

The Royal Forest During the Reign of Henry III, 1227-72

PhD Thesis

Department of History

Andy Ford

September 2025

Declaration

I confirm that this is my own work and that the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Andy Ford

Acknowledgements

My interest in the reign of Henry III began when, as an undergraduate, I attended a series of lectures given by John Maddicott in 1986. A subsequent career in local government, auditing and management consultancy prevented me from taking that interest further until, many years later, I became involved in a community archaeology project investigating a local medieval site. To support the project, I volunteered to undertake some historical research which, to my delight, drew me into the medieval royal forest and, ultimately, back to Henry III. While my research for this thesis therefore formally commenced in 2019, it reflects an interest that first began almost forty years ago.

I cannot hope to do justice to the many people who have encouraged, advised and supported me over the last six years, but a number deserve special mention. I would firstly like to thank all the staff and students at the Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies (GCMS) at University of Reading. At a time when the study of medieval history is under pressure at so many universities, past and present members of the GCMS have proudly and steadfastly made the case for its continued importance and relevance. I also want to express particular thanks to my two remarkable supervisors, Professor Adrian Bell and Dr Tony Moore. As well as demonstrating considerable patience and good humour, they have challenged, encouraged, supported and inspired me over the last six years. Closer to home, I want to thank the many friends and members of my family who have endured, and I hope occasionally enjoyed, conversations about the royal forest and Henry III. In particular, I would like to thank my wife, Belinda, who has lived with the royal forest, even on holiday, while undertaking her own doctoral research. This thesis is dedicated to her.

Abstract

This thesis addresses a notable gap in the current historiography by presenting the first study of the royal forest during the personal rule of Henry III (1227-72). While royal abuse of the forest system generated significant political opposition during John's reign (1199-1216) and resulted in the issue of the Forest Charter in 1217, there has to date been no comprehensive study of the subsequent role of the royal forest in the politics of Henry III's personal rule. Historians have assumed that the royal forest was an inevitable and ongoing source of conflict between the crown and the political community. This thesis argues that this interpretation is the product of a disproportionate focus on the judicial and revenue-raising functions of the royal forest. Consequently, historians have interpreted Henry III's actions concerning the royal forest primarily in terms of enforcement. The thesis explores previously under-researched aspects of the operation of the royal forest system that together challenge traditional interpretations. It emphasises the importance of the awards of royal gifts from the forest and of privileges within its boundaries. These reflected the king's deep piety, operated as sources of patronage and were used to secure political and military support. The thesis also challenges assumptions that revenue-raising was a primary function of the royal forest. It further highlights the largely cautious approach taken by Henry's governments to reform of the management of the forest. The combined results emphasise the importance of concessionary aspects of the crown's approach in addition to the traditional focus on themes of enforcement. The thesis argues that the effect of these concessionary actions was to soften hostility to the royal forest across the political community to the extent that, when Henry's rule was fundamentally challenged in 1258, it was not viewed as a priority for reform as it had been in 1215.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	8
Chapter 2: Management of the Royal Forest	26
Chapter 3: Forest Gifts	78
Chapter 4: Forest Privileges	133
Chapter 5: Forest Revenue	181
Chapter 6: The Royal Forest as a Political Issue, 1227-72	218
Chapter 7: Conclusions	254
Appendices	264

Abbreviations

AM	<i>Annales Monastici</i> , ed. H.R. Luard, 5 volumes (London, 1864-9)
CChR	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i> , 2 volumes (London, 1903-06)
CFR	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III</i> accessed online at Fine Rolls Henry III: Home
CIM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery)</i> , Volume 1 (London, 1916)
CIPM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other Analogous Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> , 2 volumes (London, 1904-6)
CLR	<i>Calendar of Liberate Rolls: Henry III</i> , 6 volumes (London, 1916-64)
CM	<i>Matthei Parisiensis Chronica Majora</i> , ed. H.R. Luard, 7 volumes (London, 1872-83)
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III</i> , 6 volumes (London, 1901-13)
CR	<i>Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III</i> , 14 volumes (London, 1902-38)
CRR	<i>Curia Regis Rolls</i> , 20 volumes (London and Woodbridge, 1922-2006)
DBM	<i>Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion, 1258-1267</i> , ed. R.F. Treharne and I.J. Sanders (Oxford, 1973)
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> accessed online at Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
PR	<i>Pipe Rolls</i> , volumes published by the Pipe Roll Society

- RLC* *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1204-27*, ed. T.D. Hardy, 2 volumes (Record Commission, London, 1833-44)
- TNA* The National Archives
- VCH* *Victoria County History*

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

This thesis examines the role of the royal forest in government and politics during the personal rule of Henry III of England, 1227-72. Against the background of the Forest Charter that was issued while Henry was a minor, it explores how he and his governments used the royal forest and the political responses that generated. Conversely, it also examines how the king's approach to the royal forest was influenced by the political events of his reign. The thesis aims to address a gap in the current historiography that has largely overlooked the role of the royal forest in politics during Henry's personal rule.

The thesis studies in detail four relatively under-examined themes relating to the royal forest between 1227 and 1272. These concern its management and administration, the granting of gifts from the forest, the award of privileges within the forest and the royal revenue generated from it. By combining the results of the examination of these four themes with other relevant recent research, it also reconsiders the extent to which the royal forest was a political issue during Henry III's personal rule and particularly its relative significance as part of the baronial movement of reform and subsequent civil war after 1258.

This introductory chapter commences with an overview of the relevant historiography. This broadly consists of two strands. There is firstly a large and expanding body of historiography concerning the politics of the period of Henry III's personal rule. Also relevant is a separate strand of historiography examining a wide range of aspects of the medieval royal forest. The chapter then introduces each of the four themes, the rationale for examining them and how they contribute to the overall research. This introductory chapter also provides an overview of the sources used in the research and the approach taken towards them. Each theme is the subject of a subsequent separate chapter which considers in more detail the relevant historiography, methodological issues and results of the research. Chapter 6 takes account of the findings of the preceding chapters and re-examines the royal forest as a political issue during the period of Henry III's personal rule. The final chapter of the thesis provides overarching conclusions.

Historiographical Review: Henry III

The last forty years have seen a significant and sustained resurgence in historians' interest in the reign of Henry III of England (1216-72). Of particular note is David Carpenter's recent two-volume

study of the king.¹ That biography is the result of a career's focus upon Henry's long reign that has seen the publication of well over forty separate chapters and articles covering a wide range of themes, as well as an earlier detailed study of the period of the king's minority.² Taken together, this corpus of research provides a detailed and sophisticated political narrative of this important reign that has largely supplanted the only previous major study undertaken by Frederick Powicke in the middle of the last century.³

In addition to Carpenter's primary focus upon the king, Nicholas Vincent, Margaret Howell and Louise Wilkinson have all written important biographies of key political figures of the period that supplement Noel Denholm-Young's earlier study of Henry's brother, Richard of Cornwall. Simon de Montfort, the leader of the reform movement, has been the subject of two studies, firstly by John Maddicott and more recently by Sophie Ambler. There has also been renewed interest in the leading magnate families of the period, with Marc Morris's study of the Bigods adding to Michael Altschul's earlier examination of the Clares. Additionally, Robert Stacey's examination of politics and royal finance between 1216 and 1245, and Adrian Jobson's account of the reform movement and civil war after 1258 have directed detailed attention towards particular periods of the reign.⁴

Since 1985, the biennial Thirteenth Century England conference has played a key role in fostering and promoting research into many different aspects of Henry's reign. The collective understanding of the politics of the period has been enriched by, for example, Huw Ridgeway's close examination of royal patronage and court factions under Henry, Michael Ray's consideration of the careers of foreigners in royal service and the Julie Kanter's study of the royal itinerary, amongst many others.⁵

¹ D. Carpenter, *Henry III: The Rise to Power and Personal Rule, 1207-1258* (London, 2020); D. Carpenter, *Henry III: Reform, Rebellion, Civil War, Settlement, 1258-1272* (London, 2023).

² D.A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London, 1990). D.A. Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996) contains over 20 articles. There is a comprehensive list of other articles and chapters in the bibliographies in Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.727-9 and Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.666-7.

³ F.M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1947).

⁴ N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (New York, 1947); J.R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge, 1994); N. Vincent, *Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205-1238* (Cambridge, 1996); M. Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1998); L.J. Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort: A Rebel Countess in Medieval England* (London, 2012); S.T. Ambler, *The Song of Simon de Montfort: England's First Revolutionary and the Death of Chivalry* (London, 2019); M. Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217-1314* (Baltimore, 1965); M. Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2005); R.C. Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance under Henry III, 1216-1245* (Oxford, 1987); A. Jobson, *The First English Revolution: Simon de Montfort, Henry III and the Barons' War* (London, 2012); A. Jobson (ed.), *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England, 1258-1267* (Woodbridge, 2016).

⁵ H. Ridgeway, 'The Lord Edward and the Provisions of Oxford (1258): A Study in Faction', in P. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England I* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp.89-99; M. Ray, 'Three Alien Stewards in Thirteenth-Century England: The Careers and Legacy of Mathias Bezill, Imbert Pugeys and Peter de Champvent', in M.C. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England X* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.51-67; J.E. Kanter, 'Peripatetic and Sedentary Kingship: The Itineraries of John and Henry III', in J.

Nor has the attention been limited to national and court politics and government. Amongst the unpublished literature, William Stewart-Parker and Melissa Julian-Jones have examined lordship at a local level in the context of the national politics of the thirteenth century, while Tony Moore has studied government and locality within the county of Essex specifically during Henry's reign.⁶

The result of this extensive and rapidly expanding body of research is a broad consensus around the political narrative of the period of Henry III's personal rule which began with the formal end to his minority in January 1227. At the risk of over-simplification, this narrative characterises Henry as a king who periodically asserted domestically the rights of the monarchy in the context of the legacy of the First Barons' War and the restrictions imposed by Magna Carta, while overseas seeking initially to re-establish his dynasty's position in France and later secure its position on a grander scale across Europe. Exhibiting at times the qualities of the *vir simplex* for which contemporaries criticised him, his misjudgements around patronage, his favouritism towards foreign relations, his relationship with his leading magnates, the alienation of local political communities, his failure to make reforms and his financial difficulties resulted in growing resentment concerning his rule. That resentment found expression in 1258 in a reform movement that fundamentally challenged Henry's authority and resulted in a protracted and bitter civil war that continued until 1267. Although Henry was ultimately successful, the reform movement and civil war cast a shadow over the remainder of his reign. Henry also demonstrated a deep personal piety, earning him a reputation amongst contemporaries as a *rex christianissimus*.⁷

Amongst the many aspects of Henry's rule that have contributed to this narrative, relatively little attention has been given to date to the role of the royal forest. The medieval royal forest was, in legal terms, one of the innovations of the Norman Conquest. Indeed, for Michael Clanchy, it was 'the most important Norman innovation', while Marc Bloch stated that it was in Norman England 'that the creation of royal forests...was most extensive and their protection most stringent' and Naomi Sykes has highlighted the severity of forest law in England relative to that in pre-1066 Normandy

Burton, F. Lachaud and P. Schofield (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England XIII* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp.11-26. A complete list of proceedings from the biennial conferences can be found online at [Search Grid - Boydell and Brewer - Find Your Next Book Today](#), accessed 14 February 2023.

⁶ W. Stewart-Parker, 'The Bassets of High Wycombe: Politics, Lordship, Locality and Culture in the Thirteenth Century' (Unpublished PhD thesis, King's College, London, 2015); M. Julian-Jones, 'The Land of the Raven and the Wolf: Family Power and Strategy in the Welsh March c.1199-1300 – The Corbets and Cantilupes' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Cardiff University, 2015); T.K. Moore, 'Government and Locality in Essex in the Reign of Henry III, 1216-1272' (Unpublished DPhil thesis, Cambridge University, 2006).

⁷ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.38-9, 106, 165-6, 245, 414-6, 489, 512-3, 568, 612-4, 700-16; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.620-39. There is also a very good summary of the background to the crisis of 1258 and the subsequent civil war in Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.1-14.

itself.⁸ Norman rule brought large areas of England under the remit of special laws that were intended to protect the environment as a hunting ground reserved for the king. While some parts of the forest coincided with heavily wooded areas that were favourable for hunting, many others included lands without woods, cultivated land and a wide range of villages and towns. Forest law protected what was known as 'the vert and the venison', limiting the right to hunt deer and boar in particular, and protecting their natural habitat.⁹ While large parts of the royal demesne were located within areas designated as royal forest, others also held land within its boundaries. Indeed, the royal demesne accounted for only a relatively small part of the forest, with most of the land within it being held by lay and ecclesiastical lords and religious houses. These landholders and their tenants living within the royal forest were constrained by forest laws that, for example, forbade hunting and the possession of bows and arrows for that purpose, and required the toes of dogs to be clipped so that they were unable to run in pursuit of deer (a practice known as 'lawing' or 'hambling'). They were also forbidden from cutting down trees for building and fuel, clearing land for cultivation, enclosing their crops to protect them from deer and pasturing their animals on waste areas. A large and sophisticated administrative and legal system developed over time to enforce these laws, and to punish offenders.¹⁰

The creation of the royal forest was controversial from the outset and opposition to it is to be found frequently in the chronicles from the late eleventh century onwards. That opposition was based partly on a belief that the forest laws restricted long-established local customs and practices concerning access to, and use of, the land. Opposition also grew in response to the sheer size of the forest which peaked during the reign of Henry II when it covered perhaps as much as one-third of England. It also grew as a result of perceived abuses by local forest officials and the imposition of penalties for breaches of forest law which increasingly became financial in nature. It was John's abuse of the latter in particular that was sufficiently controversial to make the forest a political issue and a significant contributory factor in the revolt of the barons against his rule in 1215. Provisions concerning the royal forest were accordingly included in the initial charter of liberties that John agreed with the barons in June 1215. In November 1217, following conclusion of the civil war, the minority government of Henry III issued a revised charter of liberties, one that excluded provisions

⁸ M.T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers, 1066-1272* (London, 1983), p.55; M. Bloch, *Feudal Society, Volume 2* (London, 1965), p.303; N.J. Sykes, 'The Impact of the Normans on Hunting Practices in England', in C.M. Woolgar, D. Serjeantson and T. Waldron (eds.), *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition* (Oxford, 2006), p.165.

⁹ A glossary of terms relating to the medieval royal forest is provided in Appendix A.

¹⁰ Good introductions to the genesis of the royal forest and its significance are provided in G.J. Turner (ed.), *Select Pleas of the Forest* (London, 1901), pp.ix-xiv; C.R. Young, *The Royal Forests of Medieval England* (Leicester, 1979), pp.1-6; R. Grant, *The Royal Forests of England* (Stroud, 1991), pp.3-20.

concerning the royal forest. The latter were instead included in a separate charter that concerned solely the running of the royal forest, and that particularly sought both to reduce its size and restrict the scope for royal abuses within it. In February 1218, the government ordered the two separate charters to be proclaimed throughout the country. It was at this time that the charter of liberties was first referred to as Magna Carta. This was not a proclamation of its greatness, but instead a reference to its length and a convenient means of distinguishing it from the much smaller document that accompanied it, and that became known in turn as the Forest Charter or Charter of the Forest.¹¹

Henry III's inheritance when he assumed his majority at the start of 1227 was therefore a royal forest system that, while much reduced in size compared with that of his grandfather, still covered extensive parts of England and had clearly demonstrated its capacity to generate serious political opposition. He was also in the unique position of inheriting a system that his predecessors had seen as an integral part of Angevin government and kingship, while having to address the largely untried and untested restrictions imposed upon it by the Forest Charter.

Powicke briefly considered the royal forest only in relation to the genesis of the Forest Charter and Henry's rejection of recent attempts to remove areas from the scope of forest law (a process known as 'disafforestation') when he assumed his majority in 1227. Carpenter's study of Henry's minority pays much greater attention to the context for the Forest Charter and its significance, particularly in generating a protracted dispute between the crown and the political community on the vexed issue of disafforestation. It also examines the failed inquiry into unauthorised assarts in the summer of 1219 and the difficulties Henry's government encountered in attempting to re-establish the forest eyres, as well as its attempts to reduce abuses at the local level by forest officials.¹²

Within his broad narrative of Henry's reign until 1258, Carpenter considers the royal forest on those occasions when it impacted upon national political events. Broadly, these references fall into three groups. Firstly, there were occasions, for example in 1237, when Henry felt it politically necessary to emphasise his commitment to upholding Magna Carta and the Forest Charter. Additionally, Carpenter examines the attempts in 1227 by the king and his chief minister Hubert de Burgh to overturn earlier unfavourable agreements concerning disafforestations and the outcome of that process. Finally, he highlights the revenue contribution to the crown of the forest eyres, particularly during the 1240s and 1250s. His analysis is complemented by Stacey who focused upon the various

¹¹ Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.3-20, 133-7; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.7-73; M.L. Bazeley, 'The Extent of the English Forest in the Thirteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 4 (1921), pp.140-72; H. Rothwell (ed.), *English Historical Documents Volume III, 1189-1327* (London, 1975), pp.337-40; D. Carpenter, *Magna Carta* (London, 2015), pp.4-8.

¹² Powicke, *King Henry III*, pp.30, 71; Carpenter, *Minority*, pp.61-3, 89-91, 129, 150-1, 159, 163-4, 168-9, 180-2, 236, 252, 263, 276-9, 296, 298, 337, 340.

initiatives taken between 1236 and 1245 to increase revenues from the royal forest and placed these within a political context. However, Stacey's study concludes before the concerted drive under Robert Passelewe to increase forest revenue.¹³

The recent historiography of the period of baronial reform and revolution makes little reference to the royal forest. In the second volume of his biography of Henry III, Carpenter highlights the king's ability to continue to make gifts of deer and wood from the royal forest within the context of his much-reduced authority in the early stages of the reform movement. He also considers the political responses in 1258 of key recent recipients of forest gifts and Henry's use of gifts during the later stages of the period of reform and revolution. In his study of the reform movement and civil war, Jobson refers to the enquiry into the royal forest launched by the reformers in late 1259 and the appointments to senior roles within the forest administration made at various times by the rival camps. The subsequent collection of articles concerning the baronial reform movement edited by Jobson in honour of Michael Clanchy includes a number of references to the royal forest, but there is no examination of its role within the political events of the period.¹⁴

Of the major political biographies, Vincent draws attention to the unprecedented concentration of authority for the forest in the hands of Peter de Rivallis following the palace coup of 1232, while Morris has highlighted the earl of Norfolk's support for the Forest Charter during the period preceding the baronial reform movement. Denholm-Young examined the contribution that discontent concerning Henry's challenge to recent forest perambulations made to fomenting baronial unrest in 1227, but otherwise the forest is rarely considered. Perhaps most striking of all is the almost complete absence in Maddicott's and Ambler's biographies of Simon de Montfort of references to the royal forest.¹⁵

The recent 800th anniversaries of the issue of Magna Carta in 1215 and of its confirmation in 1225 gave historians the opportunity to consider afresh its impact over both the short and longer terms. There has been, however, relatively little attention given to the Forest Charter as part of this renewed interest. David Carpenter's study of Magna Carta examines the genesis of the Forest Charter and Henry's response to it, both during the minority and after 1227. However, most other recent studies concerning the charters have largely overlooked the royal forest other than as a

¹³ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.10, 30, 38-9, 44, 48, 51-2, 64, 69-70, 84, 108, 194, 546, 661; Stacey, *Politics*, pp.4-5, 7-8, 35, 82, 99, 110-1, 113-4, 211, 213, 251.

¹⁴ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.67-8, 72, 210, 213, 237, 238, 261, 276, 284, 333, 349, 362, 460-1, 481, 487, 511, 588, 600, 606, 608, 615; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.41, 63, 95; Jobson (ed.), *Reform and Revolution*, pp.68, 87, 89, 107, 143, 147, 149, 207, 253.

¹⁵ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.295, 301; Morris, *Bigod Earls*, pp.46, 48; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp.11-2.

contributory factor to the growth of hostility against John. Amongst the volume of articles edited by Janet Loengard, for example, is a detailed account by David Crook of the forest eyres under John. The most recent detailed examination of the implications of the Forest Charter for the reign of Henry III therefore remains John Maddicott's article from 1984.¹⁶

Historiographical Review: The Royal Forest

While the royal forest therefore features occasionally within the studies of Henry's reign, there has to date been no comprehensive assessment of its role in the politics of the period. Nor have the historians of the royal forest filled this particular gap. The two most recent comprehensive studies of the medieval royal forest were those undertaken by Charles Young and by Raymond Grant. Young's study drew upon extant sources, mainly in the form of government records, to examine the political history of the royal forest, its administration and its economy. His examination of the political impact of the forest largely concludes with Henry III's response to the perambulations of 1225, before resuming with the king's struggles against the barons from 1258. Even then, he concludes that the royal forest was a 'sleeping issue' that emerged after 1258 'without ever becoming a major point of contention.' His focus is instead upon the later constitutional and political struggles encountered by Edward I.¹⁷ Raymond Grant's later study fills some of the gaps in Young's narrative, especially in examining the crown's efforts to raise revenue from the royal forest between 1227 and 1258 and in considering its role within the baronial reform movement. However, his discussion of these issues is unsurprisingly brief given his broad chronological scope.¹⁸

There is a rich historiography more generally concerning the royal forest. The antiquarian John Charles Cox wrote the first comprehensive study of the royal forest. His work reflected and spawned an interest in the operation of the royal forest seen mainly through the lens of local history. Detailed longitudinal accounts of a number of forests are therefore to be found in relevant volumes of the *Victoria County History* series.¹⁹ These have been supplemented by more recent separate

¹⁶ Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, pp.4-7, 191-2, 195, 209-10, 412-6, 427, 429, 445, 456; D. Crook, 'The Forest Eyre in the Reign of King John', in J.S. Loengard (ed.), *Magna Carta and the England of King John* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp.63-82; J.R. Maddicott, 'Magna Carta and the Local Community', *Past and Present* 102 (1984), pp.25-65. The Magna Carta Project marked the 800th anniversary with a landmark investigation into the context, production and reception of the charter. Further details can be found online at [The Magna Carta Project](#).

¹⁷ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.60-73, 135-48, especially p.135.

¹⁸ Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.142-53.

¹⁹ J.C. Cox, *The Royal Forests of England* (London, 1905); W.R. Fisher, *The Forest of Essex: Its History, Laws, Administration and Ancient Customs, and the Wild Deer which lived in it* (London, 1887); E.T. MacDermot, *A History of the Forest of Exmoor* (Taunton, 1911). A comprehensive description of coverage of the royal forest in the *Victoria County History* publications can be found in J. Langton and G. Jones (eds.), *Forests and Chases of Medieval England and Wales c.1000-c.1500* (Oxford, 2010), pp.177-9.

monographs on individual forests, including Bernwood, Dean and Lancaster.²⁰ This long tradition of a local focus upon the royal forest has continued to the present day with studies regularly appearing in the journals of county archaeological and historical societies, emphasising also the inter-disciplinary nature of much recent scholarship at this level. These monographs and local studies tend to have in common a focus upon identifying the boundaries of the forest at various points in time, an examination of the economy and ecology of the local forest, an explanation of local administrative and management arrangements and a description of the development and decline of the forest over time. They rarely place the local forest in the context of a national political picture, let alone specifically that of the reign of Henry III, but they are an invaluable aid to any study of the royal forest during the thirteenth century.²¹

A number of recent local studies have also explored themes concerning the use of the forest, both by the crown and by local communities. Amanda Richardson's examination of Clarendon has re-focused attention upon royal use of the forest, while the work of Jean Birrell, Barbara Hanawalt and David Crook has explored responses of local communities to its hunting restrictions, including poaching. The subject of hunting within the forest has also been thoroughly explored by Richard Almond. Beryl Schumer's examination of assarting in Wychwood has emphasised the economic pressures from local communities upon the royal forest, while John Langton and Graham Jones have researched the scale of forests more generally in England and Wales and reopened debates about their purpose in medieval society.²²

²⁰ J. Broad and R. Hoyle (eds.), *Bernwood: The Life and Afterlife of a Forest* (University of Central Lancashire, 1997); C.E. Hart, *The Verderers and Speech-Court of the Forest of Dean* (Gloucester, 1950); C.E. Hart, *The Commoners of Dean Forest* (Gloucester, 1951); C.E. Hart, *Royal Forest: A History of Dean's Woods as Producers of Timber* (Oxford, 1966); R. Cunliffe Shaw, *The Royal Forest of Lancaster* (Preston, 1956).

²¹ For example P.A. Stamper, 'The Medieval Forest of Pamber, Hampshire', *Landscape History* 5 (1983), pp.41-52; T.H.M. Clough, 'Peter de Neville and his Wrongdoings as Warden of the Forest of Rutland', *Rutland Record* 18 (1988), pp.333-41; J.R. Birrell, 'The Forest and Chase in Medieval Staffordshire', *Staffordshire Studies* 3 (1990), pp.23-50; G. Foard, 'Medieval Woodland, Agriculture and Industry in Rockingham Forest, Northamptonshire', *Medieval Archaeology* 45 (2001), pp.41-95; R. Jones and M. Page, 'Characterising Rural Settlement and Landscape: Whittlewood Forest in the Middle Ages', *Medieval Archaeology* 47 (2003), pp.53-83; M. Baskerville, 'The Boundaries of Buckholt: A Hampshire Royal Forest', *Hampshire Studies* 63 (2008), pp.179-92.

²² N.A. Richardson, *The Forest, Park and Palace of Clarendon c.1200-c.1650: Reconstructing an Actual, Conceptual and Documented Wiltshire Landscape* (Oxford, 2005); J. Birrell, 'Who Poached the King's Deer? A Study in Thirteenth-Century Crime', *Midland History* 7 (1982), pp.9-25; J. Birrell, 'Forest Law and the Peasantry in the Later Thirteenth Century', in P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England II* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp.149-64; J. Birrell, 'Peasant Deer Poachers in the Medieval Forest', in R. Britnell and J. Hatcher (eds.), *Progress and Problems in Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Edward Miller* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 68-88; J. Birrell, 'Aristocratic Poachers in the Forest of Dean: Their Methods, Quarry and their Companions', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 119 (2001), pp.147-54; B.A. Hanawalt, 'Men's Games, King's Deer: Poaching in Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 18 (1988), pp.175-93; D. Crook, 'The Development of Private Hunting Rights in Derbyshire, 1189-1258', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* 121 (2001), pp.232-43; D. Crook, 'The Development of Private Hunting Rights in

The historiography has further been enhanced through the transcription and translation of selections of relevant documents relating to local forests by county record societies, building upon the pioneering work at the start of the last century by George Turner. These selections frequently contain invaluable summaries of local forest arrangements and now include Sherwood, Cannock, Kinver, Feckenham, Braydon and New forests, as well as the forests of Oxfordshire and Surrey.²³

Thesis Aims and Scope

Despite the volume and range of the historiography and the increase in readily accessible sources, there has been no detailed study to date of the royal forest during the personal rule of Henry III that places it specifically within a political context. This is surprising given, as noted earlier, the prominent role that the royal forest played in fomenting opposition to Henry's father, John. There are two possible explanations for this lacuna. It is conceivable that historians have simply overlooked the role of the forest within the politics of the period of Henry's personal rule. Alternatively, it is possible that the royal forest was less significant as a political issue under Henry III than it was under his father. Both interpretations warrant an examination of the subject.

