

## 70 Lords, Knights and Gentry

The 13th Century sees the start of changes that will come to full fruit in the 14th Century - the development of the role of the knight in the shires, the appearance of the 'Gentleman', Bastard Feudalism.



Fountains Abbey



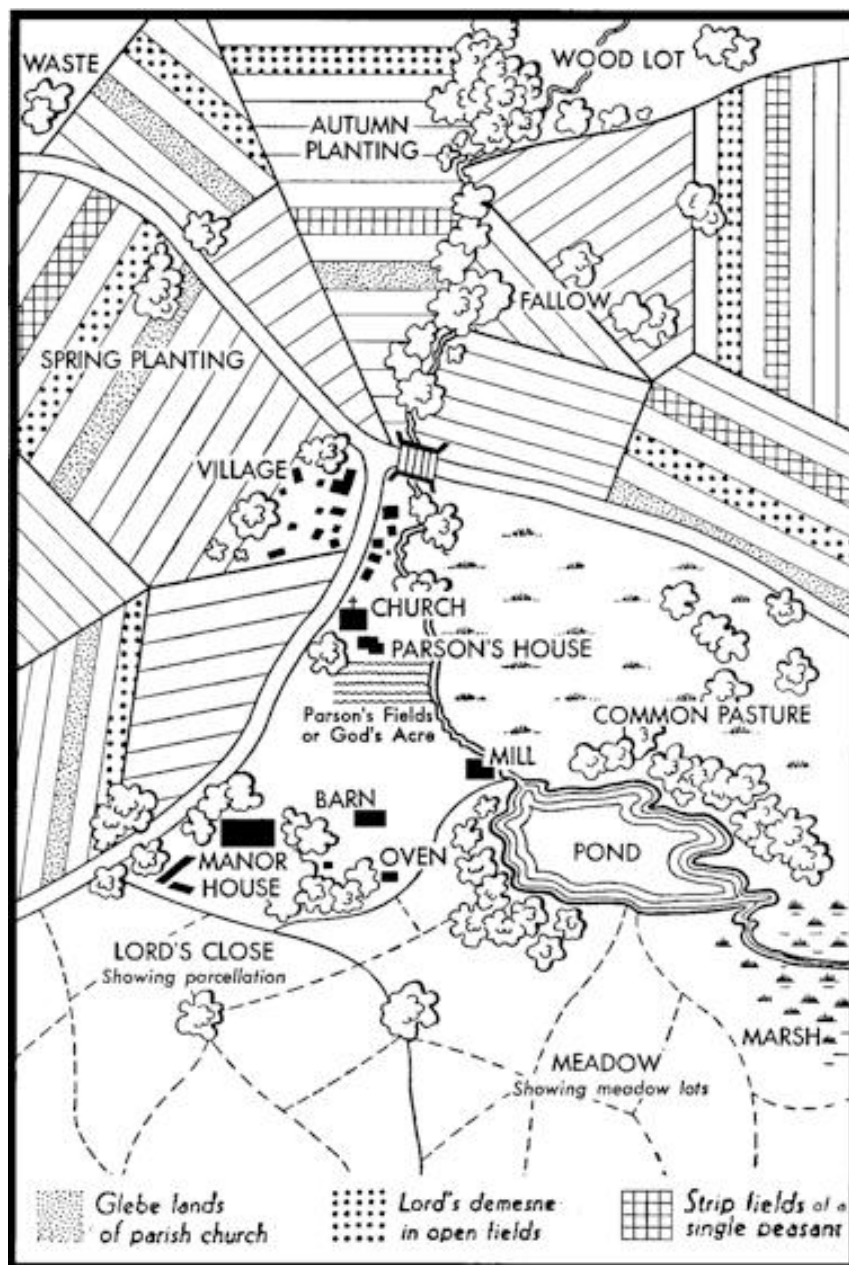
Cistercians at work in a detail from the *Life of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, illustrated by Jörg Breu the Elder (1500)



St. Bernard de Clairveau



? Arms of Fitz Elys



Land use

## A Glossary of Terms

**FEUDAL/Feudalism/Feudalize** governing system of nobility in medieval Europe, relating to a fief

**FEUD** abbreviation for Feudal

**FEUDAL CHARGES/Aids** vassal payment to lord for his going on Crusade, son's knighting

**FEUDALITY** regime or feudal system

**FEUDAL LEVY** army obligation a lord needs to field a number of knights and men-at-arms for 40 days service in the king's army in exchange for land. A liegeman would go to the royal castle with necessary warhorse, armament and attendants specified by contract.

**FEUDAL PYRAMID** king over sub-tenants

**FEUDAL REGIME** holding to a feudal system

**FEUDAL SERVICE** vassal holding land from a lord in exchange for military service

**FEUDAL SYSTEM** from lord to vassal, homage and fealty, and enfeoffment

### FEUDAL DEMESNE

**ANCIENT DEMESNE** land held by the king at the time of the Domesday Book.

**CUSTOMAL** written collection of a manor's customs

**DEMESNE** manor land held by free or villein tenants but directly cultivated for the lord by an agent

**MESSUAGE** portion of land occupied as a site for a dwelling or house and all appurtenances

### FEUDAL LORD

**AVOWRY** lord of the manor

**LIEGE** feudal lord over a vassal

**LORD** feudal superior of vassal, always a manorial Lord

**LORDSHIP** loyalty and support joining a vassal to his noble lord

**BOLD-GAETAL** lord's estate

**SAKE and SOKE** right of jurisdiction claimed by some manorial lords

**SOKELAND** Danelaw for land to be property of occupying peasants, rather than the lord

**SUZERAIN** feudal Over Lord

**SUZERAINTY** control of one state over another

**FEUDARE** Latin 'feudatorius' invest with feudal property

**TENURE** holding property as a tenant

**TENANT /Tenant Farmer** works land in exchange for Lord's protection

**TENANT-in-CHIEF** one holding land directly from King. All Earls were

**TENANTS-in-CHIEFS**

**MESNE TENANT** vassal of a Tenant-in-Chief

**UNDER-TENANT** tenant holding land from lord or tenant-in-chief

**VASSAL** feudal homage in exchange for a Lord's grant of land, protection

**VASSALAGE** the condition of being someone's subordinate

**SUBINFEUDINATION** vassal holder of land/fief grants parts to sub-vassals, making them his own vassals.

**VILLEIN/Feudal Serf/Bondage** freeman owing services to Lord for land

**LAND TENURE** feudal tenure which a villein held land

**FIEFDOM** estate or domain of a feudal lord

**INLAND/Demesne land** center of a Lord's estate retained instead of given out

**FIEF/Feoff/Fiefdom** land producing income, controlled by a feudal lord

**FIEFDOM** lord's estate or manor

### FIEFDOM OFFICERS

**BAILIFF/BAILIE/BAILLEE** land steward acting on behalf of the landowner or landlord

**CHAMBERLAIN** household official in charge of a lord's chamber.

**CHAPLAIN/Chancellor** priest or monk in charge of the chapel

**HAYWARD** manorial official in charge of haymaking or harvest times

**REEVE/Grave/Grieve** officer of lord of manor oversees all feudal obligations.



**SERGEANT** servant accompanying lord to battle, or horseman of low status used as light cavalry.

**SERGEANTY** feudal tenure service to a lord, lower than a knight

**FORFEITURE** right of lord to recover fief when vassal fails his obligations

**FREEHOLD** estate held without any feudal obligation

**FIEFDOMS MILITARY** lord payment of money/provisions for fealty and service in his army

**CAVALCADE/Chevauchee** duty to accompany or provide escort to a lord

**CASTLE/MANOR GUARD** obligation to serve in garrison for forty days or king's army

**HOUSEHOLD KNIGHTS** entourage following lord into war/tournaments, paid in food and housing.

**MAN-AT-ARMS** soldier holding his land, generally 60-120 acres, specifically in exchange for military service. Sometimes called a Yeoman.

**MARSHAL** household official in charge of the stables, later a royal officer.

**FIEF-RENTE/Payments/Taxes** annual money due a liege lord for use of his land

**AID** vassal's special obligation to provide money for his lord's ransom, marriage of a daughter, knighting of his son, or for going on Crusade.

