome and France and then embarked on a diplomatic mission to Germany.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Clifford, *A Knight of Great Renown*, 40, 56

<sup>135</sup> C.L. Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison 1238?-1328', *THRS*, 3rd Series, iii (1909), 133; Taylor, 'Who was 'John Pennardd the leader of the Men of Gwynedd'?', 216; Clifford, *A Knight of Great Renown*, 73; *CPR 1281-92*, 193; E372/ 131 m 26d

<sup>136</sup> *CCR 1279-88*, 295, 349; *CDI*, iii, nos 59, 131; *Itinerary of Edward I*, part i, 196, 200, 201, 209-10

<sup>137</sup> Clifford, *A Knight of Great Renown*, 83-4, 93, 96-7, 101-2, 104-5, 113, 138-9; Byerly, *Records 1286-9*, nos 171, 353, 1393; *CPR*

Due to Otto de Grandson's almost perpetual absence a series of deputy justices were appointed. There seems to have been his official deputy and his personal deputy. Three of the deputies appointed during Otto's tenure in office were household knights. Hugh Turberville was named as his official deputy on 5 November 1287. He held the office until 16 April 1288. Hugh was in receipt of fees in 1283-4, 1284-5 and 1285-6.<sup>138</sup>

Otto de Grandson's first personal deputy was John de Bevillard. He received wages and fees as a member of the household between 1283 and 1286. After Bevillard's death at the siege of Dryslwyn his place was taken by William de Grandson. The offices of the two deputies may have been merged in 1288. On 8 May 1288, William was named as the new official deputy justice.<sup>139</sup>

The official deputy justices of north Wales had to ensure the security of the area in Otto's absence. They were also responsible for the administration of the royal forest, the execution of royal commands and the dispensing of royal justice.<sup>140</sup> Hugh Turberville was selected for this post because his career in Edward's household had given him valuable military and administrative experience. Hugh was seneschal of Gascony in 1271. He had been constable of Carmarthen and Cardigan in 1263 and Castell y Bere in 1285. Turberville had served in both Welsh wars and he had helped to organize the siege of Dryslwyn. He had land in the marches and had been involved in diplomatic negotiations with Llywelyn ap Gruffydd in the late 1260s and the early 1270s.<sup>141</sup>

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1281-92, 213, 293, 317

<sup>138</sup> *CWR*, 311, 318

<sup>139</sup> Taylor, 'Who was 'John Pennardd the leader of the Men of Gwynedd'?', 215; E101/4/8; E101/351/17

<sup>140</sup> *CPR* 1281-92, 329, 397; *CWR*, 321, 324; *Cal Anc Corr Wales* 103, 118-121

<sup>141</sup> Moor, *Knights*, v, 56-7

William de Grandson and John de Bevillard were appointed because they were Otto's brother and brother-in-law respectively.<sup>142</sup> Otto could rely upon their judgement and he wanted them to advance in royal service. As Savoyards they may have had some knowledge or experience of castles and their construction. This was important because the personal deputy was responsible for the supervision of the castle building programme.

The role of John de Bevillard is discussed in detail by Taylor. Edward I appointed him in 1283 to go to Wales to supervise the building of his castles. Taylor argues that Bevillard was probably at Caernarfon in October 1284 when the constables of a number of Welsh castles were selected. During Otto's absence Bevillard continued to supervise the building work. At Conwy he and Master James of St George jointly assigned work to the master craftsmen. He was also involved in the purchasing of materials. In 1286 he received £5 3s 0d for the 500 hand barrows he had bought for Conwy.<sup>143</sup>

After Bevillard's death William de Grandson took over the supervision of the castles. The chamberlain, Robert Belvoir, made important payments relating to the building works at Conwy, Caernarfon, Harlech and Bere. Prior to 1287 these were authorized by John Bevillard. After his death the money was paid on the authority of William de Grandson.<sup>144</sup>

The household knight, Guncelin de Badlesmere, was not appointed to a new administrative post in Wales after the English

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<sup>142</sup> See chapter 1

<sup>143</sup> Taylor, 'Who was 'John Pennardd the leader of the Men of Gwynedd'?', 213-21; *KW*, i, 342

<sup>144</sup> Taylor, 'Who was 'John Pennardd the leader of the Men of Gwynedd'?', 213-214; *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 118-21

victory in 1277-8. However, his role as justice of Chester was greatly expanded. The war had brought Edward I significant territorial gains. Among them were the two cantreds of Rhos and Tegeingl in north east Wales. These were placed in the hands of the justice of Chester.<sup>145</sup>

As the keeper Badlesmere had a part to play in the reorganization of the lands within the cantreds. On 4 February 1278 Guncelin de Badlesmere and Hywel ap Gruffydd were ordered to set up an inquiry to discover what land grants had been made by Llywelyn ap Gruffydd within the cantreds. They naturally had to deal with a large number of competing claims to estates in the aftermath of the first Welsh war.<sup>146</sup>

Until the summer of 1281 the dispensing of royal justice in Tegeingl and Rhos was the responsibility of the bailiffs of the cantreds. In that year Badlesmere and the chamberlain of Chester were instructed to hold courts within those areas.<sup>147</sup> Badlesmere tried to extend his judicial authority into the other two cantreds of Dyffryn Clwyd and Rufoniog. These had been granted to Llywelyn ap Gruffydd's brother Dafydd in the Treaty of Aberconway.<sup>148</sup> Badlesmere was also called upon by the king to ensure that the terms of the Treaty of Aberconway were fulfilled. Guncelin received the hostages required from Llywelyn ap Gruffydd. He took oaths of loyalty from Llywelyn's men who still had lands in the cantreds and

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<sup>145</sup> *CWR*, 160

<sup>146</sup> *CWR*, 164; *Welsh Assize Roll*, 161-2, 260

<sup>147</sup> *Welsh Assize Roll*, 80, 82, 96; *CPR 1272-81*, 231-2; *CWR*, 189

<sup>148</sup> In accordance with that treaty matters concerning these lands should have been dealt with according to Welsh law. As a result a number of disputes occurred. For instance William Venables brought a writ against Dafydd for the lands of Hope and Estyn in the shire court at Chester. Dafydd naturally complained to the king. See *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 72-3; *CPR 1272-81*, 464; *Welsh Assize Roll*, 85

viewed the dowry assigned to Eleanor de Montfort.<sup>149</sup> In the treaty the Prince of Wales had been granted Anglesey to hold during his lifetime and that of his heirs. For this privilege he paid 500 marks a year to the exchequer at Chester. Badlesmere and the chamberlain William Perton received this payment at Michaelmas 1279. On 4 January 1278, Badlesmere was part of a delegation sent to collect the compensation for 'injuries' committed by Llywelyn's men. This included the stealing of corn from the king's men on Anglesey.<sup>150</sup>

Robert de Bures was another household knight who held a minor position in Wales. After the rebellion of 1282 the lands of Hope, Estyn and Maelor Saesneg had been granted to Eleanor, the queen mother. She placed them under the control of her bailiff of Macclesfield, Robert de Bures. Following Eleanor's death in 1290 an inquiry was launched into the activities of her ministers because many complaints had been received from her Welsh tenants.<sup>151</sup> Bures was convicted of a number of offences including twenty-five charges of disseisin. This did not hamper his career. Robert was admitted as a simple knight on 12 August 1297. He remained in the royal household until the end of Edward's reign.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> *CWR*, 158, 167; *Cal Anc Corr Wales* 90; *Welsh Assize Roll*, 39

<sup>150</sup> The Welsh chronicle, the *Brut*, claimed that the English had destroyed the grain harvest on the island when they captured it. But as Morris observed, accounts relating to the payment of wages at that time appear to show that men were being paid by Edward I to gather the harvest. Llywelyn ap Gruffydd had written to Badlesmere stating that the visit had to be postponed because there was an 'obscure word' in the treaty. *CWR*, 157-8, 167, 177; *Littere Wallie*, 141; *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 111-112; Morris, *Welsh Wars* 135; *The Brut*, ed. F.W.D. (Early English Text Society, original series cxxxi, 1906) i, 365; E101/3/15; E101/485/19

<sup>151</sup> N.M. Fryde, 'A Royal Enquiry into the Abuses of Queen Eleanor's Ministers in North East Wales 1291-2', *Welsh History Review*, v (1970-1), 366-76

<sup>152</sup> Bl Add Ms 7965, f 60

The period 1278-82 saw the setting up and operation of the so called Hopton commission.<sup>153</sup> The core of the commission consisted of Walter Hopton, a man of great judicial experience who had been a baron of the Exchequer in 1274. He had two Welsh subordinates, Hywel ap Meurig and Gronw ap Heilyn.<sup>154</sup>

No household knight was ever a permanent member of the Hopton commission but occasionally a knight would be associated with it or its members for a short period of time. Before the appointment of the commission Roger Mortimer of Wigmore and Walter Hopton inquired into the complaint of Margaret, the widow of Madoc Vaghan that Llywelyn Vaghan was unjustly holding the land of Mechain which was the inheritance of her two sons.<sup>155</sup>

In September 1278 Roger Lestrangle was associated with the Hopton Bench in the cases heard at Rhuddlan. One concerned Badlesmere as justice of Chester and his alleged unjust detaining of cattle at Flint. Other more minor cases included Robert Banaster's claim to the vill of Prestan. In 1281 Grimbald de Pauncefoot made inquiries into a case before the commission between Ralph de Tony and Payn de Pembridge.<sup>156</sup>

These men were not necessarily chosen because they were household knights. Grimbald de Pauncefoot was selected because he was concerned in and had knowledge of the dispute concerned. In 1279 he had paid 200 marks for the marriage of the heir of Henry de

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<sup>153</sup> This was a judicial commission set up on 10 January 1278 to hear pleas of land and trespasses in the marches and Wales and to do justice according to the custom of the area. This covered all royal lands of north, central and south Wales and the marcher lordships except for Gower, Brecon and of course the principality of north Wales. The commission's jurisdiction was extended into Brecon in June 1278.

<sup>154</sup> *Welsh Assize Roll*, 66, 78, 89

<sup>155</sup> *CWR*, 162, 170-1; *Welsh Assize Roll*, 45

<sup>156</sup> *Welsh Assize Roll*, 42-3, 92, 111, 259-603; *CPR 1281-92*, 43

Pembridge. Roger Mortimer of Wigmore and Roger Lestrangle were nominated partly because they were marcher lords. This meant that they had some knowledge of Welsh affairs and customs. They were also likely to be available to serve on the commission. In addition, Hopton held the town of Stanton by Pembridge from Roger Mortimer. He may have chosen Roger as a colleague.<sup>157</sup>

Lestrangle may have been appointed because an important case was to be heard concerning Guncelin de Badlesmere. He was accused of taking 30 oxen and cows and 23 pigs from Meurig ap Madog, Ieuan ap Madog and Ithel Vychan. Badlesmere himself may have requested Lestrangle's presence. Alternatively, Edward might have nominated him to ensure that a fellow household knight and important royal official was found innocent.<sup>158</sup>

The conquest and reorganization of Wales was in essence a household operation. The household knights formed the major element in the military forces in 1277-8 and 1282-3. Those who held land in the Welsh borders provided the first line of defence in an emergency. Victory brought the need to establish a new regime to administer the conquered territory. In 1284 Edward I initiated a massive castle building programme and promulgated the Statute of Rhuddlan to reorganize the recently acquired lands. This expanded the limited structure created after the first Welsh war.

The new regime combined the need to establish a permanent administrative structure in Wales and the need to maintain a military presence which would deter and counteract any uprising. During the 1280s the household knights filled the important positions in this new regime. They were appointed as constables of the new castles, wardens of the march and the justices of north and

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<sup>157</sup> *Welsh Assize Roll*, 101-2, 105; *CPR 1272-81*, 352

<sup>158</sup> *Welsh Assize Roll*, 259-60

west Wales. As the settlement in Wales became more secure, the household's involvement decreased and the arena of household activity switched to Scotland.

In Scotland, the knights again served as the wardens of the marches and as constables of the castles. However, Scotland was never completely pacified. No administration comparable to that laid down in the Statute of Rhuddlan was ever imposed successfully there. The household knights were never called upon to administer and lay the foundations for the government of a newly conquered land in Scotland as they were in Wales.

The knights of the royal household played a larger part in the administration of Scotland and Wales than in any other area of Edward's dominions. In England, Gascony and Ireland men who were prominent within the local community frequently held the important local offices, although a member of the household who held land in the area was likely to be preferred. However, in Scotland and Wales the need for men who were both soldiers and administrators meant that Edward naturally selected members of his household. The extensive employment of the knights in these often hostile and rebellious areas again suggests that the king viewed his knights primarily as warriors.

Those who were chosen to fulfill some of the important offices in Wales and Scotland were usually bannerets. However, they were not necessarily the men who had the highest social standing within the household. This contrasted with the situation in Gascony and Ireland. Bogo de Knoville, justice of west Wales, was a simple knight. These men were appointed because they had the correct experience to tackle the post to which they were assigned.



## CHAPTER 8

### DIPLOMACY AND COUNCIL

The attendance of household knights at the king's court varied. There was a relatively small group of knights and bannerets who spent most of the year with the king while the remainder were attendant upon him for only a few months. This chapter will examine the part played by household knights in the politics of the royal court. The work of Given-Wilson suggests that this was one of the key areas which differentiated the chamber knights of the fourteenth century from the household knights of the late thirteenth century. Prestwich pointed out that a number of household knights were appointed as envoys and councillors. However, Given-Wilson stated that this was the primary role of the chamber knights.

The extent of the household's involvement in international diplomacy needs to be assessed. The type of mission to which the knights were assigned and their role within the delegation of envoys will be evaluated. An examination of the importance of the knights as councillors and advisors of the king will be made. The final part of the chapter will consider the role of the knights in the wider political arena of Edward's parliaments.

Cuttino in his work on the diplomatic administration of England in the Middle Ages identified four types of men who were employed as envoys:<sup>1</sup> the higher clergy and nobles, the lesser nobles and clerks, the citizens of London and merchants, the specialists in law. The household knights fall into the second

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<sup>1</sup> G.P. Cuttino, *English Diplomatic Administration* (Oxford, 1940), 90

category.<sup>2</sup> Thirty-seven household knights were involved in some form of diplomatic activity during Edward I's reign. Otto de Grandson, Geoffrey de Geneville, Amanieu d'Albret, Hugh Despenser and Hugh de Vere were appointed most frequently.

These five men do not appear in the surviving lists of robes and fees but their attachment to the household is undisputable. Grandson and Vere admitted other knights to the household, Amanieu d'Albret received wages as part of the household on the summer campaigns of 1300 and 1301. Hugh Despenser was also a member of the household during the latter campaign. Geoffrey de Geneville was a member of Edward's household prior to 1272.<sup>3</sup> Grandson, Vere, Geneville and Despenser seem to have attained the rank of royal councillor.<sup>4</sup> They were also employed in a number of key official positions. Grandson was warden of <sup>the</sup> Channel Islands, the king's lieutenant in Gascony and justice of north Wales. Geneville had been justiciar of Ireland.<sup>5</sup>

These men were not typical household knights: they were all men of considerable social standing. Hugh de Vere was the younger son of Robert, earl of Oxford. Hugh Despenser was the son of Hugh Despenser of Loughborough. Hugh the elder had been appointed justice of England by de Montfort. His widow had married the earl of Norfolk. Otto de Grandson was lord of Grandson in Savoy, Geoffrey de Geneville was lord of Vaucoulers in Champagne and his marriage to Maud de Lacy had brought him the lordship of Meath in

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<sup>2</sup> The *nuncii regis* paid by the wardrobe and the *cokini*, the unmounted messengers of the kitchen, were frequently used within England. However, they were only rarely trusted with diplomatic missions: M.C. Hill, *The King's Messengers 1199-1377* (1961), 87

<sup>3</sup> See chapter 1

<sup>4</sup> See below, vol. 2, pp 104-5

<sup>5</sup> See chapters 7 & 8

Ireland. Amanieu d'Albret was the seventh lord of Albret in Gascony. Such social standing was important because insignificant envoys were liable to cause offence. In 1286, Edmund de Jolens, household knight, was sent to Rome with a simple clerk Raymond Alemand. The letter which he carried to the Pope contained an apology that such humble envoys had been sent. Edward I stated that the urgency of the business had meant that he been unable to send more solemn envoys.<sup>6</sup>

These five men were appointed to a large number of diplomatic missions which dealt with a wide range of issues. The delegations upon which they served were given full power to conduct negotiations in the king's name. The course of Otto de Grandson's diplomatic career has been described by Clifford.<sup>7</sup> Diplomatic affairs led him to France in 1275, 1290, 1295, 1296, 1302-3 and to Rome in 1280, 1286, 1290, 1296, 1298, 1300, 1301, 1302 and 1304-5. In addition he went on at least three separate missions to Germany and he accompanied other delegations to Burgundy, Flanders, Lorraine, Holland and Aragon.<sup>8</sup>

These missions involved Otto de Grandson in virtually all the important diplomatic issues of the reign. He participated in the negotiations which took place to ensure the fulfillment of the treaty of Paris. In 1275 he and Roger Clifford were sent to seek the seisin of the Agenais.<sup>9</sup>

Otto's frequent visits to Rome in the 1280s were due to his

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<sup>6</sup> *Treaty Rolls*, i, no. 206

<sup>7</sup> Clifford, *A Knight of Great Renown*

<sup>8</sup> *Treaty Rolls*, i, nos 223, 338, 348, 391, 433; *CPR 1272-81*, 389; *CPR 1292-1301*, 337, 543; *CPR 1301-7*, 245; *CCR 1302-7*, 351; *CDS*, ii, no. 464; *Foedera I*, ii, 529-30, 848, 935; *RG iii*, 558-9; C47/4/5, ff 8, 12

<sup>9</sup> M.C. Salt, 'List of English Embassies to France 1272-1307', *EHR* xliv (1929), 264

involvement in the discussions over the date of a new crusade, to be headed by Edward I, and over the collection of a papal tenth. He also acted as the king's representative in the negotiations over the Sicilian Vespers affair and the capture of Charles of Salerno. At the end of the reign he played a part in the diplomatic manoeuvres to secure peace between England and France.<sup>10</sup>

The war with France meant that England needed to strengthen its links with its other allies. In 1297 Grandson attempted to end the disagreements which existed between a number of England's allies, including Lorraine, Brabant, Flanders and Hainault.<sup>11</sup>

Grandson was partly responsible for the setting up of a number of the marriage alliances of Edward I's children. In 1289 he was sent to Rome to obtain a dispensation from the Pope for the marriage of Prince Edward to the Maid of Norway. He took part in the negotiations for a marriage between Joan of Acre and Hartmann, son of the Emperor Rudolf of Germany. In 1297 he attempted to negotiate an alliance between the same lady and Amadeus, Count of Savoy.<sup>12</sup>

Edward I's extensive employment of Grandson as an envoy follows a tradition established by his father. During Henry III's reign English diplomacy had been dominated by the Savoyards, who had built for themselves a formidable reputation in this area. Edward I continued to employ Savoyards in diplomacy but not as extensively as his predecessor.<sup>13</sup>

The other four knights were employed less frequently than

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<sup>10</sup> Clifford, *A Knight of Great Renown*, 101, 142; *CPR 1272-81*, 389

<sup>11</sup> *Treaty Rolls*, i, no. 349-50

<sup>12</sup> *Cal. Papal Registers, 1198-1304*, i, 473-4; C47/4/5, f 8

<sup>13</sup> Ridgeway, 'The Politics of The English Royal Court, 1247-56', 62, 157, 161-2

Grandson. In the early 1280s, Geoffrey de Geneville was one of the English envoys who took part in the negotiations between France and Aragon. He carried Edward's offer to act as an arbitrator between the two countries to Paris in 1280. In 1282 he and Anthony Bek were given letters of credence as envoys to Peter III, King of Aragon and to Charles I of Sicily. A year later he was sent with a special verbal message to the King of France. In April 1291 he was one of the English proctors who was sent to do homage for Ponthieu. During the late 1290s he participated in the negotiations to find a diplomatic solution to the dispute between France and England. Geneville was sent to Paris in 1298 to discuss the infractions of the truce between France and England and the inclusion of the Scots in a peace treaty. In May 1299 he was appointed to a commission to conduct negotiations for the restoration of peace between the kings of France and England. A year later he journeyed to Rome to attempt to finalise the arrangements for peace.<sup>14</sup>

Hugh de Vere, Hugh Despenser and Amanieu d'Albret also took part in the long series of negotiations which attempted to reestablish peace between France and England. Hugh de Vere was part of the delegation which accompanied the king's brother on his disastrous mission to France in 1294. These negotiations led to the acceptance of a secret treaty upon which Philip IV later reneged. On 1 January 1296, Vere was one of the envoys sent to negotiate with the cardinals of Rome who were attempting to act as arbitrators between England and France. In February 1298 he received a protection to journey to Rome to discuss the dispute with the Pope. Hugh de Vere was chosen as one of the English representatives who were to meet a delegation from the King of

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<sup>14</sup> *Treaty Rolls*, i, nos 358, 368; *Foedera I*, ii, 884; SC1/12/34; SC1/13/92; SC1/13/33

France at Canterbury in March 1301. The aim of these negotiations was to bring an end to the Anglo-Scottish war.<sup>15</sup>

Hugh Despenser was a member of the diplomatic mission which was sent to seek an alliance with the King of Germany against France in 1294. In January 1296 he was chosen as one of the king's representatives to be sent to France to negotiate for peace. The following November he was part of the delegation which journeyed to Burgundy to try to secure an alliance. In 1297 Despenser was involved in some negotiations with the Count of Holland. Hugh was assigned to a mission destined for Rome in September 1300. In April 1302 his involvement in the negotiations for peace recommenced. He was one of a group of envoys who were sent to France to attempt to finalise an Anglo-French treaty.<sup>16</sup>

The appearance of Amanieu d'Albret as a diplomatic envoy was probably related to the Anglo-French war. As a very important Gascon noble his contribution to any peace negotiations was probably felt to be invaluable. Amanieu was part of the delegation appointed in April 1299 to deliver Edward's lands in Gascony to the Pope. On 26 September 1300, he went as part of a mission to try to complete the peace process. The negotiations continued and in April 1302 he was selected as one of the envoys who had to try to modify the peace treaty. In 1305, Amanieu journeyed to Rome to discuss a possible crusade to the Holy Land and did not return until November 1306. His discussion with Pope Clement V also covered the final arrangements for peace. In 1307 he accompanied the Prince of Wales' entourage to France to ensure that the conditions of the