Any such examination needs additionally to be alert to the prevailing framework within which a political study of the royal forest is usually conducted. This invariably interprets the forest as an area of conflict between the crown and the political community. For Grant, 'forest law was universally hated because of the penalties and restrictions it imposed on all classes of the king's subjects.' Emphasising the universality of ingrained opposition to the 'hated system' of the forest, he argued that 'from the twelfth century onward a bitter and determined struggle was carried on between crown and people for its abolition.'²⁴ Young also viewed the royal forest as a source of inevitable political tension. By the time of John's reign, 'the forest as a political issue had entered English history and was to remain an issue until the fourteenth century.' In particular, 'the question of the

Nottinghamshire, c.1100-1258', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* 105 (2001), pp.101-9; R. Almond, *Medieval Hunting* (Stroud, 2003); R. Almond, 'The Forest as Hunting Ground', in Langton and Jones (eds.), *Forests and Chases*, pp.68-79; B. Schumer, 'Assarting in the Medieval Forest of Wychwood', in Langton and Jones (eds.), *Forests and Chases*, pp.101-8. Langton and Jones (eds.), *Forests and Chases* both summarises the editors' research to compile a gazeteer of forests and chases and includes a range of articles by other historians on aspects of medieval forest management and use. I am grateful to Dr John Langton for sharing with me the database of identified medieval forests and chases that resulted from the research undertaken by him and Dr Graham Jones.

²³ Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.1-131; H.E. Boulton (ed.), *The Sherwood Forest Book* (Thoroton Society Record Series 23, 1965); J. Birrell (ed.), *The Forests of Cannock and Kinver: Select Documents 1235-1372* (Staffordshire Record Society, 1999); J. Birrell (ed.), *Records of Feckenham Forest, Worcestershire, c.1236-1377* (Worcestershire Historical Society, 2006); D. Crowley (ed.), *Braydon Forest and the Forest Law* (Wiltshire Record Society, 2019); D.J. Stagg (ed.), *A Calendar of New Forest Documents 1244-1334* (Hampshire County Council, 1979); B. Schumer (ed.), *Oxfordshire Forests 1246-1609* (Oxfordshire Record Society, 2004); S. Stewart (ed.), *Royal Justice in Surrey, 1258-1269* (Surrey Record Society, 2013).

²⁴ Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.133-42.

extent of the forest was one in which the interests of the barons and the crown were fundamentally opposed.²⁵

This interpretation has been buttressed by the focus in much of the historical research upon the enforcement of the forest law, and especially the eyres. For example, Turner's compilation of extracts from government records concerning the royal forest focuses primarily upon the eyres. After briefly considering the early history of the royal forest, Cox immediately concentrates upon its courts and the officers who upheld the legal system. Grant devotes five chapters to describing the forest courts and system for dealing with pleas and, while Young's account is more balanced in its focus, it still concentrates heavily upon the law and administration of the forest. Amongst the few recent unpublished studies of the royal forest, Jane Winters has extensively examined the forest eyres, including those undertaken during Henry III's reign. The attention given to the eyres is probably partly a reflection of the relatively large number of extant records, as highlighted by David Crook. The focus on enforcement of the forest law is also reflected in many of the studies published by local record societies which give prominence to transcripts of eyre rolls. For example, recent publications concerning the forests of New, Cannock, Kinver, Oxfordshire, Feckenham, Surrey and Braydon all include extensive transcriptions and translations of local eyre records.²⁶ To some extent, this focus is warranted given the potential of forest eyres to generate political hostility. As James Holt noted, it was John's notorious eyre of 1212 that, above all, ensured that the royal forest became a political issue and a target for the barons who subsequently revolted against him.²⁷

As many studies of the eyres have included calculations of the amercements resulting from them, historians have also tended to conclude that revenue generation was one of their key objectives and, indeed, that this was more generally a primary function of the forest from the crown's perspective. Young has suggested that, by the reign of Henry II, 'the royal forests had come to have an economic value independent of their value as hunting preserves.' Thereafter revenue-raising was a key driver of royal policy towards the forest.²⁸ Grant has argued that the forest became an important source of royal revenue as early as Henry I's reign and was increasingly viewed as an

²⁵ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.60-1, 72-3.

²⁶ J.F. Winters, 'The Forest Eyre, 1154-1368' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, King's College, London, 1999); Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.2-69; Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.10-24; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.35-87; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.74-113; Stagg, *New Forest*, pp.52-77; Birrell, *Cannock and Kinver*, pp.24-106; Schumer, *Oxfordshire Forests*, pp.13-100; Birrell, *Feckenham*, pp.38-92; Stewart, *Surrey*, pp.91-138; Cowley, *Braydon*, pp.196-214; D. Crook, 'The Records of Forest Eyres in the Public Record Office, 1179 to 1670', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 17 (1996), pp.183-93. A recent addition to the secondary literature on eyres is R. Rowberry, 'Forest Eyre Justices in the Reign of Henry III (1216-1272)', *William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 25 (2016), pp.513-48.

²⁷ J.C. Holt, *The Northerners: A Study in the Reign of King John* (Oxford, 1961), pp.157-64.

²⁸ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.3, 6, 19, 20-1, 23-4, 25-6, 37-40, 42-5, 54-8, 134. Chapter 6 of Young's study examines the range of sources of revenue from the forest.

‘instrument of financial exaction’, with the objective of the forest eyres becoming more one of ‘profit rather than punishment.’²⁹ Both Carpenter and Crook have echoed these views within the context specifically of John’s reign.³⁰ While not necessarily disputing the validity of some of these assumptions, it should be noted that they have been made in the absence of any detailed study of forest revenues, including one that considers other sources of income apart from the eyres.

While studies of the forest eyres and their amercements enhance significantly our understanding of the practical application of forest law, an exclusive focus upon them risks presenting an essentially one-dimensional picture of the function of the forest and a distorted narrative concerning its role in the political events of Henry’s reign. To date, historians have not given equal prominence to the many thousands of other extant records that describe different transactions concerning the management and purpose of the royal forest. For example, there are records of over 7,300 gifts of deer and wood from the royal forest that Henry III gave during his personal rule. Additionally, there are almost 1,700 recorded cases of privileges within the royal forest that were awarded by the king. Neither of these two types of transaction has to date received an attention from historians similar to that given to the forest eyres, nor a comprehensive assessment that places them within a political context.³¹

There are other important aspects of government and politics during Henry III’s reign that have attracted the attention of historians but without considering the role of the forest within them or that conversely have been overlooked by historians of the forest. The reign was characterised, in part, by a growth in the scope of royal government and an increasingly sophisticated bureaucratic machine to accompany it. The growth is apparent from the expanding size of the plea and pipe rolls, and the considerable increase in the number of people, from across broad swathes of society, who litigated in the king’s courts. Whereas in the regnal year 1232-33 the chancery rolls recorded 2,360 items of business, by 1250-51 that number had increased to 3,803, that is approximately ten items per day.³² That expansion of the government administrative machine was in turn accompanied

²⁹ Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.14, 17-20, 133-7.

³⁰ Crook, ‘Forest Eyre’, p.80; Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, pp.176-7.

³¹ A summary of the historiography of Henry III’s gifts is provided in Chapter 3 and of the award of forest privileges in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

³² Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.49, 374, 459, 528; D.A. Carpenter, ‘The English Royal Chancery in the Thirteenth Century’, in A. Jobson (ed.), *English Government in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.49-70; D. Carpenter, D. Crook and L.J. Wilkinson, ‘Introduction’, in D. Crook and L.J. Wilkinson (eds.), *The Growth of Royal Government Under Henry III* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp.1-6. This collection includes a series of articles on the theme of the expanding role of the state and its bureaucracy during Henry III’s reign. Of particular note for the themes of this chapter are T. Moore, ‘The Fine Rolls as Evidence for the Expansion of Royal Justice during the Reign of Henry III’, pp.55-71 and S.L. Waugh, ‘The Origins of the Office of Escheator’, pp.227-65.

periodically by royal attempts to reform it. This is most evident concerning the role of the county sheriffs who were critical to the implementation of so much central government policy at the local level and to the collection of much government revenue. However, the limited efforts by Henry's governments to reform the administrative and judicial machinery in the face of rising expectations and growing resentment ensured that they became politically contentious issues and a focus for the baronial movement in 1258. To date, there has been very little attention given by historians to how far the management and administration of the royal forest conform to this characterisation of Henry's reign. Nor has there been much attention given to any attempts to reform those arrangements or to the political drivers and implications of any such reform.

This thesis aims to fill the gaps in the current historiography by studying in detail four important but relatively under-examined themes relating to the royal forest between 1227 and 1272. These concern its management and administration, the granting of gifts from the forest, the award of privileges within the forest and the revenue generated from it. Each of these is addressed in a separate chapter in this thesis. By combining the results of the examination of these four themes with other relevant recent research, the thesis then also reconsiders the extent to which the forest was a political issue during Henry III's personal rule and particularly its relative significance as part of the baronial movement of reform from 1258.

The thesis also places the analysis of these under-explored themes alongside the current historiography and the traditional focus upon the forest eyres to establish a more nuanced and holistic political narrative for the royal forest during Henry III's personal rule than one that emphasises simply enforcement of its laws and revenue-raising as its primary functions. This reappraisal involves examining the extent to which Henry III's governments, through the granting of gifts and the awards of privileges and pardons, additionally or alternatively pursued approaches to the royal forest that can be viewed as driven by a readiness to make concessions. An important aim of the thesis is therefore to examine the balance between policies of concession and enforcement. In doing so, it considers how and when these different approaches were applied at different times by Henry's governments and the reasons for that. Additionally, Chapter 6 considers the political implications of Henry's use of a concessionary approach towards the forest.

The aims and approach of this thesis also enable a number of other common themes of Henry III's personal rule to be tested within the specific context of the royal forest. For example, the study of forest gifts, awards of forest privileges and decisions about the administration of the forest raise questions about whether contemporary criticisms of the king concerning favouritism, patronage of foreigners, leniency towards his magnates, largesse, prodigality and his behaviour as a *vir simplex*

are as applicable to the royal forest as they are to other areas of his government. They can also be used to assess the extent to which Henry's deep piety influenced his approach towards the royal forest.

The thesis focuses upon the period after 1227 partly because this is the period when it is possible, at least in theory, to assess more easily the king's own personal contribution to policy and partly because Carpenter, as described above, has covered the forest during the royal minority at some length.

The length of Henry's reign and the requirement to give detailed attention to the themes highlighted above mean that inevitably not all aspects of the royal forest can be examined. While seemingly not an enthusiastic hunter himself, Henry did make extensive use of venison from the royal forest to sustain a large royal household. As Christopher Woolgar, amongst others, has noted, consumption of venison helped reinforce Henry's aristocratic and regal status and is closely tied to contemporary expectations of kingship and indeed the kind of kingship that he wished to project. To that extent, there is a political dimension to the frequent orders from the king to members of his household to take deer from the forest for royal consumption. Similarly, the forest was used extensively to provide timber for a variety of royal works. Some of these, such as the mandates to provide wood for siege weapons or the necessary repairs to castles, were intended to support offensive or defensive military campaigns. Other mandates were for the construction or repair of royal houses and palaces, such as those at Clarendon, Brill or Ludgershall. The royal forest therefore provided the raw materials that helped to preserve Henry's position on the throne and project his own image of kingship.³³ Relative to the four themes that have been identified, however, this personal use of the royal forest has less day-to-day relevance to understanding the interaction between the forest and the politics of Henry's reign and is therefore largely excluded from this thesis.

Sources

There are no recorded speeches, letters or statutes that describe Henry III's approach to the royal forest. However, as a result of an expanded bureaucracy and better preservation of government records, there is a plethora of source material concerning a wide range of aspects of its administration and management, the vast majority of which is stored at the National Archives. As

³³ For an exploration of Henry's interest in hunting, see Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.407-12. For an examination of royal and aristocratic consumption of venison, see C.M. Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food in Late Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2011), pp.11-2 and J. Birrell, 'Deer and Deer Farming in Medieval England', *Agricultural History Review* 40 (1992), pp.114-6, 123, 126. Royal mandates to take deer and timber from the forest are extensive across the published volumes from Henry's reign of the close rolls and liberate rolls. The use of these as sources is discussed below.

the focus of this thesis is on describing a political narrative for the royal forest, the research has placed a priority upon examining those records concerning the decisions of the royal government and Henry's personal involvement in that over, for example, the fine detail of the administration of rental payments for assarts in an individual forest that are to be found in some sources.³⁴ In particular, attention has been given to those government records that are at the heart of decision-making concerning the royal forest, for example concerning the appointment of officials, the announcement of inquiries, the handling of revenue and the awards of gifts, privileges and pardons of amercements. These are the charter rolls, close rolls, patent rolls, liberate rolls and fine rolls, all of which routinely record transactions concerning the royal forest and which have either been transcribed and published as calendars or are available online. While there are occasional gaps in the series of records, they cover the whole period of Henry's personal rule.³⁵ To this core body have been added the published records of some of the inquisitions of the reign to the extent that they relate to royal forest. These are the inquisitions *post mortem*, inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and the hundred rolls.³⁶ The research for this thesis has sought to identify all relevant entries in those records concerning the royal forest and to record them on a series of databases to facilitate further analysis. Further details about these databases are set out in Appendix B.

There are additionally core financial records that enable forest revenues to be identified. At the heart of these is the unbroken series of pipe rolls for the whole period of Henry's personal rule which are stored at the National Archives. To date, only three of these have been transcribed and published. There is also a published volume of the extant wardrobe accounts that, at times, include important financial transactions relating to the royal forest.³⁷ Additionally, there are memoranda

³⁴ For example, there are two rolls of assarts and associated rental payments for parts of Feckenham Forest (TNA, E 32/230 and E 146/3/4), most likely dating from the 1240s, that have been transcribed and translated by Jean Birrell and are included in Birrell, *Feckenham*, pp.1-18.

³⁵ *Calendar of Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, 1226-1300*, 2 volumes (London, 1903-6); *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office, 1227-1272*, 14 volumes (London, 1902-38); *Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III, 1225-1272*, 5 volumes (London, 1903-13); *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III, 1226-1272*, 6 volumes (London, 1916-64); *Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, 1216-1242*, 3 volumes, (Woodbridge, 2007-9). All fine rolls entries are available online at [Fine Rolls Henry III: Home \(finerollshenry3.org.uk\)](http://finerollshenry3.org.uk) accessed 10 February 2023. There are occasional gaps in the records. For example, there are no close rolls entries for the regnal year between October 1238 and October 1239 and there are missing records in the liberate rolls for the period between April and October 1258.

³⁶ *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other Analogous Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 2 volumes (London, 1904-6); *List of Inquisitions Ad Quod Damnum Preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1963); *Rotuli Hundredorum Temp. Hen. III and Edw. I in Turri London*, 2 volumes (London, 1812-8).

³⁷ H.L. Cannon (ed.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-Sixth Year of the Reign of King Henry III, 1241-1242* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1918); C. Robinson (ed.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Fourteenth Year of King Henry the Third, Michaelmas 1230* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1927); R. Cassidy, *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Forty-Third Year of the Reign of King Henry III, Michaelmas 1259* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 2024); B.L. Wild, *The Wardrobe Accounts of Henry III* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 2012).

and receipt rolls that supplement the pipe rolls and wardrobe accounts and occasionally help to provide more detail concerning individual forest revenue transactions. There are very few extant receipt rolls from Henry's reign, except for the decade of the 1250s, which limits their usefulness. There is a much larger collection of memoranda rolls covering most of the years of the reign that have been used, for example, to provide further information concerning forest debtors.³⁸ All transactions identified through this approach have been recorded on a database to aid quantitative analysis.

Beyond the realm of the government bureaucracy, useful material relating to the royal forest is to be found in a number of contemporary chronicles, particularly that of Matthew Paris. Additionally, the various documents associated with the baronial movement of reform contain important relevant information concerning the royal forest's administration and its role in some of the key political events of the reign.³⁹ In conclusion, this thesis is not based on an exhaustive examination of all records relating to the royal forest during Henry's reign, but rather upon those that are most relevant to understanding its role and operation within a political context.

Chronological Framework

One of the problems of analysing the research for this thesis thematically is that it potentially risks losing insights that could be gained from instead applying a chronological approach. This is particularly pertinent given the length of Henry III's personal rule. Each of the four themes has therefore been examined within a common chronological framework that draws heavily upon the political narratives set out by Carpenter and other historians. This breaks the long period of Henry's personal rule into discrete and distinctive periods as set out below.

Between achieving his majority in January 1227 and the summer of 1234, the young Henry III was heavily influenced, if not controlled, by the successive governments of his chief ministers, Hubert de Burgh and then Peter des Roches. While Henry was not incapable of acting upon his own initiative, most key decisions between 1227 and 1232 were taken by de Burgh who sought both to cement his position and benefit financially from it, while surrounding the king with his own men and appointing

³⁸ R.A. Brown (ed.), *Memoranda Rolls 16-17 Henry III* (London, 1991); R.C. Stacey (ed.), *Receipt and Issue Rolls for the Twenty-Sixth Year of the Reign of King Henry III, 1241-2* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1992). The Memoranda Rolls are stored at the National Archives under catalogue reference *E/159* [Browse records of other archives | The National Archives](#) accessed online 14 February 2023 and can also be located on the AALT website [HenryIII \(uh.edu\)](#) accessed online 14 February 2023. The receipt and issue rolls are stored at the National Archives [Browse records of other archives | The National Archives](#) accessed online 14 February 2023.

³⁹ H.R. Luard (ed.), *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani Chronica Majora*, 7 volumes (London, 1872-83); R.F. Treharne and I.J. Sanders (eds.), *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion, 1258-1267* (Oxford, 1973).

them to key positions in central and local government. Over time, de Burgh's hold on power weakened in the face of magnate opposition and the failure of a military campaign in France in 1230. During 1232, a protracted struggle for power between de Burgh and Peter des Roches ended with the latter triumphant. However, des Roches's government was characterised by a series of lawless acts that ended in civil war, with Henry pitched against Richard Marshal, earl of Pembroke. While Henry ultimately triumphed against the rebels, he decided to remove des Roches's government and henceforth rule by himself. Given the dominant positions in government of firstly de Burgh and subsequently des Roches, it is arguable that Henry III's personal rule only truly commenced following the latter's downfall in 1234. However, as Carpenter has noted, with the lifting of the restrictions on Henry's power resulting from the formal end of the minority in 1227, 'the whole nature of Henry's kingship changed' as he would now be seen as personally responsible for the decisions taken in his name. It is also clear that Henry was capable of acting independently at times in the following years, not least in removing both men from power, and it is therefore appropriate to examine the impact of his personal rule upon the royal forest from the beginning of 1227.⁴⁰

The years between 1234 and 1241 were ones of relative calm and, as Carpenter has put it, 'the most successful period of the reign'.⁴¹ The king married and soon had a son and heir. He enjoyed the support and advice of his new wife's Savoy relatives whom he promoted within his government. He married his sister to the Holy Roman Emperor, secured a settlement in Scotland and reasserted royal authority in Wales. At home, he was on relatively harmonious terms with the political community, acquired Cheshire for the crown, embraced reform within his government and improved the royal finances in a short-lived but successful reform to the management of the shires and royal demesne.⁴²

That period of relative calm ended with Henry's decision in 1242 to launch a military expedition in France to recover Poitou which had been lost to the king of France during his minority. The subsequent campaign, which kept the king overseas until autumn 1243, was a disaster. Carpenter has described the following years until 1253 as 'years of division'.⁴³ While Henry could claim many positive achievements, for example in maintaining good relations with Scotland, enjoying military success in Wales and strengthening his dynasty through the birth of another son, his promotion of his Lusignan half-brothers caused factional divisions at court and with his magnates, as well as a growing resentment against 'aliens' within government. He was frequently at odds with parliament

⁴⁰ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.39-164; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.259-465.

⁴¹ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.166.

⁴² Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.165-244.

⁴³ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.414.

over the granting of taxation and reform of his government, and with the church over episcopal elections. There was increasing frustration with the malpractice and abuses carried out locally both by royal officials and those of leading magnates, and with the failure of Henry's government to address these problems, generating concerns that justice was being denied. The king was also increasingly troubled by unrest in the remaining overseas territory of Gascony. Additionally, his decision in 1252 to go on crusade four years later led to further tension with the political community over the cost of such an expedition.⁴⁴

In 1253, Henry was obliged to curtail his crusading ambitions by the need to undertake a military campaign in France to secure Gascony. While the campaign was ultimately successful, it was soon overshadowed on Henry's return to England at the end of 1254 by his considerable debts and by his expensive ambitions to make his younger son Edmund king of Sicily ('the Sicilian Business'). The latter never enjoyed political support outside a small group of Savoyard courtiers and generated active hostility once it became clear in 1255 that the pope was demanding huge sums for the award of the kingdom. There was strong and sustained resistance from both parliament and the clergy to taxation to fund the Sicilian Business and frustration that it was distracting the king from more immediate priorities, including an uprising in Wales from late 1256. The financial burden of Henry's government in the form of sheriff increments, eyre amercements, escheators and the distraint of knighthood fell increasingly upon local communities, while leading magnates were treated leniently. The clergy were increasingly alienated from the king due to anger over his perceived exploitation of ecclesiastical vacancies and quarrels over jurisdiction. Finally, there was increasing resentment at the prominence of foreigners at court and in government.⁴⁵

This was the background to the baronial reform movement which challenged Henry's rule in the spring of 1258. The following five years saw a protracted struggle between reformers and royalists for control of government, with each party at times in the ascendant. This ultimately led to the outbreak of a civil war that resulted in May 1264 in Henry's defeat and subsequent captivity under a government led by Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. Although Montfort was defeated and killed in August 1265, it took another two years for Henry III fully to overcome the rebels and reassert his authority. The sustained political crisis of this period resulted in a gradual collapse in much of royal government and administration.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.245-72, 414-567; Stacey, *Politics*, pp.166-200.

⁴⁵ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.568-699. The long-term origins of the challenge to Henry III's rule in April 1258 and the analysis of his reign until that time are very well summarised in Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.1-14.

⁴⁶ Much of Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72* is inevitably dedicated to describing the events of the reform movement and civil war. The narrative of the political and military events is set out in detail in pp.1-46, 83-108

The final period of Henry III's reign between 1267 and 1272 was characterised by a slow process of re-establishing royal government across the country in the wake of the upheaval caused by the civil war. Henry's son and heir, the Lord Edward, also increasingly emerged as a key figure in decisions concerning royal policy and administration. This partly reflected his age and the important role he had played in ensuring royal success in the civil war. It also reflected Henry's own age and increasing ill-health. Additionally, in light of the Lord Edward's departure on crusade in 1270, there was a particular focus on ensuring that loyalists were in positions of power and authority to maintain stability and secure the succession should, as did indeed happen, Henry die before his heir's return.⁴⁷

The above chronological framework sets out in broad terms the key political events and themes of different periods of Henry's personal rule. It has been used in examining each of the four key themes relating to the royal forest that are explored in the following chapters. In particular, it has been used to assess the extent to which it explains the decisions taken by Henry's governments concerning the royal forest and the role of the forest in contributing to these political events and themes.

and 173-522. A much shorter but immensely valuable account of this period is in Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.15-160.

⁴⁷ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.523-620.

Chapter 2: Management of the Royal Forest

Introduction

As noted in the preceding chapter, Henry III's reign was partly characterised by a growth in the scope of royal government and its accompanying administrative machinery. There were also periodic attempts to reform the government bureaucracy. This chapter examines the extent to which these generic themes were equally applicable to the management of the royal forest. Within that, the chapter examines the extent to which reforms of the royal forest administration were driven by the agendas set by Henry's governments and the extent to which they were responding to external political pressure.

The chapter commences with a review of the relevant historiography before describing the administrative machinery for the royal forest that Henry III inherited in 1227, its relative strengths and weaknesses from the crown's perspective, and why it might wish to reform the arrangements. The chapter then examines chronologically the key actions of Henry's governments concerning the administration of the royal forest, the appointments to its key positions and the changes that were introduced. It further evaluates the achievements and impact of these changes. It does so by focusing on two senior roles, those of the chief justices and of the wardens of individual forests. These were selected because of their seniority within the administrative machinery and their importance to the implementation of the policies and reforms of Henry's governments concerning the royal forest.⁴⁸

Relevant Historiography

Alongside a renewed interest in the political history of Henry III's reign, the last forty years have seen an increasing focus by historians upon the growth of royal government and its accompanying administration, particularly in the context of Magna Carta. Of particular interest have been the reforms that Henry III's governments brought to the role of the county sheriff. These are described in some detail below as they provide an important comparator for changes to the forest administration.

The reforms of the shrieval system have been examined in particular by Stacey and Carpenter who have highlighted the changes introduced by Henry's governments to the financial relationship between the sheriff and the crown, including to the operation of the farm, a fixed annual payment

⁴⁸ Other roles within the forest administration are helpfully described in Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.xix–xxvi; Grant, *Royal Forests*, chapters 10 and 11; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.80-7.

made by the sheriff for their county. It was increasingly clear during the early years of Henry's reign that the level of the farm did not adequately reflect the potential revenue that the crown could receive, much of which was retained locally for their own use by the sheriffs. In 1236, urged on by his wife's uncle, William bishop-elect of Valence, Henry III dismissed most sheriffs and replaced them with local knights on terms that were financially much more advantageous to the crown. The new sheriffs were custodians, who were required to report in detail concerning all their revenues and who were granted relatively small allowances in return. In 1240, these arrangements were changed, with sheriffs ceasing to be custodians with allowances and instead being required to account for fixed increments above the traditional county farms. While this may have represented, to some extent, a retreat from the reforms of the previous four years, it had the effect of locking in many of the financial gains that the crown had been able to secure by setting the new increments at a more realistic level.⁴⁹

There was also an important political dimension to this reform of the sheriff system. On the one hand, the reforms led to a 'decline of the curial sheriff.' Senior court and political figures were increasingly reluctant to take on sheriff duties as the rising increments, reducing both their power and the potential for personal profit, made the office unattractive. They were therefore increasingly replaced by others who were neither so powerful politically nor were so well-known within the counties which they administered. At the same time, the steady rise in the increments expected of these new sheriffs meant that in turn they became ever more demanding of their local communities, increasing the unpopularity both of themselves and of the system as a whole. What therefore commenced as a reform driven from the centre of Henry's government became an issue on which reform was in turn increasingly demanded by local communities. Henry's inability to respond to those calls was one of the catalysts of the reform movement of 1258.⁵⁰

Beyond the focus upon the sheriffs, the importance of the relationship between government administration and the political events of Henry's reign has been emphasised by Nick Barratt in his examination of the resumption of exchequer authority during Henry's minority and later in his consideration of reform of it during the period of the baronial movement. Tony Moore has studied local administration in Essex during the reform period and subsequent civil war, while Adrian Jobson has examined the recovery of royal government and administration after the battle of Evesham. Other historians have recently explored new perspectives in the study of government

⁴⁹ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.190-3, 222-3; Stacey, *Politics*, chapter 2.