**BANALITIES** fees feudal lord imposed on serfs to use his mill/oven/wine press

**CHEVAGE** annual poll tax needed to live outside a manor

**DRINCLEAN** tenants payment due a lord for ale

**ENTRY FEE** tenant payment for admission to a holding

**FORMARRIAGE/MERCHET** serfs payment to lord when daughter marries to another manor

**FOREST LAW** right to hunt on land set aside for a Lord's hunting

**GAVELSEED** grain/corn paid by peasants to their lord for land rent

**GERSUMA** fine to lord for permission to take possession of tenement

**HENNESILVER** payment of hens to lord

**HERIOT** tribute/gift, usually prized animal/possession given by tenant/villein's family to his lord at the tenant's death, forgiven if he died in battle

**HEUSHIRE** house rent

**HEWETHRY** rent of sheep

**HOST** military service owed a Lord

**INCIDENTS** payments/services rendered by vassal in addition to regular rent and feudal services including an inheritance tax (relief) and a death duty (heriot)

**INFANGENTHEF** power of a lord to inflict capital punishment on his tenants

**JUS PRIMAE NOCTIS/First Night** right of a lord to sleep with bride of a serf on the first night of their marriage, custom could be avoided by the payment of a fine

**LEASE FOR THREE LIVES** lease of land for life to holder, his son or wife, and a grandson

**MANUMISSION** act by which a lord frees a serf

**MATSILVER** payment of malt to lord

**MERCHET** payment due a Lord when a Villein sells cattle, sends son to school outside the manor, or gave his daughter in marriage

**MILLAGE/Multure** payment to lord to use mill to grind corn

**PANNAGE** payment to let pigs forage in the lord's woods

**PASTURAGE/Pascuarium** payment of Sor-penny for pasturing livestock

**PINFOLD/Punfold** lord's pound for stray animals

**STALLAGE** payment for permission to have a stall in a market or fair

**STINTING** limiting rights to pasture

**TAILLE** levied by the king or any lord upon his subjects

**THELONY** toll levied on imports and exports

**VILLEINS** serf/peasant holding land tenure to pay socage to a Lord

**WETHERSILVER/Weddersilver** payment of a sheep or goats to a lord's flock

**WINESILVER** payment for personal service in lords vineyard

## **FEUDAL LAND**

**BENEFICE** a grant by a lord usually of land

**BURAGAGE** 12th c. English tenure holding land for king/lord for fixed rent

**BURGAGE TENURE** freeholder pays rent money instead of military services

**BURGESS** holder of land

**CORVEE** dues paid by a serf in return for use of his lord's land

**ESCHEAT** right of lord to take back lands held by vassal, or the holding of a serfs land, should he either die without lawful heirs or suffer outlawry

**EXTENTS** formal declaration and valuation of the various lands of a manor, as pertaining to the services, rents, profits, etc. of the same.

**GAVELKIND** form of land-tenure whereby a man's property was divided among his sons

**HONOR** great estate of a tenant-in-chief

**LEET** a subdivision of land in Kent equivalent to a hundred

**FEUDAL LANDHOLDERS** anyone granted or given land to work by king or lord

**BARON** nobility of England as tenant-in-chief, holding lands directly given by the king

**BORDAR** small land holder

**FREE TENEMENT/Tenures** a fief, usually a knight's, urban burgages, and the holdings of free peasants

**MESSOR** one officially appointed to oversee a manors reapers

**SOCAGE TENURE** a freeman owing his lord money rent

**SOKEMEN** free tenants under manor jurisdiction, owing no service to lord

**VASSAL** free man holding land/fief from a lord to whom he paid homage and swore fealty which made him obligated to military and other services.

**VILLEIN** the wealthiest non-free man bound to the land and holding 20-40 acres of land, owing military and other services to his lord.

**YARDLAND** peasant holding the common fields and rights of 25-30 acres of arable land with appurtenant meadow, pasture.

**FEUDAL TENURE** a villein who holds land that produces an income

**ANILEPMAN** smallholder, or tenant of the manor

**BARON** tenant-in-chief who held lands

**BASTARD FEUDALISM** a lord rewards a vassal with money other than land

**BORDAR** small land holder, less than a Villein, but more than a cottar

**BURGESS** holder of land or house within a borough

**CROFTER** tenant of a small piece of land

**SMALL HOLDER** middle class peasant farming more land than cottager

**VASSAL** holding land for a superior

**LIEGEMAN** vassal who swore homage to his liege lord

**YEOMAN** one qualified by possessing free land of certain value to serve on juries, vote for the knight of the shire, etc.

**SWORN/OATH of FEALTY** a loyalty vow sworn to a lord

**ENEOF** take one into vassalage to render a service in return for fee/fief

**EWAGE** obligation of military service to a lord

**ENFEOFFMENT** held in return for feudal service

**FEOFFMENT** act of granting fief to vassal by giving dirt clod as symbolic gesture.

**SCUTAGE/Escuage** 11th c. Latin for shield, money paid to a feudal Lord in exchange for not serving military time. By 12th c. practice had become a fixed sum allowing the king to dispense with his Barons and hire mercenaries.

**SERVITUM DEBITUM** 40 day military service owed by a Vassal/Knight to his lord or king.

## 71 Enter the Leopard

We sort of get back to the political narrative this week, but only sort of. We discuss the young prince, Edward, who will be one of England's most famous kings at some point and is already an important political player, and we bring ourselves back up to date with the relevance of the **Provisions of Oxford**.

### Edward I and the Factions of 1258-1263

Edward was born in 1239 and like any king in waiting immediately became the focus of court factions. In his case, his formidable mother Eleanor of Provence and her Savoyard cousins, particularly Peter of Savoy, made sure they were in control of the key posts around him.



As an adult, Edward would be 6' 2" - we know that because his body was exhumed and measured in the 18th Century. And he had the ambition to match; as a 14 year old, he was already lord of Gascony, and already suffering the first rebellion against his rule. But it was his father who went to suppress the rebellion leaving his son behind. Edward was not happy, as Matthew Paris records:

*'The boy stood crying and sobbing on the shore, and would not depart as long as he could see the swelling sails of the ships'*

By 1258, Edward was doing his best to escape the cloying control of his father and mother, argued constantly with his father. He built his own affinity of young men from the marches such as Roger Leybourne and Roger Clifford, and wandered around with an outrageously large household of 200 knights. During this period he was drawn towards the dreaded Lusignan, much to his mother's horror.

But the events of 1258 ruined that plan, as the Lusignans were vanished; and for a time Edward seems to have become a genuine reformer. For a time, he is drawn into alliance with Simon de Montfort. But in the end, blood would out - and when it came to the showdown at the battle of Lewes, Edward would be at his father's side.