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<sup>15</sup> *Treaty Rolls*, i, nos 223, 266; *CPR 1292-1301*, 348, 580; SC/32/44

<sup>16</sup> *Treaty Rolls*, i, nos 212, 266, 295, 317, 369, 379, 423; *CPR 1292-1301*, 535

peace treaty were fulfilled.<sup>17</sup>

Many of the delegations to which these knights were appointed were given full power to negotiate, arrange and affirm on the king's behalf. Geoffrey de Geneville was one of the envoys appointed in May 1299 and April 1300 who were given the power to take all the steps that they thought necessary towards the conclusion of peace. Otto de Grandson and Hugh de Vere were both members of the diplomatic mission which was sent to the Pope in February 1298. The delegation received full power to seek a peaceful settlement with France.<sup>18</sup>

However, in practice the knights had to follow strict guidelines which were laid down by the king. During Geoffrey de Geneville's mission to Paris in 1280 the French wanted to know about Castile's intentions. Geneville replied that he had not been instructed to say anything on that point and so he could only speak for himself and not as an envoy. During the same mission of 1280 Geneville altered the wording of a credence to Alphonso X. Edward I was displeased and sent another household knight, Taillefer de Montauzer, with a schedule which had been written in the king's presence. Montauzer and the other envoys were ordered to follow the schedule closely.<sup>19</sup>

Edward I tried to monitor <sup>the</sup> progress of negotiations, he expected frequent reports. In 1302 Otto de Grandson was part of the delegation which was sent to negotiate peace between France and England at Hesdin. Before the delegation had even left the country Edward I sent additional information to the envoys with Philip

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<sup>17</sup> *Treaty Rolls*, i, nos 363, 369, 379; *CPR 1301-7*, 387

<sup>18</sup> *Treaty Rolls*, i, nos 223, 358

<sup>19</sup> P. Chaplais, *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice* (1982) I, i, 330; SC1/13/194

Martel. Martel received orders to remain with the men until they left London. He could then inform the king of their departure and relay to him any other news that the envoys might have heard. This anxiety to hear about the progress of the negotiations continued throughout the mission. A letter dated 18 September reveals that the king was anxious for news from the delegation and that he wished that the passage of other proctors to France could be hastened. On 26 September Edward I was eagerly awaiting the return of the delegation at Dover but he was disappointed because the envoys had been delayed.<sup>20</sup>

However some envoys, especially those of Otto de Grandson's status, did have some freedom of action. The problems of distance and poor communication meant that the king had to trust their judgement to a certain degree. Secondly the king's instructions did sometimes leave matters to their discretion. In 1300 Otto de Grandson and his colleagues were given the power to fix a date for a meeting between the French and English kings, if they felt it was necessary. Similarly, in a letter dated 1297, the king refers to the Count of Cleves' claim that his envoys including Despenser had made certain promises to the Count. The king stated that he would have to speak to his envoys before he could discuss the issue.<sup>21</sup>

The delegations to which these five knights were appointed usually included an earl or bishop and a specialist in the law. It is therefore difficult to assess whether these knights played an active role within the group of envoys. The letters from Geoffrey de Geneville relating to his mission to Paris in 1280 clearly show

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<sup>20</sup> SC1/14/33; SC1/12/64; Chaplais, *Diplomatic Practice*, I, ii, 275-277

<sup>21</sup> *Treaty Rolls*, i, nos 382, 423; *Foedera*, I, ii, 945



that he actively participated in the negotiations.<sup>22</sup> Otto de Grandson, who was appointed to countless diplomatic missions, must have been equally industrious. His importance and the weight given to his advice and skills can be clearly seen as early as 1282. In that year Edward I's brother Edmund was involved in discussions over the election of the bishop of Bordeaux and the unruly city of Provins. He requested that Otto be sent to Paris to assist him in the negotiations.<sup>23</sup>

Hugh Despenser was also a person of considerable importance within the diplomatic missions. Despenser and William of Valence were the only members of the 1296 delegation to the cardinals who were empowered to swear an oath on the king's behalf. However, it would seem that the position of Amanieu d'Albret, Despenser and Hugh de Vere within the delegations was less important than that of Grandson. A commission sent to Rome in 1300 consisted of Amanieu d'Albret, Hugh Despenser, Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, John Berwick, Otto de Grandson and Amadeus, Count of Savoy. In the instructions given to the delegation the king warned that the power he had bestowed upon the envoys became null and void if either Otto de Grandson, Amadeus, Count of Savoy or Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln were not present. The mission dispatched to the Pope in February 1298 included Hugh de Vere, the Bishops of Durham and Dublin, Otto de Grandson and Amadeus, Count of Savoy. The final two men were the only envoys who had the power to confirm and validate by an oath the king's agreement to submit to papal arbitration.<sup>24</sup>

However, even Otto de Grandson was not indispensable to a diplomatic mission. In 1298 Edward I instructed Grandson and

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<sup>22</sup> See above, vol. 2, p 94

<sup>23</sup> Clifford, *A Knight of Great Renown*, 75

<sup>24</sup> *Treaty Rolls*, i, nos 268, 369; *Foedera*, I, ii, 228

Amadeus, Count of Savoy, to appoint substitutes if they were unable to accompany the mission to Rome. This was to prevent the delegation being delayed.<sup>25</sup>

The role of those household knights who did not have the same social standing or who were not part of the king's inner circle of advisers was much smaller. Of the remaining thirty-two knights John St John, Elias Hauville and Luke de Tany were each involved in four diplomatic missions. Gerald Frensay served as an envoy on three occasions. Robert Achard, William Dean, Thomas de Sandwich and Guy Ferre the elder, were each appointed to accompany two delegations of envoys. Twenty-four knights were sent on only one mission.

The letter carried by Jolens to the Pope demonstrated that many knights were often too humble to be considered suitable diplomats.<sup>26</sup> The knights who were appointed were not employed on a wide range of missions like Grandson and his colleagues. Even John St John who was a member of the king's council tended to be sent simply on missions relating to the offices which he held. Unlike Despenser and Vere, St John was not related to an important English earldom or foreign lordship. In general the knights were placed only on missions where they had special knowledge which might be useful.

In 1294 John St John and Robert Tibetot<sup>27</sup> had been chosen to negotiate an alliance with Castile against France. John St John was seneschal of Gascony and he and Tibetot were the leaders of the military expedition to Gascony that year. John St John was appointed to treat with the French envoys in 1301 about Scotland

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<sup>25</sup> *Treaty Rolls*, i, no. 230

<sup>26</sup> See above, vol. 2, p 90

<sup>27</sup> The other member of the delegation was John of Brittany

because he was the warden of the Scottish march.<sup>28</sup> He was sent on a diplomatic mission to the King of Aragon in 1290. This was probably because he knew the country and its king. St John had been one of the 120 hostages who had remained in Aragon in 1288 under the terms of the Treaty of Canfranc.<sup>29</sup>

Luke de Tany was a proctor at the French *parlements* of 1275, 1276 and 1277 because he was seneschal of Gascony. Similarly his successor, John de Grailly, attended the French *parlement* of 1278. The only other negotiations in which Luke de Tany participated took place in 1280. He conveyed the king's proposals for a Franco-Castillian peace to the protagonists.<sup>30</sup>

Eustace Hatch and Guy Ferre were appointed to arrange the dowry of the king's daughter, Eleanor, Countess of Bar in 1294 because both men had been closely involved with the king's children and the royal family. Eustace Hatch had been attached to the household of the king's children in the 1280's. While Guy Ferre had been the steward of the queen mother's household and then the *magister* of the young Prince Edward.<sup>31</sup>

Gerald Frensay was sent as an envoy to the Count of Holland in 1301 to supervise the affairs of Elizabeth, Countess of Holland. In the letter he carried, Edward I told the Count that he had sent a simple envoy because Frensay was more experienced in the state of the said affairs than more 'solemn envoys' would have been.<sup>32</sup>

The knights who served on only one diplomatic mission were

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<sup>28</sup> CPR 1292-1301, 557; RG, iii, 2935; SC1/12/117

<sup>29</sup> Eighteen of the hostages were household knights; C47/4/5 f 26; *Foedera*, I, ii, 690

<sup>30</sup> CPR 1272-81, 79, 150; SC1/13/1; SC1/17/163

<sup>31</sup> Byerly, *Records 1286-9*, no. 3400; CPR 1292-1301, 67; See above, 148

<sup>32</sup> CCR 1296-1302, 442

probably appointed because they were available at court when the delegation was formed. For instance a number of Gascons including Jordan Lubeck and Arnald Guillaume served as envoys between 1286-9 because Edward I was in Gascony and there had been an influx of Gascons into his household. These men were therefore in attendance upon the king at his court.

The diplomatic missions upon which these thirty-two knights were sent were of considerably less importance than the ones to which Grandson and his colleagues were assigned. Only six of these knights were appointed to take part in major discussions or were given full power to negotiate in the king's name.

The commissions to which John St John and Robert Tibetot were appointed did receive the necessary authority to negotiate on the king's behalf.<sup>33</sup> On 9 September 1302 William Dean was given full power to go to Rome and hear the Pope's final pronouncement and to do everything required in connection with the restoration of peace between France and England. In 1279, Thomas de Sandwich was authorized to negotiate with John, Duke of Lorraine over the marriage of John to the king's daughter, Margaret. Robert de la Warde was commissioned in 1301 to go to France to treat between the king of France and the Count of Bar.<sup>34</sup>

The role of these knights within the commissions is unclear. It seems likely that John St John as seneschal of Gascony and warden of the Scottish march played an active and important role in the missions of 1294 and 1301 respectively. The delegation of diplomats accompanying William Dean in 1302 consisted of two friars, a canon of London and Philip Martel a legal specialist. The

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<sup>33</sup> *CPR 1292-1301*, 557; *RG*, iii, 2935

<sup>34</sup> *Treaty Rolls*, i, no. 381; *Foedera*, I, ii, 943; *CPR 1272-81*, 303; Chaplais, *Diplomatic Practice*, I, ii, 689

absence of any notable diplomats such as Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln or Otto de Grandson suggests that Dean actively participated in the negotiations. Similarly Robert de la Warde was accompanied only by Thomas de Loggore, an expert in the law. Therefore Warde must have been personally involved in the discussions.<sup>35</sup>

However, it seems unlikely that the role of these men within the delegations was as crucial as that of Grandson and his associates. In 1294 Nicholas de Segrave was appointed to a delegation which was assigned the task of negotiating a treaty with the king of Germany. However, Segrave's name does not appear on the articles of agreement made with the German king nor was he mentioned in the ratification of the alliance by the English proctors. Unlike Grandson, his role was not so important that he needed to appoint a substitute to act on his behalf when he did not attend.<sup>36</sup>

The missions to which the remaining household knights were appointed did not receive full power to negotiate on the king's behalf. Some of the household knights were simply sent to deliver a request, a petition or information. In 1291, John St John and Roger Lestrange petitioned the Pope about the residue of the papal tenth collected for the Holy Land and requested that a legate be sent to England. In 1292 the same envoys went to Rome to inquire about a petition which had been sent to the Pope concerning Scotland.<sup>37</sup>

Edmond de Jolens was in Rome from 18 July to 7 December 1286. His mission was to convey letters from Edward I to Pope Honorius IV. The letters requested that the Pope should agree to the

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<sup>35</sup> Bl Add Ms 7966A f 29v; Chaplais, *Diplomatic Practice*, I, ii, 689

<sup>36</sup> Chaplais, *Diplomatic Administration*, I, ii, 481-5

<sup>37</sup> *CPR 1281-92*, 447; *Cal. Papal Registers 1198-1304*, 555

proposed Franco-Aragonese truce. Edward also asked for papal envoys to be sent to Gascony to treat on the conflict. Jolens' main task was to ascertain the Pope's wishes.<sup>38</sup>

Other knights were often sent to verify that the terms of a marriage settlement had been properly fulfilled. For instance in 1294 three household knights, Guy Ferre, Eustace Hatch and Osbert de Spaldington were sent to make an extent of the land which Henry, Count of Bar had assigned to Edward I's daughter Eleanor for her dowry. They were instructed to ensure that it did not amount to less than the value of 15,000 *li. Tur.* as laid down in the marriage agreement.

Similarly, in 1297 Raymond Ferre was in Holland for 51 days. He had been appointed by the king to receive from the Count the assignment and rent of land to the yearly value of 8,000 *li. Tur.* This was the dowry which had been promised to the king's daughter Elizabeth under the terms of her marriage settlement with the Count of Holland.<sup>39</sup> In 1301 Gerald Frensay was sent to Holland to supervise the affairs of Elizabeth, Count of Holland. Frensay was sent on further missions to Holland for the same purpose between 1302 and 1304.<sup>40</sup>

Some knights were merely described as nuncios. Into this category fall Robert Achard, Gilbert de Briddeshale, Jordan Lubeck and Arnald Guillaume. In 1290 Gilbert de Briddeshale was paid £25 for going as a nuncio to the King of Aragon. In 1289 Jordan Lubeck went as a messenger to the King of France, the Duke of Brabant and the Count of Flanders. In 1286 Arnald Guillaume was sent to Aragon

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<sup>38</sup> Chaplais, *Diplomatic Practice*, i, 7; C47/4/3, f 16;

<sup>39</sup> *Treaty Rolls*, i, nos 322, 431; *Foedera*, I, ii, 854; *CPR 1292-1301*, 229; B1 Add Ms 7965, f 34

<sup>40</sup> *CCR 1296-1301*, 442; *CPR 1301-7*, 11, 13; E101/364/13; C47/4/5, f 17v



as a messenger.<sup>41</sup> The knight was away from the king's court only for a very short period of time on most of these missions. Jordan Lubeck's visit to France, Brabant and Flanders in 1289 lasted only from 18 September to 26 October. This suggests that such nuncios were only delivering letters. They were not involved in any detailed negotiations.

It is clear that some household knights went on a diplomatic mission simply as the companion of an important nobleman. In October 1300 Bartholomew de Badlesmere, John de la Mare and Maurice le Burn went with the earl of Lincoln to Rome. There is no suggestion that they were involved in the negotiations.<sup>42</sup>

Other household knights were simply assigned the duty of giving or receiving seisin of foreign land as specified under a particular treaty. In May 1299, William Leyburn and Pons de Castillion were part of the commission which delivered Gascony into the hands of the Bishop of Vicenza as agreed under the terms of the papal arbitration.<sup>43</sup>

Finally household knights were appointed to meet and escort important foreign personages. For instance in 1290, Elias Hauville was sent to Scotland to meet the King of Norway and his daughter. He was instructed to report their arrival to the king and to convey details of the lady. In 1297 Raymond Ferre was appointed to escort the Count of Flanders to London. In the same year Walter Beauchamp the younger and Robert Clifford were part of an escort to convey the king's daughter, Margaret, back to Brabant.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Byerly, *Records 1286-9*, nos 184, 1942; C47/4/5, ff 19, ff 26

<sup>42</sup> *CCR 1296-1301*, 370

<sup>43</sup> *Treaty Rolls*, i, no. 363; *Foedera I*, ii, 902-3

<sup>44</sup> C47/4/5, f 17v; B1 Add Ms 7965, ff 13v, 28v

In total Salt catalogued fifty-three 'embassies' to France between 1272 and 1307.<sup>45</sup> Household knights participated in twenty-five of those missions. This suggests that household involvement in diplomacy was not insubstantial. However, although over thirty household knights were engaged in some form of diplomatic activity during the reign only five served as envoys with any frequency. Grandson, Vere, Despenser, Albret and Geneville were appointed to nineteen of the embassies to France. These were men of considerable social standing who seem to have had a superior position within the household. The other knights were simply appointed to missions which dealt with issues about which they had specialist knowledge or because they were available at court. The core of knights who were important diplomats also played a significant role as royal councillors.

## II

The council of Edward I was there to provide the king with advice on a wide range of issues.<sup>46</sup> The importance and role of household knights in the king's council is difficult to assess because of the scarcity of documents which record council membership. The council's decisions were regularly noted but usually the names of only a few of the most prominent council members were mentioned. Although the members of the council received writs to attend Edward I's parliaments only the names of the clerks and justices were recorded because the magnates always received a separate summons.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Salt, 'List of English Embassies to France 1272-1307', 263-78

<sup>46</sup> J.F. Baldwin, *The King's Council* (Oxford, 1913), 65

<sup>47</sup> *Parl Writs*, i, 8-9, 17



The names of fifteen household knights appear on the council lists during Edward I's reign. In 1276 at the council's judgement against Llywelyn, Prince of Wales there were four lay magnates who had strong connections with the household, Roger Mortimer, William de Braose, Robert Tibetot and John St John. Two of these knights, William de Braose and Robert Tibetot, were also present at the council's judgement against Gilbert de Clare. The position of these men on the king's council is confirmed by later evidence.<sup>48</sup>

Some of the petitions presented to parliament were considered by the council who passed them on to special groups or commissions, often consisting of council members. Roger Mortimer served on one such commission which dealt with the disputes between English merchants and the merchants of Zeeland and Holland in 1279.<sup>49</sup>

William Latimer the elder and Robert Tibetot served upon a tribunal of the council which included the king himself, to hear a complaint against the Franciscans of Yarmouth in 1290. The plaintiff's action was satisfied by the council members paying him £10.<sup>50</sup>

A council summons for 18 October 1299 was sent to a number of prominent earls and bishops and five lay magnates. Among these lay magnates were three household knights, Otto de Grandson, Hugh de Vere and John St John. St John had been a member of the council from the beginning of the reign.<sup>51</sup>

The next evidence for council membership is in 1305. Much of this evidence has already been examined by various historians, notably Maitland, but not in relation to the role of household

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 5, 6

<sup>49</sup> H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages* (1981), 535

<sup>50</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, i, 33

<sup>51</sup> *Parl Writs*, i, 81

knights.<sup>52</sup> On 21 March 1305 the king ordered that all those who were attending parliament could leave except for the council. Those who remained discussed a range of issues including the London merchants and royal marriage alliances. Attached to this council's reply to the mission of the Bishop of Byblos on 5 April was a list of twenty-four council members. Among the names were those of eight household knights; Robert Clifford, Walter de Teye, Adam de Welles, William de Grandson, William de Rithre, Hugh de Vere, Hugh Despenser and John Botetourt.<sup>53</sup>

A parliament which did not include the knights of the shire, the burgesses or the lay magnates was originally planned for 15 August 1305 but it was prorogued to 15 September. Among those who received a summons to this parliament as part of the council were Robert Clifford and John Botetourt. A letter from Edward I to the Bishop of Winchester and other members of the council informing them that he was going to be late for the parliament includes John Botetourt among the council members. The reason why Adam de Welles, William de Rithre, Walter de Teye and William de Grandson did not receive a summons to this parliament is unclear. However, it was the king's right to summon the councillors of his choice. He did not always summon the same men on each occasion.<sup>54</sup>

On Edward I's progress north to Scotland in 1306 there was a so called council at Lanercost. The purpose of this 'council' was to receive the homage of John, Steward of Scotland. Certain lay magnates were encouraged to attend this event. It is difficult to be clear whether this was a real council or whether a large number

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<sup>52</sup> F.W. Maitland 'Introduction to the Memoranda de Parlamento of 1305', *Historical Studies of the English Parliament*, i, ed. E.B. Fryde and E. Miller, (Cambridge, 1970), 95-6

<sup>53</sup> *Memoranda de Parlamento 1305*, ed. Maitland, 258-260; E175 file 1 no. 12

<sup>54</sup> *Parl Writs*, i, 158-9; E175 file 1 no. 20

of witnesses were desired to witness the homage. Among those summoned there were four household knights, John Botetourt, Robert de la Warde, John Dovedale and John de Sulleye.<sup>55</sup>

The inclusion of Robert de la Warde, household steward, and John de Sulleye, the chamberlain, at this 'council' need not occasion surprise. Maitland argued that household officers such as the steward and the chamberlain were not necessarily sworn members of the council. However, it is clear that during Edward I's reign they were usually members of the council. Peter de Chauvent, the chamberlain, and Walter de Beauchamp, the steward, were both part of the council which ratified the agreement of Montreuil on 19 June 1299 at Canterbury.<sup>56</sup>

One of the core elements of the council consisted of the king's ministers, including a number of royal justices. William Inge, a household knight in 1305-6, was summoned to every parliament from 1295 as one of the justices of the council. He was also present at other meetings of the council such as the one at Odiham in 1303.<sup>57</sup>

In addition to the fifteen household knights listed as being members of the king's council there were those who served as members of the regency councils in his absence. William de Braose and Roger Lestrangle were part of the council of the king's brother, Edmund, during Edward I's visit to Gascony between 1286 and 1289. When Edward I led the expedition to Flanders in 1297, three household knights, John Tregoz, Guy Ferre the elder and Guncelin de Badlesmere, remained in England as part of the council of the

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<sup>55</sup> *Parl Writs*, i, 180

<sup>56</sup> Maitland, 'Introduction to the Memoranda de Parlamento Of 1305', 95-6; *Gascon Reg*, ii, 315

<sup>57</sup> *Parl Writs*, i, 134

Prince of Wales.<sup>58</sup>

Of the fifteen knights who served on the king's council between 1272 and 1307, ten appear on the wardrobe lists as being in receipt of fees and robes; all were bannerets. The remaining five, Otto and William de Grandson, Hugh de Vere, Robert Tibetot and Hugh Despenser all had very strong household connections.<sup>59</sup>

The knights who were chosen as councillors tended to be men of substance such as Otto de Grandson and Hugh de Vere. Robert Clifford held half the hereditary sheriffdom of Westmorland. Roger Mortimer, William de Braose, John Tregoz and Roger Lestrangle were important men in the Welsh marches.