⁵⁰ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.530-2, 616-7, 658-60, 713-5; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.2, 24, 28-9, 33-4, 134-42, 162-4, 170-2; D.A. Carpenter, 'The Decline of the Curial Sheriff in England, 1194-1258', *English Historical Review* 91 (1976), pp.1-32; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.2-7.

administration. Louise Wilkinson has, for example, stressed the role of women as sheriffs, castellans and foresters.⁵¹

While some of these studies make occasional reference to the administration of the royal forest, there has to date been no detailed examination of it during Henry's reign. Amongst historians of the royal forest, there is a rich historiography detailing its administrative machinery. Three studies in particular are invaluable. In introducing his selection of records of forest eyres and other inquiries, George Turner provided a brief but helpful summary of the roles performed by various forest officials. Charles Young examined in much greater detail the day-to-day running of the forest administration, across a broad chronological timeframe. Raymond Grant's study of the royal forest also examines its administration in some detail, particularly during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.⁵² These studies together provide a helpful description of the structure of the royal forest administration and the responsibilities of each different role within it. Rarely, however, do they place that administration and decisions concerning its operation within the political context of Henry III's reign.

There is an ever-expanding body of secondary literature that addresses the administrative arrangements at the level of the individual forest. There are, for example, monographs that cover administration within the study of a specific forest, including Essex, Pickering, Inglewood, Dean, Galtres, Exmoor and Bernwood.⁵³ Relevant volumes in the *Victoria County History* series also occasionally address administrative arrangements within the local royal forest, as do the published collections of primary material concerning specific forests such as Cannock, Kinver, Braden, Feckenham, New, Sherwood and Oxfordshire. Again, while valuable in describing the usually

⁵¹ N. Barratt, 'Another Fine Mess: Evidence for the Resumption of Exchequer Authority in the Minority of Henry III', in Crook and Wilkinson (eds.), *Royal Government*, pp.149-65; A. Jobson, 'Royal Government and Administration in Post-Evesham England, 1265-70', in Crook and Wilkinson (eds.), *Royal Government*, pp.179-95; L.J. Wilkinson, 'Women in English Local Government: Sheriffs, Castellans and Foresters', in Crook and Wilkinson (eds.), *Royal Government*, pp.212-26; N. Barratt, 'Crisis Management: Baronial Reform at the Exchequer', in Jobson (ed.) *Baronial Reform*, pp.56-70; T. Moore, 'Local Administration during the Period of Reform and Rebellion', in Jobson (ed.), *Baronial Reform*, pp.71-88; L.J. Wilkinson, 'Women as Sheriffs in Early Thirteenth Century England', in A. Jobson (ed.), *English Government in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.111-24.

⁵² Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.xiv-xxvi; Young, *Royal Forests*, especially chapters 2, 3, 5 and 8; Grant, *Royal Forests*, especially chapters 8 to 11 inclusive. Cox, *Royal Forests*, chapter III, also considers the roles of various forest officers, but in much less detail.

⁵³ Fisher, *Essex*, pp.114-6; R.B. Turton, *The Honour and Forest of Pickering Vol. I* (North Riding Record Society, 1894), pp.xx, xxiii-xxiv; R.B. Turton, *The Honour and Forest of Pickering Vol. II* (North Riding Record Society, 1895), pp.xxvi-xxvii; R.B. Turton, *The Honour and Forest of Pickering Vol. IV* (North Riding Record Society, 1897), pp.xiv-xxi, xxix; F.H.M. Parker, 'Inglewood Forest', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 5 (1905), pp.50-2; C.E. Hart, *Royal Forest*, chapter 1; G.C. Cowling, *The History of Easingwold and the Forest of Galtres* (Huddersfield, 1968), chapter V; MacDermot, *Exmoor*, chapters 1 to 3 inclusive; I.M.W. Harvey, 'Bernwood in the Middle Ages', in Broad and Hoyle (eds.), *Bernwood*, pp.1-18.

complex set of local arrangements, these studies tend not to consider the administration within the context of Henry's reign.⁵⁴

There are also a number of studies of specific aspects of forest administration that contribute towards an examination of the overall arrangements during Henry's reign. For example, David Crook has studied the wardens of Sherwood Forest and the struggle of one woman, Maud de Caux, to secure the custody of her forest bailiwick in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, while Charles Young's study of the Nevilles includes the roles played by some members of the family in forest administration.⁵⁵ Some of those involved in the administration of the forest were of sufficient importance to warrant biographical attention and there are entries in the *ODNB* that cover their involvement in the royal forest. George Turner also compiled a list of Justices of the Forest South of the Trent, while there have been detailed studies of the wardens of Savernake Forest and of Peter de Neville's wardenship of Rutland Forest.⁵⁶

Administrative Arrangements 1227

This section of the chapter describes the administrative arrangements for the forest at the time when Henry III ended his minority in January 1227.

Chief Justices of the Forest

The chief justices were the most senior figures in the forest administration. From at least the middle of the twelfth century, they enjoyed a high status within royal government, being appointed by and reporting directly to the king.⁵⁷ As discussed below, there was initially just one chief justice post for the whole of the country. This was later split into two geographically distinct roles. Appendix C provides details of the individual chief justices from 1227 onwards.

The chief justices had four broad areas of responsibility. They were responsible for preserving the integrity of the royal forest to ensure it met the crown's requirements and therefore received royal writs requiring them to undertake inquiries and take measures generally to protect the vert and the

⁵⁴ Birrell, *Cannock and Kinver*, pp.1-8; Crowley, *Braydon*, pp.66-78; Birrell, *Feckenham*, pp.xiv-xvii; Stagg, *New Forest*, pp.15-25; Boulton, *Sherwood Forest*, pp.48-50; Schumer, *Oxfordshire Forests*, pp.ix-xvi.

⁵⁵ D. Crook, 'The Early Keepers of Sherwood Forest', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire* 84 (1980), pp.14-20; D. Crook, 'Maud de Caux and the Custody of the Forests of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire', accessed online 25 January 2024 <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-01-2006.html>; C. Young, *The Making of the Neville Family in England 1166-1400* (Woodbridge, 1996).

⁵⁶ G.J. Turner, 'The Justices of the Forest South of the Trent', *English Historical Review* 18 (1903), pp.112-6; Earl of Cardigan, *The Wardens of Savernake Forest* (London, 1949); Clough, 'Peter de Neville', pp.333-41.

⁵⁷ Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.xiv-xvi; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.23, 50, 74-7; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.88-93. Various titles were used at times in the primary sources, and have been used subsequently by historians, to describe these senior figures, including 'Chief Forester' and 'Master Forester' as well as 'Chief Justice' (see Young, *Royal Forests*, p.74). The title of 'chief justice' is used throughout this thesis to ensure consistency.

venison. Secondly, they received mandates to use the assets of the forest, either for example by providing timber or venison for the royal household or for giving these as gifts to third parties. Thirdly, they were occasionally required to take action to use the forest for the crown's financial gain by, for example, arranging the pannage of pigs. Finally, they played a key role in upholding forest laws, including at times presiding directly over forest eyres.⁵⁸ It is highly likely that there was an administrative function to support the chief justices in these duties. As is discussed below, the postholder occasionally combined the chief justice position with other roles within Henry's government and is therefore likely to have delegated many of their forest responsibilities to deputies.

While during John's reign, the chief justice Hugh de Neville operated his own system for receiving and accounting for forest revenues separate from the exchequer, this was not the case under Henry III.⁵⁹ While chief justices were involved in initiatives to enhance income from the forest, they generally had very little direct responsibility for any revenue stream. Individual forest wardens were primarily responsible for accounting for most day-to-day revenue at the local level, while sheriffs and individual debtors accounted at the exchequer for the proceeds from forest eyres and for the payments of fines concerning the forest. As discussed below, there is some evidence that, at times in the 1250s, certain chief justices did account for revenue at the exchequer, but this was not the usual arrangement for the majority of Henry III's personal rule.

As there has been no previous detailed study of the role of the chief justices during Henry's personal rule and of the appointees to the roles, this chapter provides a chronological narrative of the postholders, supplementing the information in Appendix C. It also addresses a number of issues that are integral to an examination of the forest administration within the political context of Henry's reign. As far as can be ascertained from the extant source material, it seeks to identify the terms on which chief justices were appointed, how these may have changed over time and the royal motives behind introducing any changes. It also considers the background and social status of the appointees as a reflection of the importance of the role within Henry's government and its priorities concerning the royal forest. The chapter also examines the reasons behind the appointment and removal from office of the chief justices. In particular, this study considers four key issues. First, it examines the relationship between decisions concerning the chief justice role and the broader political context and events of Henry's reign, including the period of baronial reform and civil war. Secondly, it considers the extent to which decisions about the role and appointees were influenced by

⁵⁸ Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.xv-xvi; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.75-6; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.89-92.

⁵⁹ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.50, 75, 114-5; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.90-1.

government concerns for raising revenue. This reflects the attention that has been given by historians to revenue as a key function of the royal forest, as discussed in the preceding chapter. As decisions concerning appointments and removals from office were those of the king, this study also examines the extent to which the themes of patronage, favouritism and faction discussed in the preceding chapter apply specifically to the context of the royal forest administration. Finally, while chief justices did not generally have responsibility to account for revenue in the same way as sheriffs, there are similarities between the two roles in terms of their seniority and their direct appointment by the king. The framework of the decline of the curial sheriff therefore provides an important comparator when considering the role of the chief justice.

Forest Wardens

At the local level of the individual forest area, administration was undertaken by forest wardens.⁶⁰ These were the executive officers of the king in his royal forests, with a wide range of responsibilities. They were expected, for example, to ensure that deer stocks were maintained at an appropriate level, arrest and imprison poachers within their forests, prevent illegal assarts, provide venison and timber both for royal use and as gifts, respect the varied privileges granted by the king within the boundaries of the forest while also ensuring these were not abused, and more generally keep the king's peace. The wide range of functions also involved a significant element of revenue collection, some of which was reserved to the warden and some of which was to be paid to the crown.⁶¹

The relationship between the chief justices and the forest wardens was complex. The latter were either hereditary or appointed by the king, frequently received mandates directly from the chancery and usually accounted financially either directly to the exchequer or to other government officials such as the local sheriff. Wardens were therefore not directly accountable to the chief justices. However, the latter were occasionally ordered by the crown to undertake inquiries concerning individual forests and could also be required to manage them directly during periods of warden vacancies. Additionally, royal writs to provide gifts of venison and wood from an individual forest could be addressed either to the relevant warden or to the chief justice.

⁶⁰ A wide variety of terms was used in contemporary records to describe these officials. The challenges of interpretation and inconsistency are considered by Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.xvi-xviii; Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.17; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.77-8; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.94. The term 'warden' is used by Turner, Young and Grant and has therefore been applied throughout this thesis to ensure consistency.

⁶¹ Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.xviii-xix; Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.17; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.78-80; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.99-106.

There were three categories of forest wardenship in 1227. First, there were hereditary wardens who held their positions essentially on feudal terms. A second category existed for those forests that were attached to castles. In these cases, the warden was often, but not always, also the constable of the castle. These wardens were appointed by letters patent for variable lengths of time and with variable conditions. The third category consisted of non-hereditary wardens who were appointed to other forests, some of which were associated historically with a particular royal demesne. In those cases, the appointment to the forest and demesne were sometimes combined, but again this was not always the case. The distinction between the categories is important because, as will be described later, it occasionally influenced how Henry's governments approached the management of the forest. In many forests, below the wardens there were sub-foresters who performed a range of ancillary functions. Regardless of the category of custody of the warden, these sub-foresters frequently held their bailiwicks on a hereditary basis. The warden of Feckenham Forest, for example, was usually appointed at the king's pleasure but, beneath them, there was a group of five hereditary sub-foresters and a hereditary parker. As set out in Appendix D, this thesis examines the management arrangements for forty individual forests. Table 2.1 records the number of forests within each custody category.⁶²

Category of Forest Custody	Number and Percentage (%)
Hereditary Warden	23 (58%)
Castle Warden	8 (20%)
Other Appointed Warden	9 (22%)
Total	40 (100%)

Table 2.1: Categories of Forest Custody

Hereditary Wardens

It is unsurprising, given the close association of the English royal forest with Norman feudalism, that almost 60% of its administration was rooted in hereditary wardenships that were feudal in nature. This was a system with some inbuilt flaws from the perspective of a central, royal bureaucracy. While hereditary wardens needed to pay homage and relief to inherit their custodies, in ordinary circumstances their positions were relatively secure compared with other forms of forest tenure. As Turner has noted, this relative security could, in turn, facilitate the growth of strong local power bases, enabling wardens to exercise their own patronage and potentially abuse their offices and defy

⁶² Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.xvii-xxvi; Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.17-24; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.78-81, 83-7; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.94-8, 112-30; Appendix D, 'Feckenham'. The term 'sub-foresters' is used throughout this thesis to cover forest officials below the level of warden in the hierarchy, who held their offices on a range of different terms and conditions.

royal authority.⁶³ Outside the mechanism of the forest eyre, ad hoc inquiries such as that of 1255 and direct pleas to the crown, any such abuses were generally invisible to Henry's central government, while simultaneously fuelling local resentment that could potentially be targeted as much against the forest system as a whole as against a specific local warden. There were also, of course, advantages to the crown in having a relatively stable structure in place at the local level, particularly if the postholder were loyal to the king, and there were financial benefits in those cases when the heir to a wardenship was a minor. However, as discussed further in Chapter 6, the volume of complaints at various times during Henry's reign about the behaviour of local forest wardens indicates that the risks of abuse in office were not purely theoretical.

Financially also, the system had its flaws. During a period of rapidly rising population, as was the case for much of Henry's reign, there was increasing pressure to maximise the amount of land under cultivation.⁶⁴ While this challenged the integrity of the forest system, built as it was on the need to protect the vert to enable deer to thrive, it also presented income opportunities for the crown through additional rents from assarts and purprestures. However, in a system where hereditary wardens paid a fixed annual rent set at historic levels (or in some cases none at all) and retained locally most sources of forest revenue, at the start of Henry's personal rule those financial gains were largely enjoyed by the wardens rather than by the crown. Wardens also enjoyed certain rights and privileges within their forests that further limited the revenues that the crown might enjoy.⁶⁵ The precise details of rental payments and warden rights and privileges varied significantly between different forests. Table 2.2 records the relief fines and annual rental fees due from the hereditary wardens for each of the twenty-three relevant forests during Henry's personal rule.

⁶³ Turner, *Select Pleas*, p.xvii.

⁶⁴ See Chapter 4 below for further details of the pressure to bring more land into cultivation and of royal grants approving assarts.

⁶⁵ Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.103-6; Turner, *Select Pleas*, p.xxi. For an example of the rights enjoyed by one hereditary warden, John Fitznigel in Bernwood Forest, see Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.121-2.

Forest	Relief/Custody payment	Annual fee
Aliceholt and Wolmer	15m 1257	None
Bere Ashley	None identified	None
Bernwood	None identified	40s ⁶⁶
Braden	10m 1241	None
Cannock	5m 1221	10m
Chute	None identified	60s until 1253; 10s after 1253
Essex	None identified	None
Freemantle	5m 1224; 20s 1248	None
Hay of Hereford	30m 1257	None
Inglewood	£100 1222; 5m 1227	10m
Kinver	None identified	£9
Lancashire	10m 1228; 40m 1252	£12
New	None identified	£25
Northumberland	80m 1221	None
Pamber and Eversley	2m 1230 ⁶⁷	28s
Rutland	None identified	40s
Savernake	None identified	78s
Selwood (Wiltshire)	40m 1251	20s (from 1251)
Sherwood	300m 1224; 200m 1227; 200m 1230; £50 1252	None
Shotover	100s 1235	None
Shropshire	15m 1249	None
Somerset	50m 1225; £20 1252	None
Wychwood	£20 1240	£7

Table 2.2: Custody Fines and Annual Fee Rents Due from Hereditary Forest Wardens

Appendix D provides details of the periods of office of the hereditary wardens of each relevant forest. This chapter examines in particular the extent to which Henry's governments sought to change the system of hereditary wardenships to other forms of tenure. To the extent that the crown

⁶⁶ There is no record in the pipe rolls of an annual fee payment for custody of Bernwood. It is likely that this was instead paid to the warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford (Appendix D, 'Bernwood').

⁶⁷ In 1230, Gilbert of Eversley accounted for a 2m fine that he had agreed during the forest eyre led by Hugh de Neville for custody of the bailiwick of Pamber. It is not clear if this was therefore strictly a fine for inheriting the forest (Appendix D, 'Pamber and Eversley').

was content to continue with the system of hereditary wardenships, this chapter also examines any attempts by Henry’s governments to amend the terms on which wardens held the forests, how it might take action against serving wardens, the reasons for that and the effectiveness of any such actions. It also considers the ease with which heirs inherited their forest custodies.

Castle Wardens

The second category consists of wardens who were appointed to a forest linked to a specific castle. The historical reasoning for this was that the local forest existed to supply the castle, particularly with timber for works and repairs and with firewood for its garrison. The wardens were usually appointed at the king’s pleasure by letters patent. It was therefore theoretically easier for the crown to amend the terms of appointment for this category of warden compared with those who held forests on a hereditary basis. These wardens were often also the constable of the relevant castle, but this was not always the case. The precise terms of their appointment varied significantly, not only between castles but also between different wardens of the same forest.⁶⁸ Table 2.3 identifies the castles to which particular forests were attached.

Forest⁶⁹	Associated Castle
Chippenham and Melksham	Devizes
Forest of Dean	St Briavels
Kenilworth	Kenilworth
Peak	Peveril (also known as Castleton)
Pickering	Pickering
(Bere) Portchester	Portchester
Purbeck	Corfe
Windsor	Windsor

Table 2.3: Forest Custodies Linked to Castles

A number of these castles had a particular strategic importance or were to feature prominently in the events of Henry’s reign. Windsor Castle, for example, was important militarily as it combined an easily defensible position with access to the river Thames and control of a key route into London. It was also personally significant to Henry III and his family. Parliaments and councils were occasionally held there, while the forest was a key source of venison and timber for gifts and for the royal

⁶⁸ Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.99-100; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.78.

⁶⁹ In addition, the warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford was often also the constable of Rockingham Castle. However, the forest role covered an extensive area of which Rockingham was only a small part and is therefore not included in the above list. See Appendix D for details about the unique position of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford in the forest administrative structure.

household.⁷⁰ As well as being the administrative centre for the Forest of Dean, St Briavels Castle was strategically important as one of the centres of the medieval iron industry and a vital source of supply for the manufacture of weapons, especially crossbow bolts.⁷¹ Devizes Castle, to which Chippenham and Melksham Forest was attached, played an important role early during Henry's personal rule as the place where Hubert de Burgh was imprisoned after his fall from power.⁷² Portchester Castle's importance for successive English kings was based on the fact that it commanded a harbour with easy access to the continent. It was therefore repeatedly used by Henry III as a point of embarkation and return for his campaigns in France.⁷³ Kenilworth was granted to Simon de Montfort in 1244 and subsequently became his main power base, resisting a prolonged siege by royal forces after the battle of Evesham.⁷⁴

While these particular forest roles were not as senior as those of the chief justices, they raise similar questions in terms of appointment and removal decisions, and of the terms on which the postholders held their offices. By definition, they also raise particular questions about the extent to which forest custody decisions were influenced by military and security considerations in those situations where the postholder was also the relevant castle constable.

⁷⁰ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.168, 176, 206, 209, 210, 217, 224, 264, 334, 351, 358-63, 388-9, 400, 438, 518; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.78-9, 235; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp.20, 32, 72, 74, 76, 80, 99-100; P. Hartshorne, *Windsor Castle: An Illustrated History* (London, 2022), pp.8, 12-3, 15, 92; S. Brindle (ed.), *Windsor Castle: A Thousand Years of a Royal Palace* (London, 2018), pp.74-9; D. Carpenter and J. Kanter, 'Henry III and Windsor' accessed online 8 May 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: Fine of the Month: November 2009](#). The forest and park at Windsor were used to provide 327 gifts during Henry's reign. Of the forests linked to castles, only the Forest of Dean was used more frequently. Between 1236 and 1261, the forest and park at Windsor were also used on 29 occasions to supply wood for works at the castle.

⁷¹ P. Remfry, 'St Briavels Castle, 1066 to 1331' accessed online 26 March 2024 [\(99+\) Saint Briavels Castle, 1066 to 1331 | Paul Remfry - Academia.edu](#); St Briavels Castle accessed online [History of St Briavel's Castle | English Heritage \(english-heritage.org.uk\)](#); *VCH Gloucestershire Vol. 5* accessed online 26 March 2024 [St. Briavels | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#). Treharne refers to the Forest of Dean as 'the royal arsenal of the thirteenth century' (R.F. Treharne, *Simon de Montfort and Baronial Reform: Thirteenth Century Essays* (London, 1986), pp.51-2).

⁷² Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.121, 144-5; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.317-8, 383, 407-8, 410, 415-6; *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 10* accessed online 26 March 2024 [The borough of Devizes: Town, castle and estates | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#).

⁷³ J. Goodall, *Portchester Castle* (English Heritage, 2003), pp.32-3; *VCH Hampshire Vol. 3* accessed online 26 March 2024 [Parishes: Portchester | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#). The forest linked to the castle was used 16 times between 1229 and 1272 to provide wood for works at Portchester Castle itself, as well as at Winchester and Corfe.

⁷⁴ Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.23, 33, 39, 41, 43-4, 55, 56, 65, 75, 109, 228, 247, 259, 264-5, 310, 335, 339-40, 343; Ambler, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.68-70, 101, 136, 249, 252, 315-7; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.201-2, 418, 473, 499, 575; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.15, 25, 51, 238, 303, 307, 362, 394, 459, 473, 477, 480, 489-93, 498; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.154-8.

Other Appointed Wardens

The third category consists of nine forests to which wardens were appointed by letters patent, usually either for a specific length of time or at the king's pleasure. The terms of their appointments, their obligations and their rights and privileges varied both over time and between forests. In some cases, such as Bere Regis, Feckenham and Gillingham, the forests were associated with long-standing royal demesnes. Custody of these therefore occasionally overlapped with custody of the relevant demesne estate, but at other times was separate. In the case of Galtres, Blackmore and Poorstock, custody of the forest was largely separate from that of the surrounding demesne estates. At times, a warden also had custody of a forest while simultaneously serving as sheriff of the relevant county. Henry's governments also adapted to changes in the composition of the royal forest. For example, in 1237 the crown acquired the forests of the former earldom of Chester and thereafter usually appointed the justice of Chester as warden of them.⁷⁵ While less senior than the chief justice roles, the wardenships of these forests raise similar questions about the approach of Henry's governments to the management of the royal forest and have been examined further below on a similar basis.

The next sections of this chapter examine the actions of Henry's governments regarding the chief justice and forest warden roles across three distinct periods of his personal rule. The first period covers the years until 1244 when the approach towards the administration of the forest was largely one of caution and experimentation. The second period covers the years between 1244 and 1258 when Henry's government embarked upon a radical overhaul of much of the local forest administration. The final section examines the impact of the baronial movement of reform, the civil war and the subsequent recovery of royal authority.

Forest Administration 1227-44: Caution and Experimentation

Hubert de Burgh's Government, 1227-32: Chief Justices

Although Henry III announced the end of his minority in January 1227, royal government remained under the control of his chief minister, Hubert de Burgh, until he was removed in July 1232.⁷⁶ The dominant figure initially in the forest administration was the chief justice Hugh de Neville. He was first appointed to the role in 1198, becoming infamous because of the severe forest eyres he had conducted under Richard I and John. In addition to the chief justice role, in 1227 Neville had custody

⁷⁵ Details of the custody arrangements for individual forests are included in Appendix D.

⁷⁶ Hubert de Burgh's government is fully explored in Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, chapter 2 and in Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, chapter 8.

of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford and the forests of Feckenham and Gillingham.⁷⁷ Neville was replaced as chief justice in October 1229, simultaneously losing custody of Feckenham and Gillingham.⁷⁸ The reasons for this decision are unclear. It may have reflected frustration on the part of Henry's government with the large arrears Neville had built up at the exchequer concerning his forest custodies and a desire to inject greater urgency into the forest eyres. Those conducted under Neville's supervision during the minority had covered fewer counties than planned and had generated relatively small amounts of revenue.⁷⁹ While a comprehensive set of eyres was ordered in April 1229, only four had been completed by the autumn. It is possible also that Henry's government felt constrained in pushing ahead with the eyres with Neville at the helm given his unpopular association with the visitations of John's reign.⁸⁰

Despite his removal from office, it seems that Neville did not fall seriously out of royal favour. In May 1229, he had been pardoned a 1,000m forest amercement levied under John, while days before he left the chief justice role, he was granted generous hunting rights across the country. He was also awarded custody of a bailiwick in Northamptonshire, continued to have custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford until his death, served as a forest eyre justice during the visitations of 1229-32 and received gifts from the royal forest. In January 1230, he agreed a fine of 20m for having custody of Peter Mimecan's land and forest in Shotover.⁸¹

⁷⁷ D. Crook, 'Neville, Hugh de (d. 1234), royal forester', *ODNB* (2016) accessed online 4 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19942>; Young, *Neville Family*, pp.24-33; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.49-51; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.90-1. The forest eyres conducted during John's reign have been studied by Crook, 'The Forest Eyre', pp.63-82.

⁷⁸ Young, *Neville family*, p.32 has suggested Neville continued in the role as chief justice until his death in 1234, although it is clear that he left the position in October 1229. The confusion probably arises from the fact that Neville, as described later in this chapter, continued in the subsidiary role as warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford until he died. See Appendices C and D ('Feckenham' and 'Gillingham') for details of Neville's removal from office.

⁷⁹ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.18, 25, 160. For details of Neville's forest debts, see Appendix D, 'Feckenham', 'Forest Between Oxford and Stamford'.