Arms of Simon de Montfort

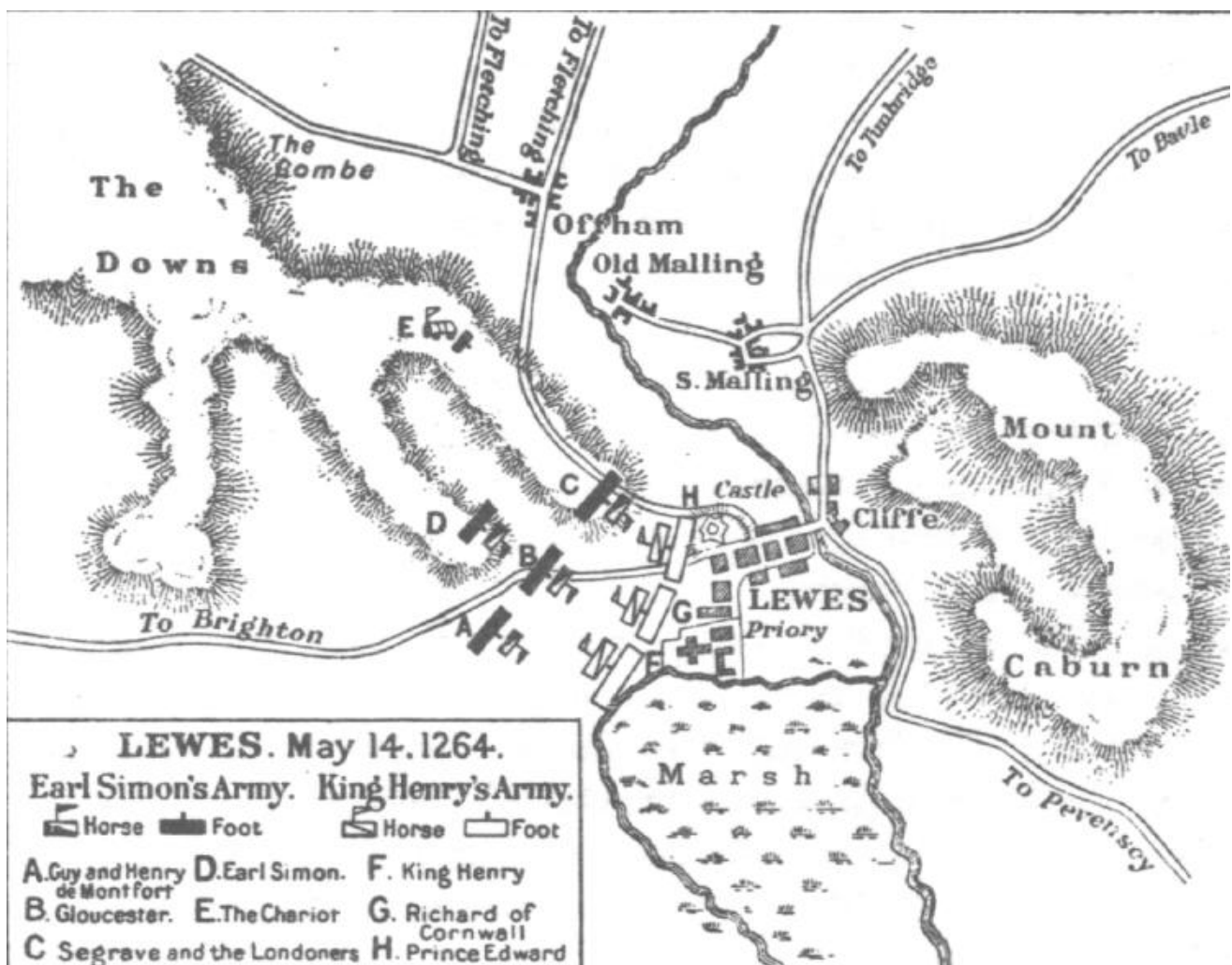
## Early reputation and the Song of Lewes

By the time of his death, Edward's reputation was as the great chivalric king. But this had not always been the case; his twisting and turning and changing faction during the 1250's and 1260's gave him a reputation as an untrustworthy young man.

This is reflected in the Song of Lewes, a fascinating contemporary document probably written by a monk. The document spends most of its time advancing the Barons' arguments as to why a king was subject to law; but there are snippets about the battle and Edward in the extract below, the author reflects the prince's far from perfect reputation:

*"Whereunto shall the noble Edward be compared? Perhaps he will be rightly called a leopard. If we divide the name it becomes lion and pard; lion, because we saw that he was not slow to attack the strongest places, fearing the onslaught of none, with the boldest valour making a raid amidst the castles, and wherever he goes succeeding as it were at his wish, as though like Alexander he would speedily subdue the whole world, if Fortune's moving wheel would stand still for ever..."*

*A lion by pride and fierceness, he is by inconstancy and changeableness a pard, changing his word and promise, cloaking himself by pleasant speech. When he is in a strait he promises whatever you wish, but as soon as he has escaped he renounces his promise. Let Gloucester be witness, where, when free from his difficulty, he at once revoked what he had sworn. The treachery or falsehood whereby he is advanced he calls prudence; the way whereby he arrives whither he will, crooked though it be, is regarded as straight; wrong gives him pleasure and is called right; whatever he likes he says is lawful, and he thinks that he is released from law, as though he were greater than the King."*



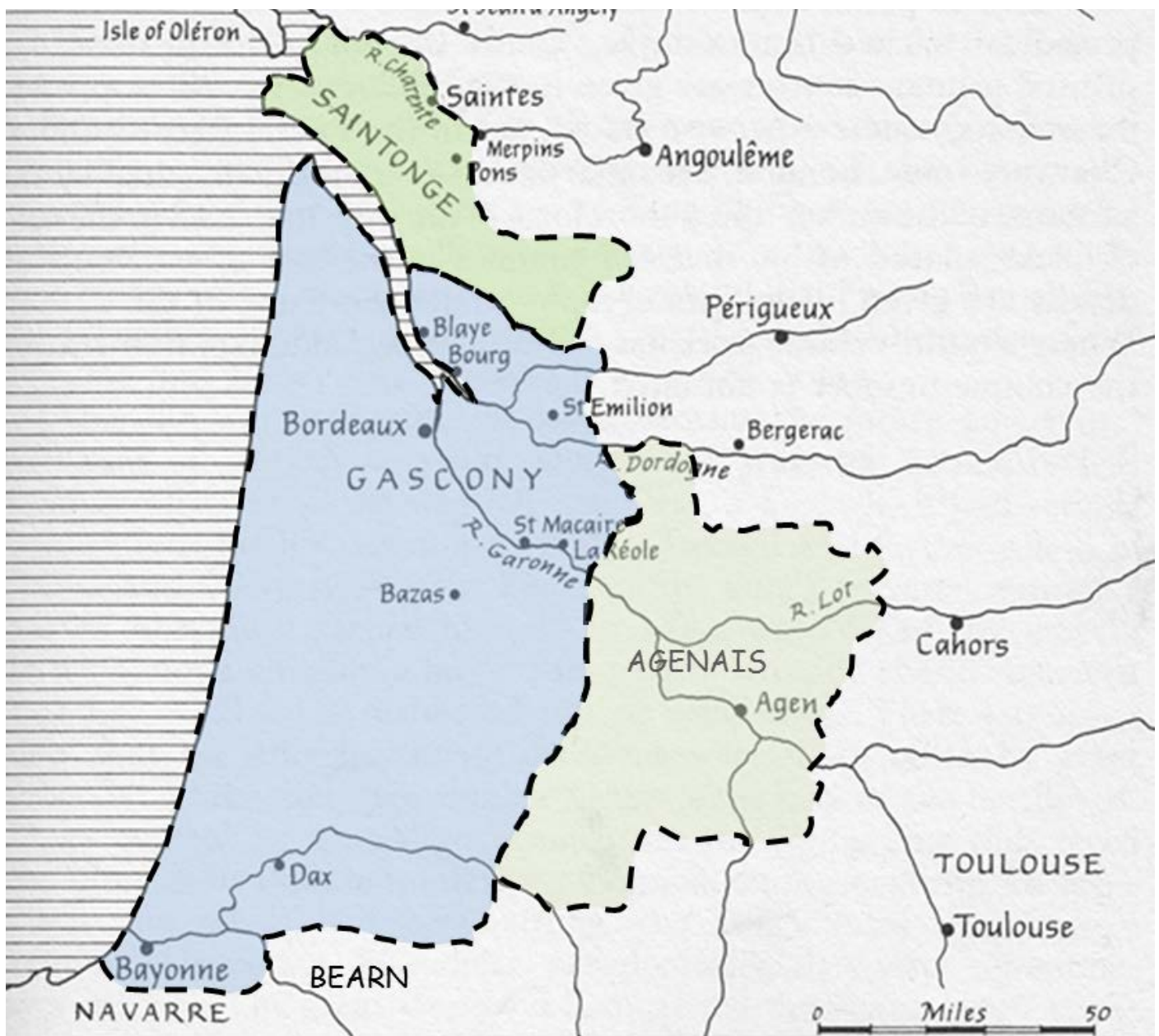
Battle of Lewes

## 72 The Empire Strikes Back

Things looked pretty good for the reformers in 1259; but at the heart of the reform movement were fault lines that weakened them, and made them vulnerable. The differing aims of the magnates; the avarice of de Montfort; and the fact that would plague the civil war 400 years later - however many times they defeated the king, he would still be the king. And in 1261, the royal fight back began.