Some household knights were probably appointed to the council because of the offices which they held. John Botetourt, a member of the council in 1305, was warden of the Scottish march. Otto de Grandson and Hugh de Vere were members of the council because of their diplomatic activities. Grandson had also enjoyed invaluable experience as vice-regent of Gascony and justice of north Wales. John St John had been seneschal of Gascony and warden of the Scottish march. Robert Clifford was a councillor in 1305 because he was <sup>the</sup> justice of <sup>the</sup> forest north of the Trent as well as a former warden of the Scottish march. Hugh Despenser was the justice of the forest south of the Trent and he had served on numerous diplomatic missions. William Latimer's position on the council in 1290 may have been due to his presence on the commission which was inquiring into the abuses of the king's officials committed during Edward I's visit to Gascony.

The presence of other household knights on the council in 1305 is more difficult to explain. William de Rithre, Adam de

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<sup>58</sup> *Parl Writs*, i, 18, 61-2

<sup>59</sup> See above, vol. 1, pp 12-3, 102-3

Welles and Walter de Teye were relatively new household knights. Welles was a member of the household in 1297 but Walter de Teye and William de Rithre were not in receipt of fees and robes until 1300. None of these men been particularly prominent in the king's service. Walter de Teye had been the keeper of Berwick in 1300. Therefore he may have been summoned to the council of 1305 because of his knowledge of the situation in Scotland. William de Rithre and Adam de Welles had both served on a small number of oyer and terminer commissions. In addition Welles was the keeper of the forest between the bridges of Stamford and Oxford in 1299. However, none of these positions appear sufficiently important to have given their holders automatic admittance to the council chamber.<sup>60</sup>

There must also have been personal factors which influenced the king's choice of councillors. Such reasons are virtually impossible to trace. Otto de Grandson's appearance on the council is partly explained by his diplomatic experience. However, his close personal friendship with Edward I which began during Henry III's reign was probably another factor responsible for his appointment.<sup>61</sup>

The appointment of the knights who served on the regency councils must have been the result of a number of factors. William de Braose the elder had been a member of the king's council. He and Roger Lestrangle were both members of Edmund's council in 1288. As important Welsh landowners their advice must have been invaluable at the time of Rhys ap Maredudd's rebellion.

Guy Ferre the elder was a member of the regency council in 1297 because of his position within the household of the young

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<sup>60</sup> *Documents*, ed. Stevenson, ii, 414; *CPR 1281-92*, 453; *Liber Quot*, 188-195; Bl Add Ms 7965, ff 60

<sup>61</sup> See chapter 1

Prince Edward.<sup>62</sup> Badlesmere was the justice of Chester during the first Welsh war; he therefore had considerable political experience which might have proved useful to the Prince. The presence of John Tregoz on the 1297 council is more difficult to explain as he had no major political experience.<sup>63</sup> However, the appointment of these three household knights may simply have been due to the political crisis of 1297.

It is difficult to assess the contribution of the household knights to the council's discussions. The views of those knights who held important offices must have been taken into consideration. The knowledge possessed by Otto de Grandson, Hugh de Vere and Hugh Despenser with regard to diplomatic affairs must have been treated with respect. Similarly, the opinions of John St John, John Botetourt and Clifford concerning the situation in Scotland must have been highly valued. However, if one considers the reaction of the nobles, especially the earls, to the use of household knights as military commanders it is inconceivable that any household knight would have been able to dominate a council meeting.<sup>64</sup>

In addition to those household knights who were sworn councillors of the king there must have been those who acted as informal advisers. Those household knights who were regularly at court must, through close personal contact, have been able to influence and advise the king. As demonstrated in chapter three there were a group of knights and bannerets who were in almost constant attendance upon the king each year.<sup>65</sup>

Another possible source of evidence for such advisers were the

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<sup>62</sup> See above, vol 1, p 156

<sup>63</sup> Johnstone, *Edward of Carnarvon*, 14-17;

<sup>64</sup> See above, vol. 1, p 102

<sup>65</sup> E101/4/8; See chapter 3

witness lists. For instance Roger Clifford the elder, who died in 1284, was close to the king in the 1270s. In 1279-80 he appeared on the witness lists in December 1279, January 1280, May 1280, June 1280 and November 1280. The name of Geoffrey de Geneville, another household knight, was frequently on the witness list at the beginning of the reign.<sup>66</sup>

The extent of the influence of those household knights who appeared regularly on the witness lists and in the wage accounts is impossible to assess. Those who spent a considerable amount of time at court over a number of years may have gained some influence. Eustace Hatch appeared on the witness lists over a large number of years: the 1280 witness list reveals that he was at court in May, June, July and October. In 1291 he was at court in January, March, April, June and September. In 1300 he appeared only once on the witness list but in 1305 he was at court in February and June.<sup>67</sup> Eustace Hatch was by no means unusual. Other household knights appeared on the witness lists over a long period of time. William Leyburn appeared on witness lists in 1290, 1300 and 1305. It would be surprising if such knights had not become informal advisers to the king over a number of years.<sup>68</sup>

The position of the knights at court, even as informal advisers, was always overshadowed by that of the great earls. Edward I's use of patronage and favour was judicious.<sup>69</sup> Unlike his father and his son, Edward I never favoured one particular group of men or household knights as his confidants. Arnald Gavaston and Hugh Despenser held no power under Edward I comparable to that of

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<sup>66</sup> C53/68

<sup>67</sup> This is just a random sample of the witness lists

<sup>68</sup> C53/68; C53/76; C53/77; C53/86; C53/91

<sup>69</sup> For a detailed discussion of Edward I's use of patronage see chapter 9

their sons during Edward II's reign. The knights clearly had a role to play as advisers but they never superseded the role of the king's natural counsellors, the higher nobility and the clergy. However, their constant dependence upon the king ensured their loyalty during a political crisis which divided the court and the country.

The crisis of 1297 saw a division between Edward I and some of his sworn counsellors and informal confidants. The main leaders of the opposition included men such as Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk and Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, who were councillors of the king prior to 1297. Unfortunately, no list of council membership survives for the year 1297 but the evidence suggests that the household and the councillors drawn from it remained loyal to the king.

One of the major causes of dispute between Edward I and his opponents was the provision of men for his campaign in Flanders. No earls accompanied Edward I when he departed from Winchelsea on 22 August 1297. The household was the major component of the 1297 expedition.<sup>70</sup> Of the 64 knights receiving fees that year, 44 accompanied him to Flanders along with their contingents of knights and squires. Among those serving in Flanders were such councillors and advisers as Hugh Despenser and Geoffrey de Geneville. Otto de Grandson was involved in the negotiations for peace with France during that period.<sup>71</sup>

The twenty knights who were absent from the wage account for Flanders were not necessarily part of the opposition to the king

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<sup>70</sup> See chapter 2

<sup>71</sup> Lewis, 'The English Forces in Flanders in 1297', 312-14; Bl Add Ms 7965, ff 60, 64-5, 66-67v; E101/6/37; CPR 1292-1301, 245, 306



in 1297. Some such as Jamie de Gericca, Raymond de Champagne and Miles de Noaillan were from Gascony and Aragon. They also accompanied the king overseas. Others such as Robert Clifford, the warden of the Scottish march, had important tasks to fulfill in England. Osbert de Spaldingdon was constable of Berwick. He and Hugh Cressingham were responsible for organizing the transfer of men from Scotland to Flanders.<sup>72</sup> A small number remained with the Prince of Wales as part of the regency council.<sup>73</sup>

The only household knight who was involved in the opposition to the king in 1297 was Peter Tadington. He was attached to the household of Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk. He did not go to Flanders with the king but his role in the crisis is difficult to assess due to the paucity of evidence. This did not end his career in the royal household. He was receiving wages from the king in 1300.<sup>74</sup>

There is no firm evidence of the involvement of any other household knights in the crisis of 1297. Thomas Hauville, Edward Charles and Nicholas Stuteville were in receipt of fees and robes in 1297 but they did not accompany Edward to Flanders. Interestingly, all three men held land in Norfolk. However, this does not prove that they were actively opposing the king. In fact Thomas Hauville's son served with Edward I in Flanders. His father may have remained in England to care for the king's falcons.<sup>75</sup>

The strength of the allegiance given by the household to the king in 1297 seems indisputable. Such loyalty in the face of a crisis during which Edward feared the outbreak of civil war must

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<sup>72</sup> BL Add Ms 7965, f 55v

<sup>73</sup> See above, vol. 2, p 106

<sup>74</sup> Prestwich, *Documents 1297-8*, 157; E101/358/18

<sup>75</sup> E101/6/37; E101/358/18

have impressed the king. This may have encouraged Edward to give his knights a more important role in the wider political arena during the final year of the reign.

If Edward I wanted to consult or to gain the widespread consent of his magnates and others he would summon a much larger gathering. Some of these gatherings were also referred to as councils, others as parliaments.<sup>76</sup>

Fifty-two household knights, all of whom were bannerets, received individual writs of summons to parliament during Edward I's reign. More household knights may have attended parliament but the lists of summons survive only from 1295 and, as Prestwich has shown, even these are not totally reliable. They do not always correspond with the list of messengers who were sent to deliver the writs.<sup>77</sup>

However, from the available evidence it is clear that no household knight attended all the parliaments between 1272-1307. There seems to have been a distinct break between the early and the later years of the reign. Fifteen household knights were invited to attend the parliament held on 30 September 1283. Of these only three were summoned to parliament in the later years of the reign. Roger Lestrangle was asked to appear at the parliament of 1 August 1295 and John de Sulleye and John Lestrangle were summoned in 1300.

The next parliament for which a summons list survives was

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<sup>76</sup> It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between large councils and parliaments. For instance there is only one reference, in a marginal note to a writ of expenses, to the meeting in May 1306 as a parliament. This has led some historians to conclude that it was a council: M.C. Prestwich, 'Magnate Summons in England in the Later Years of Edward I', *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, v (1985), 99; *Parl Writs*, i, 164

<sup>77</sup> Prestwich, 'Magnate Summons in England in the Later Years of Edward I', 97

the one held in August 1295. To that gathering and the parliament held on 12 November that year two household knights, Bogo de Knoville and Roger Lestrangle, were summoned. Only Bogo de Knoville was asked to attend the parliament of 3 November 1296 at Bury St Edmunds.<sup>78</sup> The small number of household knights summoned to parliament in these years reflects a general decline in the number of lay magnates who received writs to attend the gatherings held in 1295-6.<sup>79</sup>

The total number of lay magnates summoned to parliament rose in 1297 to 75; simultaneously the numbers of household knights increased to ten. Fourteen household knights were invited to the parliament of 8 March 1299 and eleven to the one held on 11 May 1299. In 1300 there was a dramatic rise in the number of household knights who were summoned. Ninety-nine lay magnates were asked to attend the parliament to be held on 6 March 1300. At least thirty of these were members of the king's *familia*.<sup>80</sup>

More knights received a writ of summons to the parliaments held between 1301-7 than to the gatherings earlier in the reign. Twenty-five knights received summons in 1301, twenty-four in 1302, twenty-eight in 1305 and twenty-eight in 1307. An invitation to one parliament did not guarantee a summons to all subsequent parliaments, although most of the household knights who were asked to attend the 1300 assembly received summons to most of the gatherings held between 1301 and 1307.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> *Parl Writs*, i, 29, 52

<sup>79</sup> J.E. Powell and K. Wallis, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages*, (1968), 229

<sup>80</sup> *Parl Writs*, i, 81, 82, 113, 131

<sup>81</sup> *Parl Writs*, i, 29, 52, 81, 82, 113, 114, 131, 139, 164, 181; Due to the possible inaccuracies in the writs of summons these figures are not necessarily complete but they do give a general pattern of the summons of household knights to parliament during the reign.

It is unclear whether the summons received by the household knights were connected to their position in the king's *familia*. Some historians have said that the summoning of lay magnates was just haphazard or ad hoc.<sup>82</sup> On some occasions the parliamentary summons list was based on a list of military summons. All the household knights invited to attend the parliament of 1283 had been previously summoned to fight against the Welsh.

Powell and Wallis proved that those barons summoned to parliament were neither all tenants in chief nor the holders of baronies.<sup>83</sup> There may have been a tendency to summon household knights from the Scottish and Welsh marches. Of the fifteen household knights asked to attend the assembly held in 1283, John Lestrange, Roger Lestrange, William de Braose the elder, Ralph Basset and John de Sulleye all held land near the Welsh border. Of the 28 household knights summoned in 1300, four had land in the north while a further six had received land in Scotland.<sup>84</sup>

In the absence of any other convincing or comprehensive explanation of the summoning of lay magnates to parliaments the possibility that the knights were invited at least partly because of their position within the household cannot be completely dismissed. The yearly fluctuations in the parliamentary summons lists cannot of course be tied closely to the fluctuations of household membership. Robert de la Warde was summoned in 1300 and to every subsequent parliament of the reign but he was in receipt

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<sup>82</sup> G.L. Harris, 'The Formation of Parliament 1272-1377', *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.G. Denton and J.H. Davis (Manchester, 1981), 38

<sup>83</sup> Powell, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages*, 225-6; Of the 52 household knights summoned to parliament, 14 held full baronies as defined by Sanders, while a further 11 held some part of a barony. In Walter de Teye's case this was as small as one ninth of the barony of Bedford.

<sup>84</sup> Prestwich, 'Magnate Summons in England in the Later Years of Edward I', 97; *CDS*, ii, nos 1045, 1183; v, no. 305

of fees and robes only from 1303-4. Of the twenty-eight knights who were summoned to the parliament of 28 February 1305 only twelve were current members of the household.<sup>85</sup>

However, it was the king's right to decide whom he summoned to parliament. Therefore membership of the household which made a banneret personally known to the king might have been responsible for some knights receiving a writ of summons. In 1300 Edward I may have deliberately issued writs of summons to a large number of household knights. Of the thirty knights called to attend the parliament, twenty-three received fees, robes or wages as a banneret of the king's household in 1300. Of the twenty-nine bannerets in receipt of fees and robes in the winter of 1300 all but seven were on the list of those summoned to parliament. It is possible that at least four of the others, Walter de Beauchamp, John Botetourt, John Kingston and John Tregoz did in fact receive a writ. None of the four appear on the summons list for the 1301 parliament but a messenger was ordered to deliver a writ to them.<sup>86</sup>

The summoning of such a large number of current members of the household to a parliament was unusual. Even if allowances are made for some slight inaccuracies in the list of summons, the situation was exceptional.<sup>87</sup> It meant that over a quarter of all lay magnates who are known to have been asked to attend the parliament that year were household knights. This occurred in a year when Edward I needed the grant of a new tax. He was also facing opposition from both the clergy and the magnates over purveyance,

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<sup>85</sup> *Parl Writs*, i, 139; E101/369/11, f 106

<sup>86</sup> *Parl Writs*, i, 90; *Liber Quot*, 300; Prestwich, 'Magnate Summons in England in the Later Years of Edward I', 98

<sup>87</sup> In 1297 the close roll of writs of summons and the wardrobe account reveal only two household knights who were in receipt of fees and robes that year being summoned to parliament in spite of the increase in the number of lay magnates summoned that year. *Parl Writs*, i, 82; Bl Add Ms 7965, f 108

the summons of men with over 40 liberates of land and other issues. This suggests that the summoning of such a large number of household knights might not have been a coincidence. The household had been the one element which had remained loyal to Edward I during the crisis of 1297.<sup>88</sup>

That Edward I might attempt to control opposition to unpopular measures through the summoning of a large number of household knights should not necessarily occasion surprise. In that same year he 'packed', with household knights, the commissions which were set up to enforce the unpopular measure of summoning men with more than 40 liberates of land to perform military service.<sup>89</sup>

If Edward I did deliberately summon a large number of household knights to the 1300 parliament to moderate potential opposition then he was successful. He did have to make concessions to the parliament in the form of the *Articuli Super Cartas* but they were not as radical as the original articles on which they were based. The king also obtained agreement to a final clause which protected royal rights.<sup>90</sup>

There are a number of arguments that could be used against the theory that Edward I deliberately demanded the attendance of a large number of household knights at that parliament. Firstly, the list which summoned lay magnates to the March parliament of 1300 was based on the military summons list of 1299. Therefore, one could argue that the summoning of so many household knights was a coincidence. Although this military summons list was clearly the basis of the list which summoned the magnates to parliament in 1300 it does not necessarily preclude the concept that it was a

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<sup>88</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 522

<sup>89</sup> See chapter 2

<sup>90</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 522

conscious decision on the part of the king to summon a large number of household knights. Virtually the same military summons list had been available for the king's use as early as November 1298 but it had not been used to summon either of the parliaments of 1299. Therefore, there must have been a decision to change the parliament list in 1300. Secondly, the 1299 military summons list and the 1300 parliament list were not identical; the names of at least two household knights were added to the latter.<sup>91</sup>

Even if Edward I did deliberately call a large number of household knights to the parliament of 1300 it is impossible to assess how many actually attended. The only indication of attendance at any of Edward I's parliaments is the much discussed list from the assembly at Carlisle in 1307. Against the names of those summoned there is a series of annotations, including dots, crosses and the word *hic*. An analysis by Roskell suggests that the marks register attendance. Powell and Wallis suggest that they indicate attendance at three different points of time. Of the twenty-seven household knights who were summoned there are marks of attendance against fourteen of their names. Clearly the summoning of a household knight did not guarantee attendance.<sup>92</sup>

Apart from those household knights who were summoned as magnates to Parliaments there were those who were asked to attend because they were justices and ministers of the king's council. William Inge and Osbert de Spaldington were both summoned as justices of the council in 1295. The former continued to be summoned in the same manner to all the subsequent parliaments of the reign.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> *Parl Writs*, i, 82, 106, 324, 327

<sup>92</sup> J.S. Roskell, 'The Problem of the Attendance of the Lords in The Medieval Parliaments', *BIHR*, xxix (1956), 161; *Parl Writs*, i, 183-4

<sup>93</sup> *Parl Writs*, i, 29

There were also household knights who received no official summons to parliament but who were present and who were appointed to official posts. Arnald de Caupenne, a Gascon and seneschal of Perigord, was one of those who was appointed to deal with and audit the petitions relating to Gascony in 1305. William Dean was appointed to do the same for the petitions relating to Ireland and the Channel Islands. Dean's appointment is difficult to understand because he was not connected to either island. His experience of royal service was limited: he had visited Rome in 1302 and he had served upon a few oyer and terminer commissions.<sup>94</sup>

Finally, there were those household knights who were returned to parliament as knights of the shire. Seven were returned as knights of the shire between 1272 and 1307. Six of these knights were actually members of the household when they attended the parliament. Robert de Creuker was returned as a knight of the shire for Bedford and Buckinghamshire at Edward I's first parliament held at Easter 1275. He received a payment for his robes as part of the king's household in 1278-9. Miles Pychard was the representative for Hereford in 1302. He was an active member of the household in 1300 and 1303-4. John Thorpe was returned to parliament as the knight of the shire for Norfolk in 1305; he was in receipt of fees and robes in 1305-6. Bartholomew de Badlesmere and Thomas Chaucombe were returned to the parliament held on 20 February 1307 for Kent and Southampton respectively. They were both in receipt of fees and robes in 1306.<sup>95</sup>

The remaining three knights probably were not current members of the household when they attended parliament. Robert Giffard, who

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<sup>94</sup> *Parl Writs*, i, 155; *CPR 1301-7*, 424; *RG iii*, 4759; *CPR 1292-1301*, 377, 459, 462

<sup>95</sup> C.H. Jenkinson 'The First Parliament of Edward I' *EHR* (1910), 236; *Parl Writs*, i, 22, 85, 121, 132, 147, 189-90



was the representative for Cornwall in 1300 and 1305, had not been in receipt of fees and robes since 1297. William Hauterive, who represented Lincoln in 1307, had been attached to the king's *familia* in 1290. All the knights who were returned as knights of the shire were simple knights not bannerets.<sup>96</sup>

From this analysis it is quite clear that Edward I did not attempt to have a large number of his household elected as knights of the shire. Out of the 66 knights of the shire at the parliament of 1300 only one, Robert Giffard, had any household connections. If Edward I deliberately summoned a large number of household knights to the parliament of 1300 he was using very different tactics to those of another king a century later. Richard II tried to influence parliament through the election of many of his household knights as knights of the shire. The difference in the tactics of the two men shows the developing importance of the commons during the intervening century.<sup>97</sup>

More than ten percent of the household knights who were in receipt of fees and robes between 1272 and 1307 were engaged in some form of diplomatic activity during the reign. This meant that a fair proportion of diplomatic missions included a representative of the royal household. However, only five served as envoys with any regularity. These were men of considerable social standing who seem to have had a superior position within the household. The other knights were simply appointed to missions because they were

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<sup>96</sup> *Liber Quot*, 188-195; E101/352/24; Bl Add Ms, 7965 f 60; Bl Add Ms, 8835 f 52-3; E101/369/11 f 107; E101/364/13

<sup>97</sup> Given-Wilson, *Royal Household and the King's Affinity*, 248

available at court. The core of knights who were important diplomats also played a significant role as royal councillors.

Less than four percent of the household knights became sworn councillors of the king. However, the fact that there were seven household knights on the council at Easter 1305 suggests that they made a significant contribution as advisers of the king. No knight under the rank of banneret ever achieved the rank of sworn councillor. Their role as informal counsellors of the king is much more difficult to assess but they never achieved the same degree of influence that their successors gained under Edward II. This meant that dangerous faction fighting within the court was avoided and during the only major political crisis of the reign the household remained loyal to the king.

A much larger group of bannerets gained admittance to the king's parliament. Whether these summons were connected to their position within the household is difficult to determine. However, the evidence relating to the year 1300 suggests that political circumstances led Edward to summon a large number of the knights to parliament. It may have been their presence which led to the modification of the *Articuli Super Cartas*.

Given-Wilson's analysis of the difference in the role of the household knights of the late thirteenth century and the chamber knights of the succeeding century was clearly correct. The household knights were not primarily seen as royal envoys and councillors. However, by the last years of Edward I's reign there was a group of knights who were employed extensively as councillors and diplomats. Otto de Grandson, a knight who held a superior position within the household, did not serve regularly in the campaigns in Scotland. His main duty was to attempt to negotiate peace between England, France and Scotland. Grandson and the other

knights who frequently served as envoys may have already begun to be associated with the chamber. It was there that the king saw his most intimate advisers and councillors. It would be surprising if these knights had not occasionally visited the chamber and perhaps dined within.