⁸⁰ *CR 1227-31*, p.238. Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.163-6 seems to have overlooked this entry. She has instead suggested the 1229-32 visitation was wholly undertaken under the new system of two chief justices and began following a writ issued on 4 November shortly after the appointment of Lisle and Monmouth (*CR 1227-31*, p.382). However, the April writ clearly states that Hugh de Neville was to commence a comprehensive programme of eyres covering the whole country. Four of these must have been completed before Neville was replaced in office as the pipe roll for Michaelmas 1229 records income from the eyres in Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire and Leicestershire, and Worcestershire. (TNA, E 372/73, rot. 4d, m. 2; TNA, E 372/73, rot. 5d, m. 1; TNA, E 372/73, rot. 8, m. 2; TNA, E 372/73, rot. 10, m. 2). It is telling also that these counties are not included in the new writ issued in November to Lisle and Monmouth. It is therefore quite feasible that it was disappointment with the revenue generated from Neville's four eyres in 1229 that precipitated his removal from office.

⁸¹ *CR 1227-31*, pp.174, 219, 471, 516; *CR 1231-34*, p.27; *CChR 1226-57*, p.100; *CFR 13/188* accessed online 24 March 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_028.html#it188_008; D. Crook, 'Neville, Hugh de (d. 1234), royal forester', *ODNB* (2016) accessed online 4 October 2023

Rather than replace Neville, in October 1229 Henry's government created two separate chief justice posts with geographically distinct areas of responsibility. Brian de Lisle was appointed chief justice for fifteen counties, while John of Monmouth was appointed to thirteen counties and replaced Neville as warden of the forests of Feckenham and Gillingham. Both men were appointed at the king's pleasure.⁸²

Both Lisle and Monmouth had considerable experience of senior roles within the royal forest administration, and that appears to have been a key factor in their appointments. Lisle had served under Neville as the forester for Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire for the years from 1207. He had also been chief justice himself between 1221 and 1224 and, after being replaced by Neville, served as one his deputies. He was the warden of Galtres Forest and had also recently had custody of Peak Forest where he was reappointed in October 1229. Monmouth had been granted custody of the Forest of Dean by John in 1216. By virtue of his marriage, in 1228 he became warden of both New Forest and Clarendon Forest. The division of responsibility for the forests between the two men reflected their respective economic interests and power bases. Lisle had built up a significant estate in the north of England, while Monmouth was a member of a baronial family with many lands and lordships in the Welsh marches.⁸³

It is not immediately apparent why Henry's government chose to split the chief justice role as it did in 1229. The changes appear to have been driven primarily by the desire to generate revenue for the king's intended campaign in France, and it may therefore be that Henry's government concluded that this was too much to be achieved by one individual.⁸⁴ The new chief justices were instructed to arrange the sale of wood from royal demesne lands, while Monmouth was ordered to investigate establishing forges in the Forest of Dean and the possibility for opening iron mines within

<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19942>; Young, *Neville Family*, pp.32-3; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.164, 165, 166, 168, 169, 170, 171; Appendix D, 'Shotover'.

⁸² *CPR 1225-32*, p.273. Brian de Lisle was awarded custody of the forests in the counties of Northumberland, Cumbria, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Oxfordshire with the exception of Thomas de Langley's bailiwick in Wychwood Forest. John of Monmouth was awarded custody of the forests in Staffordshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Surrey and the bailiwick of Thomas de Langley in Oxfordshire. The allocation of counties was therefore different to that which was applied later when, as discussed below, the chief justice role was again split between one for the Forest North of the Trent and one for the Forest South of the Trent. See Appendix C and Appendix D, 'Feckenham', 'Galtres' and 'Gillingham' for further details.

⁸³ S. Church, 'Lisle [Insula], Sir Brian de (d. 1234), soldier and administrator', *ODNB* (2007) accessed online 5 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47250>; A. Pollard and R. Davies, 'Monmouth, John of (c. 1182–1248), baron', *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 5 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18959>; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.51, 61, 70, 74; Appendix D, 'Clarendon', 'Galtres', 'New', 'Peak'.

⁸⁴ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.77-85.

Chippenham Forest.⁸⁵ As Table 2.4 illustrates, there was also a significant increase in forest eyre activity between 1229 and 1232 compared with the visitations of Henry's minority, and in the resulting total and average revenue generated.⁸⁶

Visitation	Number of Counties Visited	Total Assessed Revenue £	Average Revenue per County £
1221-25	14	772	55.14
1224-28	8	300	37.50
1229-32	16	3,105	194.06

Table 2.4: Forest Eyre Revenue, 1221-32

Hubert de Burgh's Government, 1227-32: Forest Wardens

There was little disruption during this period to the administration of individual forests. When hereditary wardens died, as they did in the case of Sherwood and Lancashire forests, their heirs inherited with apparent ease upon the usual agreement of a fine. This was the case also for the appointment of hereditary sub-foresters to the inheritance of their bailiwicks within forests, as set out in Table 2.5. Additionally, in April 1227, Henry III confirmed a charter recognising the Fitzphilip family as hereditary wardens of Kinver Forest. The level of the fines paid by inheriting wardens was also modest compared to recent precedents and the practice under John. For example, the 200m paid by Thomas de Birkin in 1227 and Robert of Everingham three years later for custody of Sherwood were less than the 300m agreed by John de Birkin in 1224, perhaps in recognition of the very high turnover of wardens in such a short period of time.

⁸⁵ *CPR 1225-32*, pp.316-7; *CR 1227-31*, pp.260, 268-9.

⁸⁶ Carpenter, *Minority*, pp.236, 252, 263, 276-9, 295-6, 298, 337. The sums in the table are decimalised and, for the eyre visitations of 1221-25 and 1224-28 are derived from Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.18-9, 152-71. The figures for the 1229-32 visitation are based on the adjustments to Winters's numbers as described later in Chapter 5.

Appointee	Date of award	Forest appointment	Amount of Fine
Thomas de Birkin	October 1227	Sherwood	200m
Roger Gernet	February 1228	Lancashire	10m
Richard Foillet	June 1228	Bailiwick within New Forest	5m
John of Cawood	November 1230	Bailiwick within Ouse and Derwent	10m
Robert of Everingham	November 1230	Sherwood	200m
Thomas de Blakeney	June 1232	Bailiwick in Forest of Dean	40s

Table 2.5: *Fines for Forest Appointments, 1227-34*⁸⁷

There is no indication that Henry's government sought to increase the level of annual farm payments. There was a small increase in the annual rent due for Lancashire Forest from £10 to £12, but this was probably because of the additional freedoms granted to the new warden Roger Gernet.⁸⁸

As a result of the forest eyres, de Burgh's government was occasionally prepared to take action against hereditary wardens who were guilty of trespasses. Following the Oxfordshire eyre of 1229, Thomas de Langley temporarily lost custody of Wychwood Forest but recovered it after agreeing a large fine of £100 which was paid by 1236. Similarly, Hugh de Loges temporarily lost custody of Cannock Forest following the Staffordshire eyre of 1231 but soon recovered it after paying a relatively modest 100s fine.⁸⁹ However, in the main, de Burgh's administration was content to leave existing administrative arrangements and the personnel running them largely intact and unchallenged. This stability may also have assisted revenue collection, as the government collected almost 75% of the annual rental fees due from hereditary wardens during these years.⁹⁰

The Government of Peter de Rivallis, 1232-34

In July 1232, Lisle and Monmouth were removed from their positions as part of the establishment of the new government under Peter des Roches.⁹¹ In their place, Roches's close supporter Peter de

⁸⁷ *CFR 12/204* accessed online 24 March 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_027.html; *CFR 15/11* accessed online 24 March 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_030.html; *CFR 16/138* accessed online 24 March 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_031.html; Appendix D, 'Kinver', 'Lancashire', 'Sherwood'.

⁸⁸ Appendix D, 'Lancashire'.

⁸⁹ *CR 1231-34*, p.33; Appendix D, 'Cannock', 'Wychwood'.

⁹⁰ This calculation is based on the annual payments due in relation to the nine forests of Cannock, Chute, Inglewood, Kinver, Lancashire, New, Rutland, Savernake and Wychwood. Revenue from the management of the forest is examined further in Chapter 5.

⁹¹ The fall of de Burgh's government and its replacement by a new government led by Peter des Roches is fully explored in Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, chapters 8 and 9, Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, chapter 3 and in D. Carpenter, 'The Fall of Hubert de Burgh', *Journal of British Studies* 19 (1980), pp.1-17.

Rivallis was appointed for life to a combined chief justice post identical to that held previously by Hugh de Neville. The entry in the patent rolls refers to Rivallis's appointment to the 'forest of England' which has led some historians to conclude he had much greater authority than his predecessors. The entry in the *ODNB*, for example, states that he was 'granted custody of all royal forests.'⁹² In fact, it is arguable whether Rivallis's forest custodies were much more substantial than Neville's. Like Neville, he had custody of Feckenham and Gillingham. He was also awarded the forests of Chippenham and Melksham, Clarendon, Dean and the small forest of Dartmoor. On the other hand, the large Forest Between Oxford and Stamford remained with Hugh de Neville. In addition to his forest custodies, Rivallis was appointed to an astonishing number of government roles, including the sheriffdom of nineteen counties.⁹³

The new government brought a significant share of the forests under its direct control as Peter des Roches himself was appointed warden of Portchester Forest and, while Hubert de Burgh was briefly awarded custody of Windsor Castle and Forest at a time when the king was oscillating in his support between the rival factions, the bailiffs of the forest were to answer to Rivallis.⁹⁴ While Lisle was removed from his chief justice role, he retained custody of Galtres, Peak and Pickering forests. He was also appointed sheriff of York on favourable terms, was awarded custody of Knaresborough Castle and was an important supporter of the des Roches government. His holding the castles and associated forests of Peak and Pickering also strengthened the government's position in the north midlands and Yorkshire.⁹⁵

Monmouth was the more significant loser from the changes in 1232. Not only was he removed from the custody of Feckenham and Gillingham forests, but in July 1232 he was also replaced as warden of Clarendon Forest by Rivallis who was granted custody of it for life. Despite this, Monmouth continued to undertake commissions for the crown and suffered significant losses during the

⁹² N. Vincent, 'Rivallis [Rivaux], Peter de (d. 1262), courtier and administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 4 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23688>.

⁹³ *CPR 1225-32*, pp.487, 489; Appendix D, 'Chippenham and Melksham', 'Clarendon', 'Dean', 'Feckenham', 'Gillingham'; N. Vincent, 'Rivallis [Rivaux], Peter de (d. 1262), courtier and administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 4 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23688>; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.318-9. The forest of Dartmoor rarely features in the records of the early part of Henry's reign and in 1239 was granted to the king's brother Richard of Cornwall (Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.30; Bazeley, 'Extent', p.154). Neither Young nor Bazeley include it in their lists of thirteenth century royal forests, and it has therefore not been examined further as part of this thesis.

⁹⁴ Appendix D, 'Portchester', 'Windsor'.

⁹⁵ S. Church, 'Lisle [Insula], Sir Brian de (d. 1234), soldier and administrator', *ODNB* (2007) accessed online 5 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47250>; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.301 n.197, 319, 341-2, 346-7, 393 n.135, 412, 425, 462; Carpenter, *Minority*, p.393; *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales From the Earliest Times to AD 1831* (PRO, 1961), p.161.

Marshal revolt of 1233 because of his close association with the government. Both he and Lisle also received gifts from the royal forest during this period.⁹⁶

The over-centralisation of authority and responsibility associated with the government resulted in administrative chaos which was compounded by the impact of the civil war that broke out in summer 1233.⁹⁷ While there were stability and continuity amongst the office holders of hereditary forest wardenships during this period, the forest administration was adversely impacted in a number of ways. There were, for example, no further forest eyres for four years after 1232, even though seven counties included in the programme of 1229 had still not been visited. In 1233, accounts were not submitted to the exchequer for four counties containing substantial forest areas, while no account was submitted in either 1232 or 1233 for Windsor Forest or for New Forest in the period 1231-4. The turmoil of these years also created a legacy of debts that subsequently proved difficult to collect. For example, by the time of his removal from office in 1234, de Rivallis owed £100 relating to the farm of St Briavels Castle and the Forest of Dean.⁹⁸ Another indicator of the administrative chaos of these years was the number of repeat mandates for gifts from the royal forest which increased sharply with the change of government in summer 1232 and continued throughout the remainder of the period when de Rivallis was chief justice.⁹⁹

Henry III's Personal Rule, 1234-44: The Removal of Peter de Rivallis

The collapse of Peter des Roches's government in spring 1234 resulted in Rivallis's removal from his government offices, including the positions of chief justice and warden of the five forests to which he had been appointed.¹⁰⁰ The men who replaced him in the forests were mainly closely linked to the royal household and their appointments were therefore primarily driven by the royal need for

⁹⁶ *CR 1231-34*, pp.60, 206, 273, 527; A. Pollard and R. Davies, 'Monmouth, John of (c. 1182–1248), baron', *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 5 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18959>; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.418-9.

⁹⁷ N. Vincent, 'Rivallis [Rivaux], Peter de (d. 1262), courtier and administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 4 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23688>; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.318-9, 343-57.

⁹⁸ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.163, 171. The seven counties where eyres were outstanding included Berkshire, Dorset, Somerset, Hampshire and Wiltshire, all of which had extensive areas of royal forest. The four counties for which no accounts were presented in 1233 were Herefordshire, Wiltshire, Worcestershire, and Dorset and Somerset which were usually administered together (TNA, E 372/77 accessed online 17 March 2025 [Pipe Roll Table of Contents](#)); Appendix D, 'Dean', 'New', 'Windsor'.

⁹⁹ For example, in May 1233 de Rivallis was ordered to provide 100 oak trees from the Forest of Dean for the construction of a church at Pershore Abbey. A year later, it was unclear whether the gift had been delivered, with the king then ordering the constable of St Briavels to remedy the position if need be. In a similar vein, de Rivallis was ordered in February 1234 to provide 20 oaks for the construction of a room at Walsingham Priory. Clearly there was again some problem in following this through as ten oaks had still not been delivered by May (*CR 1231-34*, pp.223, 379, 421, 422).

¹⁰⁰ The civil war of 1233-4 and the collapse of the government of Peter des Roches are fully covered in Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, chapters 10-13 and Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.135-64.

loyalty and stability after an unsettling period of chaos and civil war. Amaury de St Amand (Forest of Dean) had been a household steward since 1233, while Henry Fitznicholas (Clarendon and Gillingham) was the brother of another steward, Ralph Fitznicholas. In February 1235, Henry Fitznicholas was also appointed sheriff of Hampshire and was granted custody of Winchester Castle, and the castle and forest at Portchester. John de Plessy's appointment to the custody of Devizes Castle and the forest of Chippenham and Melksham in the spring of 1234 was a significant advancement in the career of a knight who was to become a key figure in Henry's government. Custody of Feckenham was granted to a relatively minor local landholder, William Pipard of Bishampton.¹⁰¹

Henry III's Personal Rule, 1234-44: Chief Justices

The office of chief justice was, however, initially left vacant. The decision not to appoint may have been due partly to the lack of obvious candidates following the deaths in quick succession in summer 1234 of Hugh de Neville and Brian de Lisle.¹⁰² As with his decision also not to appoint a new justiciar, it may also indicate Henry's desire, after the dominance of de Burgh and des Roches, to rule alone without the risk of overbearing ministers and officials.¹⁰³ However, by October 1235 it seems that the king decided it was no longer feasible to manage the royal forest without a chief justice. There had been no forest eyre since that in Worcestershire in 1232, while income from the forest had fallen to the lowest level since the end of the minority.¹⁰⁴ Henry needed to raise revenue, particularly to pay the dowry for the forthcoming marriage of his sister Isabella to the Emperor Frederick II.¹⁰⁵

His government therefore appointed John de Neville to the post at the king's pleasure. As the son and heir of the former chief justice Hugh, John de Neville brought impeccable family credentials to the role. He also had prior administrative experience in royal government and, upon the death of his

¹⁰¹ S. Lloyd, 'St Amand, Sir Amaury de (d. 1240/41), soldier and administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 24 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24475>. Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p.347; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.191, 219-20; N. Vincent, 'Plessis, John de, seventh earl of Warwick (d. 1263), royal councillor', *ODNB* (2006) accessed online 24 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22379>; J. West, 'The Administration and Economy of the Forest of Feckenham during the Early Middle Ages' (Unpublished MA Thesis, Birmingham University, 1964), pp.124, 145; Appendix D, 'Chippenham and Melksham', 'Clarendon', 'Dean', 'Feckenham', 'Gillingham'.

¹⁰² D. Crook, 'Neville, Hugh de (d. 1234), royal forester', *ODNB* (2016) accessed online 4 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19942>; S. Church, 'Lisle [Insula], Sir Brian de (d. 1234), soldier and administrator', *ODNB* (2007) accessed online 5 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47250>.

¹⁰³ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.165, 169-70.

¹⁰⁴ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', p.171. See Chapter 5 for an examination of annual forest revenues.

¹⁰⁵ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.172-5, 189-90; Stacey, *Politics*, pp.98-9, 109-10; L.J. Wilkinson, 'The Imperial Marriage of Isabella of England, Henry III's Sister', in L. Oakley-Brown and L.J. Wilkinson (eds.), *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval to Early Modern* (Dublin, 2009), pp.20-36, especially p.24; B.K.U. Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufen Empire 1216-1272* (Woodbridge, 2006), chapter 2.

father in July 1234, had been granted custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford. Neville was immediately tasked with undertaking a thorough review of the forest and, in March 1236, with recommencing the forest eyres.¹⁰⁶ Neville's appointment as chief justice coincided with, and was potentially part of, a thorough and wide-ranging programme of administrative reforms that Henry's government embarked upon in the spring of 1236 and that is discussed in more detail below.

However, in November 1236, Neville was removed as chief justice. There is no reason to believe that he left the role in disgrace. He received a royal gift of deer in December 1236 and, in the following month, a further generous gift of ten does and three bucks to stock a park in Essex. He also presided over forest eyres in 1237 and 1238 and continued as warden for the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford until his prosecution in 1244.¹⁰⁷ The decision to replace him as chief justice may have reflected disappointment with the slow progress in completing the eyre programme and, while the chronicler Matthew Paris later complained about Neville's oppressive behaviour as a forest justice, the relatively modest levels of revenue generated by it. It is also possible that Henry's government concluded that, as in 1229, the role was too onerous for one individual.¹⁰⁸

The two men who replaced Neville were Richard de Mountfitchet who was appointed as chief justice for nineteen counties, most of which were in the south and Robert de Ros who was appointed as chief justice for six counties in the east midlands and north of England. Both were appointed at the king's pleasure.¹⁰⁹ The composition of the two regions was different from the temporary arrangement that had operated under Lisle and Monmouth and proved to be a permanent change. Henceforth, the two regions were respectively known as the 'Forest This Side of the Trent' or 'Forest

¹⁰⁶ *CR 1231-34*, p.472; *CR 1234-37*, pp.153-4, 344; *CPR 1232-47*, p.121; Young, *Neville Family*, pp.35-7; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.171-3.

¹⁰⁷ *CR 1234-37*, pp.406, 409; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', p.173; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.147; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.112; Appendix D, 'Forest Between Oxford and Stamford'.

¹⁰⁸ *CPR 1232-47*, pp.167, 169. *CR 1234-37*, p.344 provides details of the planned visitation. It seems that eyres were only initially intended for Essex, Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire and Huntingdonshire. Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.172-3, has argued that only those for Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire were completed in 1236, alongside an eyre in Oxfordshire that was not referred to in the original documentation. This is supported by other sources, for example the protection given to Westminster Abbey from forest eyre amercements in Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire in the summer of 1236 suggests that these eyres were undertaken around that time (*CR 1234-37*, pp.285, 295). The average value of the assessed revenue from the Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire eyres of 1236 was approximately £101 compared with the average of approximately £194 from the sixteen eyres conducted as part of the 1229-32 visitation. See Chapter 5 for further details on the calculation of eyre revenues. Matthew Paris's complaints about John de Neville are recorded in *CM IV*, pp.400-1, 427, 563-4.

¹⁰⁹ *CPR 1232-47*, pp.167, 169. The entry is almost certainly incorrect in including Northumberland within the region to be administered by Richard de Mountfitchet, particularly as it was also included within the responsibilities of Robert de Ros who was appointed as chief justice North of the Trent. This appears to be an original clerical error rather than a transcription mistake as the entry in the manuscript at the National Archives (*C66/47*) also refers to Northumberland. The county that should be referred to within Mountfitchet's responsibilities is Northamptonshire rather than Northumberland.

South of the Trent' and the 'Forest Beyond Trent' or 'Forest North of the Trent'.¹¹⁰ The river Trent was an ancient administrative boundary that had been applied previously by John's government to improve the administration of escheats. It was used again in 1236 when responsibilities for royal demesnes, escheats and custodies were similarly divided.¹¹¹

As the hereditary warden of Essex Forest, Mountfitchet brought considerable experience to the role of chief justice. However, his period in office was relatively short as he was replaced in May 1238 by John Biset who was appointed at the king's pleasure. The reasons for this are unclear, but it is notable that there was no progress during Mountfitchet's time in office in completing the programme of eyres that John de Neville had started.¹¹²

Biset's appointment represented a significant break with precedent, as he had no prior experience of forest administration, nor was he a senior figure in Henry's government. He came from a minor baronial family, albeit one that had a track record of loyal service to the crown. Biset and his wife also received many forest gifts from Henry in the period before his appointment. He made substantial progress in implementing the programme of eyres, completing up to eleven before his death in 1241.¹¹³ Thereafter, progress stuttered as his replacements, John Fitzgeoffrey¹¹⁴ and then Reginald de Mohun in quick succession joined the king's campaign in Gascony.¹¹⁵ Mohun was

¹¹⁰ The titles Forest South of the Trent and the Forest North of the Trent are also occasionally used in the secondary literature. These titles were not applied immediately which may explain why both Turner, *Select Pleas*, p.xiv and Young, *Royal Forests*, p.74 attribute the formal changes to later dates. Turner recognises Mountfitchet as a chief justice South of the Trent from November 1236 (Turner, 'Justices', p.114) and Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.88 also states that the changes took place in 1236. Extant records clearly indicate that the new arrangements were effective in practice from 1236, even if the formal titles were only used later. The terms Forest South of the Trent and Forest North of the Trent are used throughout this thesis.

¹¹¹ Waugh, 'Escheator', pp.229, 256; Stacey, *Politics*, pp.78-9.

¹¹² *CPR 1232-47*, pp.167, 221; N. Vincent, 'Montfitchet, Richard de (b. after 1190, d. 1267), baron and forest administrator', *ODNB* (2005) accessed online 19 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19044>; Appendix D, 'Essex'. For a helpful description of Mountfitchet's role in local Essex society more generally, see Moore, 'Government and Locality', pp.38-9, 149, 163, 165-6, 204.

¹¹³ I.J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent, 1086-1327* (Oxford, 1960), p.5; *CR 1227-31*, p.307; *CR 1234-37*, pp.49, 127, 285, 484; *CR 1237-42*, p.80; [Kidderminster: Introduction, borough and manors | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#) accessed online 5 October 2023; [Houses of Augustinian canons: Priory of Maiden Bradley | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#) accessed online 5 October 2023; [Parishes: South Stoneham | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#) accessed online 5 October 2023. Winters, 'Forest Eyre' pp.174-80. Records of the eyres in Hampshire, Dorset and Somerset, Northamptonshire, Shropshire, Surrey, Wiltshire, Worcestershire and Oxfordshire all appear in or before the pipe rolls of 1241. The pipe rolls for 1242 make reference to the eyres in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Huntingdonshire taking place with Biset presiding so it is possible that they were completed before his death but did not account for the first time until the following year.

¹¹⁴ *CPR 1232-47*, p.261; *CR 1237-42*, p.364; D. Carpenter, 'John fitz Geoffrey (c. 1206-1258), justiciar of Ireland and baronial leader', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/38271>. Fitzgeoffrey's participation in the 1242 campaign is clear from *CPR 1232-47*, p.297.

¹¹⁵ *CR 1237-42*, p.437; *CPR 1232-47*, p.279; W. Hunt and H. Ridgeway, 'Mohun, Sir Reginald de (c. 1206-1258), baron', *ODNB* (2005) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18886>. *CLR 1240-45*,

replaced by Gilbert of Seagrave who held the position at the king's pleasure for over three years. Seagrave had limited administrative experience and no prior management of a forest bailiwick. His father had, however, served as royal justiciar. Henry III's absence in Poitou for almost eighteen months from May 1242 meant that Seagrave's workload was relatively light. Only one eyre, concerning Essex, was conducted during this period.¹¹⁶

North of the Trent there was much greater stability as the newly appointed chief justice, Robert de Ros, held the position until 1249. Ros, who came from a well-established northern baronial family, had no prior administrative experience of the royal forest, but having served frequently in military campaigns, as well as witnessing charters and acting as justice on eyre, was clearly trusted by Henry III. Although there is no record of a formal appointment, he also gained custody of Galtres Forest, acknowledging in 1252 that he owed almost £92 for its farm. He also appears to have acquired custody of Northumberland Forest, despite a legal challenge from the hereditary warden Adam de Stratton.¹¹⁷

Henry III's Personal Rule, 1234-44: Forest Wardens

As noted earlier, in spring 1236 Henry's government embarked upon a thorough and wide-ranging programme of administrative reform, consisting of two main elements to raise additional revenue. Existing sheriffs were removed and replaced by local knights on terms that were financially more favourable to the crown. Additionally, there was a drive to secure higher revenues from royal demesne manors through the appointment of three manorial custodians.¹¹⁸

While the royal forest was not the primary focus of this reform activity, there was collateral impact upon its administration. Three of the sheriffs who were dismissed were also keepers of forests within their shires. They were removed from their forest positions, as was the household steward Ralph Fitznicholas who had custody of Peak Forest and who was seen as blocking the reforms.¹¹⁹

p.133 is incomplete but is a mandate from early May 1242 for Mohun 'to have two good ships to come after the king across the sea to Gascony', suggesting that he participated in the military campaign.

¹¹⁶ *CPR 1232-47*, p.288; J. Todd, 'Seagrave [Segrave], Sir Gilbert of (d. 1254), administrator and justice', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25034>; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', p.180.

¹¹⁷ *CPR 1232-47*, p.169; N. Vincent, 'Ros, Robert de (d. c. 1270), baron and royal councillor', *ODNB* (2006) accessed online 6 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24078>; Sanders, *Baronies*, p.149; *CFR 14/341* accessed online 6 October 2023 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 14 HENRY III \(28 October 1229–27 October 1230\) \(finerollshenry3.org.uk\)](https://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/fine-rolls/henry-iii/14-henry-iii-28-october-1229-27-october-1230); Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.19, 173, 176, 178; Appendix D, 'Galtres', 'Northumberland'.