### The Treaty of Paris, 1259

When at last de Montfort was out manoeuvred into giving Eleanor's quitclaim, the treaty was signed that finally put the seal on the end of the Angevin Empire. Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Poitou - Henry formally renounced his claim to all of them. In return, he was given Gascony and the rights to some further bits of land not yet in his possession - the Agenais, the Saintonge. Some commentators thought Henry a prune to have agreed to this - Eleanor had held Gascony as of right, not from the king of France. But in fact, Henry for once was probably right. It was a running sore - an agreement needed to be reached, otherwise there would simply be constant war, which the English were unlikely to win. And in fact although it takes a long time of course, a war which the English were indeed eventually to lose.





## The Provisions of Westminster

If the Provisions of Oxford were a constitutional revolution, the Provisions of Westminster were the embodiment of that revolution in legislation. Why, I hear you ask, do we get so excited by these things? Well, there are a few points.

First of all, this is only the second example we have of specific legislation being introduced to modify the behaviour of the king and his instruments, the Sheriffs and Justices in Eyre. It goes further than Magna Carta in this respect.

Secondly, Magna Carta is really a peace treaty between the king and his magnates. The Provisions of Westminster concerned the malpractices of the barons every bit as much as of the king. This is radical. It also reflected the changing makeup of England - local knights and towns were now too important and influential to be represented by the magnates.

If you add the extraordinary restriction of the king's powers brought through the Provisions of Oxford, you have a constitutional change unmatched anywhere in Europe.

For those super-keenies, the text for the [Provisions of Westminster](#) is on the website.

## The Empire Strikes Back

In 1260, Henry and Eleanor started a series of challenges to the Baronial Council which meant that by the end of 1261 they were back in control. At one stage, Simon de Montfort was put on trial by the king, and only saved by an invasion from Llewellyn ap Gruffudd which distracted Henry at the crucial time - or maybe saved him from the embarrassment of an acquittal. Prince Edward returned to the royal fold, reconciled to the king and Queen - though having to abandon his marcher friends in the process, much to their resentment. Eventually, in October 1261 after having many times sworn to uphold the Provisions of Oxford, Henry produced a Papal bull of absolution from his oaths, and repudiated the provisions. This of course should have been the time when the magnates stood up to be counted - but they failed, the air knocked out of them by the defection of Richard de Clare, the Earl of Gloucester. Only Simon de Montfort stood firm - making off to France rather than be forced to take part in a government that now was not regulated by the provisions.



*Westminster from the Drawing by Antonie van den Wyngaerde. Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

## 73 Return of the Jedi

In 1262, it looked for all the world, as though the royal party was back in control and the whole struggle for reform was over. But that was before you take into account the ability of Henry, Eleanor and their son to get up the collective English nose. So de Montfort was able to return and once again the battle was on. This time though, the royal party fought back right away, and won a string of victories. By March 1264, De Montfort was drinking at the last chance saloon.

### Stirring up rebellion

In 1262, Henry and Eleanor should by rights have been able to finish any question of revolt. But instead their misrule continued, and each passing day re-affirmed that the Provisions of Westminster had been lost, with the return of the Lusignan, and the restart of Eyres of Justices designed to raise money for the crown. But the really foolish move was to irritate the de Clare's; when Richard died, Henry and Eleanor refused to confirm the accession of his son the Red Earl, Gilbert de Clare, and tried to cripple Gilbert with the size of his mother's dower.

Henry finally cottoned up and confirmed the provisions of Oxford - but it was too late. In April 1263 a group of marcher lords asked de Montfort to return, and duly he returned.

### 1263-1264: Struggle for power

At first de Montfort carried all before him. He was well supported by magnates such as John de Warenne, Gilbert de Clare and even Richard of Cornwall. London declared for the rebels, and Eleanor and Henry were forced to retreat to the Tower.

Edward was not prepared to take this lying down. He and a group of his knights broke into the Temple Church and stole £1,000 worth of jewels and coin. While this heightened London's support for de Montfort, it allowed Edward to escape the city and raise the royal standard at Windsor. Queen Eleanor tried to join him, by sailing down the Thames on her barge - but much to her fury and that of Henry and Edward the Londoners on the bridge drove her back with mud, rotten vegetables and insults. Sadly, Edward and Eleanor were just the type to bear a grudge, and would never really forgive London the insult to the royal dignity.



Temple Church London

### 1264: The Mise of Amiens and power swings to the Royalists

Early in 1264, Louis IXth was asked to arbitrate between the barons and king. The result was a complete whitewash, and the complete rejection of the baronial claims. The war then seemed to go from bad to worse for the Barons - with one exception - Gilbert de Clare's declaration for de Montfort. Despite this, Henry was everywhere victorious, taking Northampton (and capturing Simon de Montfort Junior), Leicester and Nottingham before heading to the south coast. In May 1264 de Montfort set out with his numerically inferior army to risk it all on one last throw of the dice.



Gilbert de Clare



Arms of de Clare



Stained Window Tewkesbury Abbey



Louis IX

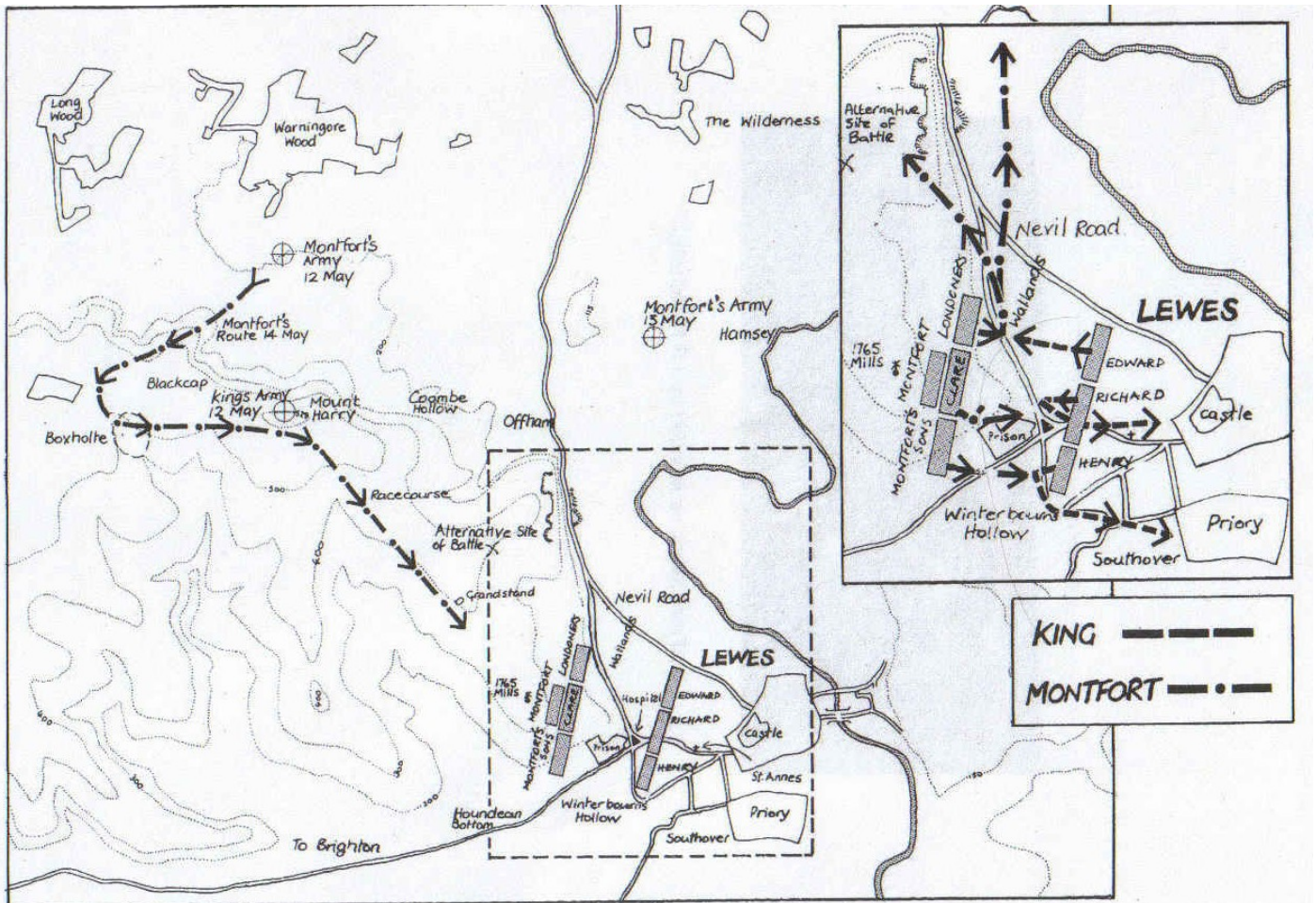


## 74 The Wheel of Fortune

In 1264 when De Montfort set out from London he would have been conscious that this was a last throw; after losses to the Royalists in the midlands his only chance was a decisive victory. Lewes gave him that victory, and opened a remarkable period in England's history, a period of constitutional monarchy.