## CHAPTER 9

### REWARDS

The existence in some families of a tradition of service in the king's household indicates that a career as a royal servant was desirable. The unspoken promise of rewards was necessary to draw knights into the royal household and to retain their loyalty. The prestige of being attached to Edward I's *familia* was considerable but the knights would also have expected more concrete remuneration.

The difficulty of rewarding the ever-changing pool of men attached to the court was a problem which faced every king. Edward was restricted by the consequences of the unwise management of patronage during his father's reign and his own financial problems. This chapter will examine the nature and extent of the grants and privileges bestowed upon the knights. It will also consider the distribution of gifts within the *familia*. The bannerets had to produce a larger retinue during a military campaign and they held offices of greater responsibility than the simple knights. It would be surprising if there were not some difference in the amount and value of the rewards they received. In addition it seems equally probable that the knights who came from Edward's other dominions or beyond were rewarded in a slightly different way.

Household knights and bannerets received two payments of fees and robes each year. The knights were assigned eight marks and the bannerets sixteen marks a year for their robes. At Christmas 1303, the clerk of the great wardrobe issued cloth and robes to eight household bannerets and their squires. They were all given a

similar range of items; a length of cloth, one or two capes, hoods and furs.<sup>1</sup>

Five of these men also received payment for robes that winter. Therefore the robe payments were not necessarily in lieu of actual robes. To obtain their eight or sixteen marks the knights had to be at court on 25 December and at Pentecost. Seventy-seven knights were on the list recording the payment of winter robes in 1300. Twenty-two received no money because they did not attend on the appointed day. That summer, seventeen men were not paid because they were not with the king at Pentecost.<sup>2</sup>

Fees for service in the household amounted to 10 marks a year for the knights and 20 marks for the bannerets. The only exception was the first steward of the household, Hugh FitzOtto. The household ordinance of 1279 stated that he was to receive no fees or wages because the king had given him wardships worth £50 a year.<sup>3</sup> None of the stewards appointed later in the reign received wardships instead of their fees.

Household knights were paid three types of wages. They received daily wages for being attendant upon the king at court, wages for being outside the court on the king's business and wages for themselves and their retinues during a military campaign. The knights were paid 2s a day and the bannerets 4s a day. Twenty bannerets and 43 knights appear on the account of the daily wages paid to those attending the royal court in 1283-4. Three bannerets and six knights were receiving fees for being attached to the king's household that same year. Only two bannerets were paid wages

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<sup>1</sup> E101/366/8

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Quot*, 310-15

<sup>3</sup> Tout, *Chapters*, ii, 158

in addition to their fees.<sup>4</sup> John d'Eyville received wages in January and February and a fee for the summer. Alexander de la Pébrée received both fees and wages for part of the year. In most cases the payment of a fee was clearly in lieu of and not in addition to daily wages.

Household knights were paid daily wages rather than fees when the household was on 'active service'. The accounts recording daily wages survive for the years 1276-7, 1283-4 and 1286-9.<sup>5</sup> During the first two periods the household was in Wales. In 1286-89 the court was in Gascony. All except four of those who were paid fees in 1288-9 were Gascons. The Gascon knights received fees instead of wages because they were in their own country. A number of Gascons including Jordan Lubeck, Peter Ferrand and Arnald Guillaume did draw wages instead of fees. These men had been serving the king in England prior to his departure for Gascony.<sup>6</sup> They had travelled across the sea with the king and were therefore considered to be on active service.

Byerly advanced a different theory to explain why most Gascon knights received fees instead of wages. He claimed that they were heavily involved in Gascon local administration: they were therefore absent from the court.<sup>7</sup> Byerly's argument is open to question. Only two Gascon knights were actively involved in administration in that period. Elie de Caupenne was seneschal of Perigord, Limousin and Quercy and Edmund de Jolens was the custodian of the castle of Marmande between 1285 and 1289. In

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<sup>4</sup> E101/4/8

<sup>5</sup> These accounts simply record attendance at court. They should not be confused with the accounts of war wages paid to the knights and their retinues. See chapter 2

<sup>6</sup> Byerly, *Records 1285-6*, nos 1722-5, 1739

<sup>7</sup> Byerly, *Records 1286-9*, xii

addition, an English household knight, Hugh de Brok, was the mayor of Bayonne until 30 June 1289. He received wages for the 27 days he spent in court between 20 November 1288 and 31 May 1289. Therefore Edmund de Jolens and Elie de Caupenne may also have been able to spend some time with the king.

In fact ten of the Gascon knights who were in receipt of fees in 1288-9 were actually held as hostages in Aragon, following the treaty of Canfranc in October 1288. This does not explain their absence from the wage accounts. English knights who were paid wages and not fees were also used as hostages.<sup>8</sup>

However, not all Gascon knights received wages rather than fees when they were in England. Prior to Edward's departure to Gascony, Guillaume Arnald and Jordan Lubeck were drawing wages for being in court. However, other Gascons including Peter Ferrand received fees.<sup>9</sup>

Daily wages for being at court were not paid in lieu of fees in the later years of the reign. During the campaigns in Scotland and the expedition to Flanders the knights received fees and wages for being on campaign rather than daily wages for the days they spent in court and wages for themselves and their retinue during a campaign.<sup>10</sup> The reason behind the change was probably financial. It was more expensive to pay knights and bannerets daily wages.<sup>11</sup>

Household knights received wages in addition to their fees if the king sent them outside court upon a special errand. In 1289-90 Richard de Boys was outside court for 70 days between 4 September

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<sup>8</sup> *Foedera* I, ii, 690; Byerly, *Records 1286-9*, no. 2965

<sup>9</sup> Byerly, *Records 1285-6*, nos 1722, 1723, 1725, 1739

<sup>10</sup> For a discussion of the evidence which shows that knights received both types of wages during the 1277 campaign see chapter 2

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix IV

1289 and 23 December 1289. He was inquiring into a range of offences committed by the king's officials in the royal forests. In these inquiries he was assisted by a fellow household knight, Hugh de Brok. Peter de Champagne and Robert Malet were taking assizes in different parts of the country. Gilbert de Briddeshale was outside court for ten days taking care of the lists in preparation for a tournament at Winchester.<sup>12</sup> Those household knights such as Thomas Hauville, Thomas Bicknor and Robert de Bavent engaged in the care of the king's hawks and falcons also received wages. They were also paid for the expenses they incurred looking after the birds. These knights all received wages at the standard rate.<sup>13</sup>

The knights were paid an additional shilling a day if they were sent abroad on a diplomatic mission. Thomas Sandwich went to the French *parlement*. His visit lasted from 29 July to 3 August 1290. In total he received £8 4d. John Bokland, a banneret, was in France between 5 August and 21 October 1304. He received 4s a day while he was in England and 5s a day when he was in France.

The knights who went on diplomatic missions were reimbursed for the expenses they had incurred. In his account John Bokland received two marks for the crossing from Whitsand to Dover. Elias Hauville and John Lovel went on a diplomatic mission to the court of Sicily in 1290. They received £47 18s 3d for their wages, the passage across the sea, the care of their horses and other necessities. This included the bread and fish they had bought to eat. Extra money was paid for the loss of a horse. John Lovel received £7 because his horse had died during the mission.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> C47/4/5, ff 3v, 5v, 6v, 14, 16

<sup>13</sup> Bl Add Ms 8835, f 69; E101/369/11, f 121v

<sup>14</sup> C47/4/5, ff 7v, 16; Bl Add Ms 8835, f 19v



The only household knight who received varying rates of pay for being outside the court was the household steward. Robert FitzJohn fell ill and had to remain at Seintes when the king was in Gascony. His wages and expenses amounted to 7s per day. Walter de Beauchamp visited Gloucester castle, of which he was constable, in 1297. He received one mark for each of the days he was outside the court. In December 1299 he went to Berwick, twelve days in advance of the king. For this period of time he received 'f12. He was paid the same rate when he was out of court in June 1300. Two months earlier he had received only 12s for the two days he was away from the king at St Albans.<sup>15</sup>

Household knights also received wages at the standard rate during a military campaign. William Felton served on the summer campaign in Scotland in 1300. He was accompanied by five squires between 5 July and 3 August. The wages for his contingent amounted to £7 10s. He was paid 2s a day for himself and 1s a day for each of his squires.<sup>16</sup>

It is unclear whether household knights expected to receive wages and fees during a military campaign. The evidence from the Scottish wars tends to be contradictory. In the campaign of 1300 the household knights enjoyed both wages and fees. Of the 63 knights and bannerets who received fees for the summer, 40 drew wages for themselves and their contingents.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> *Liber Quot*, 72; E101/358/18; E101/359/26; Byerly, *Records 1285-6*, no. 1262; Byerly, *Records 1286-9*, no. 1984; Bl Add Ms 7965, f 20

<sup>16</sup> The first wage entry for the summer campaign of 1300 in the *Liber Quotidianus* is for William Leyburn. It states that as a banneret he received 3s per day. However a calculation of his wages for himself and his contingent clearly shows that this is an error. He and the other bannerets were receiving 4s per day. *Liber Quot*, 195, 204

<sup>17</sup> *Liber Quot*, 195-210

In 1303-4, the household knights who were paid wages as part of the army in Scotland did not receive fees. The names of 54 knights were on the list of summer and winter fees that year. Twenty-seven received no payment. All of these knights were drawing wages as part of the army. This new system was introduced because Edward I was short of money: it was continued by his successors. In Edward III's reign the household knights and bannerets received war wages instead of fees when they were on campaign.<sup>18</sup>

The fees and wages owed to the household knights were paid fairly promptly in the early years of the reign. The wages of the household knights were calculated upon a daily basis but they were not paid in this way. The knights received prests (cash advances) for their wages. The household knights would then attend an accounting session at the wardrobe. The days they had spent either in court or on campaign were then compared against the prests they had received the knights were then paid the balance.

The roll of certificates recording attendance at court and the controller's account book which contains a record of the prests, survive for the months between May and November 1286. A comparison of the two documents proves that the knights received full and immediate payment of their wages.<sup>19</sup>

Household knights were not paid as promptly in the later years of the reign. Many years could elapse before a final accounting session with the wardrobe took place. The majority of those who served on the summer campaign of 1300 were paid on their

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<sup>18</sup> J.H. Johnson, 'The king's Wardrobe and Household', *The English Government at Work 1327-36*, ed. J.F. Willard and W.A. Morris, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1940), i, 239; B1 Add Ms 8835, ff 54-89v

<sup>19</sup> *Book of Prests*, ed Fryde, xxii; Johnson, 'The System of Accounting in the Wardrobe of Edward I', 54; Byerly, *Records 1285-6*, nos 1126-1306, 1726-1817

final day in Scotland. Eustace Hatch served with his retinue from 4 July to 31 August. His wages were calculated at Dromock in August. However, John Lestrangle and Robert de Scales received their wages in November 1301. John Bokland was paid only on 31 December 1303.<sup>20</sup>

The delay in the payment of wages increased as the war with Scotland progressed. An examination of the wage account of 1303-4 reveals that a number of household knights were paid immediately. Matthew Mont Martin and his retinue were with the army from 20 November 1303 to 31 January 1304. He received his wages, which amounted to £39 11s, on 12 February. Other household knights such as Robert FitzPayn and John Kingston received equally prompt payment.

However, John Botetourt was not paid until 19 December 1306. John de Chauvent and Adam de Swinburn received their wages in 1307. The two who suffered the greatest delay were William Touchet and Bartholomew de Badlesmere. William Touchet's wages were not paid until March 1316. The entry for Badlesmere covered the campaigns of 1299-1300, 1301, 1303 and 1304. He was owed '£241 10s. Badlesmere finally accounted at the exchequer in 1318.<sup>21</sup>

There was a similar delay in the payment of fees. Of those drawing fees and robes in 1300, four were not paid until 1301-2. John Thorpe received his due in June 1307. Of the knights who were entitled to fees in 1303-4, nine did not receive their money until 1306 or later.<sup>22</sup>

The delay in the payment of wages and fees in the later years of the reign was probably the result of the financial pressure

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<sup>20</sup> *Liber Quot*, 200-3, 210

<sup>21</sup> Bl Add Ms 8835, ff 55v-56, 57-57v, 58v, 59v

<sup>22</sup> *Liber Quot*, 188-95; Bl Add Ms 8835, f 52v

which was being exerted upon the king. The wardrobe would have been happy to delay the final payments. This is confirmed by Haskell's work on the 1303-4 campaign. This describes a general delay in the payment of the money owed to all sections of the cavalry.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to their wages the knights occasionally received small monetary gifts from the king. Most of these appear in the 'Dona' section of the wardrobe accounts.<sup>24</sup> In 1289 John de Sulleye received a special payment of £133 6s for his good services. If the knights were captured by the enemy during a military campaign and had to escape the king would often provide them with a new horse and equipment. In 1300 William FitzClay escaped from the Scots. He received £20 in the 'Dona' account. Similar compensation was given to Arnald Gavaston and Raymond de Champagne after their escape from captivity in France in 1297.<sup>25</sup>

A number of Gascon and other foreign knights received small monetary gifts or a silver cup from the king when they returned to their own country. In 1290 Jacob Monte Richeri and Peter de Vuippens went on crusade with Otto de Grandson. Edward I wanted to give them each a silver cup worth about 24 marks. Unfortunately, the wardrobe did not have any such cups. Instead, Edward gave them £13 6s 8d each. A number of knights were also returning to Gascony in 1290. They each received a small gift of money. Jordan Lubeck was given £10 and Alexander de la Pebrée received £33 6s 8d.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Haskell, 'The Scottish Campaign of Edward I, 1303-4', 66

<sup>24</sup> Most of the entries in this section of the accounts relating to English household knights deal with the payments of compensation to those who had lost horses while they were on the king's business. See chapter 2

<sup>25</sup> *Liber Quot*, 168; C47/4/5, f 49; B1 Add Ms 7965, f 53

<sup>26</sup> C47/4/5, ff 45v, 47v, 49v; E101/352/21

Household knights enjoyed the king's hospitality if they were in court, in the form of lodgings and meals in the hall. This changed only after the promulgation of a new household ordinance at St Albans in April 1300. This attempted to reduce the number of men who were entitled to eat in the king's hall.<sup>27</sup>

Apart from their fees, robes and wages household knights received various forms of patronage from the king in recognition of their good service. Such patronage was vital to medieval government. It encouraged loyal and faithful service to the crown. Only 28 knights received a grant of land from Edward I. Five of these grants were of major significance. Two of these gifts had been bestowed upon Edward's followers by his father.

Roger Clifford the elder and Roger Leyburn the elder were granted the marriage and lands of the heirs of Robert Vipont II in 1265. Their sons married the heiresses and each received half the hereditary sheriffdom of Westmorland.<sup>28</sup> This led to a major change in the geographical base of both families. The estates of the Cliffords were in south Wales at Cliffords castle. The Leyburns were based at Elham in Kent. It meant a vast expansion of their landed wealth. They also received lands in other counties in the right of their wives. Leyburn enjoyed a manor in Buckingham, a manor in Bedford and a manor in Nottingham. Roger Leyburn the younger died leaving his son John, aged four, as his heir. John died shortly after his father's death. This meant that the addition to his family's wealth was short lived. Roger's wife Idonia retained the lands; she married another household knight, John

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<sup>27</sup> For a discussion of this ordinance and the knights affected by it See chapter 3

<sup>28</sup> See chapter 1

Cromwell. Idonia eventually sold the lands to the Cliffords in Edward II's reign.<sup>29</sup>

Edward I made three major grants of land to household knights. Two of these were in Ireland.<sup>30</sup> In 1276 Thomas de Clare was granted the lordship of Thomond. Otto de Grandson received a less substantial amount of land in Tipperary. The exact date of the original grant is unknown but originally the land was given to him for life. In 1281 Edward confirmed the grant bestowing the land upon him and his heirs in perpetuity.<sup>31</sup>

The other large grant of lands was bestowed upon the younger son of Roger Mortimer of Wigmore. On 2 June 1282 Edward I gave Roger Mortimer the younger the lands of Llywelyn Fychan. These lands became known as the barony of Chirk.<sup>32</sup>

The grants of large amounts of land to Clifford, Leyburn and Mortimer were exceptional. They were the result of the need to secure the loyalty of Westmorland in the aftermath of the civil war of the 1260s and the Welsh marches after the conquest of Wales. No other household knights received large grant of lands during Edward I's reign.

Two other household knights acquired land in Wales. Roger Mortimer of Wigmore received the land of Cydewain, Kerry and the castle of Dolforwyn in 1279. The Mortimers had held the land before it was seized by the Welsh. This was more a restoration than a

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<sup>29</sup> Hall, 'The Lords and Lordship of the West March, Cumberland and Westmorland 1250-1350', 82-3, 208-9; *CPR 1266-72*, 48; *CIPM* ii, no. 525; iii, no. 70

<sup>30</sup> Previous kings had rewarded a number of royal servants with lands in Ireland. The scale of such patronage had greatly been reduced by the end of the thirteenth century. See chapter 6

<sup>31</sup> Thomas de Clare had to surrender lands he had been given during the civil war in exchange for Thomond; See chapter 6

<sup>32</sup> See chapter 7

grant of land for good service.<sup>33</sup>

Robert de Creuker was furnished with estates in Flintshire and Dyffryn Clwyd, but it is doubtful whether Robert profited by this gift. In order to receive the land in Wales he had to surrender his lands in Kent. Following a challenge to his right to the lands by Llywelyn ap Llywelyn of Bromfield and Roger ap Roger ap Maredudd, Creuker surrendered them to the king. In return he was granted the manors of Saham and Ditton in Cambridge. In 1285 he quitclaimed the manor of Ditton to the king in return for £40 a year. This sum consisted of '£20 from the farm of the city of Hereford and £20 from the bailiffs of the hundred outside the north gate of Oxford. Four years later Robert surrendered the manor of Saham to Edward. In return he was granted the castle of Beeston in Cheshire for life. He received 100s a year for its custody and £45 from the issues of the king's mills and the bridge of Chester. In 1301 Cheshire was entrusted to Prince Edward. In compensation Creuker was granted £65 from the town of Northampton. In effect he had exchanged land in Kent for an income during his lifetime.<sup>34</sup>

Fifteen household knights were granted estates in Scotland which had been confiscated from Scottish rebels. Most of these grants were made at Carlisle after the king's victory at Falkirk. Unfortunately, the extent of these lands is unknown. There is also considerable doubt as to whether the knights ever enjoyed the fruits of these estates. Many of the lands which were assigned to them were still in the hands of the Scots.<sup>35</sup>

Other knights received land in the north of England. These

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<sup>33</sup> CPR 1272-81, 297

<sup>34</sup> CWR, 233; CPR 1281-92, 60, 180, 328; Cal Chanc Warrants, 9; CPR 1292-1301, 610; CCR 1302-7, 181

<sup>35</sup> See chapter 7

were the estates of men who had decided to join the Scots. On 4 April 1307, Robert de Bures was granted the manor of Bellister and the town of Plainmellor in Northumberland which had escheated to the crown during the rebellion. In April 1306, Edmund Mauley was endowed with the lands held by Christopher Seton in the towns of Seton and Brunne in Yorkshire. Robert Clifford, who had been the guardian of the bishopric of Durham, was given the manor of Hart. It had been held by Robert Bruce who had forfeited the estate for his murder of John Comyn. Later that year Clifford also received the borough of Hartlepool. Robert was also the recipient of some of the lands which had been confiscated from Christopher Seton. He received land to the value of £121 14s 8d in Cumberland.<sup>36</sup>

The majority of land granted to household knights was land that had been conquered from the Scots or the Welsh. Only four household knights were given other estates in England. The small number of grants in England was due to Edward I's reluctance to alienate ancient demense. At his coronation he had promised he would recover the crown lands lost by his father.<sup>37</sup>

Most of these estates were granted only for the duration of the recipient's life: the estate reverted to the crown after the knight's death. Otto de Grandson was given the manor of Shenley in Hertford for life in 1293. It had been forfeited by Adam Stratton for trespass. He was also granted the manors of Ditton in Cambridge and Thurston in Buckinghamshire. Robert Hausted received the land and tenements of Michael Hochelle in Blakebrok, Fairfield and Hope in Derby. Guy Ferre the elder was entrusted with Chatham manor in

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<sup>36</sup> *CPR 1301-7*, 436, 515; *CChR 1300-6*, 66, 69

<sup>37</sup> M.C. Prestwich, 'Royal Patronage under Edward I', *Thirteenth Century England*, i, ed. P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1986), 46



Kent by Eleanor, Edward's mother. He paid the nominal rent of 1d at Easter. In 1275 Guy was also given the manor of Witley which he exchanged for the manor of Fakenham in 1279.<sup>38</sup>

Edward I granted five estates in England to his knights in perpetuity. Guy Ferre was endowed with the manor of Goddington in Oxford. Guy Ferre the younger and his wife, Margery, were given the manor of Roding Aythorp, Essex. Hugh Despenser received 472 acres in the forest of Melkesham. In 1293 Gilbert de Knoville received the manor of Horington in Devon. Robert Tibetot was given the manors of Langar and Barnston in Nottingham and Nettlefield in Suffolk.