¹¹⁸ The two initiatives are covered in detail in Stacey, *Politics*, chapters 2 and 3. See also Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.189-93. Richard Cassidy has also examined in detail the actions taken in 1234 and 1236 to reform the sheriffdoms in 'Shuffling the Sheriffs, 1234 and 1236', accessed online 24 March 2024 <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-05-2008.html>.

¹¹⁹ Stacey, *Politics*, pp.79, 95, 96; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.188, 191; Cassidy, 'Shuffling the Sheriffs.' The three men who were dismissed as sheriffs were Henry Fitznicholas, John Fitzgeoffrey and Engelard de

Their replacements to the forest roles were a mixture of local landholders and household knights. While in most cases there is insufficient detail concerning either the preceding or new terms of appointments relating specifically to the forest, those that do exist do not suggest there was a concerted attempt to extract greater revenue from the forest as a result of these administrative changes.¹²⁰

The second of the two major reforms of 1236 had a more direct impact on forest administration as, amongst broader changes, it proposed giving responsibility for the parks and woods within royal demesnes to one of three newly appointed manorial custodians. In practice, this was more a threat to hereditary sub-foresters holding bailiwicks within individual forests than to the wardens of the latter who are the focus of this chapter. It might, however, explain the likely appointment at some point during the year of Robert de Crepping as warden of Galtres Forest.¹²¹ In the end, the changes concerning custody of demesne parks and woods did not proceed as the broader set of reforms faced increasing opposition. Henry's government was content to withdraw its proposals for the management of the crown's demesne parks and woods as part of several concessions to secure the award of a tax of a thirtieth from parliament in January 1237. Nevertheless, the proposed changes were probably the reason why the wardens of the forests in Sherwood and Lancashire were required to demonstrate by what warrant they held their forests, while the respective roles and responsibilities of forest and demesne officials required further clarification in the following year.¹²²

Henry III's government continued to use the mechanism of the forest eyres to challenge abuses by hereditary forest wardens during this period. In 1240, for example, the hereditary warden of Cannock Forest, Hugh de Loges, was prosecuted at the Staffordshire eyre concerning a forest trespass. He was required to pay a fine of £100 and was removed as hereditary warden. The hereditary warden of Pamber and Everlsey Forest, Gilbert of Eversley, also lost custody of his forest, probably following the eyre of 1239, and was not able to recover it before his death in 1251.¹²³ However, it was also the case that inheritances of hereditary wardenships during this period, for

Cigogne. The forests that were impacted were Clarendon, Galtres, Gillingham, Peak, Pickering, Portchester and Windsor. Further details are in Appendix D.

¹²⁰ There is insufficient detail concerning the appointments in Clarendon, Galtres, Gillingham, Peak, Pickering and Windsor forests. The terms on which Geoffrey de Lisle replaced Henry Fitznicholas at Portchester emphasise that the primary focus of the reforms was upon changing the terms of the shrieval appointment. Further details are in Appendix D.

¹²¹ *CPR 1232-47*, pp.156, 160, 166, 173; Stacey, *Politics*, pp.78-82, 110-1; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.192; Appendix D, 'Galtres'. It should also be noted that not all royal demesnes, for example Ospringe in Kent, were within the royal forest.

¹²² *CPR 1232-47*, pp.186-7, 216; Stacey, *Politics*, pp.75, 111-6; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.194-6; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.76, 134; J.R. Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament, 924-1327*, (Oxford, 2010), p.457; Appendix D, 'Lancashire', 'Sherwood'.

¹²³ Appendix D, 'Cannock', 'Pamber'.

example for the forests of Bere Ashley, Bernwood, Braden, Chute, Inglewood, Shotover and Wychwood, continued to proceed largely smoothly. Henry's government also made no attempt during this period to amend the levels of existing annual rents. It was probably due to this level of stability, that the crown collected over 70% of the annual rents due from hereditary wardens during this period.¹²⁴

Despite the broader reforms of 1236-40, the abiding approach of Henry's government towards the royal forest between 1234 and 1244 therefore remained one of continuity and stability, with the creation of two separate chief justice roles being the only lasting change.

Upheaval and Return to the Status Quo, 1244-58

Robert Passelewe's Administration, 1244-50

In autumn 1243, following a disastrous military campaign in France, Henry III returned to England burdened with debt and desperately needing to generate revenue.¹²⁵ The actions his government took in response over the next year represented a profound change of approach to the royal forest as caution and experimentation were replaced by a radical overhaul of its administration and a programme of particularly severe eyres.

In April 1244, as part of a broader set of initiatives to generate revenue, the king commissioned detailed inquiries into unlicensed assarts and purprestures in the royal forest. These helped inform the programme of eyres that began at the end of the year, which also included an examination of abuses by local foresters. The eyres were initially concentrated geographically in the region South of the Trent, but were subsequently rolled out in the North too.¹²⁶ The financial and political impacts of the eyres are considered in more detail later in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively. This chapter examines their impact upon the administration of the forest.

While Seagrave remained chief justice, at some point in 1244 the highly experienced and long-serving administrator Robert Passelewe came to the fore in influencing government policy towards the royal forest. This may well have been in the autumn as the revenue from forest sources that was accounted for at the exchequer in Michaelmas 1244 was particularly low and the eyre that the

¹²⁴ Appendix D, 'Bere Ashley', 'Bernwood', 'Braden', 'Chute', 'Inglewood', 'Shotover', 'Wychwood'. Crown revenue from the management of the royal forest is discussed further in Chapter 5.

¹²⁵ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58* p.449; Stacey, *Politics*, pp.198-200, 237-8. The Poitevin campaign is covered in detail in Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, chapter 5 and Stacey, *Politics*, chapter 5.

¹²⁶ *CPR 1232-47*, pp.427, 442, 459, 462; *CR 1242-47*, pp.243-4, 253; *CFR 28/284* accessed online 11 December 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 28 HENRY III \(28 October 1243–27 October 1244\)](#); *CM IV*, pp.400-1, 426-7; *CM VI*, pp.94-9; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.181-206; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.452, 460, 479, 546; Stacey, *Politics*, pp.211-3, 250-1; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.77, 112; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.145-8.

Seagrave conducted in Gloucestershire in that year generated only £74 in amercements. It was in this context that Passelewe, according to Matthew Paris, suggested to the king that far greater revenues could be raised from the royal forest.¹²⁷ However, it was only in January or February 1246 that Passelewe formally replaced Seagrave as chief justice South of the Trent, and in February that he was awarded custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford.¹²⁸ Like many others before him, Seagrave's departure was not necessarily an indicator that he had fallen out of royal favour. In 1248, he agreed a fine with the king to be quit of all claims arising from his tenure as chief justice. He was also firmly established as someone close to Queen Eleanor and continued to receive gifts from the royal forest.¹²⁹

Starting in Hampshire in December 1244, for the next three years Passelewe personally presided over twelve eyres that resulted in amercements totalling almost £13,300 and were condemned by contemporary chroniclers such as Matthew Paris for their harshness. While historians have rightly drawn attention to the severity of the eyres, their impact on the administration of the forest has to date been largely overlooked.¹³⁰ The first eyre in Hampshire set the tone for what was to follow as all but one of the wardens of the forests within the county and many of the sub-foresters were removed from their positions. Additionally, while only a small part of Chute Forest lay within Hampshire its warden, Avise de Columbariis, was amerced 400m, although she retained her custody. The only warden who was spared was Herbert Fitzmatthew who was holding Pamber and Eversley until the heir Walter of Eversley came of age. The reasons for this almost complete removal of the serving wardens are rarely more specific than that they were guilty of forest trespasses. While their removal in some cases was probably immediate, in others it may have taken almost a year, suggesting there was additional court action or unsuccessful appeals against the eyre decisions.¹³¹

¹²⁷ R. Stacey, 'Passelewe, Robert (d. 1252), administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21507>; *CM IV*, pp.400-1; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.180-1. Total forest revenue of approximately £447 was the second lowest to that date since the start of Henry's personal rule.

¹²⁸ *CPR 1232-47*, p.474. The final mandate to Seagrave to provide a forest gift was issued on 24 December 1245 (*CR 1242-47*, p.379), while the first mandate to Passelewe to do the same was issued on 22 February 1246 (*CR 1242-47*, p.396). R. Stacey, 'Passelewe, Robert (d. 1252), administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21507>; Appendix D, 'Forest Between Oxford and Stamford'. Turner, 'Justices', p.114 n.3 also highlights the difficulty in identifying the date of Seagrave's replacement by Passelewe.

¹²⁹ *CPR 1247-58*, p.6; *CR 1247-51*, p.475; *CR 1251-53*, pp.125, 135, 309; *CR 1253-54*, p.40; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp.56, 107; J. Todd, 'Seagrave [Segrave], Sir Gilbert of (d. 1254), administrator and justice', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25034>.

¹³⁰ *CM IV*, pp.426-7; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.181-91; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.145-8; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.76-7; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.546; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.147-8 has drawn attention to the scale of the impact and highlighted many, but not all of the changes brought about by Passelewe's activity. The sum for the amercements is based on the calculations described in Chapter 5.

¹³¹ *CPR 1232-47*, p.471; *CChR 1226-57*, pp.362, 364, 455; *CFR 35/929* accessed online 8 April 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 35 HENRY III \(28 October 1250–27 October 1251\)](#); Appendix D, 'Alicholt and Wolmer', 'Bere Ashley',

After the initial Hampshire eyre, there were another fourteen that were conducted South of the Trent between 1245 and 1250. Table 2.6 sets out how these impacted upon the custody of the forests and of some of the sub-forester bailiwicks within them.¹³²

Eyre	Forest/Bailiwick	Warden/Sub-Forester	Punishment
Northamptonshire, 1245	Whittlewood bailiwick	Hugh of Stratford	Loss of custody ¹³³
	Unidentified bailiwick	Unidentified sub-forester	Loss of custody ¹³⁴
Oxfordshire, 1245	Shotover	Philip Mimecan	Amerced £7 13s 8d ¹³⁵
	Wychwood	William de Langley	Loss of custody ¹³⁶
	Bernwood	John Fitznigel	Amerced £14 10s ¹³⁷
Buckinghamshire, 1245/6	Bernwood	John Fitznigel	As above
Berkshire, 1246	Windsor	Bernard of Savoy	Loss of custody ¹³⁸
	Bailiwick within Windsor	Reginald Fitzjordan	Loss of custody ¹³⁹
Essex, 1246	Essex	Richard de Mountfitchet	Loss of custody ¹⁴⁰

‘Chute’, ‘Clarendon’, ‘Freemantle’, ‘New’, ‘Pamber and Eversley’, ‘Portchester’. Holt highlighted how John’s notorious eyres of 1212 similarly focused heavily on forester abuses (J.C. Holt, *Magna Carta* (2nd edition, Cambridge, 1992), pp.211-2).

¹³² The dates of the eyres are from Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.181-206. Details of the punishments meted out on individual foresters are detailed in the relevant section of Appendix D, except where otherwise noted. In addition to the eyres listed in the table, there was an eyre in Surrey in 1246 that generated just £126 in revenue and no changes in forest personnel, and another in Staffordshire in 1247 that generated £318 in revenue and no changes in forest personnel.

¹³³ *CIM Vol. I*, pp.51-2; *CFR 36/626* accessed online 25 March 2024

https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_049.html.

¹³⁴ *CChR 1226-57*, p.294.

¹³⁵ TNA, E 372/89, rot. 7d, m. 2 accessed online 13 May 2025 [AALT Page](#).

¹³⁶ *CPR 1232-47*, p.472.

¹³⁷ TNA, E 372/91, rot. 11d, m. 2 accessed online 13 May 2025 [AALT Page](#).

¹³⁸ It is not certain that Bernard of Savoy was removed from custody of Windsor due to the forest eyre but the timing of his removal in June 1246 came shortly after completion of the Berkshire eyre, so it is at least a possibility.

¹³⁹ *CFR 37/957* accessed online 25 March 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_050.html; *CR 1251-53*, p.367.

¹⁴⁰ *CFR 36/1299* accessed online 13 May 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 36 HENRY III \(28 October 1251–27 October 1252\)](#).

	Waltham bailiwick	Richard Fitzaucher	Loss of custody ¹⁴¹
Wiltshire, 1246	Braden	Adam de Purton	Loss of custody ¹⁴²
	Chippenham and Melksham	John de Plessy	Amerced £56 17s 3.5d and loss of custody ¹⁴³
	Clarendon	Adam Cock	Loss of custody ¹⁴⁴
	Bailiwick of Clarendon	Richard de Meleford	Loss of custody ¹⁴⁵
	Bailiwick of Clarendon	Robert of Laverstock	Loss of custody ¹⁴⁶
	Bailiwick of Grovely	William de Quaretem and his wife Matilda	Loss of custody ¹⁴⁷
Gloucestershire, 1247	Forest of Dean	Emery de Cancellis	Amerced £207 and loss of custody ¹⁴⁸
	Bailiwicks within Forest of Dean	13 sub-foresters	Loss of custody ¹⁴⁹
Worcestershire, 1247	Bailiwicks within Feckenham	Robert Strecch William Shirnac Robert de Parco	Loss of custody ¹⁵⁰

¹⁴¹ *CChR 1226-57*, p.410; *CFR 37/90* accessed online 25 March 2024

https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_050.html#it090_023; *CR 1251-53*, p.278.

¹⁴² *CChR 1226-57*, p.351; *CFR 35/103* accessed online 13 May 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 35 HENRY III \(28 October 1250–27 October 1251\)](#).

¹⁴³ TNA, E 372/90, rot. 5d, m. 1 accessed online 13 May 2025 [AALT Page](#); Appendix D, 'Chippenham'.

¹⁴⁴ Appendix D, 'Clarendon'.

¹⁴⁵ *CChR 1226-57*, p.455; *CFR 41/188* accessed online 25 March 2024

https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_054.html.

¹⁴⁶ *CFR 40/733* accessed online 19 March 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 40 HENRY III \(28 October 1255–27 October 1256\)](#)

¹⁴⁷ *CFR 35/26* accessed online 25 March 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_048.html.

¹⁴⁸ TNA, E 372/92, rot. 2d, m. 2 accessed online 13 May 2025 [AALT Page](#); Appendix D, 'Dean'.

¹⁴⁹ *CFR 34/216* accessed online 25 March 2024

https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_047.html#it216_013; *CChR 1226-57*, p.377; *CPR 1258-66*, p.525.

¹⁵⁰ *CR 1247-51*, p.392.

		William Fitzrobert	
Dorset and Somerset, 1247-8	Gillingham	Robert de Aundely	Loss of custody ¹⁵¹
Rutland, 1248	Rutland	Peter de Neville	Trespass fine 486m ¹⁵²
Shropshire, 1249	Shirlet bailiwick	Philip de Begesour	Loss of custody ¹⁵³
Herefordshire, 1250	Hay of Hereford	Heirs of Hugh de Kilpeck	Amerced £632 and loss of custody ¹⁵⁴

Table 2.6: Impact of the Forest Eyres on Forest Wardenships, 1245-50

Additionally, previous wardens such as Geoffrey de Lisle at Portchester were prosecuted relating to their period in office. Serving wardens were also prosecuted for other offences unrelated to their forest custodies. It is possible also that there were subsequent further dismissals not directly linked to the eyres.¹⁵⁵ While many hereditary wardens and sub-foresters suffered because of the eyres, wardens in the other two categories were also affected. The men who were brought in to replace the previous wardens were a combination of senior and highly experienced administrators such as Peter Chaceporc, local knights such as Henry de Farley and Robert Passelewe's own relatives.¹⁵⁶

Not all serving wardens suffered. For example, James Hoese, who had custody of Selwood Forest, seems to have been unaffected by the eyre in Wiltshire. Other wardens were significant figures in the justice system and may therefore either have been in the royal favour or were able to use their influence to avoid punishment. For example, Richard de Wrotham had custody of the forests in

¹⁵¹ As with Bernard of Savoy at Windsor, it is not certain that Aundely's removal was directly associated with the eyre, but again the timing of the eyre and his replacement suggest this as a possibility.

¹⁵² TNA, E 372/97, rot. 7, m. 2 accessed online 13 May 2025 [AALT Page](#).

¹⁵³ *CFR 34/147* accessed online 25 March 2024

https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_047.html#it216_013; *CR 1247-51*, p.256.

¹⁵⁴ TNA, E 372/94, rot. 13, m. 2 accessed online 13 May 2025 [AALT Page](#); Appendix D, 'Hereford'.

¹⁵⁵ In June and August 1251, more than six years after the Hampshire eyre of 1244, four sub-foresters were reappointed to their bailiwicks in New Forest after losing them at some unspecified date for trespasses that they had committed (*CChR 1226-57*, pp.362, 364; *CFR 35/929* accessed online 19 March 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 35 HENRY III \(28 October 1250–27 October 1251\)](#)).

¹⁵⁶ R. Stacey, 'Chaceporc, Peter (d. 1254), administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 25 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5009>. Robert Passelewe had two brothers, Hamo and Simon who also had senior roles within Henry's government and who outlived him. There is no record of Passelewe's heirs so his relationship with William and Hugh Passelewe is unclear. William appears to have died around 1248. The forest appointments he fulfilled between 1246 and 1250 were at the start of Henry de Farley's career in Henry's governments. He went on to become sheriff of Hampshire and later the bailiff of Cookham and Bray and the warden of Windsor Forest. He died in September 1259 (Appendix D, 'Windsor'; *CPR 1247-58*, p.40; *CR 1256-59*, pp.188-9, 367, 440).

Somerset, and Poorstock and Blackmore in Dorset, but also appears to have been simultaneously one of the justices for the forest eyres in Northamptonshire, Berkshire, Essex and Wiltshire.¹⁵⁷

One of the major victims of Passelewe's programme was the former chief justice John de Neville, whose downfall was documented keenly by Matthew Paris.¹⁵⁸ Action against him may have begun as early as August 1244 when Henry's government removed him temporarily from custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford. Following a hearing before the king, in November Thomas Mansel was appointed steward of the bailiwick. The next three forest eyres covered Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire which together made up most of Neville's former bailiwick and resulted in an astonishing amercement of 2,000m against him for waste and destruction of the forest.¹⁵⁹ Neville died in June 1246, without making any payment. In 1257 his son and heir, Hugh de Neville, accepted responsibility for the amercement along with a range of other debts he inherited from his father and grandfather. He made several payments in the following two years and in 1272 Henry III pardoned half of the remaining balance.¹⁶⁰

The reasons for the amercement and removal of the wardens is rarely explicitly stated. Often the punishments are loosely ascribed to trespasses within the forest. Matthew Paris is clear that Passelewe initially presented his proposals to the king as a means of generating revenue. That extra revenue was secured from forest wardens in the form of either amercements and fines at the time of prosecution or later fines for the recovery of forests taken into royal custody. Including the amercement of John de Neville, the total amount due from wardens relating to their custodies was approximately £3,360. By the end of Henry's reign, approximately £1,025 (31%) of this had been received by his government. It is possible that the crown was partly motivated by a desire to extract a greater share of the revenue that was generated by the forest and that was retained at the local level by wardens and sub-foresters. That would be consistent with the measures it took in 1244 to redirect some of the proceeds from illicit assarts and would echo the measures taken during 1236-40 to secure a greater share of the proceeds collected by sheriffs. The eyres provided a vehicle for

¹⁵⁷ Appendix D, 'Blackmore', 'Cannock', 'Feckenham', 'Poorstock', 'Selwood', 'Shropshire', 'Somerset'; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.183, 185, 186, 187.

¹⁵⁸ *CM IV*, pp.427, 563-4; Young, *Neville Family*, pp.36-7; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.112; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.147.

¹⁵⁹ *CR 1242-47*, p.218; *CPR 1232-47*, p.446; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.183-5; TNA, E 372/90, rot. 1d, m. 1 accessed online 25 March 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#). Rather oddly, the amercement is first recorded in the Berkshire section of the pipe rolls, before being subsequently transferred to the Essex section where Neville accounted for many of his debts.

¹⁶⁰ TNA, E 372/116, rot. 4d, m. 2 accessed online 13 May 2025 [AALT Page](#). The younger Hugh de Neville joined the barons in the civil war against Henry III and lost his lands before being reconciled to the king in June 1266. It is interesting to speculate whether the high levels of inherited debt contributed to the younger Hugh de Neville rebelling against the king (Young, *Neville Family*, pp.57-8, 84-5, 89, 90-2).

achieving this by allowing crown officials to levy amercements that might not only genuinely reflect trespasses by wardens but also present an opportunity to amend the distribution of forest revenues.

There are some tantalising suggestions that Passelewe may have been aiming at a more ambitious permanent change to the administration of the forest. Specifically, some of the arrangements that were introduced following the eyres suggest an ambition to create what can be termed ‘super-forests’. Large forest areas, such as Essex and the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford, were already administered by one accountable warden. Under Passelewe there was a similar concentration of authority and responsibility across other forest areas. Following the widespread dismissal of Hampshire forest wardens, Henry de Farley was appointed in February 1246 to administer all the forests in the county apart from New Forest. When Richard de Wrotham died in 1250, there appears to have been an attempt on the part of Henry’s government to establish his disparate wardenships in Somerset and Dorset as one administrative unit. In Wiltshire in 1250, John Vernon was referred to in documentation as the ‘steward’ of the forests in the county and briefly had custody of Braden and Selwood. Finally, between 1246 and 1250, Geoffrey Fitzwarin was described as the warden of all the forests in Shropshire, Worcestershire and Staffordshire, except for Kinver. The terms on which these men held these seemingly new roles and how they interacted with other forest wardens is not clear. Nor is there any clarity about the financial impact of these changes. Farley, for example, appears to have had custody of the Hampshire forests until 1250, but there is no record in the pipe rolls of any accounts being submitted by him or sums due from him.¹⁶¹

Whether there was indeed a long-term plan to create a new administrative structure, it was gradually abandoned in the years after 1250. This may partly be because Passelewe was replaced as chief justice.¹⁶² Gradually over the course of the following years, the men brought in by Henry’s government were replaced either by the previous wardens regaining their positions or by other appointees. There was a further opportunity at this stage for Henry’s government to affect lasting reform by changing the terms on which the wardens held their offices. However, those who regained their hereditary wardenships did so usually on the same terms on which they had previously held them. The exception was William de Langley who was reappointed as warden of Wychwood forest, but only at the king’s pleasure. However, his son Thomas was still able to inherit custody of the forest when he came of age around 1262. Similarly, Robert de Edmundsthorpe

¹⁶¹ *CPR 1232-47*, pp.471, 474; *CR 1247-51*, p.278; *CFR 35/601* accessed online 17 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_048.html; *CFR 36/560* accessed online 17 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_049.html.

¹⁶² *CPR 1247-58*, p.61; *CM V*, pp.136-7. In Hampshire, Henry de Farley seems to have been replaced in his role in 1250 by John de Cormailles (*CCR 1247-51*, p.287) who was then replaced in 1252 by Robert de Anesy (*CR 1251-53*, p.141). Thereafter it appears that the role disappeared.

(Freemantle), John of Monmouth junior (New) and Walter of Eversley (Pamber and Eversley) were all subsequently able to inherit forests from their fathers despite the loss of custody following the initial Hampshire eyre. While the eyres disrupted local forest administration, it is also worth noting that Henry's government still collected 67% of the annual rent due from the hereditary wardens between 1245 and 1252, that is only slightly less than in the preceding periods.¹⁶³

In other forests, the crown took measures during these years to secure higher revenues beyond simply the eyre amercements. Bazeley has highlighted how, for the early part of Henry's personal rule the £20 annual farm of the Forest of Dean significantly underrepresented its true value. Following the Gloucestershire eyre of 1247, it was established on a more realistic basis and was regularly assessed at more than £140 for the rest of the reign.¹⁶⁴ Similarly, William Passelewe submitted an account in 1247 for his period as warden of New Forest between January 1246 and Michaelmas 1247 that reported overall revenue of almost £225, compared with less than £50 that had typically been generated annually when John of Monmouth had custody. Robert Passelewe himself also paid a higher annual farm of 40m for custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford compared with the £20 of his predecessors.¹⁶⁵ These measures were, however, to some extent undermined by the frequent failure of wardens to account or to pay in full for the amounts due. Bazeley has highlighted that, between 1247 and the end of the reign, three wardens of the Forest of Dean presented no accounts, while those for another were incomplete. Additionally, some wardens left significant debts. For example, Godfrey de Liston was replaced as warden of Windsor Forest in November 1257 and amerced over £267 at the Berkshire eyre in the following year relating to outstanding revenues from the forest.¹⁶⁶ This indifferent record contrasts with that of the hereditary wardens and suggests that many appointments to the non-hereditary forests were partly acts of patronage and that the crown was accordingly prepared to tolerate a degree of non-compliance with its accounting requirements.

Passelewe remained chief justice until March 1250. His removal from office seems to have been brought about largely by the increasing unpopularity of his administration and the machinations of his protégé Geoffrey de Langley in undermining him. It is also possible that it was hastened after his presentment to Dereham church in Norfolk caused a breach with the king. It should also be noted, however, that at the time of his replacement Passelewe had been in royal service, albeit not

¹⁶³ Appendix D, 'Aliceholt and Wolmer', 'Braden', 'Essex', 'Freemantle', 'New', 'Pamber and Eversley', 'Wychwood'. Crown revenue from the management of the royal forest is examined further in Chapter 5.

¹⁶⁴ Bazeley, 'Forest of Dean', pp.219-27.

¹⁶⁵ TNA, E 372/91, rot. 14d, m. 1 accessed online 13 May 2025 [AALT Page](#); Appendix D, 'New', 'Forest Between Oxford and Stamford'.

¹⁶⁶ Bazeley, 'Forest of Dean', p.229; Appendix D, 'Windsor'.

continuously, for thirty-six years. He appears to have retired at this point but was not out of favour. He was awarded cheminage in Essex Forest in October 1251, and between April 1250 and his death in 1252 received eight forest gifts. In October 1251 he also agreed a fine of 200m with the king so that he and his brother would be quit from all accounts, reckonings and trespasses.¹⁶⁷

Geoffrey de Langley's Administration, 1250-2

Passelewe was replaced by his protégé Geoffrey de Langley. As Robert de Ros had been removed in the previous year as chief justice North of the Trent, the decision was taken in March 1250 to appoint Langley to both positions. In the following month, he was also awarded custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford.¹⁶⁸

It is unclear why Ros was replaced as chief justice North of the Trent. It could be that the financial success of the recent eyres in the South prompted Henry's government to revive them under new leadership in the North. There had been no eyres in the region since 1241 and the last one in Lancashire had been held in 1208.¹⁶⁹ Ros seemingly left office on good terms and subsequently served Henry on royal business in Scotland. He also continued to receive royal gifts from the forest and in May 1250 secured a quittance of summons concerning the forthcoming Yorkshire eyre.¹⁷⁰

Matthew Paris disliked Passelewe but considered him 'pious' compared to Langley who had risen rapidly from relatively humble origins through the administrative ranks of Henry's government, including presiding over the forest eyres in Rutland and Shropshire in 1249. He led another six eyres as chief justice between 1250 and 1252.¹⁷¹ Langley was the first chief justice to be granted a money fee to sustain himself in office, receiving 200m annually for the two chief justice roles. It is not immediately clear why Langley received the money fee when others before him had not done so. The recourse to a salary arrangement may reflect the lack of lands at royal disposal during this period which could be used to reward officials and, alongside that, the increasing recourse by Henry's government from about 1250 onwards to paying salaries to senior justices. This, in turn, was part of a broader professionalisation and laicisation of the judiciary and royal administration.