### The Battle of Lewes, May 1264

De Montfort led an army that was considerable smaller than the King. Estimates vary wildly, but let's go for 10,000 on the Royalist side and 5,000 with de Montfort. In addition, de Montfort had far fewer cavalry - though in the end given the terrain and the activities of Edward, maybe that wasn't such a bad thing.



Map by David Carpenter

Check out the [Sussex Archaeological Society](http://Sussex Archaeological Society) website.

Below is the account of the battle of Lewes by the reliable chronicler William of Rishanger:

*"Earl Simon passed that night without sleep, giving time, as was his habit, to divine offices and prayers and exhorting his men to make sincere confessions. Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, absolved them all, and commanded that for the remission of their sins they should manfully strive for justice on that day, promising to all who should die thus the entry into the heavenly kingdom.*

*Battle being therefore certain, at daybreak before the rising of the sun, they went out from the village of Fletching, where a great part of them had spent the night, and which was about ten miles from Lewes. Before the start earl Simon de Montfort girt Gilbert de Clare with a knight's sword.*



*When they had marched near the town of Lewes and were hardly two miles distant from it, Simon with his men ascended a hill and placed his chariot there in the middle of his baggage, and having purposely placed and firmly erected his standard upon it, he encircled it with many armed men. Then with his own forces he held the ground on either side and awaited the issue of events. In the chariot he set four London citizens, who a little before, when he passed the night in Southwark, had conspired to betray him. This he did as a warning.*

*When he had thus prudently arrayed his forces, he ordered white crosses to be sewn on their backs and breasts over their armour, so that they should be distinguished from their enemies, and to indicate that they were fighting for justice. At dawn the baronial army suddenly attacked the king's guards who had gone out to seek for food or fodder and killed many of them.*

*When the king therefore was sure of the coming of the barons, he soon advanced with his men, with his standards unfurled and preceded by the royal banner, portending the judgment of death, which they call the 'Dragon'. His army was divided into three parts: the first line was commanded by Edward, the king's eldest son, together with William de Valance, earl of Pembroke, and John de Warenne, earl of Surrey and Sussex; the second by the king of Germany with his son Henry; and the third by king Henry himself. The baronial forces were divided into four, of which the first line was given to Henry de Montfort, the second to Gilbert de Clare together with John FitzJohn, and William of Montchensy; in the third were the Londoners under Nicholas Segrave; while the earl himself with Thomas of Pelveston led the fourth.*

*Then Edward with his line rushed on his enemies with such violence that he compelled them to retreat, and many of them, to the number of sixty knights, it is said, were overwhelmed. Soon the Londoners were routed, for Edward thirsted for their blood because they had insulted his mother, and he chased them for four miles, slaughtering them most grievously. But through his absence the strength of the royalists was considerably diminished.*

*Meanwhile many of the mighty men of the royal army, seeing the earl's standard on the hill and thinking he was there, made their way thither and unexpectedly slew those London citizens, for they did not know that they were on their own side. In the meantime the earl and Gilbert de Clare were by no means inactive, for they smote, threw down and killed those who opposed them, endeavouring with the utmost eagerness to take the king alive. Therefore many of the king's supporters rushed together - John earl of Warenne, William de Valance, Guy de Lusignan, all the king's half brothers, Hugh Bigod and about three hundred warriors - and seeing the fierceness of the barons, fled. There were captured Richard, the king of Germany, Robert Bruce and John Comyn, who had led the Scots thither. Also King Henry had his horse wounded under him, and giving himself up to earl Simon was soon brought under guard to the priory.*

*There were killed on that day many Scottish barons, and a great number of the foot soldiers who came with them had their throats cut. Meanwhile Humphrey de Bohun earl of Hereford, John FitzAlan earl of Arundel, William Bardolf, Robert de Tateshale, Roger de Somery, Henry Percy and Philip Basset were taken prisoner.*

*But on the king's side there fell the justiciar, William of Wilton and Fulk FitzWarin, the one slain by a sword, the other drowned in the river. On the barons' side fell Ralph Haringod, baron, and William Blund the earl's standard bearer. On both sides five thousand are said to have fallen.*

*When Edward and those fighting with him returned from the slaughter of the Londoners, not knowing what had happened to his father, he went round the town and came to Lewes castle. When he did not find his father there, he went to Lewes priory, where he found his father and learned what had happened. Meanwhile the barons made an assault on the castle, but as those shut up in it defended themselves manfully, the barons withdrew. When Edward saw their boldness within the castle, he was greatly inspirited, and collecting his men again, he wished to continue the battle afresh. Discovering this, the barons sent arbitrators of peace, promising that they wished to treat for an effectual peace the next day."*

### **Richard the Trichard and the song of Lewes**

Here, rarely, is the voice of ordinary people, mocking the King of the Romans, Richard of Cornwall as he hid in his windmill after the battle.

"Song Against the King of Alemaigne" is available on the website

The Song of Lewes, on the other hand, is a remarkable political track, probably by a Franciscan Friar, that puts the case for kingship and the baronial cause.

"The Song of Lewes" is available on the website

### **The Mise of Lewes**

By the end of the battle, Simon was victorious and the agreement called the Mise of Lewes transferred the King and Prince Edward from the Priory at Lewes to imprisonment with de Montfort. It also committed de Montfort to arbitration to find an acceptable alternative to the **Provisions of Oxford**.

### **The English Bishops and the failure of arbitration**

Louis IXth, though was not playing ball. The English Bishops tried their best, crossing to France to try to negotiate. There, the Papal Legate Ottobuono did his best to browbeat them into abandoning de Montfort, but to no avail. Incredulous and exasperated, the Legate asked them a straight question, to which he would have got the answer 'no' in every other European country - Did the bishops agree with the barons that the king of England should be compelled to accept specified councillors and strictly to follow their counsel? The bishops looked him in the eye and said 'yes'. The result was excommunication and interdict for de Montfort and de Clare. The men of Kent showed their attitude - when the bishops arrived with the papal bulls, they tore them into pieces and threw them into the sea.

### **The 'pride and arrogance of Lucifer'**

The short period of rule by de Montfort was too troubled to give much chance for reform; though true to the Provisions, De Montfort called parliament regularly, including the first parliament where burgesses were called to represent the towns; and he appointed sheriffs according to the provisions.

But on the other hand, de Montfort and his family ruthlessly and systematically built their wealth and land, so much so that at tournaments the de Montfort boys were 'abounding in money and with and with an innumerable company of paid knights'.

### **Trouble**

The result was to drive de Clare from the baronial camp, disillusioned at the growth in de Montfort's power and the eclipse of his own. By April 1265 he had left court and gone to his estates in the Welsh marches, where de Montfort was forced to follow to try to repair the fences.



Monument for the Battle of Lewes



King Henry III paying homage  
to Louis IX



Kenilworth Castle Warwickshire



Arms of Hugh XII de Lusignan



## 75 Nemesis

In April 1265 Gilbert de Clare had left court in something of a huff. De Montfort was well aware that if he lost de Clare, his whole hold on power would be threatened.

### The Evesham Campaign

Below is a map of Wales and the Welsh Marches, actually slightly after the de Montfort campaign. The names of major landholders are in Capital letters, so that you can see where the Mortimer and de Clare lands lay.