Edward I carefully ensured that he did not alienate ancient demense. The manor of Roding Aythorp in Essex had been quitclaimed to the king by Robert Roding. Isabella de Fortibus, late countess of Albemarle in Devon, had given the manor of Horington to the crown.<sup>39</sup>

Only a small proportion of household knights were granted land by the king. The knights who received such a gift were those who served as wardens of the march, admirals of his navy, members of his council or stewards of his household. Guy Ferre was entrusted with a number of manors. These were given to him at the request of Edward's wife and mother. He was very active in both their households.<sup>40</sup>

More knights were rewarded by the grant of a marriage or the wardship of a minor's land. Forty-nine household knights received

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<sup>38</sup> *CPR 1281-92*, 417; *CPR 1272-81*, 365; *CChR 1257-1300*, 248, 382

<sup>39</sup> *CChR 1257-1300*, 300; *CPR 1292-1301*, 58; *CPR 1272-81*, 268; *CPR 1301-7*, 310

<sup>40</sup> See chapter 3

one or more grants of this nature. Waugh identified 50 grants of wardships to household knights.<sup>41</sup> In fact they were entrusted with the lands of 56 minors. Collectively they received another 27 grants of solely the marriage of the heirs. In total the knights enjoyed 83 separate grants of wardship and marriage.<sup>42</sup>

Thirty-three knights collectively received fifty-six grants of the wardship of land. Thirteen of these knights were awarded the custody of the estates of only one minor. William de Braose was chosen as the custodian of the lands which had been held by Roger Coleville in 1288. Lawrence de la Rivers received the lands of James de Bohun in Ireland in 1307. In 1305, Walter Fraxino was given the guardianship of Nicholas Burden's lands.<sup>43</sup>

In contrast, some household knights received the wardship of four or five men's lands. Into this category fall John Botetourt, William Leyburn and Robert FitzJohn. In 1285, Botetourt was given the custody of the manors of Gosfield, Beauchamp and Gestingthorp during the minority of the heir. In 1292 he was granted the wardship of the lands of John Drayton. Botetourt became the guardian of Robert Tibetot's lands and the manor of Dursley in 1301.<sup>44</sup>

Ten of the fifty-six grants awarded included the marriage of the heir. John Botetourt was given the right to arrange the marriage of John Drayton's heir. A further twenty-seven household knights received just the marriage of an heir. Robert Felton was

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<sup>41</sup> S.L. Waugh, 'The Fiscal Uses of Royal Wardship in the Reign of Edward I,' *Thirteenth Century England*, ed. P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1986), i, 57

<sup>42</sup> These calculations are based on entries in the Close and Patent Rolls, the Fine Rolls, the originalia rolls and the calendars of documents relating to Ireland and Scotland.

<sup>43</sup> *CFR 1272-1307*, 247; *CPR 1301-7*, 331, 367, 523; E371/51, m 9

<sup>44</sup> *CPR 1281-92*, 180, 487; *CPR 1292-1301*, 522, 581; E371/62, m 7

granted the marriage of Thomas, the son of Warin Mauduit: the custody of his lands was bestowed upon Robert FitzPayn.<sup>45</sup>

Most knights received only one or at the most two such grants. Ralph Gorges was entrusted with the marriage of Sibyl, the widow of Anselm de Gurney. John de Weston was given the marriage of the son and heir of Bartholomew de Briançon. In 1284 Eustace Hatch was granted the marriage of William the son and heir of John Hardshill. Later he received the marriage of the heirs of Roger de la Hide. The only household knight to be given three grants of marriage was John Dovedale. In 1297 he was granted the marriage of the widow of Robert Caunvill. The marriage of the son and heir of Nicholas Cambel was bestowed upon him in 1305. Two years later John acquired the marriage of Peter, the heir of Peter de Champagne.<sup>46</sup>

Waugh has argued that the granting of wardships to household servants fluctuated during the reign. He claims the grants were most frequent in the early years of the reign. Edward I's generosity declined sharply after the financial crisis of 1297 and during the war with Scotland. Waugh contrasted the grant of six wardships and marriages to Robert FitzJohn between 1272 and 1286 with the fact that only four of the knights attached to the household in 1299-1300 received any wardships between 1300 and 1301.<sup>47</sup>

An examination of all the grants of wardship made to household knights reveals a very different picture. During the decade 1280-90 Edward I entrusted the lands and marriages of 24 minors and widows to household knights. He made 26 awards between 1290 and 1297. From

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<sup>45</sup> *CPR 1292-1301*, 571, 581

<sup>46</sup> *CPR 1281-92*, 115, 327; *CPR 1292-1301*, 305, 513; *CPR 1301-7*, 387

<sup>47</sup> S.L. Waugh, *Lordship of England* (Princeton, 1988), 184

1297 to the end of the reign he made a further 24 grants. This does not indicate that there was a dramatic decline in Edward I's generosity after the crisis of 1297.<sup>48</sup>

Fifty-six of the grants made to household knights were outright gifts. William Latimer the elder was granted the custody of the lands of Lucy, the daughter and heiress of Robert de Twenge for his service to the king in Wales. In 1297 he received the marriage of Elizabeth, the heir of Simon Sherstede, for remaining with the forces in Gascony. Robert Felton was given the marriage of Patrick son of David Graham for his good service in Scotland.

Of the remaining grants, thirteen were made upon the payment of a fine. The holders of twelve other grants had to render an annual rent for the lands at the exchequer. William de Braose the elder had to pay a fine of £100 for the wardship of the lands of Roger Coleville and he had to render £83 16s 31/2d at the exchequer each year.<sup>49</sup>

Waugh argued that Edward I levied fairly low fines in the early years of the reign, with the exception of the years 1282-3 when Edward I ordered all wardships to be sold because he needed the revenue for the war with Wales. He stated that an increasing number of fines were demanded for wardships granted after 1297.<sup>50</sup> In fact no grants were made to household knights between 1282 and 1283. This suggests that most of the wardships given to household knights were outright gifts for good service. The issuing of such rewards was suspended in the financial hardship of 1282-3 but in 1284 the practice was resumed.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> See Appendix VI

<sup>49</sup> *CFR 1272-1307*, 247; *CPR 1288-92*, 179; *CPR 1292-1301*, 257, 336

<sup>50</sup> Waugh, *The Lordship of England*, 163

<sup>51</sup> *CPR 1272-81*, 422, 455; *CPR 1281-92*, 115, 125, 180, 184; *CCR*

There was an increase in the number of fines levied after 1297. Of the grants of wardship and marriage made between 1297 and 1300, 17% were made in return for a fine. This compares with 8% of the grants made between 1290 and 1297 and 13% of the grants made in the 1280s. There was also an increase in the value of the fines in the later years of the reign. Robert FitzJohn paid 50 marks for the marriage of the son and heir of Ralph de Brikeham in 1279. Some large fines were occasionally levied in the early years of the reign. Grimbald de Pauncefoot was charged 200 marks for the marriage of Henry de Pembridge. However, between 1297 and 1300 all the fines which were levied ranged from £60 to £100.<sup>52</sup>

Waugh claimed that after 1297 Edward I tended to grant wardships in lieu of the money or wages that he owed. This did not apply to the grants made to household knights. Waugh mentioned only one household knight who was paid in this manner. Henry de Beaumont received £200 from lands in the king's hands in lieu of money owed to him. Only three other household knights received wardships as payment of royal debts after 1297. Walter de Teye was granted the marriage of John, the son of Simon Pateshill, in the place of £277 17s 5d owed to him by the king. In 1303 William Felton was assigned a fine of £100 from the widow of William Herun to discharge Edward's debt to him. Edward commanded James Dalilegh to ensure that John Botetourt received the money that he had granted him in wardships because John had incurred heavy expenses during his service in Scotland. The assignment of wardships to cover royal debts was not an innovation. William Montravel was granted the custody of the heirs of Amaury St Amand in 1286 in lieu of money

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1279-88, 254, 356; *Cal. Chanc Warrants*, 22

<sup>52</sup> *CFR 1272-1307*, 119; *CPR 1281-92*, 337; *CPR 1272-81*, 352; *CCR 1302-7*, 286; *CPR 1292-1301*, 522, 581

owed to him by the king.<sup>53</sup>

At least six of the grants made to household knights involved the custody of the lands or heirs of a member of their own family. Peter de Champagne had two daughters, Isabella and Mary, who married Gilbert de Briddeshale and John Dovedale respectively. After the death of Peter, Gilbert de Briddeshale was granted the custody of the moiety of the manor of Bardney in Lincoln. He was to hold the land during the minority of Peter, the son of John Dovedale. In 1307 the custody was transferred to John Dovedale.

Walter de Teye received the marriage of John, the son and heir of Simon Pateshill. Walter had married Simon Pateshill's widow, Isabella. Guy Ferre the elder was chosen as the custodian of his elder brother's lands in 1291. In 1296 Giles de Fiennes was granted the wardship of the lands of Richard, the son of Richard Vernon. His daughter Eleanor was already married to the young heir. John Botetourt was entrusted with the custody of Gestingthorp and other lands in Essex because he had married Maud, the sister and the heir of Joan by Thomas FitzOtto.<sup>54</sup>

Household knights did not automatically receive the wardship of a member of their family. The Lestrangle family had a strong tradition of royal service but in 1280 Guncelin de Badlesmere received the marriage of John, the son and heir of Roger Lestrangle. There are other instances of household knights receiving the custody of the land and heirs of another household knight. John de Weston was granted the marriage of the son and heir of Bartholomew de Briançon in 1291. Robert FitzJohn and later William Montravel

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<sup>53</sup> Waugh, *Lordship of England*, 173; CDS, ii, no. 1389; CPR 1301-7, 425; CPR 1281-92, 221

<sup>54</sup> CFR 1272-1307, 300, 373; CPR 1292-1301, 244; Sanders, *Baronies*, 11

were given the custody of the lands and heirs of Amaury St Amand. Amaury was closely connected with the household and his son also became a household knight. Roger Lestrangle was entrusted with the lands and heirs of Owen de la Pole.<sup>55</sup>

Waugh detected a trend towards the granting of a minor's lands to a man who had estates in the same county. Many knights were made the custodian of an heir whose estates lay close to their own lands. William Felton had lands in Northumberland. He was granted the wardship of the lands of Gilbert de Middleton in 1292 and Walter Heyun in 1297. Both his wards had lands in Northumberland. Roger Clifford the younger was the holder of half the hereditary sheriffdom of Westmorland. He received the custody of the lands of Gilbert de Franceys in 1279. Franceys' estates lay in Derbyshire, Westmorland and Cumberland.<sup>56</sup>

This principle did not apply to all the wardships bestowed upon household knights. In 1301 John Botetourt was granted the custody of the lands of Robert Tibetot. His estates lay in Nottinghamshire, Essex, Cambridge and York. When such a large grant was bestowed it was impossible for the recipient to have land in all the relevant counties. Botetourt had lands only in Essex.<sup>57</sup>

The profit that a household knight derived from a grant of a wardship or a marriage varied. In some cases a household knight never actually received the wardship promised to him by the king. Eustace Hatch was granted the custody of the lands of Baldwin Aldham in compensation for other wardships he had been promised but

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<sup>55</sup> *CPR 1281-92*, 417; *CCR 1279-88*, 380; *CPR 1292-1301*, 88; *CPR 1272-81*, 378; *CCR 1301-7*, 285

<sup>56</sup> *CPR 1281-92*, 472; *CCR 1296-1302*, 116

<sup>57</sup> *CIPM*, ii, nos 246, 801; iii, nos 17, 398, 475; *CPR 1272-81*, 133, 422; *CPR 1281-92*, 487

had never received. Some knights held the estates for only a short period of time. This naturally limited the profit they gained from the land. Guy Ferre was granted custody of part of Bartholomew Briançon's lands in January 1291. He had to surrender them in July because the king discovered that they had previously been granted to the queen, his mother. The amount of profit to be derived from the lands also depended upon the age of the heir. The younger the heir the greater the profit. When John Botetourt received the lands of John Drayton, his son Simon was only nine years old.<sup>58</sup>

It was very rare for the king to grant the lands of an heir, together with the dower lands and the advowsons, to one man. The estates were usually divided up between a number of custodians. Norman Darcy received the farm of the manor of Neuham. Walter de Beauchamp and Guncelin de Badlesmere were each given part of the lands of Philip Burnell. Beauchamp received custody of the manor of Acton Burnell.<sup>59</sup>

Occasionally a household knight was entrusted with all a minor's lands. William de Rithre received the wardship of Reginald Dean's lands in Ireland. He was granted the custody of the advowsons and the churches in 1301. Four years later he became the custodian of the dower lands.<sup>60</sup>

Most household knights retained the lands granted to them by the king and collected the revenues from the estates. However, some knights may have regranted the estates to a member of the minor's family in return for a cash payment. These transactions took place unofficially and are therefore impossible to trace.

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<sup>58</sup> *CPR 1281-92*, 414, 487

<sup>59</sup> *CPR 1292-1301*, 144, 155, 304; *CCR 1288-96*, 472; *CPR 1281-92*, 114

<sup>60</sup> *CFR 1272-1307*, 359; *CPR 1301-7*, 100, 139, 425



The grant of the marriage of an heir or widow could be very profitable to a household knight. Seven of the knights were granted the marriage of a specific member of their family. Such a marriage could extend a knight's material wealth and improve his social position. Thomas Bicknor began his career in royal service as a squire. In the ordinance of 1279 he was named as the king's ostringer. The extent of his land in Kent has been difficult to trace. In 1305 he was granted the marriage of Joan, the eldest daughter and co-heir of Hugh Mortimer of Richard's Castle. This constituted a considerable increase in his material wealth and social status. Through his new bride Thomas inherited half the barony of Richard's Castle in Hereford.<sup>61</sup>

A grant of marriage often extended a knight's social connections. William Leyburn was given the marriage of the son and heir of William Say for his daughter, Idonia, in December 1295. The Leyburns held the manor of Elham in Kent. The Say family held the local barony of West Greenwich in Kent. This consolidated and strengthened the Leyburn's position in the county.<sup>62</sup>

William de Grandson, the Savoyard brother of Otto de Grandson, received the marriage of the son and heir of Josce de Dinham for his daughter. This marriage was of both social and material value to the Grandson family. Josce de Dinham had been the son and heir of Oliver Dinham, lord of Hartland in Devon. Josce was also the heir to the honour of Cardinham in Cornwall. This marriage connected the Grandsons to English landed society.<sup>63</sup>

If a household knight could not arrange for the heir to marry

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<sup>61</sup> Tout, *Chapters*, ii, 158; Sanders, *Baronies*, 75

<sup>62</sup> Sanders, *Baronies*, 98

<sup>63</sup> Sanders, *Baronies*, 110; *Cal. Chanc Warrants*, 132

someone within his own family, he would sell the marriage to an interested party, often a member of the minor's family or the minor himself. In 1285 Hugh Turberville received 220 marks for the custody of the lands and heirs of Henry Pembridge. The rights were purchased by Fulk Pembridge who was Henry's son and heir. If the knight's ward married without his permission he received a fine. William Latimer was granted the marriage of Elizabeth Sherstede: she married Henry Leyburn without his consent. The king instructed Leyburn to pay Latimer the appropriate compensation.<sup>64</sup>

A household knight could receive similar benefits if he were granted the marriage of a widow instead of an heir. The knight could, if he wished, marry the lady himself. John Dovedale was granted the marriage of Joan, the widow of Robert de Caunvill in 1297. John Dovedale married Joan and gained control over her dower lands. At the request of Queen Margaret he was allowed to hold the manor of Leighton in Sussex for life. The king had granted Joan this manor in lieu of the £50 a year she was entitled to receive from the manor of Westerham in Kent. If the widow married without his consent the household knight would receive a fine. In 1301 the king granted Bogo de Knoville the fine due from Elizabeth, the widow of Warin Mauduit. She had remarried without the king's permission.<sup>65</sup>

Wardships and marriages were a more important means of rewarding household knights than grants of lands. The household knights who received the greatest number of wardships were those who had distinguished themselves in royal service. John Botetourt, an important administrator and a warden of the Scottish march,

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<sup>64</sup> *CCR 1279-88*, 356

<sup>65</sup> *CPR 1292-1301*, 476; *CPR 1292-1301*, 305, 513

received four grants. The stewards and marshals of the household received similar gifts. Robert FitzJohn was entrusted with six wardships, Water de Beauchamp was given two, John de Mohaut and Robert de la Warde were awarded one each. Richard de Boys the marshal received two wardships and Guy Ferre steward of Queen Eleanor's household was also generously rewarded.

Household knights held a number of offices in England and in Edward's other dominions. Some of these positions were given to the knights as a reward. The custody of the Channel Islands was one of the most lucrative offices that Edward I was able to bestow.<sup>66</sup> In 1275, Otto de Grandson was appointed custodian of the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey. In January 1277 he was acquitted of the £500 farm of the Islands for life. This was a reward for his good service to Edward and for the debts which the king owed to him. In 1290, Edward decreed that Otto's executors could enjoy the farm for five years after Otto's death.

Grandson administered the Islands through a deputy and the bailiffs and sub-wardens he merely enjoyed the revenues. As lord of the Islands he received all the revenues due to the king, including the rents of the free tenants and the villeinage, the king's monopolies on the mills, dovecots, wreckage and chase and the custom duties. He was also entitled to the fines from the Channel Islands' courts and the general eyre. In 1309, John Fressingham was ordered to deliver the escheats of that eyre to Otto. The arrangement of an eyre and the collection of all the dues was done by Otto's minsters. There were plenty of opportunities for

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<sup>66</sup> See chapter 6

extortion on Otto's behalf and for the benefit of his officials.<sup>67</sup>

The positions of justiciar of Ireland and seneschal of Gascony were often held by household knights. These offices were not sinecures; the knights were actively involved in the administration of Gascony and Ireland.<sup>68</sup> Geoffrey de Geneville as justiciar of Ireland received £563 8s 2d for his maintenance in Ireland in 1274-5. He was paid £716 10s 3d in 1275-6. From 1276 Robert de Ufford, his successor, received £500 a year to maintain himself and 20 men at arms. He was reimbursed for his expenses out of the revenue collected in Ireland. In the 1276-7 account he received £1,122 16s 4d from the Dublin Exchequer.<sup>69</sup>

Luke de Tany received various amounts for his expenses as seneschal of Gascony. He was also given the custody of lands in Perigord for life.<sup>70</sup> From 1278 onwards the seneschal of Gascony was allocated approximately 2,000 *livres tournois*. During John de Grailly's tenure in office he was forced to reimburse his own lieutenants in the provinces but this changed after the ordinance of 1289. There must have been many opportunities for the seneschal to enrich himself, although it is doubtful whether those appointed during the conflict with France enjoyed many profits from the office.<sup>71</sup>

Some of the offices within English local administration could be quite lucrative. Twelve household knights were appointed as sheriffs during Edward I's reign. The profits from this office had

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<sup>67</sup> *CCR* 1307-1313, 272; *CCR* 1296-1302, 591; *CPR* 1272-81, 125, 188; *CCR* 1279-88, 185, 268; Patourel, *The Medieval Administration of the Channel Islands*, 49, 56, 75-81

<sup>68</sup> See chapter 6

<sup>69</sup> *CDI*, ii, nos 178, 235, 1237, 1247, 1389

<sup>70</sup> *RG*, iii, xxi

<sup>71</sup> Trabut-Cussac, *L'Administration Anglaise en Gascogne*, 148-9

been declining since 1241.<sup>72</sup> However, in spite of the controls the knights probably enjoyed some financial benefits from the office.

Such profits were not always obtained by legal methods. Two of the household knights are mentioned in the Hundred Roll inquiry for indulging in malpractices. Robert FitzJohn was the sheriff of Norfolk. He and the previous sheriff were accused of receiving large sums of money from men who were not entitled to bail. Peter de Chauvent was the sheriff of Gloucester in 1270. He was accused of having taken money from prisoners who were entitled to free bail. The misdemeanor was often committed by the sheriff's subordinates. It is difficult to determine whether any of the money which had been extorted found its way back to the sheriff. Peter de Chauvent's subordinate Roger le Convers refused to receive two men, indicted in the liberty of Arnald de Boys into the prison at Gloucester. They paid Roger a fine to secure their release.<sup>73</sup>

A number of household knights held the office of justice of the forest north or south of the Trent. The former received £60 a year as his fee and the latter £100 a year. The wardens of the individual forest, such as John Botetourt and Grimbald de Pauncefoot, did not receive a fee. As wardens of the forest of Dean they paid the farm of £140 to the exchequer and took what profit they could collect from the issues of the forest.<sup>74</sup>

Over twenty-nine household knights were appointed as constables of English castles during Edward I's reign. Some received a special fee for keeping the castle. Robert de Creuker

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<sup>72</sup> See chapter 4

<sup>73</sup> Cam, *The Hundred and The Hundred Rolls*, 69-73, 78, 96; *RH*, i, 168, 173, 537

<sup>74</sup> Bazeley, 'The Forest of Dean and its Relations with the Crown during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', 228, 232; Young, *The Royal Forest of Medieval England*, 78-9

was paid 100s a year for guarding the castle of Beeston. Richard de Boys, the constable of Corfe, received the issues of the warren of Corfe, the lands of the late Robert Musgrove and 20 marks from the farm of Bridgeport. Geoffrey de Pitchford, the constable of Windsor, drew £30 in wages. Guncelin de Badlesmere earned £100 a year as constable of Chester and justice of the county.<sup>75</sup>

The constables also profited from the issues they could collect over and above the farm. Extortion and bribery might on occasion be used to increase such profits. Roger Lestrangle, the bailiff of the land and castle of the Peak, received money extorted from tenants by his subordinates. It is difficult to determine the exact benefits which accrued to constables. The fact that Robert de Creuker was willing to exchange lands in Cambridge for the custody of Beeston suggests that the profits were substantial.<sup>76</sup>

A significant number of household knights held offices in Wales and Scotland. Otto de Grandson was justice of the principality of north Wales. Roger Mortimer and Roger Lestrangle were captains of the garrisons of Whitchurch and Montgomery. John St John, Robert Clifford, John Botetourt and William Latimer were at varying times wardens of the Scottish march. The wardens or captains of the march were primarily military offices. The rewards from these appointments tended to be very sparse. John Botetourt and John St John received only their wages which were paid at the standard rate. They also had to bear a financial burden when money for the garrison's wages was delayed. The fact that Brian FitzAlan refused to assume control in Scotland on the grounds that he was insufficiently wealthy suggests that not all Scottish appointments

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<sup>75</sup> *CPR 1281-92*, 80, 328; *CCR 1279-81*, 281; *CPR 1272-1301*, 257

<sup>76</sup> *RH*, ii, 289

were profitable.<sup>77</sup>

A number of knights served as the constables of Scottish and Welsh castles. The constables of these castles were rewarded in a variety of different ways. Some were simply paid wages for keeping the castle. Between 1291 and 1292, Norman Darcy, constable of Stirling, Richard Siward, constable of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright and Wigton and Ralph Basset, constable of Edinburgh received 1 mark per day in wages. William de Grandson, the keeper of Roxburgh, was paid half a mark per day. Nicholas de Segrave drew 15s a day for keeping Ayr and Dumbarton. The constables of these Scottish castles were probably paid wages in 1291-2 because they were holding the castles only on a temporary basis.<sup>78</sup>

Those knights appointed as constables for longer periods of time received a fee every year. Out of that fee they had to keep the castle at their own cost. William Leyburn, constable of Criccieth, received £100 a year for its custody. He had to maintain a garrison of thirty men. Similarly Hugh Turberville, constable of Castell y Bere, was paid 200 marks a year. He was responsible for a garrison of 40 men. Bogo de Knoville, the justice of west Wales was not given a fee. He had to render 400 marks a year to the exchequer for the lands of Carmarthen, Cardigan and the castles of Lampeter, Dynefwr, Carreg Cennen and Aberystwyth. Any revenue he collected over and above the farm was used to maintain the castles and himself. At Montgomery he had to render £40 a year to be allowed to keep the castle at his own cost. Occasionally, Edward acquitted the constables of the farm due from the castles. In 1294-5, Bogo de

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<sup>77</sup> CDS, ii, nos 1170, 1923; *Documents*, ed. Stevenson, ii, 225

<sup>78</sup> CDS, ii, nos 547, 589

Knoville was pardoned the arrears of the farm of Montgomery.<sup>79</sup>

The castles in Wales and Scotland were subject to attacks by enemy forces. This suggests that these offices were less lucrative than their counterparts in England. During the war with Scotland the king's financial problems meant that victuals and pay were not always delivered promptly to the castles. This must have meant that the constables had to shoulder some of the burden. However, a request from Eble des Montz in 1305<sup>80</sup> suggests that such offices were still profitable. He requested that Edward grant him either certain lands in Scotland or the wardenship of Stirling castle.<sup>81</sup>

Grants of wardships, lands and offices were the major forms of patronage at the king's disposal. These rewards were bestowed upon a relatively small number of household knights. Many household knights received none of these gifts. Of the 49 knights who were granted wardships or marriages, 23 also received land or offices. These knights tended to be military commanders, stewards and councillors of the king.