¹⁶⁷ *CR 1247-51*, pp.277, 280, 388, 421, 491, 511, 517; *CR 1251-53*, pp.33, 46; *CFR 35/1144* accessed online 5 October 2023 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 35 HENRY III \(28 October 1250–27 October 1251\) \(finerollshenry3.org.uk\)](https://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk).

¹⁶⁸ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.61, 67.

¹⁶⁹ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.127, 175, 176, 178.

¹⁷⁰ *CR 1247-51*, pp.356, 484; *CR 1261-64*, pp.367, 368; *CR 1264-68*, pp.57, 310.

¹⁷¹ *CM V*, pp.136-7; P. Coss, 'Langley, Sir Geoffrey (c. 1200–1274), administrator and landowner', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37651>; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p.79; *CR 1237-42*, pp.78, 88, 98, 105, 106; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.20, 181-206; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.148-9.

Following Langley, all chief justices South of the Trent and many of those in the North received a salary.¹⁷²

As set out in Table 2.7, Langley undertook a programme of eyres in the North that echoed those in the South in their punishment of serving forest wardens. However, there does not appear to have been any intention to effect any lasting change as the wardens were soon reappointed.¹⁷³

Eyre¹⁷⁴	Forest/Bailiwick	Warden/Sub-Forester	Punishment
Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, 1250	Sherwood	Isabella of Everingham	Inquest 1251. Pardoned trespasses.
Yorkshire, 1250	Pickering	John de Thornton	Loss of custody. 25m fine for restoration.
	Scalby/Scarborough bailiwick within Pickering Forest	Osbert de Bolebec	10m amercement
Cumberland, 1251	Inglewood	Thomas de Moulton junior	Loss of custody. 300m fine for restoration.
Lancashire, 1251	Lancashire	Roger Gernet/Benedict Gernet	40m fine
	Bailiwick within Lancashire Forest	Thomas Copmanwra	20m fine ¹⁷⁵

Table 2.7: Impact of the Forest Eyres in the North, 1250-52

It was probably the increasing opposition to the impact of his forest eyres and those of his predecessor that brought about Langley's removal from office in October 1252. However, that did

¹⁷² *CLR 1245-51*, p.279; *CPR 1247-58*, pp.61, 162; *CR 1247-51*, pp.274, 322, 337, 443; *CR 1251-53*, pp.130, 146; *CR 1255-56*, p.101. Young, *Royal Forests*, p.75 mistakenly comments that the fee related simply to Langley's position as chief justice South of the Trent. Langley's landholdings and resources are discussed in P.R. Coss, 'Geoffrey de Langley and the Crisis of the Knightly Class in Thirteenth Century England', *Past and Present* 68 (1975), pp.17-22. Henry III's difficulties concerning patronage in the 1250s are fully explored in H.W. Ridgeway, 'Foreign Favourites and Henry III's Problems of Patronage, 1247-1258', *English Historical Review* 104 (1989), pp.590-610. For details of the increasing frequency of salaries for the judiciary and officials within the royal administration, see P. Brand, *The Making of the Common Law* (London, 1992), pp.144-8. Details of remuneration arrangements of the chief justices are set out in Appendix C.

¹⁷³ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.197-206.

¹⁷⁴ The dates of the eyres are from Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.197-206. In addition to those in the table, there was an eyre in Northumberland that generated over £720 in revenue but seemingly no changes in forest personnel. Further details are in Appendix D, 'Inglewood', 'Lancashire', 'Pickering', 'Sherwood'.

¹⁷⁵ *CFR 36/553* accessed online 25 March 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_049.html; *CR 1251-53*, p.89.

not result in his exclusion from Henry's government more generally, for he was also immediately entrusted with royal business in Scotland and remained a favourite of the queen.¹⁷⁶

Chief Justices 1253-58

After Langley's departure in October 1252, the chief justice position was again split into the two separate roles South and North of the Trent. Reginald de Mohun was appointed as chief justice South of the Trent for a second time in October 1252, but again was soon replaced, this time by Arnold du Bois who held the post at the king's pleasure for almost two years before his death in February 1255. Both men received a salary of 100m annually for the role.¹⁷⁷ No replacement for du Bois was appointed until September 1256, over eighteen months after his death. The decision not to appoint is surprising given the major investigation into land holdings and royal rights that became known as the hundred rolls and the announcement in May 1255 of another round of forest eyres under William le Breton. At least five, and possibly as many as seven eyres were conducted in the region between June 1255 and the appointment of a new chief justice in September 1256.¹⁷⁸

The new appointee was Robert Walerand, who had commenced his career in government administration in the 1240s and who came from a family with a strong tradition of holding forest appointments. In April 1253, his kinsman John of Monmouth had granted him hereditary custody of New Forest, while in November 1255, Henry III gave him custody of the Forest of Dean. Upon his appointment as chief justice, he was also granted custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford and was awarded 100m per year.¹⁷⁹ Walerand therefore combined the wardenship of some of the most financially important forests with his role as chief justice. Given the plethora of his other positions, it is likely that he delegated many of his chief justice responsibilities and he appears to have played a very limited role in the eyres that were undertaken during his period in office.

North of the Trent, Langley was replaced by a succession of men with strong regional power bases and experience of government administration. They also frequently combined the chief justice role with other strategically important positions in the region. Langley's immediate successor was the

¹⁷⁶ *CM V*, p.340; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.553; *CPR 1247-58*, p.162; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp.79, 84, 102, 115-6, 118.

¹⁷⁷ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.154-5, 178, 191; *CM V*, pp.340, 379, 487, 534.

¹⁷⁸ *CR 1254-56*, pp.160-1; *CPR 1247-58*, p.438; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.660-1; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.206-24. The counties visited were Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Rutland. It is possible that eyres in Essex and Surrey were also completed in 1256 before the appointment of a new chief justice South of the Trent (Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.224-5). The hundred rolls enquiry is discussed further in Chapter 5.

¹⁷⁹ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.497, 501; A. Harding, 'Walerand, Robert (d. 1273), administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28455>; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.91, 149-50; Turner, *Select Pleas*, p.xvi.

experienced administrator and knight John of Lexinton, who had extensive lands in the region.¹⁸⁰ Probably because of the Henry III's desire to involve Lexinton more at court and as a diplomat, he was replaced in June 1255 by the local baron William Heron, who had acquired a fearsome reputation as sheriff of Northumberland since 1246.¹⁸¹ After almost two years as chief justice, Heron was replaced shortly before his death by John d'Eyville.

The terms of appointment varied significantly between these men but taken together they suggest that Henry's governments were diverging from arrangements South of the Trent and adopting some of the arrangements that had been used for sheriffs. Lexinton received an annual fee of 100m but was also the first chief justice to present an account at the exchequer for his period of office, indicating that he had access to some revenue streams. The account he submitted in 1255 shows that the revenue he collected was mainly used to pay his salary, with £26 net being paid into the treasury.¹⁸² If the terms of Lexinton's office suggest a move towards a more custodial type of appointment, that was soon reversed. Heron did not receive a salary but was instead required to render 50m per annum for the chief justice role and account for the issues of the forest. This arrangement incentivised Heron to maximise revenues from the chief justice role as he kept any surplus. However, there is no record of any payment of the 50m annual farm by Heron who, by February 1257, had accumulated debts of over £425 concerning the farm of his other bailiwicks.¹⁸³ Eyville's appointment was unusual in that it was time-limited to three years. Additionally, it appears that the crown was keen to extract more revenue from the chief justice role as Eyville was obliged to render the same as Heron, but with a 10m increment and the payment of an initial 20m fine.¹⁸⁴ As discussed below, his custody was impacted by the baronial movement for reform and the civil war.

¹⁸⁰ *CPR 1247-58*, p.165; *CLR 1251-60*, p.289; *CFR 37/110* accessed online 9 April 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 37 HENRY III \(28 October 1252–27 October 1253\)](#); *CR 1237-42*, p.200; R. Stacey, 'Lexinton [Laxton], John of (d. 1257), administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 6 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16615>; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.628.

¹⁸¹ R. Cassidy, 'Heron, William (d. 1257/8), administrator', *ODNB* (2013) accessed online 25 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/105369>; *CPR 1247-58*, p.413; Sanders, *Baronies*, p.119. Heron's career is fully explored in R. Cassidy, 'William Heron, "Hammer of the Poor, Persecutor of the Religious"', Sheriff of Northumberland, 1246-58', *Northern History* 50 (2013), pp.9-19.

¹⁸² TNA, E 372/99, rot. 15d, m. 1 accessed online 9 April 2025 [AALT Page](#).

¹⁸³ *CPR 1247-58*, p.413; *CFR 39/568* accessed online 9 April 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 39 HENRY III \(28 October 1254–27 October 1255\)](#); *List of Sheriffs*, p.97; *CFR 41/441* accessed online 9 April 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 41 HENRY III \(28 October 1256–27 October 1257\)](#); *CFR 42/340* accessed online 9 April 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 42 HENRY III \(28 October 1257–27 October 1258\)](#).

¹⁸⁴ O. Ville, 'Deyville [Daiville], Sir John de (c. 1234–1290/91), rebel', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 6 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/50769>; *CPR 1247-58*, p.550; *CFR 41/566*, *CFR 41/567* accessed online 9 April 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 41 HENRY III \(28 October 1256–27 October 1257\)](#).

Forest Wardens 1253-8

After the upheaval of the Passelewe and Langley regimes, the period between 1253 and 1258 was comparatively uneventful in terms of the forest administration. When changes occurred during this period amongst the hereditary wardenships, these appear to have proceeded smoothly. In March 1254, after a wardship of eight years, Henry Esturmy inherited the custody of Savernake Forest. In 1257, the king approved the proposed grant from John de Venuz, the hereditary warden of Aliceholt and Wolmer, of custody of the forest to his son-in-law Adam Gurdon.¹⁸⁵

Additionally, although there was a further programme of eyres between 1253 and 1258, very few serving forest wardens were prosecuted. Both John de Plessy (Chippenham and Melksham) and Avice de Columbariis (Chute) were amerced relatively small sums in 1257 but retained custody of their respective forests. The only significant change was in Windsor where Godfrey de Liston was replaced as warden in November 1257 and amerced over £267 at the Berkshire eyre in the following year relating to outstanding revenues from the forest.¹⁸⁶ Equally, while this period of Henry's reign was characterised by his promotion of his Lusignan relatives and their associates, there is little evidence of this in his appointment decisions concerning individual forests. The notable exception was the appointment of the Poitevin Elias de Rabayne to the custody of the forests in Bere Regis and Purbeck/Corfe warren as part of a larger award of positions in Somerset and Dorset.¹⁸⁷

The only significant change to the composition of the royal forest during this period was Henry III's decision in 1254 to use some of his forest assets as part of a broader package to provide an appanage for his son and heir, the Lord Edward. This included awarding him the estate of High Peak, including the forest and the County of Cheshire, together with its forests. It also included the award of the revenues from the New Forest, although Robert Walerand's position and rights as hereditary warden were not affected.¹⁸⁸ It is perhaps because of the stability during this period that Henry's government overall received a remarkable 100% of the annual sums due from the hereditary wardens.

¹⁸⁵ Appendix D, 'Aliceholt and Wolmer', 'Savernake'.

¹⁸⁶ Appendix D, 'Chippenham and Melksham', 'Chute', 'Windsor'.

¹⁸⁷ Appendix D, 'Bere Regis', 'Purbeck/Corfe Warren'; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.472, 555-7, 674; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.9, 32, 62; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp.55, 141, 159; Ridgeway, 'Foreign Favourites', pp.595, 597; H.W. Ridgeway, 'King Henry III and the "aliens" 1236-1272', in Coss and Lloyd (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England II*, pp.84, 90, 91; H.W. Ridgeway, 'William de Valence and his "familiares", 1247-72', *Historical Research* 65 (1992), p.254.

¹⁸⁸ Appendix D, 'Cheshire', 'New', 'Peak'; H.A. Wait, 'The Household and Resources of the Lord Edward, 1239-1272' (Unpublished DPhil Thesis, Oxford University, 1988), pp.37, 56-7, 59-61, 84.

Baronial Reform, Civil War and Aftermath, 1258-72

The baronial reform programme of 1258 and subsequent civil war presented the most serious and sustained challenge of the reign to Henry III's authority.¹⁸⁹ Chapter 6 examines the place of the royal forest in the reform programme and political events of the period. This chapter examines how the programme and the royal response to it impacted upon the administration of the forest.

Chief Justices, 1258-65

From the start of the reform movement in April 1258 until the end of the civil war in 1267, decisions about the appointment and dismissal of chief justices reflected which of the royalist or baronial parties were in the ascendancy. It says much about the importance of the chief justice role that both parties felt it necessary to have men loyal to their cause in these senior positions.

Robert Walerand, chief justice South of the Trent, had been a loyal servant of Henry's during the 1250s, becoming closely associated with the deeply unpopular 'Sicilian Business'. It is probably for these reasons that, in September 1259 when they were in the ascendant, the reformist barons replaced him with Thomas Gresley, who had supported the council established as part of the reform programme. Gresley also replaced Walerand as warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford and, in September 1260, was granted custody of a bailiwick in Wychwood Forest. He was granted a fee of 200m per annum shortly after his appointment as chief justice.¹⁹⁰ In contrast to Walerand, the serving chief justice North of the Trent, John D'Eyville, was drawn increasingly to the reform movement. In May 1260, at the end of his initial three years in office and at a time when the reformers were in the ascendant, he was reappointed for a further two years. However, the terms of his appointment now changed as he was granted 60m annually and required to answer for the residue at the exchequer. This new arrangement was therefore similar to the terms on which Lexinton had previously held the office, albeit for a smaller fee.¹⁹¹

From late 1259 until the spring of 1261, the two most senior positions in the forest administration were therefore held by supporters of the reform movement. That changed in June 1261 when, as part of a wider set of senior appointments linked to the reassertion of royal authority, the king simultaneously replaced both chief justices with men loyal to him. In the South, Alan la Zouche, one

¹⁸⁹ Thorough recent studies of this period are Jobson, *English Revolution* and Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*.

¹⁹⁰ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.43, 58, 60, 69, 92; A. Harding, 'Walerand, Robert (d. 1273), administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28455>; Sanders, *Baronies*, pp.130-1; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, p.180 n.86.; Powicke, *King Henry III*, p.406; Jobson, *English Revolution*, p.41; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.152; Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.155.

¹⁹¹ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.71, 85-6; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.152. The pipe roll for 1261 includes an account from Eyville for his period in office as chief justice (TNA, E 372/105, rot. 20d, m. 1 accessed online 9 April 2025 [AALT Page](#)).

of the king's most trusted supporters, was appointed both as chief justice and as warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford, receiving a yearly salary of £100 for the former. He was also subsequently appointed as sheriff of Northamptonshire.¹⁹² In the North, Eyville was replaced by the local baron Robert de Neville, who was awarded a salary of 100m for the chief justice position.¹⁹³

As the country descended into civil war during 1263, the position regarding the chief justice role becomes more confused, particularly in the North, where Neville and Eyville represented the competing claims for authority between the king and the reformers. In July 1263, the baronial council replaced Neville with Eyville. However, in a move to re-establish his authority, in December 1263 Henry appointed Neville as sheriff of York and in April 1264 re-appointed him to the post of chief justice. The latter move was probably in reality tokenistic as it was Eyville who continued to receive mandates from Montfort's government and whose position was assured following the rebels' victory at Lewes in May 1264.¹⁹⁴

In the South, Zouche fought alongside the king at Lewes, where he was taken prisoner. However, Simon de Montfort's government did not replace him until April 1265 when Matthew de Columbariis, the hereditary warden of Chute Forest was appointed chief justice and awarded custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford.¹⁹⁵

Rebel Wardens, 1258-65

While most hereditary forest wardens appear to have remained loyal to the king during the period of reform and civil war or at least neutral, very few were prominent amongst his supporters. Notable exceptions were Robert Walerand who had custody of New Forest and the hereditary warden of Rutland, Peter de Neville. Due to his support for the king, Neville temporarily lost custody of the forest after the battle of Lewes, while his troops were assaulted by the villagers of Peatling Magna in Leicestershire after the battle of Evesham.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² *CPR 1258-66*, p.158; *CLR 1260-67*, pp.49, 84, 113; *CR 1247-51*, pp.315, 489; *CR 1251-53*, p.160; *CR 1259-61*, pp.67, 355; *CR 1264-68*, pp.304, 318. His appointment was one made 'by the counsel of the magnates of the Council' and included custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford. The events leading to the reassertion of royal authority in 1261 are fully explored in H.W. Ridgeway, 'What Happened in 1261?', in Jobson (ed.), *Baronial Reform*, pp.89-108.

¹⁹³ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.159, 215; H. Jewell, 'Neville, Sir Robert de (d. 1282), baron', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 6 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19961>; Young, *Neville Family*, pp.82-5; Sanders, *Baronies*, p.3.

¹⁹⁴ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.271-3; Jobson, *English Revolution*, p.95. The civil war in the region has been studied in F. Oakes, 'The Barons' War in the North of England, 1264-1265', in Jobson (ed.), *Baronial Reform*, pp.199-217.

¹⁹⁵ *CPR 1258-66*, p.418; Appendix D, 'Chute'.

¹⁹⁶ A. Harding, 'Walerand, Robert (d. 1273), administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28455>; D.A. Carpenter, 'English Peasants in Politics, 1258-1267', *Past and Present* 136 (1992), p.3; Jobson, *English Revolution*, p.150; Appendix D, 'New', 'Rutland'.

Perhaps because of the rigour of the post-war inquiries, we know more about those hereditary forest wardens who, to varying degrees, rebelled against the king. Possibly as many as seven wardens fall within this category, accounting for over 30% of all the hereditary forest custodies.¹⁹⁷ Details of their support for the reformers and the implications for their forest custodies are provided in Appendix J. Most of these men or their immediate predecessors had previously been amerced at the forest eyres and it is possible this was a contributory factor in their decision to rebel against the king. Following the Cumberland eyre of 1251, Thomas de Moulton, the warden of Inglewood Forest, had lost custody of the forest which he only regained on agreement to pay a fine of 300m. The debt was only finally paid in 1259. Following a further forest eyre in Cumberland in 1262, it appears that Moulton again lost custody of the forest.¹⁹⁸

The ultimate fate of the rebels echoes the complex national picture of the re-establishment of royal authority in the years after the battle of Evesham.¹⁹⁹ While it appears that four of the rebels were reconciled to the king and recovered or retained their forest custodies, in three cases their wardenships were removed on a permanent basis and instead awarded to those who had been loyal to the king.

Other Wardens, 1258-65

The upheaval of the reform movement and civil war impacted the custody of individual forests in other ways. In October 1259, the council established by the reformers awarded a number of royal demesne manors to Simon de Montfort in lieu of the 500m annually that the latter argued he was owed by the king. One of these manors was Bere Regis in Dorset. While it is not clearly stated, it is highly likely that the forest of Bere Regis accompanied the award of the manor. The forest was therefore outside the royal estate from 1259 and remained so after the end of the civil war as it was subsequently awarded to the Lord Edward and then to Henry III's second son, Edmund.²⁰⁰

Control of the royal castles was important to both sides in the conflict and their custodies changed to reflect whichever party was in power. As a number of forests were linked to castles, the custody

¹⁹⁷ Adam Gurdon (Aliceholt and Wolmer Forests), Thomas de Moulton (Inglewood Forest), Benedict Gernet (Lancashire Forest), Robert of Everingham (Sherwood Forest), Hugh de Loges (Cannock Forest), John Fitznigel (Bernwood Forest), Matthew de Columbariis (Chute Forest).

¹⁹⁸ Appendix D, 'Inglewood'.

¹⁹⁹ The treatment of rebels after Evesham is explored in C.H. Knowles, 'The Resettlement of England after the Barons' War, 1264-67', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 32 (1982), pp.25-41; C. H. Knowles, 'Provision for the Families of the Montfortians disinherited after the Battle of Evesham', in Coss and Lloyd (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England I*, pp.124-7. There are good summaries also in Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.468-77, 493-8, 516-20; Jobson, *English Revolution*, chapter 6; B.L. Wild, 'Reasserting Medieval Kingship: King Henry III and the Dictum of Kenilworth', in Jobson (ed.), *Baronial Reform*, pp.237-58.

²⁰⁰ Appendix D, 'Bere Regis'.

of these was also impacted. This was particularly the case concerning Windsor, Forest of Dean, Chippenham and Melksham, and Portchester forests. Custody of Windsor Forest, for example, changed four times between 1258 and 1265.²⁰¹

Finally, it should be noted that, amid the unrest and upheaval, the management of some forests continued seemingly without disruption. Custodies of Freemantle, Shotover and Wychwood forests were rightfully inherited during this period without any evident challenges.²⁰² The overall level of disruption caused by the political upheaval is clear from the reduced level of payments from the hereditary forest wardens who accounted for just 50% of the amounts due between 1259 and 1267. This remains, however, a notable achievement considering the near collapse of much royal administration during this period, as discussed further in Chapter 5.

1258-65: A Reform Programme?

Grant has suggested that the actions of the baronial party when in power indicate that it was committed to reform in addition to stabilising its position and rewarding its followers. Specifically, he has suggested that a number of administrative changes were intended to increase exchequer supervision over the collection of forest revenues and to lessen the temptation for abuse by forest officials.²⁰³

However, the evidence Grant presents is not compelling. He cites, for example, the salaries paid to the chief justices. However, as noted above, this had been common practice for all appointments South of the Trent since 1250. The fact that Gresley's salary was double that of his predecessors may have indeed been driven by a reformist desire to reduce the temptation for him to abuse his position, but it could equally have reflected the reformers' wish to reward amply one of their supporters. While it is true that the reformers reappointed Eyville in the North with a salary rather than a requirement to farm his position, this was a return to the arrangements that had operated in 1252, albeit with a smaller fee.

Grant also cites the terms of appointment of the wardens of Dean and the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford as evidence of reform. However, in neither case were these arrangements novel. For example, Grant has highlighted that, when John Giffard was appointed warden of the Forest of Dean in August 1263, he was required to account directly at the exchequer for the revenue rather than

²⁰¹ There were also frequent changes to the position of constable of Corfe Castle during this period. However, it is not clear that the constable necessarily always had custody too of the forest of Purbeck/Corfe Warren which was attached to the castle. The unique case of Kenilworth is considered later. Appendix D, 'Kenilworth', 'Purbeck/Corfe Warren'.

²⁰² Appendix D, 'Freemantle', 'Shotover', 'Wychwood'.

²⁰³ Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.152-3.

farm the forest. However, this is unlikely to have brought about much change given that, as Bazeley has demonstrated, significant reforms had been introduced to the management of the forest under Peter Chaceporc in 1247 to deliver substantially greater revenue to the crown. Additionally, perhaps because of the upheaval of the subsequent civil war, this did not lead to a major change as Giffard did not submit any accounts or make any payments at the exchequer during his relatively short period of custody. Grant has finally suggested that the reformers were breaking with tradition when they appointed Nicholas of Seagrave as warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford with the requirement that he account directly at the exchequer for the revenues. However, an earlier warden, Hugh of Goldingham had been appointed on similar terms in 1255.²⁰⁴

The question of whether the baronial cause was committed more broadly to reform of the royal forest is examined in Chapter 6, but there is no evidence to suggest that it attempted significant change to the arrangements for managing it.

1265-72: Rewarding the Loyalists

Success in the civil war presented Henry III with the opportunity and need to reward those who had remained loyal to him. Offices within the forest administration were one of the means of doing this, as is clear from the appointment decisions concerning the chief justice roles. The appointment of senior loyalists to these important positions also helped to reinforce royal authority in the aftermath of the civil war. In August 1265 Roger de Clifford, one of the marcher barons whose support had been critical to the ultimate success of the royalists, was appointed chief justice South of the Trent. In October 1266, he was also granted custody of Feckenham Forest.²⁰⁵ North of the Trent, the rebel John d'Eyville was replaced by Roger of Leybourne who, although originally associated with the reform movement, from August 1263 had been firmly loyal to the crown. Leybourne's lands lay largely in Kent and Oxfordshire, and it was perhaps to reinforce his authority in his new role in the North that he was also awarded custody of Inglewood Forest at the expense of Thomas de Moulton. In practice, Leybourne's many responsibilities in helping to restore royal authority meant that he was required to appoint Roger of Lancaster as his deputy for his Northern forest roles. In turn, the award of Benedict Gernet's Lancashire forests bolstered Lancaster's authority in the region.²⁰⁶ In the

²⁰⁴ Appendix D, 'Dean', 'Forest Between Oxford and Stamford'; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.152-3.

²⁰⁵ *CPR 1258-66*, p.435; Appendix D, 'Feckenham'; K. Faulkner, 'Clifford, Sir Roger de (b. c. 1221, d. in or before 1286), baron and soldier', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5659>; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.431, 441, 461, 472; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.102, 118, 120, 137; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.235, 244-5, 248, 307, 334.

²⁰⁶ Appendix D, 'Inglewood', 'Lancashire'; *CPR 1258-66*, pp.455, 470, 471; *CPR 1266-72*, pp.76, 376, 385; *CR 1264-68*, pp.74, 310, 323; *CR 1268-72*, pp.47, 172, 195, 210, 371; Turner, *Select Pleas*, p.xvi; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.92; K. Faulkner, 'Leybourne [Leyburn], Sir Roger of (c. 1215-1271), soldier and landowner', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 26 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16624>.

case of both Inglewood and Lancashire forests, Henry's decision to remove permanently the hereditary wardens may therefore have been partially influenced by his desire to strengthen the position of the men who were key to re-establishing his authority in the region.