In April 1265, Gilbert de Clare left court for the Marches; and de Montfort realised this was trouble. De Clare was the only major magnate supporting the cause, and without him support for de Montfort's rule was dangerously lacking magnate support. At first things looked OK - de Clare agreed to arbitration. But in fact, he was already in communication with the Royalists. William de Valence had already landed at Pembroke, looking to march to Wigmore and join with Mortimer.



Wigmore then and now

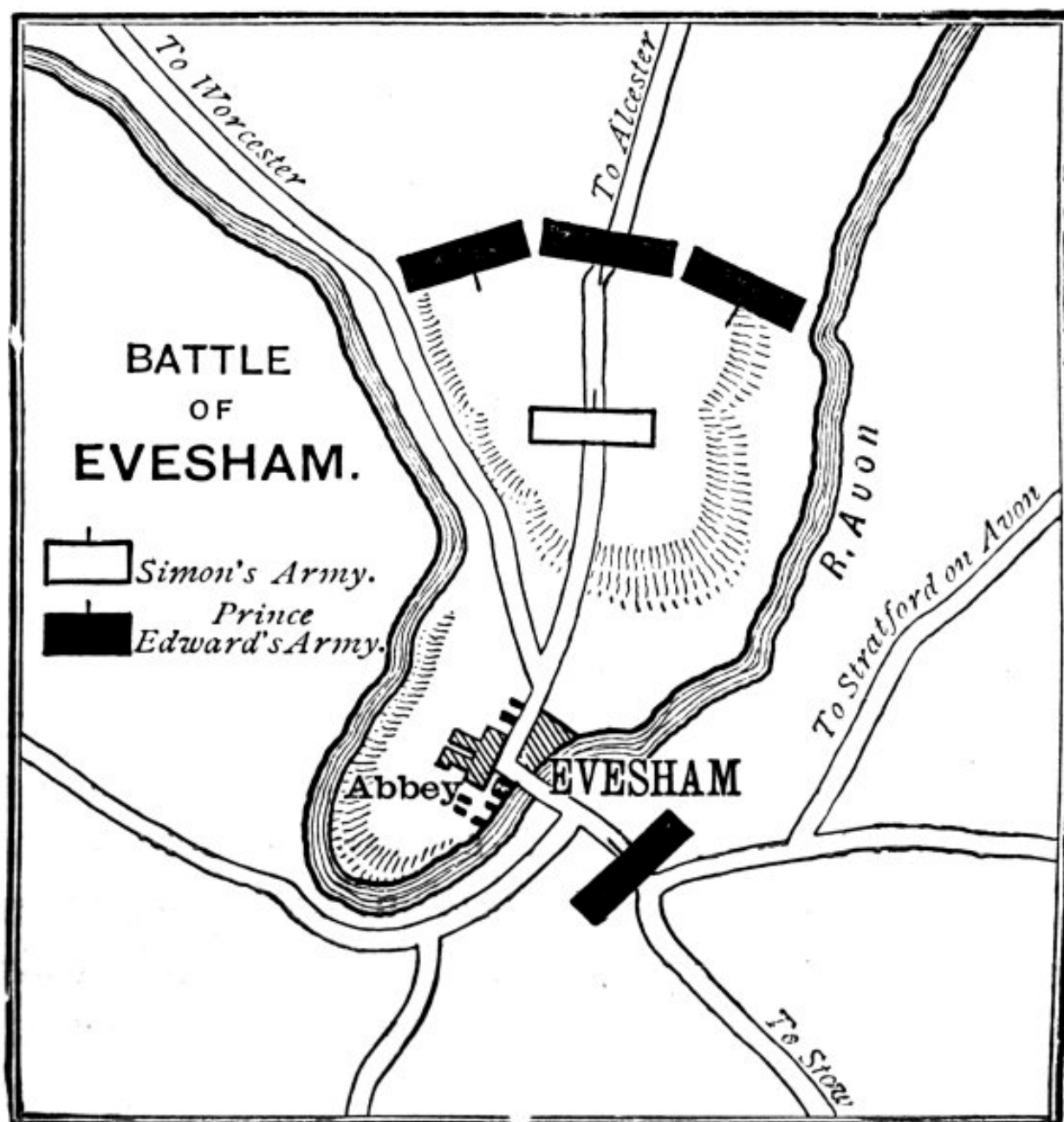


De Montfort moved to Hereford to block that move, but then the whole situation changed. Edward escaped on 28<sup>th</sup> May. Edward had set out with his knightly minders with the express intention of testing the horses. He then proceeded to ride each horse to exhaustion, before giving it back to the relevant knight and trying the next one. Eventually, he came to the last horse, hopped on it and headed for the hills. All his captors' horses were tired of course, and so they had no hope of catching him.

At Wigmore, Edward, Mortimer and de Clare met and hammered out a deal, and then quickly moved to cut the bridges over the River Sever. De Montfort sent for his son Simon to meet him with the main army, but by 29th June the last bridge over the Sever at Gloucester had been captured, and de Montfort was cut off in Hereford with only his household knights and some Welsh mercenaries.

But finally by 32st July, Simon Junior had reached Kenilworth, drawing Edward away from Worcester. In a Lightning march, Edward caught Simon Junior outside Kenilworth, and gave his army a mauling but if the de Montfort's could combine they would still have a chance. With Edward at Kenilworth, de Montfort was able to cross the Severn and march towards his son.

### The Battle of Evesham



On 4th August 1265, Simon de Montfort was finally trapped at Evesham, heavily outnumbered while trying to combine his army with that of his son, Simon. As he watched Edward's army approach, he said 'May God have mercy on our souls for our bodies are theirs.'

Edward organised a death squad to hunt de Montfort down - not to capture him as would normally be the case, but to kill him. In fact, Henry de Montfort was the first to die, and when he was told his father said 'Then it is time to die'. 30 knights were killed in the battle, an unprecedented number - normally they would have been held for ransom. De Montfort himself was run through the neck by Roger Mortimer with a lance. His body was dismembered - the head cut off, and the testicles stuffed into its mouth. Kindly, Mortimer sent the head in a box to his wife - a lovely thought.

### **The aftermath**

It took over 2 years for the rebellion to be finally repressed. Because Henry was determined to get revenge - and so normal rules were suspended. After the rebellions of Henry II and John, barons had been fined, and then allowed to resume their lands and get on it. But in September 1266, Henry declared that none of the rebels would be allowed to resume their lands - and the result was chaos. Kenilworth itself held out for 6 months, until eventually forced to surrender. In the end Henry, helped by Ottobuono and Richard of Cornwall, arranged a better deal whereby the Disinherited could take back their estates before they paid their fine - and finally a workable solution had been found.



The death of de Montfort



De Montfort's memorial at Evesham



## 76 The Personal Rule of Henry III Part 2

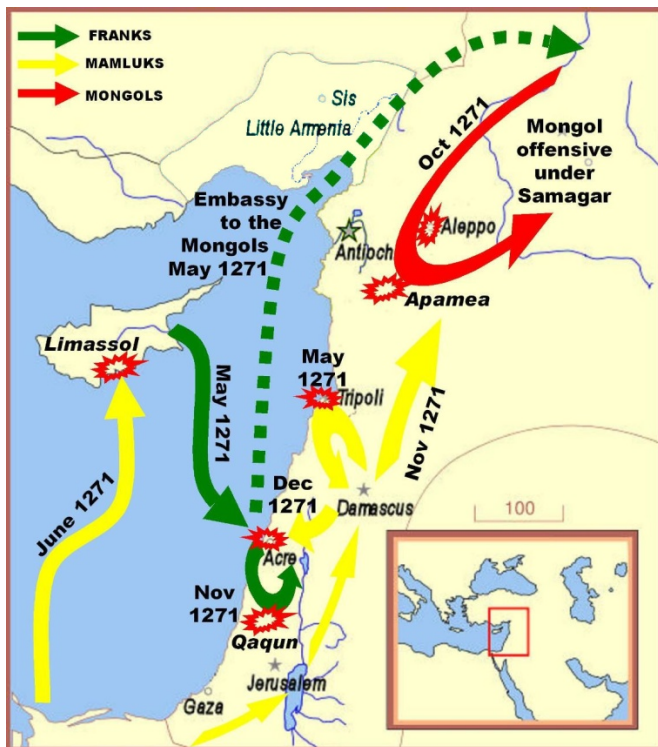
The last 5 years of Henry's rule were pretty uneventful. The **Statute of Marlborough** confirmed the changes of the Provisions of Westminster, but royal power remained based on the pre-**Provisions of Oxford** basis. Edward whiled away his time by going on crusade, returning in August 1274 for his coronation.