Robert Clifford's father and grandfather had been close associates of Edward I. The services of Roger Clifford the elder in the civil war had been rewarded by the grant of the land and marriage of Isabella de Vipont. All three generations of the Clifford family received wardships from Edward I. Roger Clifford the elder was the custodian of the land and heirs of Roger Mohaut in 1281. Roger Clifford the younger received custody of the lands of Gilbert de Franceys, while Robert Clifford was given the marriage of John the son of John Neville.

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<sup>79</sup> *CWR*, 186, 296, 302; *CFR 1272-1307*, 39; *List of Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls*, 6, 10; *Littere Wallie*, 180

<sup>80</sup> 1305 was of course a year of peace in Scotland.

<sup>81</sup> *CDS*, ii, no. 1723



Robert Clifford held a number of offices. He was the constable of Nottingham, justice of the forest north of the Trent, warden of the Scottish march and custodian of the Bishopric of Durham between 1302 and 1305. For the latter office he received 200 marks a year. His custodianship of the Bishopric of Durham resulted in his receiving lands that had been held by Robert Bruce. Edward bestowed Caerlaverock upon Robert after his victory at Falkirk in 1298.<sup>82</sup>

Some knights received no major rewards from the king. However, as a member of the royal household a knight had the opportunity to build up his material wealth through the connections he made within the household. Peter de Staney was granted the marriage of Lucy, the daughter of Robert Twenge. He bestowed the marriage upon William Latimer the younger, another household knight. The Latimers held lands in Yorkshire and Northamptonshire and this marriage united them with another prominent Yorkshire family. Through Lucy de Twenge, William Latimer inherited a quarter of the barony of Skelton. He probably received the marriage from Peter de Staney because of their mutual connection to the household.

The wardships of Thomas FitzOtto's children were first granted to Maurice de Craon but he regranted them to Hugh FitzOtto. Hugh gave the care of these children to fellow household knights. He sold the marriage of his nephew, Otto to John Neville for £40. Otto died in 1282 and Hugh bestowed the marriages of his nieces upon Guy Ferre and John Botetourt. Guy Ferre married Joan. She died soon after their marriage but he received the reversion of her lands in Essex. John Botetourt married Maud. Through this marriage Botetourt

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<sup>82</sup> *CPR 1272-81*, 133, 422; *CPR 1297-1301*, 196; *CPR 1301-7*, 49, 154, 436, 467

gained a third of the barony of Bedford and lands in Essex. It also connected him to a network of families including the Lestranges, the Wakes and the FitzOttos.<sup>83</sup>

Minor gifts and privileges were distributed more evenly among household knights. When the knights were on campaign they would receive a number of important privileges. Before the start of the campaign most of the household knights had their horses officially registered and valued. If the knight's horse died or was injured he was paid the appropriate compensation. If the horses were injured or exhausted they were returned to the almoner or the caravan.<sup>84</sup>

Some household knights received loans from the king for the equipment they needed on a campaign. Most of those who went to Gascony in 1294 received loans of varying amounts. The largest was given to Adam de Cretings who was advanced 240 marks. In contrast William Craye and John Fulburn were given only £20. A number of knights were excused the repayment of these loans because of the good service they had done in Gascony.<sup>85</sup>

All the household knights received a royal protection before they set off on the campaign or a diplomatic mission.<sup>86</sup> The knights were often granted a protection against any claim of novel disseisin upon their land. Edward might also concede to them a respite in the payment of any debts or taxes they owed. Robert Clifford received a

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<sup>83</sup> Sanders, *Baronies*, 11, 77; Waugh, *Lordship of England*, 213-4; *CChR 1300-26*, 26; *CPR 1288-96*, 179

<sup>84</sup> See chapter 3

<sup>85</sup> *CCR 1296-1302*, 346; *CPR 1301-7*, 530; *CCR 1302-7*, 303; E372/144, m 24

<sup>86</sup> Many of those household knights who were campaigning in Gascony in 1296-7 received a special protection to protect the corn on their land from being purveyed. *CCR 1296-1302*, 8

respite for his debts in May 1295 because he was in Wales. In June 1296 he was blessed with another respite because he was in Scotland. In February 1303 and January 1304 he was given a respite against the payment of the aid which was being collected for the marriage of the king's eldest daughter. In April 1305 he received a respite of his debts until Whitsuntide. A further respite was conferred upon him in September 1305 because he was still in Scotland.<sup>87</sup>

A respite of debts brought only temporary relief. Edward pardoned some of the debts owed to him by his knights or their ancestors. Twelve household knights benefited from such a pardon. Occasionally a knight received a pardon which covered all his debts. In 1306, William Leyburn was acquitted of all his debts because he had served Edward well in Scotland. This pardon was exceptional. Most knights were excused the repayment of a specific sum of money. In 1286 Hugh de Brok received a pardon for the £112 which he owed to a Jew in London. In 1275 Ralph Gorges was released from the debt of £40 which bound him to the Jews. Bogo de Knoville was acquitted of £140 in 1297. In 1286 Adam de Mohaut was pardoned the 100 marks which he owed to the exchequer.<sup>88</sup>

Some knights were pardoned part of a debt and were given terms for the repayment of the residue. In 1292 John de la Mare was pardoned £40 of the £240 that he owed the king. The balance had to be paid at the rate of £40 a year. In 1305 Alexander Freville was excused the sum of £162 9s 10d. The rest of the debt had to be

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<sup>87</sup> *CWR*, 48-51, 81, 93; *Cal. Chanc Warrants*, 59, 72, 201; *CCR* 1302-7, 359

<sup>88</sup> *CCR* 1272-9, 177; *CCR* 1279-88, 391; *CCR* 1296-1302, 18; *CPR* 1301-7, 464

paid in installments of 100s a year.<sup>89</sup>

Other household knights received pardons for debts that their ancestors owed to the king. The knights themselves were liable for outstanding sums. Ralph Gorges was pardoned £24, a debt which his father had incurred as sheriff of Dorset. In 1278 John Lestrange was acquitted of the £200 owed to the king by his father and his ancestors.<sup>90</sup>

Many minor gifts were bestowed upon household knights by the king in the form of timber, deer, hares or casks of wine. Forty-three household knights received gifts of animals from the king's forest. Twenty knights received a single gift of between two and ten bucks and does. Robert de Scales received bucks from the forest of Waubridge in 1283, John de Rivers was given three bucks from the New Forest in 1294. In contrast some household knights were presented with repeated gifts of this kind. John St John and Bogo de Knoville were awarded fifty-two bucks and does during the reign. Eustace Hatch was given twenty-three, John de la Mare received forty and Hugh Turberville received twenty.

The large grants of live animals were probably intended to help stock the recipient's park. In 1285 Eustace Hatch was given four live bucks and eight does for his park at Hatch. Comparatively few grants were made to the household knights who were keepers of a forest area. Roger Lestrange, the justice of forest south of the Trent, received only one grant of four bucks in 1278. John Botetourt, the keeper of the forest of Dean, was given ten bucks for his wife in 1291. Such keepers would have been able to obtain

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<sup>89</sup> CPR 1281-92, 235; CFR 1272-1307, 191

<sup>90</sup> CCR 1279-88, 260, 323

hares and deer quite easily.<sup>91</sup>

Eighteen household knights received a grant of timber from the royal forest.<sup>92</sup> All except two of these knights were given six or more oaks. William Montravel received two oaks from Windsor in 1279. In the same year Peter de Brompton was given four oaks from the forest of Dean. The largest gift was bestowed upon Eustace Hatch. He was granted ten oaks in 1284 and twelve in 1292.<sup>93</sup>

A number of knights received grants of wine during Edward I's reign. Bartholomew de Briançon received three tuns of wine from the king in 1278 and Owen de la Pole was given a tun of wine in 1283. In 1300 the wife of William FitzWarin received a gift of wine, wheat and beef from the king. Hugh d'Audley, Robert Clifford, John Botetourt and William Latimer received an assignment of wine from the king's stores at Linlithgow in 1304. The following year Clifford enjoyed a further consignment of wine. Other knights serving in Scotland, including William Leyburn, Robert Hausted and Guy Ferre, were presented with similar gifts.<sup>94</sup>

Other minor rewards bestowed upon household knights included the right to have a weekly market or fair upon their lands. Thirty-two knights were given a charter containing this privilege. Such markets and fairs could be profitable to a lord. It gave him the opportunity to sell his own surplus produce and to exact dues

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<sup>91</sup> *CCR 1279-88*, 34, 73, 100, 173, 208-10, 213, 216, 253, 271, 307-8, 311, 326, 333, 389, 390-1, 395; *CCR 1288-96*, 18, 33, 58, 98, 182, 211-13, 235-7, 241, 269, 292, 298, 340, 360, 367, 487-8; *Cal Chanc Warrants* 23; *CCR 1272-9*, 465, 475, 539

<sup>92</sup> This figure excludes the knights who received grants of timber for the repairs to royal castles. See chapter 5

<sup>93</sup> *CCR 1272-9*, 392, 457; *CCR 1279-88*, 79, 168, 264, 276, 340; *CCR 1288-96*, 74, 179, 232, 242, 304, 350; *CCR 1296-1302*, 20, 27, 73, 340; *CCR 1302-7*, 7

<sup>94</sup> *CDS*, ii, nos 1466, 1961; *Cal Anc Corr Wales*, 262-3; E101/369/11, f 77v; Harl Ms 152, f 6v; *Liber Quot*, 182

from the merchants who wished to trade.<sup>95</sup>

Thirty-four household knights were granted the right of free warren on their own lands. In 1294, Richard de Boys was given the right of free warren on all his demense land in Dorset. These charters meant that no one else could hunt on the owner's land without a license from the charter holder. If they did, they were liable to be fined.

The grant of free warren was dependent upon the land being outside the boundaries of the royal forest. However, at least four household knights received licenses to hunt in the royal forest. In 1292 Amaury St Amand was granted a license to hunt fox, hare, badger and cat in the forests of the counties of Northampton, Buckingham and Oxford, Southampton and Wiltshire. Roger Mortimer was given permission to hunt with his greyhounds in the forest as he made his way to join the king at York in 1298. The previous year Thomas Paynel was granted the right to hunt with his own dogs in the New Forest. In 1305, William de Rithre was given leave to do the same in the forest of Knaresborough.<sup>96</sup>

The gifts of wood and deer and the licenses to have a market were given to many knights who did not receive offices, land or wardships from the king. Robert Achard received no major gifts from Edward but in 1292 he was granted the right to have a weekly market and a yearly fair on his manor of Aldermaston in Berkshire. However, the knights who did receive the major rewards were not

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<sup>95</sup> *CChR 1257-1300*, 179, 184, 258, 266, 275-6, 330, 339, 346, 422, 423-4, 427, 474; *CChR, 1300-26*, 1, 38-9, 41-40, 58, 83

<sup>96</sup> *Select Pleas of The Forest*, ed. Turner, cxxiii; *CPR 1292-1301*, 250, 346, 495; *CCR 1301-7*, 339; *CChR 1257-1300*, 236, 255, 257-8, 266-7, 272, 275, 285, 289, 345, 389, 404, 407, 432, 461, 471, 481, 489; *CChR 1300-26*, 21, 24, 46, 50, 58, 84

debarred from receiving more minor gifts. In fact John St John, Hugh Turberville and Eustace Hatch, who were presented with the largest gifts of animals from the forests, had also received land or wardships or offices or all three.

The regular attendance of the knights at court meant that they were able to obtain pardons from the king for a wide range of offences. Seven household knights received a pardon for forest offences. Eustace Hatch and his companion were pardoned for taking a buck and a doe from the forest of Dean. John Tregoz received a pardon in 1298, for breaking into the park of Devizes and taking two does. In 1302, William Hauterive was given a much broader pardon. He received absolution for every kind of alleged offence in the forest of Woolmer. This pardon was probably a precaution against future indictments.<sup>97</sup>

Nine household knights received pardons for homicide. Richard de Boys was sent to investigate malefactors in the forest of Dorset. He was granted an amnesty for the death of a man whom he had been trying to arrest. Most of the pardons were obtained as a precaution. William Latimer the younger and John Kingston received a general pardon for all the murders and homicides they might have committed. These pardons were probably related to their activities in Scotland. Robert de Cantilupe obtained a pardon for the death of Robert le Fevre. This was not necessarily because he was involved in the man's death but as a precaution against any such allegations. The absence of a pardon could be thought to be a sign of guilt which could have devastating results.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> CPR 1292-1301, 51, 81; CPR 1301-7, 62, 230; CCR 1296-1301, 444; CCR 1279-88, 403

<sup>98</sup> N.D. Hurnard, *King's Pardon for Homicide* (Oxford, 1969), 36,

Among the pardons received by household knights were some which were not merely a precaution. Miles Pychard was granted a pardon for the death of John Payn and for a robbery in 1301. He had been appealed of those crimes by an approver in Gloucester goal. Hurnard argued that most knights received a pardon for 'excusable homicide' which was the killing of someone in self defense. Neither Miles Pychard or John Bokland, who was granted a pardon for the murder of John St Dionisio, claimed a pardon on such grounds. Of these nine knights, four received their reprieve because of their good service, three of them for good service in Scotland. This was part of a general trend of granting pardons in return for a secular service after 1294.<sup>99</sup>

Not all household knights received pardons for their crimes. Philip Darcy and his mother were indicted for taking the goods of Stephen de Stanham of Nocton in 1303. They were convicted of trespass and sent to the Tower in 1306. Most household knights who were convicted of a crime were fined. The fines of eight household knights were remitted. In 1285 Hugh d'Audley was acquitted of the 100s which he had been fined by Solomon de Rochester during a general eyre in Oxford. William de Braose the elder received a pardon for the 20 marks he was fined by the justice in eyre in Sussex.<sup>100</sup>

Household knights needed to obtain patronage from the king to reward their followers. This was the essence of being a good lord.

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226-7; *CPR 1292-1301*, 43; *CPR 1301-7*, 214; *CPR 1281-92*, 38

<sup>99</sup> *CPR 1292-1301*, 423, 591

<sup>100</sup> Moor, *Knights*, vi, 266; *CCR 1279-88*, 143, 337-8; *CCR 1272-81*, 331, 392; *CWR*, 348-9; *CCR 1288-96*, 494; *CPR 1301-7*, 145; *CPR 1292-1301*, 3



Other men would also petition the knights to obtain favours from the king on their behalf. The names of a number of the knights, valets and squires appear on the accounts of gifts. These men received small monetary gifts from the king often in return for some small tasks they had performed. In 1290 the squire of Guy Ferre received 6s 8d. A member of Walter de Teye's retinue received a similar amount in 1300.<sup>101</sup>

The few household knights who received estates may have been able to reward their followers with a grant of land. Thomas de Clare was allowed to enfeoff his knights with land in Thomond.<sup>102</sup> Otto de Grandson regranted his Irish estates to other members of his family.<sup>103</sup>

A small number of knights successfully petitioned the king to obtain an office for a follower or relative. The castle of Aalon was committed to William Hatch at the insistence of Eustace Hatch. The bailiwick of Rowardyn in the forest of Dean was entrusted to Peter Dun and William Billing at the request of John Botetourt. Hugh Despenser requested that Roger Somery's widow was allowed to keep the manor of Rowley for life.<sup>104</sup>

John de Chauvent obtained a charter of free warren for William Harpedene on his lands in Oxford and Middlesex. Other knights procured commissions of inquiry into the offences committed against their *familia*. An investigation was launched into the assault upon Ralph Bonevill, a sergeant of Otto de Grandson.<sup>105</sup>

The surviving records suggest that the household knights

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<sup>101</sup> C47/4/5, f 52; B1 Add Ms 7965, f 53

<sup>102</sup> *CDI*, ii, no. 1261

<sup>103</sup> See chapter 6

<sup>104</sup> *CDI*, iv, no. 703; *CPR 1301-7*, 47, 71

<sup>105</sup> *CChR 1300-26*, 26; *CPR 1281-92*, 89

secured relatively few grants and offices for their followers. However, they did obtain a number of pardons on behalf of other men. William de Braose the elder acquired a pardon for one of his men who was involved in a robbery at Trevena. Most of the pardon requests concerned homicide and occurred in the final years of the reign. John Botetourt requested a pardon for more than 20 people between 1296 and 1307. The terms of these pardons confirm Hurnard's claim that they were increasingly granted in return for secular services.<sup>106</sup>

The exact connection between a household knight and the person for whom he acquired the pardon is often hard to trace. The knights who requested the most pardons, Robert Clifford, John Botetourt and William Leyburn, played an important part in the war in Scotland. It is likely that they were used by those serving in Scotland as a channel of communication to the king. Occasionally, there is evidence to suggest that the recipient of the pardon might have been a follower. In 1301 William Leyburn obtained a pardon for Henry de Bendeane. Both men held land in Kent. In 1304 John Botetourt secured pardons for ten men concerned in the death of John le Traverneer. They all held lands in Suffolk.<sup>107</sup>

Household knights also obtained pardons for the debts that their associates owed to the king. It was at the request of William le Brun that Thomas of Tynemouth was acquitted of 100s. It was part of a £10 fine for the respite of knighthood. Otto de Grandson secured a reduction in Roger Springhouse's debts. He was acquitted of the money he owed from his tenure as sheriff of Shropshire and

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<sup>106</sup> Hurnard, *King's Pardon*, 36; *CPR 1292-1301*, 191, 194, 196, 204, 226, 372, 421, 518, 556, 616; *CPR 1301-7*, 12, 165, 225, 230, 248, 250-1, 446

<sup>107</sup> *CPR 1301-7*, 12, 230

Staffordshire, except for £100 which he had to pay off at the rate of £20 a year. In 1284, Thomas de Clare wrote to the chancellor in England asking for Griffin FitzAlan to be given reasonable terms upon which to pay his debts.<sup>108</sup>

A considerable number of Edward I's household knights came from Savoy. The Savoyards received similar rewards to their English counterparts. The grants of lands, offices and wardships to Otto and William de Grandson and Peter de Chauvent have been mentioned. William Cicon and John de Bevillard and others held positions in the new Welsh administration. The gifts bestowed upon them were not unduly lavish or abundant. Only Otto de Grandson received land from Edward. William de Grandson received only one marriage grant. Such moderation prevented the build up of resentment against the Savoyards comparable to that which had occurred in Henry III's reign.<sup>109</sup>

The knights from Gascony were rewarded with grants and privileges in Gascony but not in England. The rewards they received were similar to those given to their counterparts in England. Very few lands were granted to household knights in Gascony. Amanieu d'Albret was granted some lands and a castle in Mont de Marsan. Elie de Caupenne and Vital de Caupenne were granted Pontons sur l'Adour. In return for this they quitclaimed the land held they in Lалуque (Tartas) and Onard (Landes) to the king.<sup>110</sup>

Edward granted his knights an income from the issues of lands in his hands in Gascony. Six Gascon knights received an award of

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<sup>108</sup> *CCR 1279-88*, 37; *CDI*, ii, no. 2365

<sup>109</sup> Ridgeway, 'The Politics of the English Royal Court 1247-56', 107-8, 181-241

<sup>110</sup> *RG*, ii, 369-70, 1422

this nature out of the revenue from lands captured from France in 1299. These men had served England faithfully during the war with France.<sup>111</sup> Apart from these annual stipends, Gascon household knights occasionally received other monetary rewards. Pons de Castillon was given 7,000 *l.chip*<sup>112</sup> in November 1304. In 1305, 600 *l.chip.* was bestowed upon Gaillard Castetpugon. In 1289 Arnald Gavaston received 60*l.*<sup>chip</sup> for his daughter's dowry.<sup>113</sup>

The offices held by the Gascon knights within the duchy's administration were potentially lucrative. Raymond de Champagne, the seneschal of the Agenais, received 150 *li.Tur.*<sup>114</sup> Such positions gave the knights the opportunity to make a profit from the revenue they collected for the king, especially as they were sometimes pardoned the money they owed from the office. Elie de Caupenne, the custodian of Mauleon, was acquitted of £200.<sup>115</sup>

The Gascon knights received many minor privileges similar to those of their counterparts in England. In 1291, Roger Mauleon was granted the right to have a market in Saubusse (Landes) for five days each year. William Montravel and Bertram de Podensac both obtained licenses to build a fortress or fortify existing buildings upon their own lands. In 1289, Oger Mote was granted the right to half a penny of the toll on wine in Mauleon. Edward I wrote to the Pope on behalf of Pons de Castillon. Castillon wanted a dispensation for his son to marry Joan de Peregart, who was a close relation.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> See chapter 6

<sup>112</sup> *Libri chipotenses*. A local Gascon currency

<sup>113</sup> *RG*, ii, 975; *RG*, iii, 4528-9, 4603, 4671

<sup>114</sup> *Livres tournois*. A local currency.