It has already been noted how, in September 1265, the king established Thomas de Weseham's family as the new hereditary wardens of Cannock Forest. Similarly, upon his death in May 1272, Leybourne's custody of Inglewood Forest passed to his son, William.²⁰⁷ The chief justice roles were not awarded on a hereditary basis, but when Clifford accompanied the Lord Edward on his Crusade in 1270, his son, also called Roger, was appointed to replace him.²⁰⁸ In part, therefore, Henry's appointment decisions seem to have been founded on a desire to create lasting loyalties through the establishment of new dynasties in positions of power and to ensure stability while his heir was absent from the country. It is possible also to see the growing influence of the Lord Edward himself in the appointment decisions during these years before his departure on crusade. For example, Warin of Bassingbourne, who had been a key member of the Lord Edward's household during the 1250s and who played a critical supportive role during the civil war, was appointed warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford in December 1265.²⁰⁹

Other loyalists who benefited from forest appointments in the post-Evesham period were Philip Basset who was reappointed as constable of Devizes and warden of Chippenham and Melksham Forest in March 1266 and Robert Walerand who was given temporary custody of Bere Ashley manor and forest in September 1265 as the heir to the wardenship was a minor.²¹⁰ A major beneficiary was Thomas de Clare whose support in the later stages of the civil war had been critical to Henry's success. Although initially appointed as warden of the Forest of Dean by Montfort's government in April 1265, he retained custody of it after Evesham. In September 1266, he helped his relative Richard de Mountfitchet secure a pardon of all his debts to the crown relating to the wardenship of Essex Forest. At about the same time, Mountfitchet quit-claimed to de Clare and his heirs the forest of Essex, a grant that was formally enrolled in May 1267, shortly before Mountfitchet's death.

²⁰⁷ Appendix D, 'Inglewood'.

²⁰⁸ *CFR 54/1134* accessed online 26 September 2023

https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_067.html. The entry for Roger de Clifford senior in the *ODNB* states that he held the position of chief justice South of the Trent for sixteen years from 1265, but the documentary evidence from the fine rolls, close rolls and liberate rolls makes clear that there was a transfer to his son in the summer of 1270.

²⁰⁹ Wait, 'Lord Edward', pp.84, 115, 122, 211, 258, 270, 272, 273, 281, 291 n.2, 315; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.296, 345, 347, 432, 448, 459, 461, 475, 488, 494, 506, 530, 566-9, 579; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.34, 55, 130-1, 137-8, 144; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.307, 335. Arrangements for the management of the realm during the Lord Edward's absence and the running of the government after Henry III's death are studied in R. Huscroft, 'Robert Burnell and the Government of England, 1270-1274', in M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England VIII* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp.59-71.

²¹⁰ Appendix D, 'Bere Ashley', 'Chippenham'.

Additionally, in February 1272, de Clare was granted custody of the castle and forest of Portchester and, two months later, was appointed warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford.²¹¹

Awards to the Royal Family, 1265-72

Another important dimension to Henry III's forest appointments in the final years of his reign was his desire to establish members of his family on a sound financial and political basis, particularly regarding the succession. It has already been noted how, in the 1250s, he awarded the honour of Peak, including the forest there, and the revenues from New Forest to the Lord Edward. Following the civil war, the manor and forest of Bere Regis were initially awarded to the Lord Edward and subsequently to Henry's younger son Edmund. As noted above, in 1267 Edmund also received the Lancashire forests.²¹²

After the civil war, the connection that had previously existed between custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford, and the role of the chief justice South of the Trent was ended. In May 1269, the former was awarded to Henry III's nephew, Henry of Almain. After he was murdered in 1271, it was granted to the king's brother Richard of Cornwall until his death in April 1272, after which it was awarded to Thomas de Clare.²¹³ Elsewhere, the wardenship of New Forest was surrendered by Alan de Plugenet in September 1270 and granted, alongside a number of manors, to Eleanor of Castile, wife of the Lord Edward. Finally, in October 1272, Henry granted custody of the castle and forest of Windsor to his wife Eleanor of Provence who had, for many years, used it as her base. This appointment took place shortly before Henry's death and was one of a number of measures taken to secure Eleanor's position.²¹⁴ These appointments helped to secure revenue streams for members of the royal family and enhance their authority. In themselves, they illustrate the continued importance of the royal forest within the governance of the realm.

Restoring Authority and Peace, 1265-72

As with preceding periods, there were aspects of the forest administration that continued unaffected by the broader political environment. For example, Robert de Keynes inherited the wardenship of Braden Forest in February 1266 without any complications. There were also indications of a gradual return to pre-civil war conditions in the running of the forest. Henry's

²¹¹ Appendix D, 'Dean', 'Essex', 'Forest Between Oxford and Stamford', 'Portchester'; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.431, 485; Jobson, *English Revolution*, p.137; Altschul, *The Clares*, pp.188-9.

²¹² Appendix D, 'Bere Regis', 'Lancashire'.

²¹³ Appendix D, 'Forest Between Oxford and Stamford'; N. Vincent, 'Henry of Almain [Henry of Cornwall] (1235–1271), courtier', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 26 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12958>.

²¹⁴ Appendix D, 'New', 'Windsor'.

government, for example, received 65% of the annual farm payments due during this period from the hereditary forest wardens.²¹⁵

While loyalists had been rewarded with forest appointments, they were not immune from punishment if they were judged to be abusing their positions. As part of the 1269 Rutland eyre, a long list of complaints was produced against the hereditary warden Peter de Neville who, as a result, temporarily lost custody of the forest. As part of the 1270 Gloucestershire eyre, Thomas de Clare was amerced £129 concerning his failings as warden of the Forest of Dean. In Staffordshire, the new hereditary warden of Cannock, Thomas de Weseham, was convicted of a trespass before receiving a pardon from the king in January 1272. A few months later, he was further charged with causing waste and was removed from office, before being reappointed in the following year by Edward I.²¹⁶

Conclusions

The preceding sections of this chapter have highlighted the importance of examining the administration of the royal forest through three distinct periods of Henry's reign. Each of these involved different approaches by Henry's governments towards the forest and influenced the choice of people who were placed into key roles in its administration. The period until 1244 was essentially one of continuity and stability, despite the short-term disruption caused by the administrative over-centralisation under Peter des Roches. The only lasting change of significance was the introduction of two separate chief justice posts in 1236.

The watershed in Henry's approach towards the forest, as it was for many other aspects of his reign, was his disastrous Poitevin campaign of 1242-3 that left him heavily indebted and needing to generate additional revenue. The eyres led by Robert Passelewe led to a purge of forest wardens and substantial amercements being levied against them. They also caused some short-term disruption and were potentially in some cases a factor in garnering subsequent support for the baronial reform movement.

The frequent personnel changes between 1258 and 1265 were driven by external events as the king responded to the challenges posed by the baronial reform movement and subsequent civil war. Even after the end of the civil war, the need to re-establish Henry's own authority and, increasingly, to prepare for the succession of his son heavily influenced forest appointment decisions. For its part, there is no evidence that the baronial party was intent on substantial reform of the administrative

²¹⁵ Appendix D, 'Braden'.

²¹⁶ Winters. 'Forest Eyre', pp.253-86; Appendix D, 'Cannock', 'Dean', 'Rutland'.

arrangements for the royal forest. Its appointment decisions tended to be driven more by the need to have men loyal to its cause in positions of authority.

Overall, there was very little change in the administrative machinery of the royal forest. Anyone reviewing it at the start of Henry's personal rule would have seen many of its key features still in place at the end of the reign. At the local level, most forests continued to be managed by hereditary wardens, while many of the arrangements in place for those linked to castles remained the same. Despite the changes to management of the royal demesne in 1236, the division of authority and responsibility between demesne bailiffs and the respective forest warden remained largely unaltered. The only significant change concerned the chief justice role which was split permanently between two distinct roles from 1236.

Chief Justices

Sidney Painter suggested that 'a strong argument' could be advanced that the chief forester, Hugh de Neville, was 'the royal official who wielded the most actual power during John's reign'.²¹⁷ It is difficult to make a corresponding case for any of the chief justices who were appointed by Henry III, but Painter's statement does raise the question of the standing and influence of the senior forest officials during the years of Henry's personal rule.

To some extent, the evolution of the chief justice role during Henry III's reign complies with the model of the decline of the curial sheriff. In the early years of the king's personal rule, the key figures in the forest administration such as Hugh de Neville, Brian de Lisle, John of Monmouth and Richard de Mountfitchet were recognisably also either key courtiers or men of significant social standing in their local areas. As these men retired from government, died or took on other roles, they were increasingly replaced either by experienced administrators from relatively humble origins such as Passelewe and Langley, or by trusted minor household figures with limited administrative experience, such as John Biset. However, unlike the decline in the curial sheriff, this process cannot easily be attributed to the terms on which the chief justice positions were held. Instead, the process of replacement probably more accurately reflects the desire of Henry's government to raise additional revenue from the forest and to do so by drawing upon capable men without any vested interest in it.

There are a number of reservations, however, to applying the model of the decline in the curial sheriff to the chief justice role. Firstly, it appears to have been far less applicable in the region North of the Trent than in the South. The reasons for the decision in 1236 to split the chief justice role into

²¹⁷ S. Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949), p.60.

two geographically distinct areas are not explicitly stated, but it is likely that it was primarily based on a recognition that the role was likely to be too demanding for one individual, particularly when there was an increased focus on reviving the forest eyres. The decision to use the Trent as the dividing line was conventional and consistent with other contemporary administrative changes, without any particular regard to the distribution of the royal forest itself. The division resulted in a remarkable imbalance in the scale of responsibility between the respective chief justices. Of the twenty-five counties containing royal forest areas that were recorded by Henry's government at the time of the separation in 1236, only six (24%) of these were North of the Trent. Of the sixty-nine individual forests identified and recorded by Young, only thirteen (19%) were in the North. Additionally, while individual forests in the North such as Galtres could cover extensive areas of land, none matched the scale of the forest in Essex which covered large parts of the county.²¹⁸

The regional imbalance in responsibility for managing the royal forest after 1236 is clearly demonstrated by the variations in workload between the respective chief justices, as set out in Table 2.8. While the workload of chief justices North of the Trent increased on the few occasions when Henry III was in the region, in the main there were significantly fewer demands placed on them by the crown than on the chief justices in the South.²¹⁹

²¹⁸ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.62-3.

²¹⁹ The table uses two measures to assess the relative demands on individual chief justices and the regional differences. It first records the number of forest eyres undertaken within each Justice's region during their period of tenure. Secondly, it identifies the number of royal gifts that were ordered from their region on average each month during their period in office. The final column records the number of gifts that the chief justices were personally ordered to provide and the share these represented of the overall number of gifts.

Chief Justice	Number of eyres	Number of Gift Mandates per month	Number of Personal Gift Mandates per month (% of total)
Chief Justices South of the Trent			
Richard de Mountfitchet	0	12.28	2.28 (19%)
John Biset	7-11	7.85	1.67 (21%)
John Fitzgeoffrey	0	9.33	1.50 (16%)
Gilbert of Seagrave	2	7.45	2.59 (35%)
Robert Passelewe	12	10.76	2.92 (27%)
Geoffrey de Langley	6	16.90	6.40 (38%)
Reginald de Mohun	0	21.00	4.75 (23%)
Arnold du Bois	0	13.79	7.79 (56%)
Robert Walerand	4	17.81	1.94 (11%)
Thomas Gresley	0	12.43	7.38 (59%)
Alan la Zouche	6	12.37	8.83 (71%)
Matthew de Columbariis	0	10.20	4.20 (41%)
Roger de Clifford	2	9.02	4.18 (46%)
Roger de Clifford junior	7-8 ²²⁰	17.04	8.65 (51%)
Chief Justices North of the Trent			
Robert de Ros	3-4	1.45	0.58 (39%)
John of Lexinton	0	1.89	1.29 (69%)
William Heron	0	3.90	2.43 (62%)
John de Eyville, 1257-61	0	2.82	1.73 (62%)
Robert de Neville	4	1.83	1.67 (91%)
John de Eyville, 1263-65	0	1.25	0.92 (73%)
Roger of Leybourne	0	0.71	0.64 (90%)
Geoffrey de Neville	0	1.35	1.27 (94%)

Table 2.8: Workload of Chief Justices of the Forest

The marked difference in workload arguably also influenced the appointment decisions to the two posts. For much of the period after 1236, and especially from 1244 onwards, the chief justice role in the South was held by men who were primarily professional administrators as the crown increasingly

²²⁰ It is not always clear which of the two Cliffords led particular eyres during this period.

sought to generate additional revenue, usually through the forest eyres. In contrast, the postholders in the North were men who had estates and recognised power bases in the region. There only Langley and, to some extent his successor John of Lexinton, conform to the paradigm of the professional from relatively humble origins. By contrast, men such as Brian de Lisle, Robert de Ros, William Heron and John d'Eyville came from well-known families with a strong regional presence. The contrast is reinforced by the different remuneration arrangements for the posts during the second half of the 1250s.

Given the light workload relative to the chief justice South of the Trent, the role in the North was arguably more one of status, albeit with considerable authority attached to it. Henry's practice was seemingly to appoint loyal men whose existing power and authority he wanted to reinforce and extend more generally in the region, potentially in case of difficulties with Scotland. To that extent, these appointments were primarily political. Ros, for example, went on to play a key role in Scottish affairs after leaving the chief justice role and Heron's appointment coincided with increasing tensions with the Scottish king in 1255. The power of these men regionally, their social standing and the light workload associated with the chief justice role suggest that there was more to the role than efficient and effective management of the forest. Specifically, it can be argued that the chief justice role was a symbolic statement of royal presence and power within a region that was politically significant but rarely visited by the king. Both Summerson and Cunliffe Shaw have suggested that the royal forests in Cumberland and Lancashire operated partly as a check on local vested interests and it is possible to see the chief justice role as an extension of that argument.²²¹

It is possible also that the fewer eyres in the North and the appointment of powerful local figures as the chief justice there reflected a sensitivity by Henry's governments to the legacy of John's reign. His notorious eyres of 1212 were particularly severe in the north of England which geographically was at the heart of subsequent opposition to his rule. That opposition had again been demonstrated when Henry's minority government attempted to hold a forest eyre in Yorkshire in 1222.²²²

While there appears to have been a move away from 'curial foresters' during the middle period of Henry's reign, that process was subsequently reversed. The main reason for the change was the impact of the baronial movement for reform. From 1258 until the end of the civil war, both parties judged it valuable to have men loyal to their cause in the chief justice roles. The decisions about appointments and dismissals during this period in turn emphasise that contemporaries saw the roles

²²¹ H. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle* (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1993), pp.28-9; Cunliffe Shaw, *Forest of Lancaster*, p.35.

²²² Holt, *Northerners*, pp.159-64; Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, p.210; Crook, 'Forest Eyre', p.79; Carpenter, *Minority*, pp.276-9.

not only as important for the management of the forest, but also as significant symbols of political power and social standing. Consequently, the men who were appointed after 1258 were senior figures with strong regional power bases. This continued after the end of the civil war when the king used the chief justice positions both to reward senior figures who had been loyal to him and as a means of reasserting royal authority.

A further indicator of the senior standing of the chief justice position was the salary that was increasingly paid from 1250, particularly in the South. The reasons for the initial award of the fee are not clear, but the most likely explanation is that it was part of a broader programme of professionalisation of the judiciary and royal administration that increasingly involved the payment of salaries to officeholders. South of the Trent, the annual salary was initially 100m. It was briefly increased by the reformers to 200m for Thomas Gresley, before then becoming settled at £100 for the rest of the reign. North of the Trent, it was again initially set at 100m before a lower amount of 60m was granted to John d'Eyville by the reformers. At the end of the reign, it was again settled at 100m. These sums were large in comparison with many other government roles. While the level of fee granted to escheators North and South of the Trent varied, it was generally in the region of £30 to £40, similar to the amount more frequently awarded to justices in eyre. The salary for the chief justices of the Forest was therefore more in line with the 100m generally awarded to senior justices in the common law system.²²³

Finally, it is apparent that many of the postholders appointed by Henry III were trusted by him and held in high regard. While some were removed from office in seemingly perfunctory fashion, there is no evidence to suggest that they had fallen out of favour. Most of the men who were dismissed from the chief justice position were rewarded with other roles and responsibilities within government or the royal household and some enjoyed the additional benefit of protection from subsequent prosecutions relating to their periods as chief justices.

Hereditary Wardens

Much of the administration of the forest relied upon the presence of hereditary wardens who offered stability, but whose relative security of tenure risked resulting in abuse and whose annual rental payments increasingly did not reflect the value of their custodies, with much of the revenue retained at a local level. It is probably because of a desire to redress the balance across these areas that Henry III was so receptive to Passelewe's suggestion of a thorough programme of eyres in 1244. By amercing and dismissing existing wardens, Henry's government was able both to address genuine

²²³ Waugh, 'Escheator', pp.250, 263; Brand, *Common Law*, pp.146-7.

cases of local abuse and, through heavy amercements, unlock some of the revenue that was being held at the local level. However, as noted above, this was not a challenge to the structure of forest administration in itself, but rather to those who were then running it. Once personnel changes had been made and revenue secured, the system was allowed to return to the status quo. Many of the wardens who had been dismissed later returned to their positions on pre-existing terms.

There are tantalising suggestions that Passelewe may have envisaged a more substantial programme of change involving the establishment of 'super forests' under directly appointed government officials rather hereditary wardenships but, if so, this did not survive his replacement as chief justice in 1250. It is therefore possible to view the changes of the period 1244-50 as a missed opportunity. There was arguably another opportunity to move away from hereditary wardenships on a more limited basis following the king's eventual triumph in the civil war when a number of forests were in royal custody as their erstwhile wardens had joined the rebels. However, again no action was taken to do this. In both instances, it is worth reflecting on why this was the case.

Although Henry's government was able to move successfully against the hereditary wardens in the eyres of 1244-50, it is possible that it appreciated the political hostility that could be generated by a permanent change to their custody arrangements. That became even more apparent during the period of baronial reform and civil war when a number of hereditary forest wardens, most of whom had suffered in the eyres conducted by Passelewe and Langley, rebelled against the king. It is also possible that any attempt to move wardenships fundamentally away from their hereditary status to appointments made at the king's pleasure would have been interpreted as a violation of Magna Carta.²²⁴ Given the high profile of the Charter and the fact that it became increasingly embedded within political and local communities as a benchmark of good governance, any such action to change the status of forest wardenship is likely to have been considered too high a risk.

It is also questionable whether any such change would have been in the crown's interests. There were at least seven occasions during Henry's personal rule when hereditary wardens died in office leaving a minor as their heir. Each of these presented the crown with opportunities to generate revenue and reward its supporters and favourites through wardships. It is also by no means certain that replacing hereditary wardens with men appointed at the king's pleasure would have resulted in higher revenues given the patchy performance on the part of many wardens in the latter category in submitting and paying accounts for their forest custodies.

²²⁴ Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, pp.38-41.

Finally, it is arguable that the crown in any case had sufficient tools at its disposal to address the flaws inherent within the hereditary warden system. Specifically, the forest eyres could be used, as they were between 1244 and 1252, to correct abuses and simultaneously generate additional revenue from hereditary wardens. While these eyres have received particular attention from historians, it is worth noting that prosecution of hereditary wardens for forest trespasses was a regular feature of most of the visitations of Henry's personal rule.

Looking across Henry III's personal rule as a whole, there is therefore no indication that at any time the king sought to change in any concerted way the hereditary wardenship arrangements that he had inherited. Richardson has suggested that, upon achieving his majority in 1227, Henry had abolished the hereditary nature of the Clarendon wardenship. However, John of Monmouth's tenure there had already been challenged during Henry's minority and the solution he reached with the king, whereby he held it at the king's pleasure, appears to have been mutually acceptable.²²⁵

Similarly, apart from the exceptional cases of the period of Passelewe's programme of eyres and Sherwood Forest earlier in the reign, there is no evidence that Henry III sought unusually high levels of relief payments. Given that, in some cases, the physical extent of forests had shrunk following disafforestations in the intervening period, it is difficult to draw easy comparisons with the reliefs charged during John's reign. Overall, however, those of Henry's reign appear to have been modest. Similarly, the very few changes to the level of annual rents reflected specific local circumstances rather than a concerted programme. Overall, therefore, the administrative structure of the hereditary wardenships was very similar in 1272 to the one that Henry had inherited at the start of his personal rule in 1227.

Other Forest Wardenships

Decisions to appoint to warden positions for those forests linked to castles were, throughout the period of Henry III's personal rule, largely subsumed within decisions about the appointments of the castle constables. Accordingly, the custody of the forests was largely entrusted to household knights and royal officials whose loyalty to the crown was taken for granted. Some of those castles, for example Windsor, St Briavels and Portchester, were sufficiently important strategically that control of them was deemed vital by the competing sides during the period of baronial reform and civil war. Consequently, appointment decisions to the castle and the accompanying forest reflected whoever was in control of government at that time.

²²⁵ Appendix D, 'Clarendon'.

The custody of forests other than those subject to hereditary wardenships also presented the crown with opportunities to exercise patronage. In that context, one of the striking developments in the second half of Henry's reign was that an increasing proportion of forest wardenships was placed in the hands of members of either the royal family or of magnate families. There were two drivers behind this development. Firstly, from 1254 onwards, Henry was keen to build suitable appanages for his sons. The second driver was the need from 1265 for Henry to re-establish his authority across the country by rewarding trusted loyalists and to make arrangements to ensure a smooth succession. Thomas de Clare, the younger brother of the earl of Gloucester, had played a key role in securing royal success in the civil war and was rewarded, amongst other grants, with custody of the Forest of Dean and later the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford and Portchester Forest, as well as acquiring Essex Forest from his relative Mountfitchet. Other members of the royal family were also granted forest wardenships during this period. In September 1270, the Lord Edward's wife Eleanor was granted New Forest for life, while in the final weeks of the reign, Queen Eleanor was given custody of Windsor Castle, including the forest there. While the appointments were probably incidental within the overall assembly of lands and roles of these individuals, they served both to tie the forest administration closely again to the royal court and to demonstrate the standing and prestige of positions within that administration. Consequently, it is arguable that in 1272 a greater proportion of the royal family and nobility had a stronger vested interest in the royal forest than it did in 1227.

Chapter 3: Forest Gifts

Introduction

This chapter of the thesis examines the gifts that Henry III made from the royal forest. These gifts are distinct from the award of privileges within the royal forest, such as the right to hunt or to enclose land, which are considered separately in Chapter 4. To date, there has been no detailed study covering all of Henry's forest gifts during the period of his personal rule. This is surprising given their volume and frequency. From 1227 onwards, Henry awarded 7,335 gifts from the royal forest, that is one gift approximately every two and a quarter days.

A study of forest gifts is important also as a necessary element in constructing a new narrative concerning the royal forest during Henry's personal rule and in better understanding its role in the politics of the period. Such gifts, granted without any financial payment in return, inevitably form part of a more concessionary model of the royal forest that was discussed in Chapter 1. At the same time, they can be examined to assess the extent to which existing political narratives concerning Henry's reign apply to the royal forest. For example, in the context of gift-giving generally, Henry acquired a reputation amongst contemporaries for his generosity, if not profligacy that resulted in the alienation of assets and potential damage to the crown's long-term interests. In the specific context of the royal forest, this raises questions about whether Henry's generosity threatened its sustainability. Henry was also criticised at times for directing that generosity disproportionately towards favourites, particularly initially his chief ministers Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches, and then later his 'alien' Savoyard and Lusignan relatives. Above all, Henry was widely viewed by contemporaries as a *vir simplex*, a naïve and politically immature ruler whose judgement was frequently fatally flawed. There was, however, a more benign application of this label that also recognised his deep piety and the benefits that flowed from that.²²⁶

A key consideration running through any examination of Henry's gift-giving is the question of motive. Of particular relevance here is Lars Kjaer's study of medieval gifts in which he explores two competing traditions and interpretations concerning the motives of the giver. On the one hand, there is the 'Germanic folk model' in which gifts were viewed as an instrument of patronage and for which something was expected in return. As the Renaissance King Frederick II of Denmark commented, 'venison is loyalty.' Against this model, Kjaer has emphasised the influence in medieval

²²⁶ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58* examines thoroughly these many aspects of Henry's character and rule, for example pp.32, 55-6, 58, 66, 78, 98, 99, 118, 133-4, 155, 166, 208-9, 212-3, 219, 223-4, 244, 265-6, 326, 413, 468-9, 457, 474, 479, 487, 492-3, 510, 555-6, 575, 577, 585, 632, 636, 665-7, 690, 695-6, 712-3, 707-8, 713, 716.

society, including upon Henry III, of a very different cultural tradition inspired by the classical philosophy set out in Cicero's *De Officiis* and Seneca's *De Beneficiis*. This fundamentally rejected the concept of reciprocity.²²⁷

This chapter firstly considers some of the methodological issues in identifying and recording Henry's forest gifts, before examining the historiography and debates concerning them. It then examines them against the political and chronological frameworks of Henry's reign as set out Chapter 1. This is followed by an examination of the recipients by social group. The chapter concludes with observations about how these forest gifts both contribute to the construction of a new narrative concerning the forest and to our understanding of Henry's reign. As part of that analysis, the chapter also considers the extent to which Henry's forest gifts conformed to the Germanic or classical models of motive.

Identifying and Recording Forest Gifts

Almost 94% of Henry's forest gifts fell into one of four categories. The largest category consisted of 3,006 gifts of venison that were intended for consumption. This was followed by 2,548 gifts of oak trees for use in construction. The third category included 693 gifts of pollards or deadwood for use as firewood, with the final category made up of 629 gifts of live deer for stocking parks.²²⁸ The balance was made up of gifts of other forms of game such as wild boar or other types of wood, all of which were insignificant in number when compared to the four main groups.

Each gift in turn consisted of a number of deer to be given as venison or awarded as live deer for stocking parks, or a number of oak trees for construction or pollards for burning. For example, the number of fallow bucks given as venison in one gift could be as low as one or as high as twenty.²²⁹ Table 3.1 records the numbers of each type of gift ('units') that were given during this period for each of the four main categories.

²²⁷ L. Kjaer, *The Medieval Gift and the Classical Tradition: Ideals and the Performance of Generosity in Medieval England, 1100-1300* (Cambridge, 2019), pp.14-41, 175, 179-80; L. Kjaer and A.J. Watson, 'Feasts and Gifts: Sharing Food in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2010), p.2.

²²⁸ O. Rackham, *Ancient Woodland: Its History, Vegetation and Uses in England* (London, 1980), p.182 examines the difference between oak trees for timber (*quercus*) and the pollards or dead wood used for firewood (*robur*).

²²⁹ *CR 1227-31*, p.73; *CR 1251-53*, p.119.