The elephant of Henry III given to him by Louis IX illustration by M Paris



Mamluks and Mongol warriors 1299



Edward's Crusade



Edward I paying homage to Phillip IV



The shrine of Edward the Confessor



Eleanor of Castile



## 77 Reconstruction

The country Edward came back to in 1274 wasn't in particularly good nick. Crime was on the rise, with a general disaffection with the regime as the Benzedrine of de Montfort's years continued to race through the nation's veins. The magnates were used to ignoring Henry and his royal officials. There was no money in the treasury. With the help of Robert Burnell and his close circle of magnates, in the first few years of his realm Edward re-established a good degree of firm government, financial stability - and built a shared esprit de corps between him and his court.

### Finances

Royal revenue had hit rock bottom; £25,000 a year, which is the same level as Henry I had achieved. Except that inflation since then had been something like 300%, so Henry really had the equivalent of £75,00. Edward restored his finances through:

- Customs dues: From 1275, merchants had to pay 3% on their exports of Wool. So that's £10,000 a year
- Taxation: Parliament agreed to a tax of 1/15th - which raised £80,000
- The Riccardi of Lucca: up to 1290, the Riccardi were the paymasters of the crown. In return for loans to order, they managed the collection of customs dues through the exchequer. It's a deal that gave Edward complete independence in normal years.
- Meanness - no more patronage and giving away of crown lands - and a lot of taking back where he could!

Edward also came up with a few feudal dues, like distraint of knighthood. But his reign is the first sign that really, feudal dues were no longer sufficient for an English king.

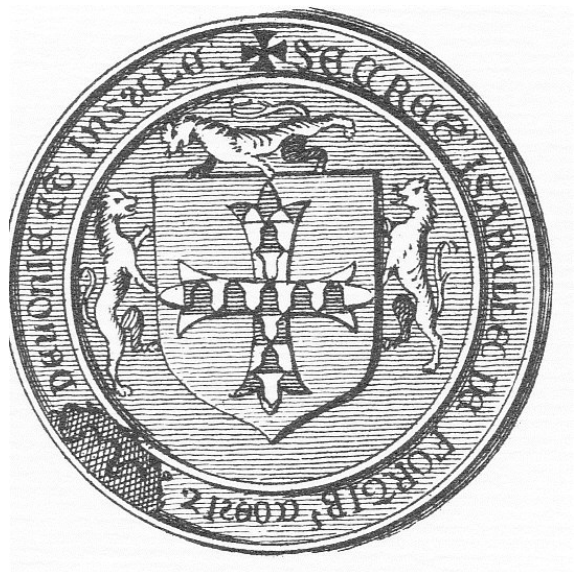
### Reform and Community

Edward's biggest triumph was to re-establish a partnership between the crown and his people. He was a model of the medieval king - physically imposing, a wow at tournaments (before he became king!), pious without being grovelling about it (he abandoned work on Westminster Abbey for example). He used the legend of Arthur to bind his magnates together with him, to the extent of creating his own Round Table - now in Winchester Hall.

More importantly he worked within the law, by and large. He worked with Parliament, regularly calling parliaments which he genuinely worked with. He was genuine about delivering better government; so he replaced corrupt sheriffs, he encouraged petitions of grievances through parliament and did something about them. And he instituted changes in new laws, such as the Statute of Westminster 1275.



The Round Table at Winchester



The seal of Isabella de Forz





Coin from The time of Edward I



Detail from Grandes Chroniques de France depicting the expulsion of Jews from France in 1182

## 78 The Crisis in Wales

In 1270, you would have been more likely to pick Alexander, king of Scotland or Llewellyn of Wales as the leader most likely to breach the peace. Edward looked more like a candidate for a peace prize. And, Wales was more united than ever; at the Treaty of Montgomery in 1267 Llewellyn had been confirmed as Prince of Wales. So the events of 1277 were something of a surprise.

## A bit of background - Welsh Poets and Welsh Castles

Let me recommend some other sites to look at. First of all, I managed to stumble on some Welsh medieval court poetry during the writing of this podcast. Now, I know how dire that sounds but believe me, it was actually rather compelling. See the samples on my [documents blog](#).

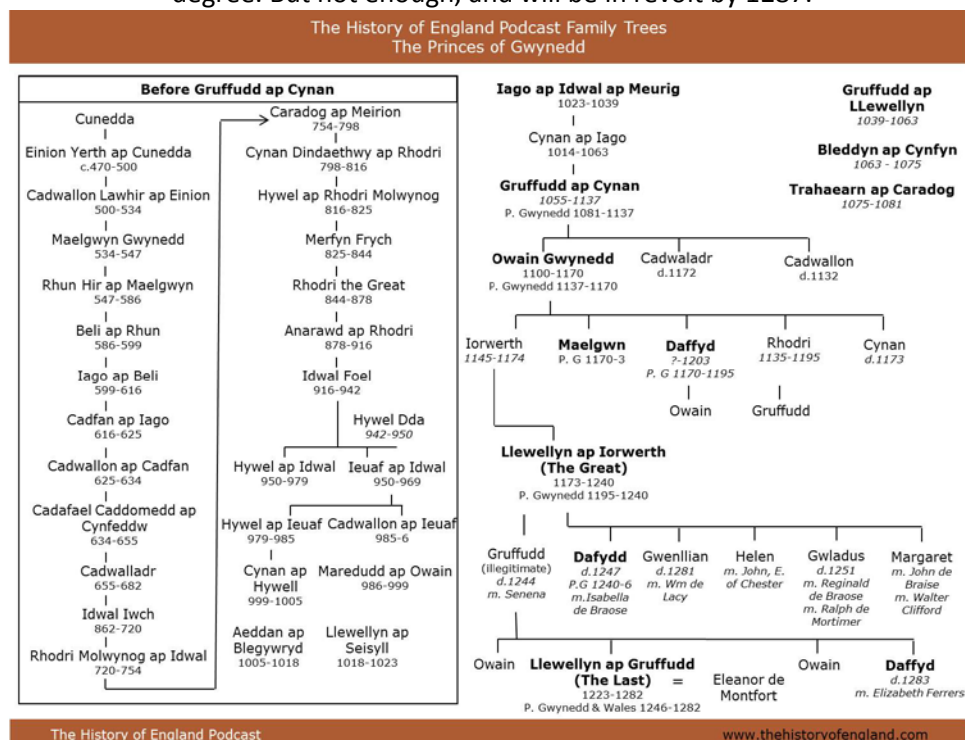
Then, if you like castles, Wales is the place to go. There are a couple of really good sites to get the low down, one of them dripping with good 'ole Welsh patriotism. First there's [Castles of Wales](#), and then there's [Castles of Britain](#).

## A brief glossary of names



## Llewellyn the Last

- Daffyd (1217-1246) - the brother to Llewellyn the last. Shifty, surly, ambitious.
- Gruffudd ap Gwynwynwyn (d.1286) - lord of Powys in eastern Wales. Not well disposed towards Llewellyn.
- Llewellyn the Last (1223-1282) - our main man
- Llewellyn ap Iorwerth (Llewellyn the Great), 1172-1240
  - Rhys ap Maredudd (1250-1292) - lord of Cantref Mawr, the remnants of the southern Welsh kingdom of Deheubarth. Didn't get on with Llewellyn, one of the first to submit to Edward, and rewarded to some degree. But not enough, and will be in revolt by 1287.



## Seeds of disaster: the treaty of Montgomery, 1267

In most ways, the treaty was a complete triumph for Llewellyn. It confirmed the conquests he'd made from the English, and made him Prince of Wales. BUT there are two kickers:

He had to pay 25,000 marks plus a further 5,000 marks for the homage of Rhys ap Maredudd. This was not going to be easy

The definition of many parts of his new territories was very poorly defined, leaving them subject to dispute and challenge from the disgruntled English marcher lords.