<sup>115</sup> *RG*, ii, 995; iii, 2151, 2195; *Foedera*, I, ii, 732

<sup>116</sup> *CCR 1302-7*, 533; *Foedera*, I, ii, 1015; *RG*, ii, 946, 1372, 1654, 1683; iii, 1972

A career in royal service did not necessarily make a knight a wealthy man. Many household knights owed money to the king at the time of their death. Occasionally, Edward might pardon the debt after the man's death. The executors of Ralph Gorges were acquitted of the £200 which Ralph had owed to the king when he died. If such a pardon was not granted then the knight's descendants were responsible for the debt. Walter de Beauchamp owed the king £120. His widow, Alice, was allowed to repay the debt in yearly installments of £20.<sup>117</sup>

The terms were not always so generous. William Latimer the elder died in 1304. Edward ordered the seizure of his lands in England and Scotland because of 'diverse debts'. The estates of Grimbold de Pauncefoot were seized after his death in 1287 because of the money that he owed to the king.<sup>118</sup>

The terms of repayment imposed upon a knight's descendants could be severe. Roger Leyburn the elder was generously rewarded for his service in the civil war but he owed the Jews £800. In 1275 this debt was granted to Queen Eleanor. Roger Leyburn the elder died in 1278. William, his son, was forced to grant Leeds castle in Kent to the Queen in part payment of the debt.<sup>119</sup>

Some knights were owed money by Edward when they died. This had to be obtained by their executors. The king agreed to balance the debts of John Tregoz against the money owed to him by the crown. The executors of Eustace Hatch had a much more trying experience. They had to petition parliament for the payment of his

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<sup>117</sup> *CCR 1296-1302*, 338

<sup>118</sup> *CFR 1272-1301*, 505; *CCR 1279-88*, 226

<sup>119</sup> *CCR 1272-9*, 144, 221, 499

The rewards given to the household knights were sufficient to keep the vast majority of them loyal to the crown throughout the reign. Their staunch support for Edward I during the crisis of 1297 has been well attested.<sup>121</sup> Their adherence to the crown suggests that they were reasonably content with their terms of service. The disloyalty of Scottish knights such as Fraser and Crawford was not primarily a reflection of the adequacy or otherwise of rewards to household knights. Their defection was the result of the division of their loyalty between England and Scotland. It is difficult to assess whether they would have chosen differently if Edward I had been more generous towards them. Their lands had been returned to them when they joined the king but they had not received any additional lands or privileges. Only Simon Fraser had received an office in the form of the wardenship of Selkirk.<sup>122</sup>

The only other major act of disloyalty by a household knight was perpetrated by Thomas Turberville. He went to Gascony in 1294. Thomas was captured at Rioms by the French. Through his jailer he met the Provost of Paris, who persuaded him to spy for France.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Prestwich, 'Royal Patronage under Edward I', 42; *CCR 1296-1301*, 338, 432, 439; *CFR 1272-1307*, 505; *CCR 1279-88*, 443

<sup>121</sup> See chapter 8

<sup>122</sup> See chapter 7

<sup>123</sup> In a letter dated August 1295 to the Provost of Paris he described the defenseless state of the Isle of Wight, troops deployed to Gascony and an embassy to the king of Germany. Turberville also claimed that he was going to arrange a Welsh rebellion. This is not as surprising as Edwards suggested. Turberville came from a family in the Welsh borders. His contingent for Gascony in 1294 included a number Welshmen. *RG*, iii, 2286, 2288; J.G. Edwards, 'The Treason of Thomas Turberville, 1295', *Studies in Medieval History presented to F.M. Powicke*, ed. R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin, R.W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), 207-99; *The Political Songs of England*, ed. Wright, 278-9

Unlike the Scottish knights, Turberville had been in the household for many years. He had served in the second Welsh war and had journeyed to Gascony with the king in 1286. Hugh Turberville, who had been seneschal of Gascony, warden of the Channel Islands and the deputy justice of north Wales, was probably his brother.

His betrayal could have been the result of the sparse rewards he had received from Edward I. Thomas had been given no lands, wardships or offices. The only gift bestowed upon him was the four bucks from the forest of Cannock in 1292. In contrast the Provost of Paris is alleged to have promised him 100 liberates of land in return for information.<sup>124</sup>

However, this was not necessarily the reason Thomas betrayed his master. The Provost of Paris was rumoured to have kept his sons as hostages. None of his family received a protection to accompany Turberville in 1294. Therefore it is difficult to assess the truth of this rumour. However, such circumstances would explain why Turberville's execution was much milder than Fraser's. Fraser was disembowelled and his body was displayed. Turberville was simply drawn on an ox hide through the city and then he was hanged. The king may have been merciful because Thomas was coerced.<sup>125</sup>

The basic remuneration for the services of a knight attached to the king's household were fees and robes. The knights also received wages if they were outside the court on the king's business and during a military campaign. All household knights received these payments even if their stay in the household was of

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<sup>124</sup> *CCR 1288-96*, 115; E101/4/1; E101/4/8; Byerly, *Records 1285-6*, nos 487, 792, 1161, 1186

<sup>125</sup> *The Political Songs of England*, ed. Wright, 280-1; *RG*, iii, 2286, 2288, 2302, 2546

only a short duration.

The major rewards of lands, wardships and offices were enjoyed by a fairly limited section of the household knights. They were bestowed upon knights such as Eustace Hatch, Bogo de Knoville, William Leyburn, John Botetourt, Walter de Beauchamp, Guncelin de Badlesmere and Guy Ferre who were members of the *familia* for a considerable number of years.

Proportionately more bannerets than simple knights received major rewards. Those who were rewarded most generously were those who served as councillors, stewards, admirals and military commanders of the king. Into this category fall Clifford, Botetourt, John St John and Beauchamp.

The circle of men who were not in receipt of fees and robes but who were clearly closely tied to the king such as Otto de Grandson, Hugh de Vere and Amanieu d'Albret received some of the major rewards. Albret and Grandson were endowed with land and Vere received a number of lucrative wardships. However, with the exception of Grandson, who was appointed as lord of the Channel Islands, none of them were rewarded more generously than some of the knights who were in receipt of fees and robes, such as Thomas de Clare or Robert Clifford.

The vast majority of those in receipt of fees and robes never received a major award. However, some did enjoy minor privileges in the form of charters of free warren and the right to have a market on their lands. They also received grants of animals and timber from the royal forest.

The position of the household knights in the council, at court and in the army never superseded or threatened the role of the higher nobility and clergy as the king's natural councillors and



military commanders. Similarly, the rewards that Edward bestowed upon his knights were not lavish enough to cause resentment among other sections of the nobility. Otto de Grandson and his fellow Savoyards did not receive the same scale of patronage that their fellow countrymen had done under Henry III. Nor was Arnald de Gavaston raised to the lofty heights that his son briefly enjoyed under Edward II. Edward's rewards to his household knights were generous enough to retain their loyalty without causing dissent.

## CONCLUSION

Norman Darcy was the elder son and heir of Philip Darcy and Isabel, the daughter of Sir Roger Bertram of Mitford. When his father died in 1264, Norman inherited the barony of Nocton and lands at Dunston, Stainton, Cawkwell town and Coningsby manor in Lincolnshire. His father had been a member of Henry III's household but Norman fought against the king in the 1260s.<sup>1</sup>

Darcy received fees and robes as a banneret of the household during the 1280s.<sup>2</sup> He served in the second Welsh war with a retinue of five squires and one knight. Norman did not accompany Edward to Gascony in 1286. During the king's absence he served in the forces which suppressed the revolt of Rhys ap Iaredudd.<sup>3</sup>

In 1290 he went to France with Otto de Grandson as a messenger to the cardinal legates.<sup>4</sup> The following year Norman accompanied the king to Scotland. The castle of Stirling was entrusted to him while Edward decided between the different claimants to the Scottish throne.<sup>5</sup> He held no other offices and served on no judicial commissions.

The rewards bestowed upon Norman were not extensive. He received no lands and only two grants of wardships.<sup>6</sup> At the beginning of the reign the debts which he owed to the Jews were granted to Queen Eleanor. Norman gave her '£40 of land in the manor of Nocton to compensate for his debts of £280 and £133. The king

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<sup>1</sup> *G.E.C.* iv, 50-1; Sanders, *Baronies*, 68

<sup>2</sup> Byerly, *Records 1285-6*, no. 102; E101/351/17; E101/352/24

<sup>3</sup> *CPR 1281-1292*, 273; Byerly, *Records 1286-9*, nos 3637, 3639; E101/4/1

<sup>4</sup> C47/4/5, f 24

<sup>5</sup> *CPR 1281-1292*, 440; *CDS*, ii, nos 131, 133

<sup>6</sup> *CPR 1281-1292*, 114, 115; *CCR 1288-96*, 466

pardoned him £100 of the debts for his good service in Wales in 1283.<sup>7</sup>

Norman's period in royal service was typical of that experienced by the vast majority of household knights and this sketch of his career clearly illustrates the major findings of the thesis. There was a strong tradition of royal service within the Darcy family. Norman followed his father into the household and his own son, Philip, was a member of Edward's *familia* in the 1270s. The knights attached to Edward's household came from all parts of the king's dominions and beyond; some entered as knights, others as squires but generation after generation the same families, Gascon, English and Savoyard, sent their members into the household. The household did not operate in a political vacuum. Its size and composition reflected the political situation. Norman himself had been a rebel in the 1260s. During the reign other rebels were absorbed into the household but not always with the same degree of success.

The wage account of 1283-4, which records attendance at court, shows that Norman spent three months with the king. This was not unusual. The account revealed that although the number of knights attendant upon the king at any one time was relatively stable, many spent only a few months at court each year. However, there was a core of knights who remained with the king throughout the year. Among those were the chief officers of the household: the steward and, after 1292, the chamberlain.<sup>8</sup>

Norman was not a great administrator, diplomat or councillor. He was probably sent to France in 1290 simply because he was at court when the embassy had to be despatched. His main service to

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<sup>7</sup> CCR 1272-9, 180; CPR 1281-1292, 108; CCR 1288-96, 105

<sup>8</sup> E101/4/8

Edward was that he and his retinue fought in the Welsh wars. The same was true of the vast majority of other household knights. Nearly all the knights in receipt of fees and robes during the year of a major campaign, such as that of 1300, would serve at the king's side. The household provided at least one third of the paid cavalry for the campaigns in Wales and Scotland. In the political crisis of 1297, when the higher nobility refused to serve in Flanders, it was the household knights who accompanied Edward across the sea.

Relatively few knights served as diplomats and councillors. Only ten per cent of the household knights served on a diplomatic mission during Edward's reign. Like Darcy, most were selected because they were attendant upon the king when the embassy was despatched. The real power within the delegation often remained with the earls or higher clerics. Only five knights served with any regularity or had any real power on such missions. An even smaller number of the knights were part of the royal council.

Carpenter has argued that in local administration *curiales* were being increasingly replaced by local men. He claimed that this allowed the higher nobility to retain the office holders, thus explaining the growth of one aspect of so-called bastard feudalism.<sup>9</sup> Carpenter's work on the declining role of household knights as sheriffs is easily confirmed. Only five percent of Edward's knights held the office between 1272 and 1307. A larger number, over thirty knights, were employed as royal justices. This constituted less than eighteen per cent of the total number of household knights. However, as Edward's household was considerably larger than that of his predecessors it is likely that the number of knights who served as justices increased rather than decreased

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<sup>9</sup> Carpenter, '*Bastard Feudalism Revised*', 180-1

in the late thirteenth century. This must cast doubt on how far the magnates' practices of retaining local officers and justices was encouraged by a decline of the *curiales*. There can be little doubt that Edward occasionally placed his knights on a judicial commission to achieve a favourable result.<sup>10</sup> The members of the higher nobility must have been encouraged to follow his example.

A similar or lesser proportion of the knights were employed in the administration in Gascony and Ireland. In all Edward's dominions the knights were generally appointed to an office in an area where they held land, although their connection with the court was often the crucial factor in their being preferred over other local candidates. In Gascony and Ireland the only position regularly held by a household knight was that of the king's chief representative: the seneschal of Gascony and the justiciar of Ireland were often members of Edward's *familia*.

The only areas of royal administration to which a large number of knights were frequently appointed were those which required administrative and military skills. It is noteworthy that the only position Norman Darcy ever held was that of constable of Stirling. A considerable number of the knights served as constables of English castles. They were employed even more extensively in the newly conquered territories of Wales and Scotland. The hostility of the native inhabitants, particularly in Scotland which was never fully conquered, meant that men were required who could defend an area or a castle from attack. Edward's knights were the perfect candidates. Similarly household knights were chosen as custodians of the Isle of Wight during the war with France.

The administrative offices which were filled by household knights tended to be in the hands of a relatively small number of

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<sup>10</sup> See above, vol. 2, pp 84-5

Edward's *familia*. Some knights were employed repeatedly in different areas of local administration. Those who were appointed tended to have served in the household for a considerable number of years. The positions which carried considerable authority and responsibility such as the posts of seneschal of Gascony, justiciar of Ireland, warden of a march, warden of the forest north or south of Trent and justice of Chester were held by bannerets, particularly those with substantial lands and important social connections. These were the knights who also served most frequently as diplomats and royal councillors. In all these areas the knights' authority was always overshadowed by that of the higher nobility. The dignity of the latter required that they assume official command although in practice the real responsibility would often fall onto the shoulders of the knights. The simple knights acted as constables, sheriffs and wardens of the individual forests.

Unsurprisingly, it was upon these knights and bannerets that Edward bestowed the major rewards in the form of wardships and rare grants of land. The bannerets received a slightly larger proportion than the simple knights. These gifts were judicious enough to ensure the loyalty of his household during a crisis without creating a crisis by being unduly generous.

The royal household at the end of the the thirteenth century exhibited the main traits of both its ancestors and its successors. From the reign of the early Norman kings the members of the royal household, often from outside the king's direct tenorial connection, were retained by the payment of an annual monetary fee and the payment of wages. These essential features continued to be the hall mark of the household throughout the fourteenth century. This suggests that many elements associated with so-called bastard

feudalism had been present in the royal household from the time when feudalism itself was established in England.

The men attached to the royal household were an important military resource at the disposal of the Norman and Angevin kings throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The evidence clearly confirms Prestwich's supposition that most of Edward's knights were retained for their military abilities although a number also served as councillors and diplomats. The household forces employed by Edward I, particularly in Scotland, were larger than those of his predecessors. The size of the retinues provided by the household knights on a campaign also increased. This may have encouraged the knights to recruit men from outside their own lands to serve in their retinues for the duration of the campaign. This extended a practice which current research suggests was common to the households of the great magnates from the twelfth century.<sup>11</sup>

Given-Wilson's claim that this large fluctuating body of household knights disappeared in the late fourteenth century because the king rarely went on campaign in person is clearly correct.<sup>12</sup> The knights of Edward's household did not embark upon a military expedition without the king, as can be seen from their absence in Gascony in 1294 and Scotland in 1306-7.

It is difficult to identify the exact moment that the chamber knights, who were to replace the household knights, first emerged. By Edward II's reign there are references to knights of the chamber but, as Given-Wilson points out, the initial revival of the chamber began under Edward I. Only three knights can be definitely connected to the chamber in the late thirteenth century. They were the two chamberlains, Peter de Chauvent and John de Sulleye, and

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<sup>11</sup> Crouch, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', 172-3

<sup>12</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity*, 206-11

John Botetourt who appears to have been in charge of the squires of the chamber during the campaign of 1301. He was probably Chauvent's successor.<sup>13</sup>

However, there were other knights who were clearly part of an inner circle within Edward's household. These may also have been associated with the chamber. The most notable of these was Otto de Grandson. In the last years of the reign he, like the chamber knights of the late fourteenth century, was clearly employed by Edward because of his diplomatic skills not because of his prowess with a sword. It is difficult to prove that Otto was formally connected with the chamber. However, the fact that he admitted other knights to the household and that he received extensive rewards from the king suggests that he held a superior position within Edward's *familia*. As a royal councillor and informal adviser he must have regularly visited and dined within the chamber.<sup>14</sup>

The other knights who may have been associated with the chamber are less easy to identify. Hugh de Vere, like Grandson, admitted knights to the household and became increasingly involved in royal diplomacy. Amanieu d'Albret and Hugh Despenser were also part of an inner circle around the king. Those knights who were royal councillors, including the steward, were also occasional visitors to the chamber. The fact that Beauchamp surrendered the right to eat in the hall in the Statute of St Albans may suggest that he occasionally dined in the chamber. Not all of these knights can have been formally attached to the chamber but they were part of an inner circle of household knights out of which the chamber knights of the fourteenth century evolved.

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<sup>13</sup> See chapter 3 on the office of chamberlain

<sup>14</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity*, 208, 211



Edward I was not a lavishly generous master but he bestowed his patronage judiciously and membership of the household gave a knight the opportunity to improve his position through the contacts he made. As a result Edward's household and court was politically stable and loyal to the king. During his reign Edward executed only two household knights, Fraser for his allegiance to the Scots and Turberville who gave information to the French king. No other major scandals touched the household.

The household of his son was to be very different. Although Edward I had placed some of his own trusted knights within the Prince of Wales' household the young Prince's conduct outraged his father. His munificence to Piers Gavaston led to the king ordering the latter's exile. Edward II learnt nothing from his father's anger. The political problems of 1307 to 1327 were the result of Edward II's unwise generosity to his household favourites. The court and the household were seen by contemporaries as the centre of the evil and immorality which gripped the country. The rise to power of humble members of the household such as Robert Lewer, who built up his estates by illegal methods and murdered the husband of his mistress, fuelled the discontent of the higher nobility. Knights such as John Botetourt who had been loyal members of Edward I's *familia* joined the ranks of his son's opponents.<sup>15</sup>

The art of being a successful king and ensuring political harmony hinged on the correct distribution of patronage. Edward I managed to retain the loyalty of his men by being even handed if not generous. His son was lavish but not judicious. Edward II could not even retain the loyalty of such favourites as Lewer and Damory. The former created peace and loyalty; the latter, political turmoil.

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<sup>15</sup> M.C. Prestwich, *The Three Edwards* (1980), 80, 82-5, 94, 101-3

**APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX I

THE HOUSEHOLD KNIGHTS OF EDWARD IFees and Robes 1277-1307

Year of the Reign	6	7	12	13	14	15	17	18	25	28	29	31	32	33	34
Robert Achard								kt	kt						
Emeric de Archiac								bt							
Guillaume Arnald			kt	kt	kt										
Hugh d'Audley					kt		kt	kt					kt		kt
Guillaume de Aymeric	kt														
Bartholomew de Badlesmere										kt		kt	kt	kt	kt
Giles de Badlesmere					kt	kt	kt						bt		
Guncelin de Badlesmere			kt	bt	bt			bt	bt	bt					
William Barnes		kt													
Ralph Basset								bt							
Warin Bassingburn															kt?
John de Bavent	kt	kt		kt	kt			kt							
Robert de Bavent								kt	kt	kt		kt			kt
Walter de Beauchamp sr			kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	bt	bt	bt				
Walter de Beauchamp jr									kt	kt		kt		kt	kt
William de Beauchamp										kt				kt	kt
Hugh de Beaumes			kt												
Henry de Beaumont									kt	bt		bt	bt	bt	bt
John de Bevillard			kt	kt	kt										
John Bicknor		kt								kt		kt	kt	kt	
Thomas Bicknor									kt	kt		kt		kt	kt
Bernard de Bignoles															kt?
John de Bohun	bt			bt	bt	bt	bt	bt							
John de Bokland										kt	kt		kt	kt	kt
John Botetourt				kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	bt	bt	bt	bt		bt
Raymond de Bouglon								bt							
John de Bourne						kt	kt	kt							
Nicholas de Boys												kt		kt	kt
Richard de Boys	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt							
William de Braose sr					bt	bt		bt							
William de Braose jr								kt	bt				bt	bt	bt
Richard de Braose				bt	bt	bt									
Bartholomew de Briançon	kt			kt	kt	kt									
Gilbert de Briddeshale	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt		kt					
Hugh de Brok				kt	kt	kt	kt	kt							
Peter de Brompton	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt			kt							
Maurice le Brun										kt		kt			kt
William le Brun										kt	kt	kt			
Gerard Bulliard	kt	kt													
Robert de Bures										kt	kt	kt		kt	kt
Philip Burnell		kt						kt							
William Butler		bt	bt												
John Callander													kt		
Robert de Cantilupe										kt	kt			kt	
William de Cantilupe					kt			kt		bt	bt		bt	bt	bt

Year of the Reign	6	7	12	13	14	15	17	18	25	28	29	31	32	33	34
Henry Cantok									kt	kt	kt	kt	kt		kt
Carlioli Fitz	kt?														
Carlioli															
Robert Carlioli	kt?														
Gaillard Castetpugon								kt							
Pons de Castillion								kt			bt				
Nicholas de Cathe									kt						
Arnald de Caupenne	kt									kt	kt				
Elie de Caupenne					bt	bt	bt								
Vital de Caupenne	bt?														
Peter de Champagne	kt	kt		kt	kt	kt		kt							
Raymond de Champagne									kt						
Edward Charles									kt	kt					
Thomas Chaucecombe													kt	kt	kt
John de Chauvent									kt	bt	bt	bt			bt
Peter de Chauvent		bt	bt	bt	bt	bt	bt	bt	bt	bt	bt				
William Cicon	kt	kt			kt			kt							
Thomas de Clare			bt												
Robert Clifford									bt	bt		bt	bt	bt	bt
Henry Cobeham								kt							
William Comyn		bt		bt				bt							
Thomas de la Cornere			kt												
Edmund Cornwall															kt
Roland de Coucy			kt		kt	kt	kt								
Reginald Crawford									kt						
Simon Craye				kt	kt										
William Craye										kt	kt		kt		kt
Adam de Creting			kt	kt	kt	kt									
Robert de Creuker	kt	kt	kt	kt											
John Cromwell										kt	kt	kt			kt
Norman Darcy			bt	bt	bt			bt							
Phillip Darcy	kt	kt	kt	kt			kt	kt							
Philip Daubeny			bt	bt	bt	bt	bt								
William Dean										kt	kt		kt		
Hugo Denergre									kt	kt	kt		kt		kt
John Dovedale													bt	bt	bt
Otto de Dozait								kt							
John de Engayne															bt
John de Eyville			bt	bt	bt			bt							
Robert de Felton									kt		kt		kt	kt	kt
William de Felton									kt	kt	kt	kt		kt	kt
Peter Ferrand				kt	kt	kt	kt								
Guy Ferre sr			kt		kt	kt	kt		kt		kt				
Guy Ferre jr										kt	kt		bt		bt
John Ferre	kt														
Reginald Ferre									kt						
Edmund de Fillol														kt	kt
Richard Fillol								kt							
Giles de Finnes	kt	kt			kt										
William de Finnes					kt										
William FitzClay										kt					
Robert FitzJohn		kt	kt	kt	kt										
Robert FitzMaurice		kt													
Hugh FitzOtto		bt													
Robert FitzPayn									bt	bt					
John FitzSimon										kt	kt				
Peter FitzThomas															kt