Below is a brilliant map from Wikipedia, which shows the lay of the land after the Treaty of Montgomery.



### The journey to conflict

Right up to the eve of the conflict, Llewellyn and Edward seemed to have a good relationship. Llewellyn's beef was with the marcher lords - Gilbert de Clare (Earl of Gloucester), Humphrey de Bohun (Earl of Hereford), and Roger Mortimer - who were trying to nibble away at this territory.

- In 1273, while Edward was still away, the Regency left to govern in his place rattled Llewellyn's cage. They demanded he come and pay homage to Edward in absentia - Llewellyn refused.
- Then The Regency ruled that Humphrey de Bohun was quite entitled to consider the castles in Brecon not to be covered by the treaty which clearly gave Brecon to Llewellyn.
- And meanwhile, Llewellyn could no longer keep up his payments under the Treaty of Montgomery.

Despite all of this, Edward was still relaxed and sure that things would still be fine. But unfortunately Llewellyn was beginning to believe his own publicity. And we would stop pushing it, well beyond the point where he was ever going to win. There were two big snubs:

- Snub No. 1: Llewellyn is invited to Edward's wedding. He turns it down.
- Snub No. 2: Edward stretches a point and comes up to Chester to make it easy for Llewellyn to pay him homage. Llewellyn doesn't turn up, and Edward returns in a rage to London. Now it's war.



## The first Welsh war: 1277

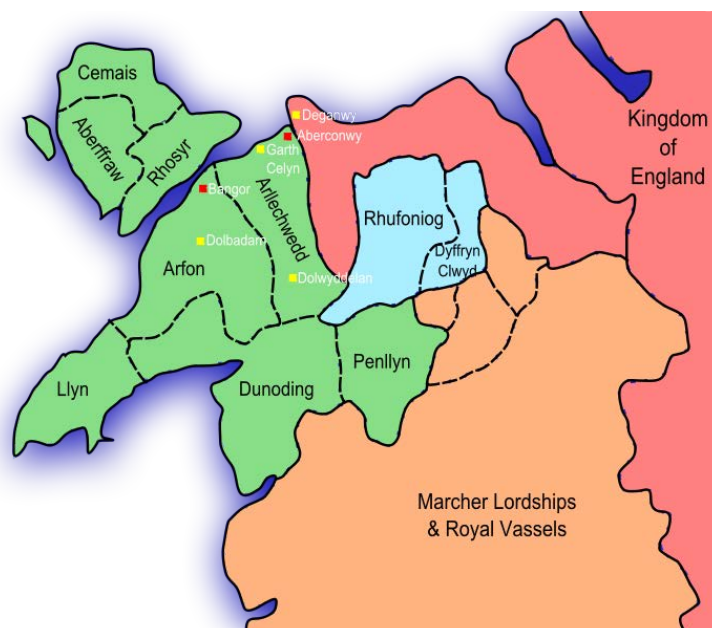
Really, it wasn't much of a contest. There is nothing particularly innovative about the way Edward fought his Welsh wars - except that his logistics were meticulous, and by thorough organisation he overwhelmed Llewellyn.

As the map below shows, there were three lines of attack into Wales, and by November Llewellyn had submitted.



## The Treaty of Aberconwy, 1277

Llewellyn's defeat was confirmed at the Treaty of Aberconwy. Below is the excellent map from Wikipedia which shows how Llewellyn is now pinned back into Gwynedd.





## 79 Conqueror and Statesman

The second Anglo Welsh war was very different in character to the first. Here was a genuinely national uprising against rule by the English. Here was a war with no compromise - where Edward clearly decided from the start that the only long term issue was complete conquest.

### Edward's second Anglo Welsh War - Conquest

#### Why?

Between 1277 and 1282, the Welsh had their defeat rubbed firmly in their faces. The new towns set up in the shadow of the new English castles at places like Flint and Rhuddlan excluded the Welsh from trade. The administrators were English and made few concessions to Welsh law and nationhood. And then, there were personal grievances; Daffyd in particular had wanted to become the Prince of Gwynedd at least, not just to be given 2 cantrefes.



Caernarfon Castle

#### It starts...

In 1282, Daffyd and his allies launched a series of surprise attacks at Hawarden, Aberystwyth, Flint and Rhuddlan. The English towns burnt. This presented Llewellyn with a problem - did he join or stay aloof? After all, given the experience of 1277 surely the revolt was doomed from the start. He dithers. But then in June, his wife bore him a daughter, not a son to carry on his line; and then Eleanor died as well. Llewellyn decided he had nothing to lose, and threw his lot in with his brother.

#### The war

Edward's attack followed the previous model - 3 separate attacks, south west, East and north. The Welsh had some early success - de Clare was defeated in the south, William de Valence held up at Aberystwyth.

But in the north, Edward's advance was relentless, including building a bridge of boats across the Menai straits to Anglesey. Holed up in Snowdonia, Llewellyn tried to break out with an attack in central Wales - only to be killed in the resulting battle, have his head hacked off, crowned with Ivy and nailed to the Tower of London.

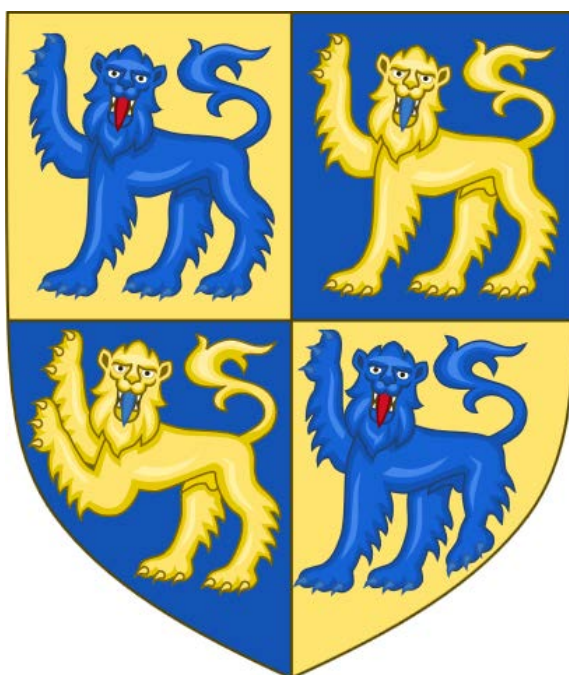
Daffyd was now Prince of Wales, but the winter of 1282-3 gave him no relief as he expected - uniquely, Edward kept the fight going. Daffyd was chased from stronghold to stronghold until at last his own countrymen handed him over to Edward.

### A new brutality in political life

In October 1283 Daffyd was accused of Treason. It's not that Treason was unknown - but it had never been used for this kind of rebellion, and never for the high born. Here's how the chronicler described a hideous death:

Daffyd...was captured by the king's men together with his wife, two sons and 7 daughters and was tried subsequently by the magnates of England. He was a fomenter of evil, a most vicious tormenter of the English and deceiver of his own race, and ungrateful traitor and a warmonger.

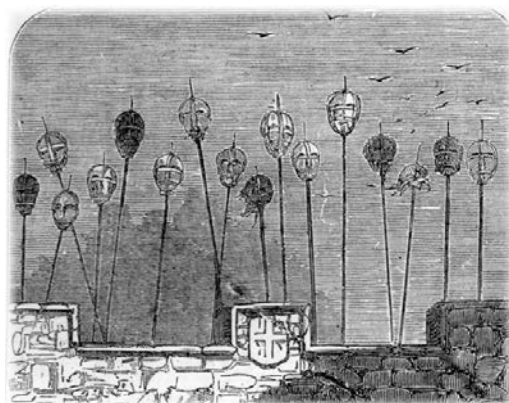
*The death of a traitor is indeed shameful! Daffyd was dragged at a horse's tail through the streets of Shrewsbury then hanged and finally decapitated. Afterwards his body was hacked into 4 portions, his heart and intestines were burned and his head was taken to London to be displayed at a stake on the Tower next to his brother's head. The 4 quarters of his headless corpse were despatched to Bristol, Northampton, York and Winchester*



Arms of Dafydd ap Gruffydd



At a horse's tail (Matthew Paris)



Heads on spikes on Old London Bridge