Year of the Reign	6	7	12	13	14	15	17	18	25	28	29	31	32	33	34
William FitzWarin								kt							
Hugh Famechon			kt	kt	kt										
Bonet de Flameth		kt													
William Francis													kt		
Simon Fraser								kt	bt						
Walter Fraxino															kt
Gerald Frensay										kt	kt		kt		kt
Alexander Freville									kt	kt	kt		kt	kt	kt
Baldwin Freville			kt	kt	kt		kt								
John Fulburn				kt	kt					kt	kt				
Arnald Gavaston							bt	bt				bt			
Jean de Geneville								bt							
William de Geneville			kt	kt	kt			bt							
Bonvassal Genoa					kt										
Jaime Señor de Gericca									kt			kt		kt	
John Geyton	kt														
Robert Giffard				kt	kt				kt	kt					
Ralph Gorges			kt	kt	kt		kt								
Peter de Grailly				kt	kt	kt	kt								
Peter de Grandson										kt	kt				
Hugh de Grey			kt												
Imbert Guidonis	kt														
Arnald Guillaume			kt		kt	kt	kt	kt		kt	kt				
Walter Hakelute															kt
Simon Harwell	kt	kt													
Eustace Hatch	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt					bt	bt		bt		
Robert Hausted sr									kt	kt		kt	kt		
Robert Hausted jr									kt	kt	kt		kt		
William Hauterive				kt	kt			kt							
Elias Hauville	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt							
Thomas Hauville									kt						kt
Hugh Hollingfleet															kt?
Walter de Huntercombe			bt												bt
William Inge															kt
John Ingham					kt										
Imbert de Ivyre		kt	kt												
Arnald de Jardin													kt		
Eustace de Jardin					kt										
Mazereo de Jardin			kt												
Walter Jay	kt	kt													
Edmund de Jolens					kt	kt	kt								
John Kingston									kt	bt			bt	bt	bt
Bogo de Knoville	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt			bt	bt	bt	bt		bt		bt
Bogo de Knoville jr											kt				
Gilbert de Knoville									kt						
William Latimer sr	kt	kt	bt	bt	bt	bt	bt	bt		bt					bt
William Latimer jr										bt					
Roger de Lees										kt	kt				
Roger Lestrangle			bt	bt	bt			bt							
John Lestrangle					bt			bt		bt	bt		bt	bt	bt
John Lestrangle jr															kt
Roger Leyburn					kt	kt	kt	kt							
Thomas Leyburn															kt
William Leyburn			bt	bt				bt	bt	bt	bt	bt			
Simon Lindsay										kt					

Year of the Reign	6	7	12	13	14	15	17	18	25	28	29	31	32	33	34
John Lovel				kt	kt		kt	kt							
John Lovetot jr						kt	kt								
Jordan Lubeck	kt	kt		kt	kt	kt	kt	kt							
John Louth									kt	kt	kt		kt		kt
Reynold Macere						kt									
Roger de Malesces						kt									
Robert Malet							kt	kt							
Thomas Malet				bt											
Nicholas Malemaynes													kt		kt
John de la Mare				bt	bt			bt		bt			bt		
Robert Marmaces	kt														
Arnald de Marmande							bt								
Richard Marshal										kt				kt	
Philip de Matresdon				kt	kt	kt		kt							
Edmund Maulay											kt	kt	kt		kt
Matthew Mauleón	kt														
Richard Mauleón															kt
Roger Mauleón						bt	bt								
Richard Mauleverer										kt					
John de Merk					kt				kt	kt		kt			
Adam de Mohaut		bt													
John de Mohaut	bt	bt	bt	bt	bt	bt		bt							
Robert Mohaut				kt	kt	kt									
Imbert de Montréal	kt	kt	kt												
Arnald Montague	kt	kt		kt	kt			kt							kt
William Montague										kt					
Hugh de Montauzer	kt														
Taillefer de	kt	kt				kt	kt	kt							
Montauzer															
Stephen de	kt	kt													
Monteferrand															
James de			kt		kt	kt									
Monte Richeri															
Matthew de Mont Martin															bt
Willaim Montravel	kt	kt	bt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt							
Eble des Montz										kt		kt	kt	kt	
Herbert Morham										kt					
Thomas Morham									kt	kt					
William Morle									bt						
Hugh Mortimer	kt	kt													
Roger Mortimer			bt	bt				bt		bt					bt
William Morin	kt	kt													
Oger Mote						bt									
Oger Mote jr						kt	kt	bt							
Bertram de Moulons							bt	bt							
Thomas Multon			bt		bt										
John de Nesle	bt	bt	bt	bt	bt	bt									
John Neville		kt		kt											
Arsinus de Noaillan								bt							
Miles de Noaillan									kt						
Montasino Noaillian										kt	kt	kt			
Hugh de Odingesele											kt				
Augustine Ogery					kt	kt									
John d'Oley									kt						
Grimbald de Pauncefoot			kt	kt	kt										
Thomas Paynel			kt						kt	kt	kt	kt	kt		

Year of the Reign	6	7	12	13	14	15	17	18	25	28	29	31	32	33	34
Henry de Pinkeny															kt?
Geoffrey de Pitchford			kt		kt										
Alexander de la Pebrée			bt	bt	bt	bt	bt	bt							
Guy de la Pebrée		kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt							
Gilbert Pecche								kt		bt	bt		bt		bt
Hugh Pecche			kt	kt	kt										
William Percy	kt	kt													
James de la Planche									kt						
Pons de Plessetio			kt	kt											
Robert de Plessetio			bt												
Bertram de Podensac						bt	bt								
Owen de la Pole			bt	bt	bt			bt							
Hugh Polesford			kt	kt	kt										
William Pouton										kt	kt		kt		kt
Miles Pychard									kt	kt			kt		kt
Andrew de le Rat	kt	kt	kt	kt		kt		kt							
Bernard Raymond									kt						
William Regimund				kt											
William Rions							kt								
William de Rithre										bt	bt		bt		bt
John de Rivers										bt	bt		bt		bt
Laurence de la Rivers										kt	kt				kt
John Russel					kt	kt	kt			kt	kt				
William Russel										kt	kt	kt			
Andrew Sackville						kt									
Thomas de Sandwich				kt		kt	kt	kt							
John Savage									kt						
Robert de Scales									kt	bt	bt		bt		
John de Segrave															kt
Geoffrey de Segrave															kt
Nicholas de Segrave			bt	bt	bt			bt							
Barrau de Sescas									kt						
Richard Siward										bt					
Osbert de Spaldington									kt						
Amaury St Amand										bt	bt				
William de St Clare			kt		kt			kt							
John St John					bt	bt	bt	bt							
Roger St John									kt	kt		kt		kt	kt
Henry St Lambert	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt		kt							
Thomas St Laudo									kt	kt					
Gerald St Laurent	kt	kt													
Peter de Staney			kt	kt	kt										
Peter de Stradlington									kt	kt					
John de Sulleye				kt	kt			kt		bt	bt	bt	bt	bt	bt
John de Sulleye jr															kt
Nicholas de Stuteville									kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt
Adam de Swinburn										kt	kt		kt	kt	kt
Peter Tadington									kt						
Gilbert Talbot									kt				kt		kt
Walter de Teye										bt	bt		bt		bt
John Thorpe										kt	kt		kt		kt
Gaillard de Tilh						kt	kt	kt							
William Touchet									bt	bt			bt		bt
John Tregoz								bt		bt					
Roger Trumpington		bt	bt	bt	bt										
Hugh Turberville			bt	bt	bt			bt							
Thomas Turberville			kt	kt	kt			kt	kt						

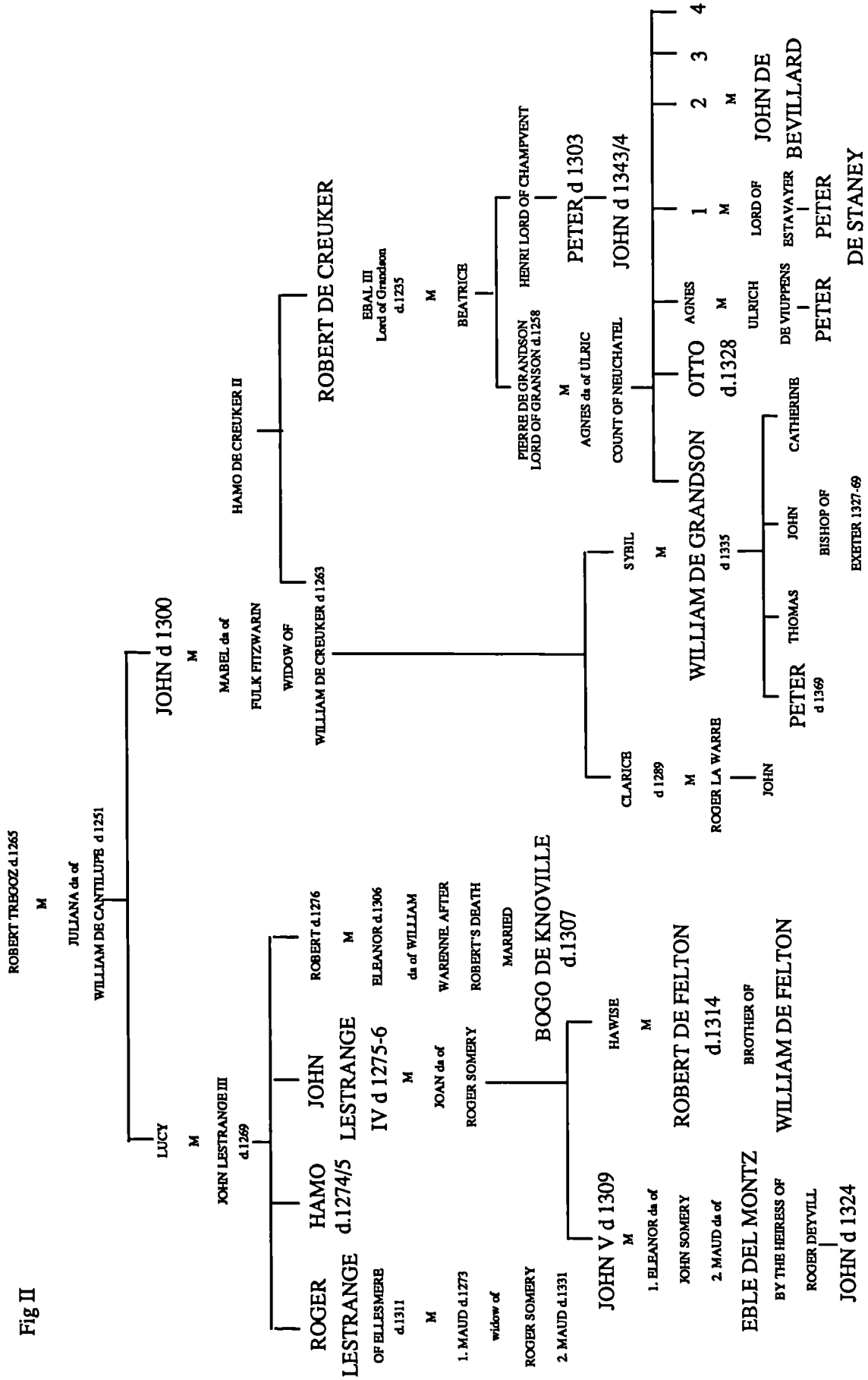
Year of the Reign	6	7	12	13	14	15	17	18	25	28	29	31	32	33	34
Michael Upsale			kt		kt										
John Usflete									kt	kt					
Pascaul de Valencia													bt		
Philip de Venray										kt		kt		kt	kt
Hugh Vienna			kt												
Francis Villars										kt		kt	kt	kt	kt
Reginald Villars	kt		kt		kt										
Nicholas de Vuippens				kt											
Peter de Vuippens								kt	kt						
John Walhop		kt	kt												
Oliver de la Warde		kt	kt												
Robert de la Warde													bt	bt	bt
Guy de Warwick										bt					
Adam de Welles									bt	bt	bt		bt		bt
Richard de Welles									kt	kt	kt		kt	kt	kt
John de Weston				kt	kt	kt			kt		kt		kt		kt
Robert Whitfield	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt			kt							
Edmund Willington															kt
Robert de Woodbrough		kt													

? The prest accounts do not provide sufficient information to determine whether a man was a simple knight or a banneret.





Fig II



APPENDIX III

Number of Knights Attached to the Household.

Year	BANNERETS	COMPANIONS	KNIGHTS	ADMITTED	Total present during the year
1276-7*					3bt 3 companions 43kt
1278-9	WR 8 SR 3	8 3	40 26		9bt 9 companions 42kt
1283-4 *		11			24bt 11companions 49kt
1284-5	WR 22 SR 22	8 8	47 47		22bt 8 companions 47kt
1285-6	WF 22 WR 23 SF 13 SR 21	4 4 6 6	57 48 39 41		24bt 4 companions 70kt
1286 *					11bt 4 companions 28kt
1286-7 ***				2	17bt 3 companions 38kt
1288-9	SR 17 WR 16		34 28		17bt 6 companions 37kt**
1289-90	WR 22 SR 20	16 16	35 38	4+	23bt 16 companions 42kt
1296-7	WF 10 SF 10 WR 10 SR 8	10 10	26 24 21 22	22	14bt 10 companions 48kt
1299-1300	WF 30 SF 23 WR 28 SR 22	2 2 2 2	47 40 49 42	4	30bt 2 companions 55kt
1300-1	WF 18 WR 16 SF 18	1 1	36 32 34	3	18 bt 1 companion 39 kt
1301-2 ***					6bt 20kt
1303-4	WF 22 SF 21 WR 22 SR 22		30 30 30 30	2	24bt 32kt

Year	BANNERETS	COMPANIONS	KNIGHTS	ADMITTED	Total present during the year
------	-----------	------------	---------	----------	-------------------------------

1304-5\*\*\*

11bt  
28kt

1305-6 WF 17

27

11

WR 17

24

SF 16

28

SR 17

26

22bt

5+

11

50kt

SF Summer fees  
WF winter fees  
WR winter robes  
SR summer robes  
bt bannerets  
kt knights

\* Wages for being in court  
\*\* Wages and Fees  
\*\*\* Prest payments of fees and robes. These figures are incomplete. The actual figures would have been much higher  
+ Additional names on the prest account

SOURCES Bl Add Ms 7966A, ff 78-9; Bl Add Ms 8835, ff 52-55; Bl Add Ms 7965, ff 60-61; C47/4/1; C47/4/5, ff 32-6; E101/3/21; E101/351/17; E101/352/31; E101/369/11, ff 106-108, 155; Byerly, *Records 1285-6*, nos 1677-80, 1719-1818; Byerly, *Records 1286-9*, nos 1125-1396, 2902-2906; *Liber Quot*, 188-195

## APPENDIX IV.

Expenditure on Fees and Robes.

YEAR	FEES	ROBES	WAGES	PRESTS OF FEES ROBES & WAGES
1277-8			£830 10s	
1283-4			£1972 19s	
1284-5		£479 13s 11d		
1285-6	£644 14s 8d	£472	£795 15s	
1286-7				£1,377 11s 8d
1288-9		£348 2m	£965 5s	
1289-90		£464 7m		£1139 10s 8d
1296-7	£306 13s 4d	£210 13s 4d		
1299-1300	£590	£344		
1300-01	£300	£288		
1303-4	£260	£260		
1305-6	£477	£311 1s 8d		

SOURCES Bl Add Ms 7966A, ff 78-9; Bl Add Ms 8835, ff 52-55; Bl Add Ms 7965, ff 60-61; C47/4/1; C47/4/5, ff 32-6; E101/3/21; E101/351/17; E101/352/31; E101/369/11, ff 106-108, 155; Byerly, *Records 1285-6*, nos 1677-80, 1719-1818; Byerly, *Records 1286-9*, nos 1125-1396, 2902-2906; *Liber Quot*, 188-195

## APPENDIX V

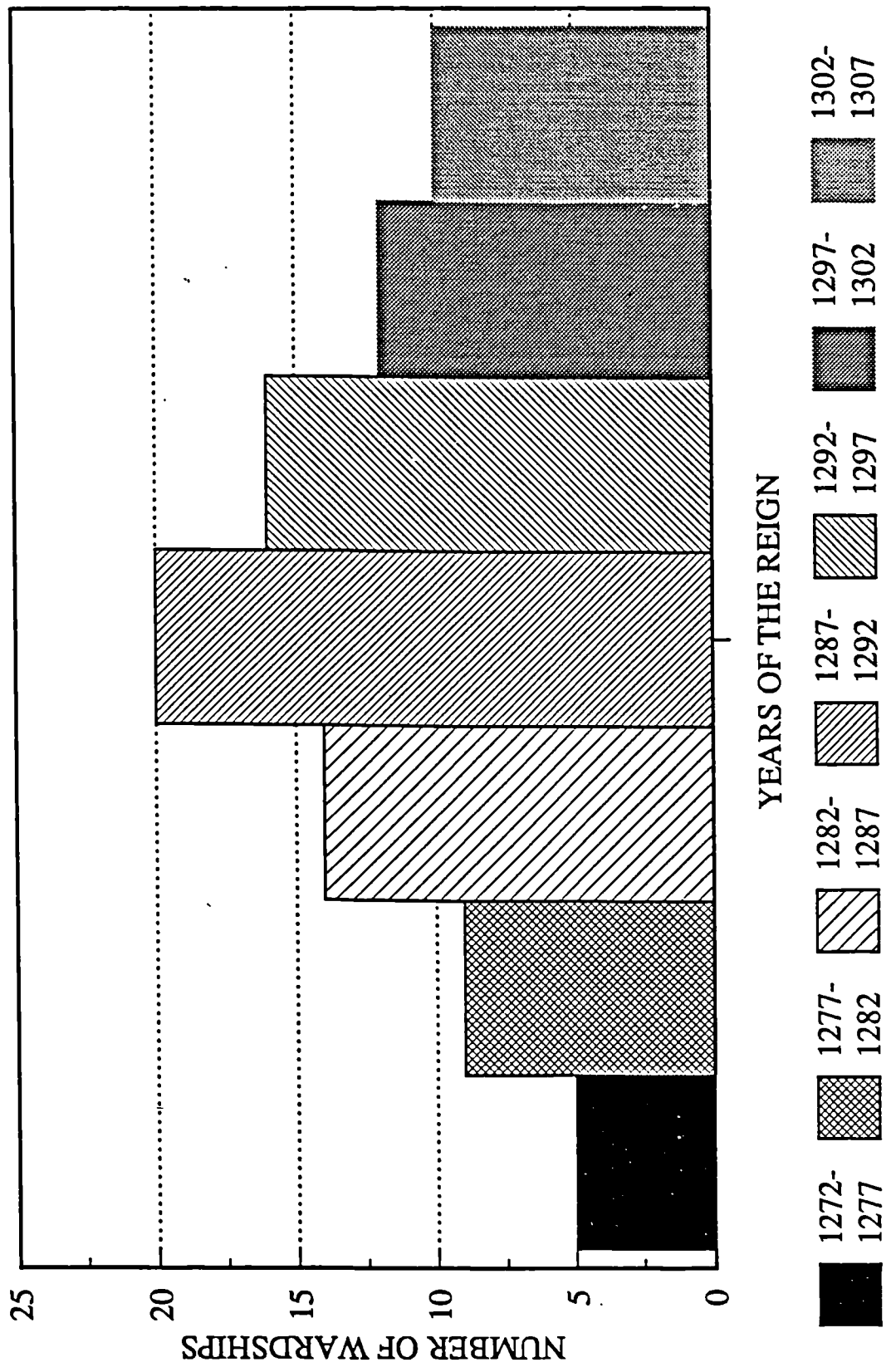
## THE RETINUES OF HOUSEHOLD KNIGHTS IN 1300 AND 1301

<u>Knights</u>	knight	squire	knight	squire
Robert de Bavent	-----	1	-----	1
Walter de Beauchamp	1	13	3	14
Thomas Bicknor	-----	3	-----	3
John Botetourt	1	7	2	9
William de Cantilupe	3	8	2	9
Arnald de Caupenne	1	2	-----	2
William Felton	-----	5-6	-----	6
Guy Ferre jr	1	7	1	4
William FitzClay	-----	2	-----	2
Arnald Gavaston	1	4	-----	6
William de Grandson	2	10	2	8
William Leyburn	6	15	3	12
John de Merk	-----	2	-----	3
Roger Mortimer	2	14	3	13
Miles de Noailan	-----	6	-----	5
William Rithre	-----	5	-----	4
John Russel	-----	3	-----	2
Robert de Scales	1	6	2	10
John St John	13*	51	16*	67
Adam de Swinburn	-----	3	-----	2
Adam de Welles	3	9	2	10

\* Two of the knights were bannerets.

Sources; *Liber Quot*, 195-210; E101/9/24; Bl Add Ms 7966A ff81-7

APPENDIX VI HOUSEHOLD KNIGHTS - GRANTS OF WARDSHIP 1272-1307



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SC1 (Ancient Correspondence)

SC6 (Ministers Accounts)

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8835 (Wardrobe account, 1304)

22923 (Wardrobe account, 1307 Prince's household)

35291 (Wardrobe Account, 1300)

35293 (Wardrobe Prests, 1304)

37656 (Wardrobe account, 1305 household of king's sons)

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Cleop. D. III.

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