Type of gift	Number of gifts	Gift 'unit'	Number of 'units'	Average 'unit' per gift
Venison	3,006	Deer	10,473	3.48
Live deer	629	Deer	5,184	8.24
Trees for construction	2,548	Oak trees	22,860	8.97
Trees for fuel	693	Pollard trees	3,739	5.40

Table 3.1: Types and Numbers of Royal Forest Gifts, 1227-72

Almost all these gifts are recorded in the close rolls which have been transcribed and published.²³⁰ Most of the remaining gifts appear in other government records, usually either the liberate rolls or the patent rolls. The number of gifts quoted above is an understatement of the true picture, partly because of occasional gaps in the close rolls, most notably for the regnal year between October 1238 and October 1239. There is also likely to be a small number of gifts scattered amongst government records concerning the royal forest that are not included in the main rolls. This is because local accounts of gifts made from specific forests were sometimes drawn up as part of enquiries or to demonstrate compliance with royal mandates. For example, a list of gifts of venison from Rockingham Forest in Northamptonshire between 1246 and 1249 was compiled as part of a local inquisition. While the list largely replicates details that are to be found in the close rolls, it also includes four gifts that are not recorded in the latter.²³¹ It is possible that other awards are recorded within other local forest records held at the National Archives that have not been identified during the course of this research, although the numbers involved are very unlikely to be of any material significance to the findings and conclusions of this thesis. What therefore remains is an extensive record of Henry's gift-giving from the royal forest for almost every year of his reign, making it possible to examine with confidence in some detail its many features.

One of the striking features of the vast majority of entries in government records of Henry's forest gifts is their essentially formulaic nature. They routinely record, for example, the date of the gift and the king's location at the time, the recipient, the nature of the gift, the quantity and its source. With very few gaps in the source material, it has been possible to construct a database allowing a wide range of quantitative analysis to be undertaken. Further details are set out in Appendix B.

²³⁰ The records of gifts in these volumes have been checked for completeness and accuracy on a sample basis, using the entries for 1232 and 1248, to original documents in the National Archives (TNA, C54). No inconsistencies between the details in the published volumes and the details in the original documents were identified.

²³¹ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.87, 133; Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.91-2. The additional gifts identified in the list have been included in the database that has been compiled for this research. See Appendix B for further details of the database.

Relevant Historiography

As many historians have observed, Henry III lived in a gift-giving society and acquired a reputation amongst contemporaries for his generosity.²³² Despite this, there has to date been no detailed examination of his gifts from the royal forest. Recent studies have tended to focus instead upon the accounts of expensive jewels, valuable fabrics and precious metal objects given and received by the king. Even amongst the historians of the forest, Grant does not address the subject, while Young provides a very brief overview of the types of gifts and recipient but considers a broader period than simply Henry's reign.²³³

To the extent that they have featured in the historiography of Henry's reign, the forest gifts have largely been discussed in one of two ways. First, there are the references that consider the gifts in the context of the biographies of leading individuals or of specific events during the reign. In these studies, historians have drawn upon specific examples of forest gifts either to examine an individual recipient's standing with the king or to comment upon the political mood at the royal court. In his biography of Henry III, David Carpenter provides over thirty examples of gifts made by Henry from the royal forest along these lines. Clearly subscribing to the 'Germanic' model outlined above, Carpenter has argued that forest gifts were 'a significant form of royal patronage.'²³⁴ Marc Morris has used forest gifts as a measure of the engagement of the earl of Norfolk with court politics and his standing with the king. The gift of deer in May 1239 was, for example, 'the first specific sign of royal favour for almost seven years.' Similarly, Nicholas Vincent has highlighted the gift of deer to Peter des Roches in April 1232 as a measure of his return to royal favour.²³⁵ A particular beneficiary of Henry's generosity was his sister Eleanor and it is therefore unsurprising that, in her biography Louise Wilkinson pays particular attention to the 'truly remarkable' number of forest gifts that she received and that 'bear further witness to her high standing in her brother's favour'.²³⁶ The use of

²³² For a summary of the gift-giving culture at Henry's court, see Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.394-6. For an analysis of how the contemporary chronicler Matthew Paris interpreted Henry's gift-giving and receipt of gifts, see Kjaer, *Medieval Gift*, pp.85-96.

²³³ Kjaer, *Medieval Gift*, pp.160-83; N. Vincent, 'An Inventory of Gifts to King Henry III, 1234-5', in Crook and Wilkinson (eds.), *Royal Government*, pp.121-46; B. Wild, 'A Gift Inventory from the Reign of Henry III', *English Historical Review* 125 (2010), pp.529-69; B. Wild, 'Secrecy, Splendour and Statecraft: The Jewel Accounts of King Henry III of England, 1216-72', *Historical Research* 83 (2010), pp.409-30; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.133-4. For broader discussions of gifts of venison not confined to Henry's reign, see Kjaer and Watson, 'Feasts and Gifts', pp.1-5; Birrell, 'Deer Farming', pp.114-6; Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food', pp.11-2.

²³⁴ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.69, 205, 240, 243, 250, 264, 417, 456, 486, 499, 504, 514, 517, 597, 625, 642, 688, 691; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.67-8, 213, 237, 238, 261, 276, 349, 362, 460-1.

²³⁵ M. Morris, *Bigod Earls*, pp.18, 24, 43; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p.290.

²³⁶ Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, pp.39, 44, 47, 56-7, 63, 67, 77, 85-6, 120, 121, 151 n.16, 152 n.49, 155 n.27, 156 n.47, 157 n.56-n.61.

forest gifts in this way has also informed the biographies of people outside the ranks of the nobility.²³⁷

Apart from the biographical studies, historians have cited forest gifts in analysing key political events during the reign. For Huw Ridgeway, gifts from the royal forest were one means of measuring who was in the ascendant at the court during the factional rivalries between the Savoyards and Poitevins in the 1250s, as well as an indication of the return to favour of the Lord Edward, during the upheaval of the early 1260s.²³⁸ Both Carpenter and Adrian Jobson, in his study of the civil war in the 1260s, use Henry's gifts of deer in the summer of 1261 as an indication of his attempts to bolster support amongst the barons. Carpenter has additionally highlighted Henry's use of gifts, including those from the royal forest, to win favour with the parliament of 1255, to bolster his position during the initial period of reform and later to reward those who had been critical to success in the civil war.²³⁹

Secondly, there are references in the historiography that make more general observations about the nature and purpose of these gifts. Most historians have largely interpreted them as gifts or rewards to a select group of socially elite favourites. For Leonard Cantor, deer from the royal forest were 'granted as gifts by the king to favoured nobles to stock their parks', while Oliver Rackham has similarly emphasised the award of deer to Henry's 'friends or to statesmen and prelates' and Wilfred Warren has stated that venison from the forest 'was sent at his [Henry III's] order to friends and garrisons.'²⁴⁰ Some historians have drawn attention to the broader social base amongst recipients. For example, Jean Birrell has noted that 'a stream of trees left the forests destined for friends, supporters, religious houses, and others whom the king wished to please', while Carpenter has highlighted the role of forest gifts more generally in the reward of government clerks and the frequency of awards to hospitals, religious houses and orders.²⁴¹

²³⁷ Stewart-Parker, 'Bassets of High Wycombe', pp.53, 67, 68, 82, 88, 96, 100, 374, 379; Julian-Jones, 'Raven and the Wolf', p.78; M.J. Fernandes, 'The Role of the Midland Knights in the Period of Reform and Rebellion 1258-67' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, King's College, London, 2000), p.107; D. Carpenter, 'The Career of Godfrey de Crowcombe: Household Knight of King John and Steward of King Henry III', in C. Given-Wilson, A.J. Kettle and L. Scales (eds.), *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150-1500: Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp.39, 43, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51.

²³⁸ H.W. Ridgeway, 'The Politics of the English Royal Court 1247-65, with Special Reference to the Role of the Aliens' (Unpublished DPhil Thesis, Oxford University, 1983), pp.319 n.2, 374 n.2, 386.

²³⁹ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.633; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.67-8, 213, 276, 460-1; Jobson, *English Revolution*, p.63.

²⁴⁰ L. Cantor, 'Forests, Chases, Parks and Warrens', in L. Cantor (ed.), *The English Medieval Landscape* (London, 1982), p.63; Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, p.181; W.L. Warren, *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England 1086-1272* (London, 1987), p.162.

²⁴¹ J.R. Birrell, 'The Medieval English Forest', *Journal of Forest History* 24 (1980), pp.81, 84; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.282, 292, 332, 377, 422, 521.

Three recent studies have focused on forest gifts, including during the period of Henry's personal rule. Amanda Richardson has undertaken a detailed study of gift-giving specifically from a group of Wiltshire forests in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as a means of exploring how the royal forest functioned as a symbol of kingship. This study, narrow in its geographical scope but broad in its chronological range, explores a number of themes concerning royal gift-giving that are the focus of this chapter.²⁴² Andrew Spencer has compared Henry III's gifts of deer between 1237 and 1258 with those of his son, Edward I as an examination of the latter's approach towards patronage and his relationship with his earls.²⁴³ Robin and Jean Oggins have also examined royal consumption and gifts of deer, both venison and live, in the thirteenth century. Their study is particularly useful in comparing Henry III's pattern of gift-giving with that of his father and subsequently his son Edward I and in considering royal motives behind the gifts. The study does not, however, consider the gifts of wood from the royal forest, nor does it seek to place Henry's gifts of deer within a political context.²⁴⁴

Agency and Value of Forest Gifts

Before examining Henry III's forest gifts in detail, it is important to address two particular issues. The first is the question of the king's personal involvement in the grant of these gifts and the extent to which others exercised agency in the process. Secondly, it is important to consider the value of these gifts from the perspective of the recipient. Both issues have bearing upon how Henry's forest gifts should be interpreted.

As discussed below, until 1234, the extent of Henry III's personal authority over key decisions is unclear given the prominent roles of Hubert de Burgh and then Peter des Roches. Subsequently, the king felt able to govern without a chief minister and was also frequently involved in the detail of the administration of his government.²⁴⁵ It is therefore reasonable to assume that the gifting decisions from 1234 onwards, at least until the period of reform from 1258, reflected Henry's wishes and priorities.

²⁴² A. Richardson, 'Putting the "royal" back into forests: Kingship, Largesse, Patronage and Management in a Group of Wessex Forests in the 13th and 14th Centuries', in Langton and Jones (eds.), *Forests and Chases*, pp.125-40.

²⁴³ A.M. Spencer, 'Royal Patronage and the Earls in the Reign of Edward I', *History* 93 (2008), pp.20-46.

²⁴⁴ R.S. Oggins and J.B. Oggins, 'Royal Consumption and Gifts of Deer in Thirteenth-Century England', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 17 (2023), pp.63-83. The totals for gift-giving quoted by Oggins and Oggins will not reconcile to the numbers used in this analysis as the former include also gifts of deer from demesne estates outside the royal forest and from lay and ecclesiastical estates temporarily in royal custody. They also include deer given as part of tithes which are considered separately in this thesis in the following chapter on forest privileges.

²⁴⁵ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.165.

There were, however, undeniably times when others were deeply involved in the process of awarding gifts from the royal forest. There were, for example, twenty-two gifts where the records explicitly state they were awarded at the request of a third party. There were seventeen separate individuals identified as requesting these *ad instanciam* gifts, with the largest number being linked to the king's younger son, Edmund.²⁴⁶ This formal recording of the role of third parties only begins in 1242 and is likely to be an understatement of the influence that many sought and were able to exercise. Such practices should not be considered unusual in the context of a gift-giving society and one in which the ability to secure royal patronage for their followers could be viewed as a key measure of good lordship. Nor should these gifts be seen as operating outside the ambit of royal approval. In these cases, it remains open to debate the extent to which Henry was seeking to favour the recipient or the intermediary.

There were two occasions outside the reform period of 1258-67 when others were directly involved in awarding forest gifts. In 1242, Henry appointed Walter de Grey, archbishop of York, to act as his regent while he campaigned in France. When he embarked upon his Gascony campaign in 1253, he appointed his wife Eleanor of Provence as regent, aided by his brother Richard of Cornwall. It is not entirely clear the extent to which these regents were able to act independently of Henry and the extent to which he sought to influence their decisions. In both cases the number of forest gifts awarded and the pattern of distribution were unexceptional within the wider context of Henry's gift-giving.²⁴⁷

The involvement of others in the process is an indicator of the value attached to Henry's forest gifts. Venison, for example, was consumed in large quantities particularly by aristocratic households, but the means of obtaining it through the challenges and thrills of a hunt also meant it was an exclusive and highly prized element of their diet. Many clerical and lay magnates who received gifts of venison from the king's forests had access to the same food source through their own parks and chases and were able to make gifts themselves, but this would not have diminished the value of a royal gift which signified favour and helped to confer status and prestige. There was no legal market for the

²⁴⁶ The five examples of Edmund's intercession can be found in *CR 1256-59*, pp.53, 246; *CR 1259-61*, p.327; *CR 1261-64*, p.17; *CR 1264-68*, p.174.

²⁴⁷ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.253, 569-70, 579-81, 590-2; R. Haines, 'Gray, Walter de (d. 1255), archbishop of York,' *ODNB* (2024) accessed online 10 December 2025 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11566>; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp.77-9; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp.114-26.

sale and purchase of venison, so the award of it as a royal gift would have been particularly valued.²⁴⁸

Gifts of live deer for the stocking or restocking of parks would similarly have been highly valued. They would not only have removed the cost, time and effort involved on the part of the recipient in obtaining deer for their park but again conferred prestige and standing that would have reinforced a park's importance not only for hunting but also as a status symbol.²⁴⁹

The gifts of timber for construction and firewood, while arguably more quotidian in nature, both had a strong utilitarian value. Again, they also conferred status and prestige on the recipient. It is also possible, to a greater extent than with the awards of deer, to estimate a financial value of the gift. In total, the 22,860 oaks gifted by Henry (Table 3.1 above) were potentially worth almost £2,000, while the crown also incurred costs in obtaining and transporting these gifts.²⁵⁰

Quite apart from these financial considerations, the entries in the close rolls frequently record a high degree of specificity concerning the purpose or destination of many of the gifts, suggesting that they were the outcome at the very least of a dialogue between king and recipient, and perhaps even of petitioning of Henry. For example, the gifts of ten does and three bucks from Rockingham to John of Scotland, earl of Huntingdon and Chester in November 1235 were specifically for his park in Fotheringhay, while the ten oaks given to Halesowen Abbey from Kinver Forest in November 1256 were for the construction of stalls in its church.²⁵¹ In short, it is reasonable to conclude that the gifts of venison, live deer, timber and firewood from the royal forest were valued, frequently sought and welcomed by their recipients.

Methodology

Attempting to identify royal motive for each of the 7,335 individual forest gifts would be a significant undertaking worthy of a thesis in its own right. The approach of this research has therefore been to identify annual trends and the likely explanations for these. As Chart 3.1 illustrates, the annual

²⁴⁸ C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.60-1, 157; Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, pp.17-9, 21, 27, 89, 125-7, 135, 166; Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food', pp.113-5; A. Grant, 'Animal Resources', in G. Astill and A. Grant (eds.), *The Countryside of Medieval England* (Oxford, 1988), pp.164-5, 178-9; J. Birrell, 'Procuring, Preparing and Serving Venison in Late Medieval England', in Woolgar, Serjeantson and Waldron (eds.), *Food in Medieval England*, pp.176, 177, 188; Spencer, 'Royal Patronage', pp.25-6, 31.

²⁴⁹ S.A. Miles, *Parks in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2009), chapters 1 to 4 provide a thorough examination of the multi-faceted purposes of medieval deer parks.

²⁵⁰ The estimated financial value is based on an average value of oaks sold from the royal forests in Northampton, Savernake and Bere in 1261 as described in Young, *Royal Forests*, p.124. Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, pp.147, 153, 166, also provides details of the value of oaks and underwood. For an example of royal expenditure incurred in providing a gift see *CR 1251-53*, p.34; *CLR 1251-60*, p.15.

²⁵¹ Wild, 'Gift Inventory', p.528; *CR 1251-53*, p.34; *CR 1234-37*, p.208; *CR 1256-59*, p.11.

number of gifts varied widely from an average of 159, with a highpoint of 373 in 1256 and a low of just thirty in 1268.²⁵²

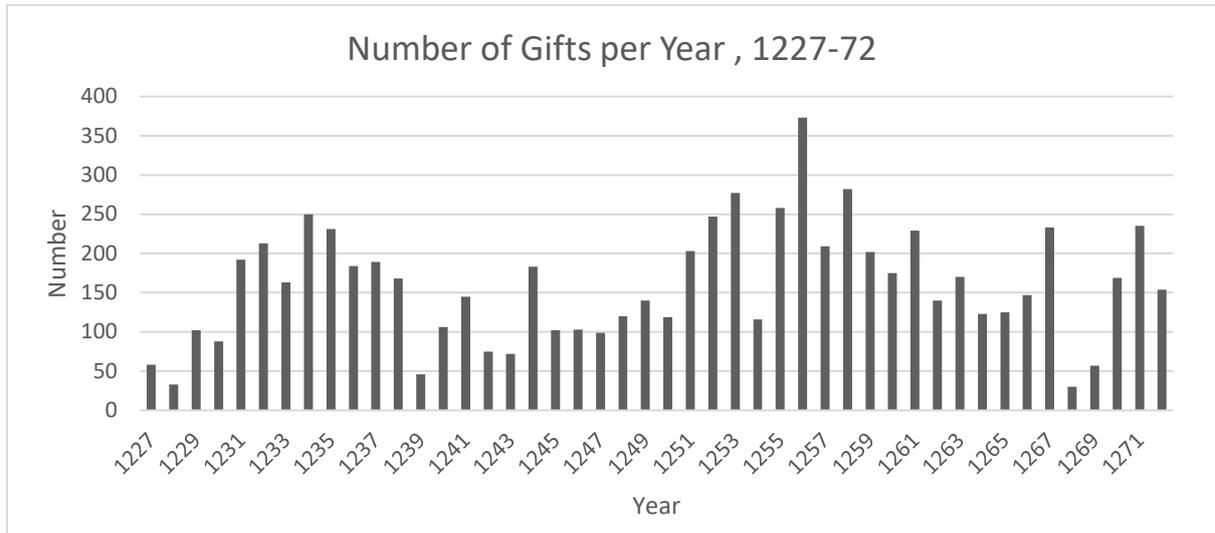


Chart 3.1: Number of Gifts per Year, 1227-72

Alongside the consideration of annual trends, this research has examined gift-giving patterns on a monthly basis as the timing of gifts of venison and live deer, for example, was heavily influenced by contemporary farming practices. These emphasised the importance of leaving female deer undisturbed for fawning during the ‘fence month’, that is the two weeks either side of Midsummer Day.²⁵³ Consequently, as demonstrated by Chart 3.2, females in general were not hunted during the summer months, but instead during the winter.

²⁵² The chart includes gifts from the extant records for 1238 and 1239 although, as noted above, there are no records for the final two months of 1238 and the first ten months of 1239. The numbers for both years are therefore highly likely to be understated and significantly so in the case of 1239.

²⁵³ Birrell, ‘Deer Farming’, pp.116-7, 122-3; Birrell, ‘Procuring Venison’, p.178; Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, pp.17-8, 85-9.

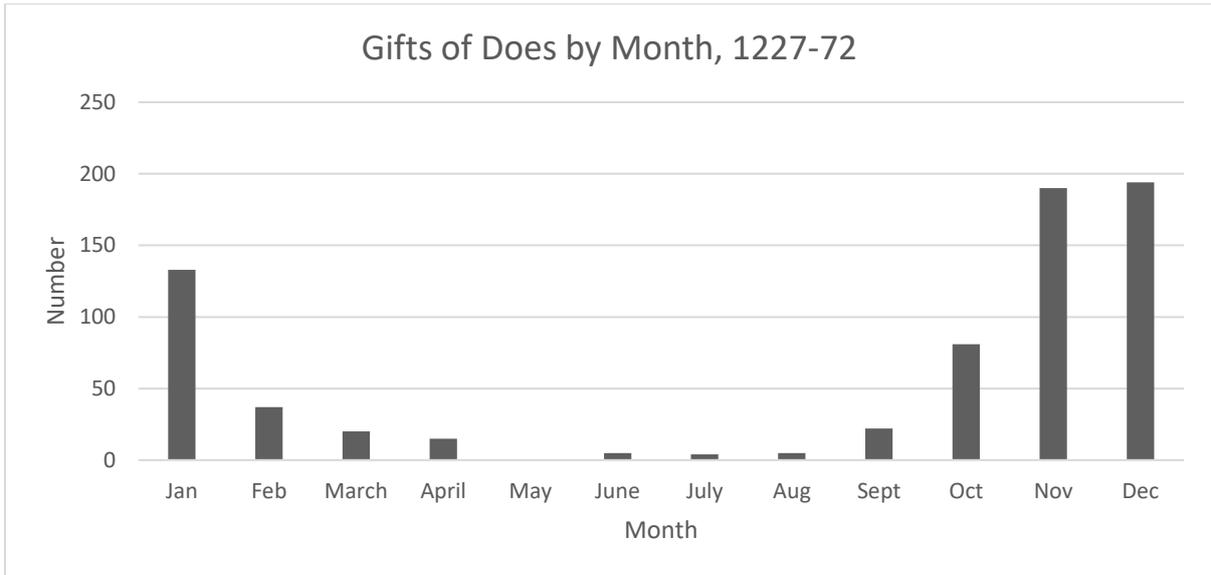


Chart 3.2: Gifts of Does by Month, 1227-72

In contrast, as shown in Chart 3.3, males were not hunted during the rutting season of October to December, but instead more during spring and summer.

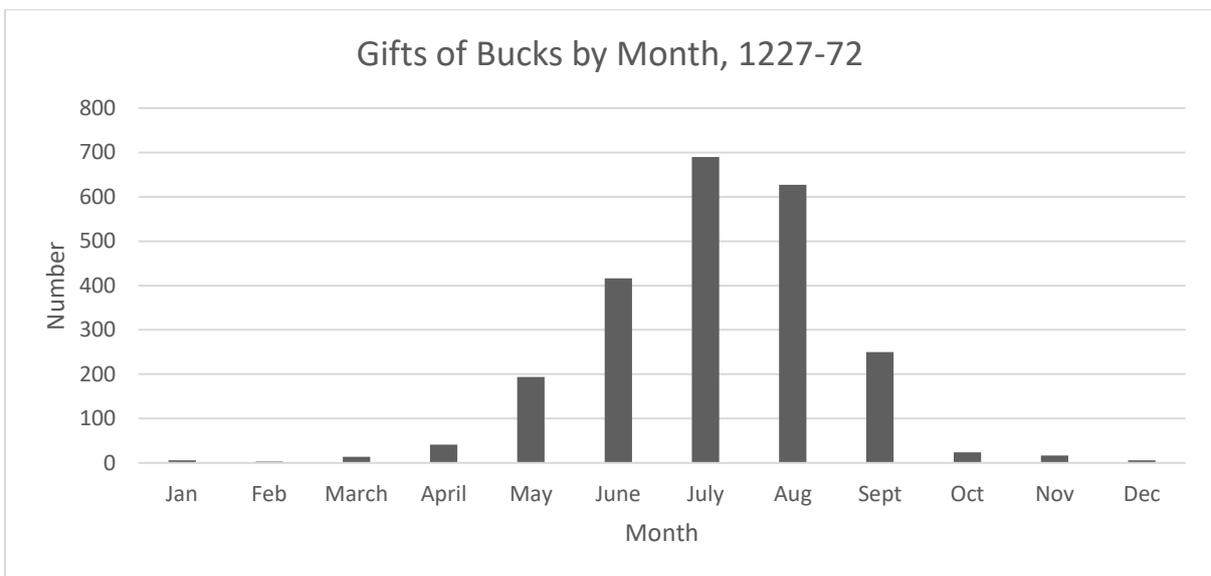


Chart 3.3: Gifts of Bucks by Month, 1227-72

As bucks were hunted in much greater numbers than does, the combined effect of these farming practices, as shown in Chart 3.4, was to skew the timing of gifts of venison heavily towards the summer months and correspondingly away from autumn and spring in particular. In broad terms, if Henry wanted to make a gift of venison, farming protocols stipulated that this should mainly be done during the summer.

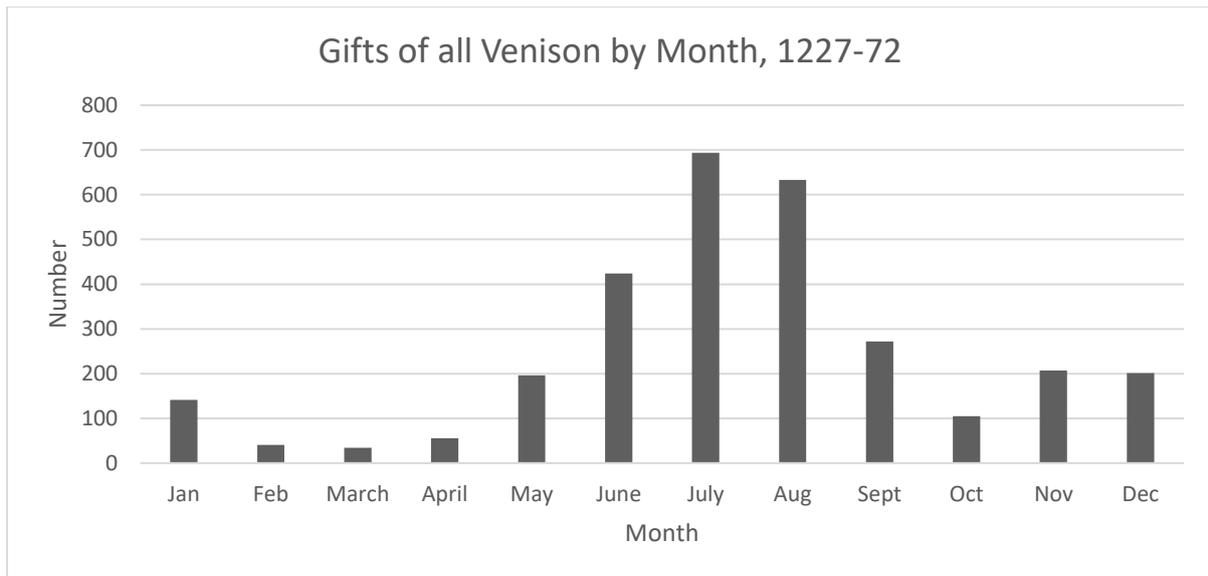


Chart 3.4: Gifts of all Venison by Month, 1227-72

If the 629 gifts of live deer for stocking parks are examined, the same considerations apply but with very different results, as shown in Chart 3.5 These gifts were usually a combination of does and bucks in the ratio of normally 2:1 or 3:1. As does were undisturbed during the fawning months of the summer, gifts of live deer were mainly a winter phenomenon.

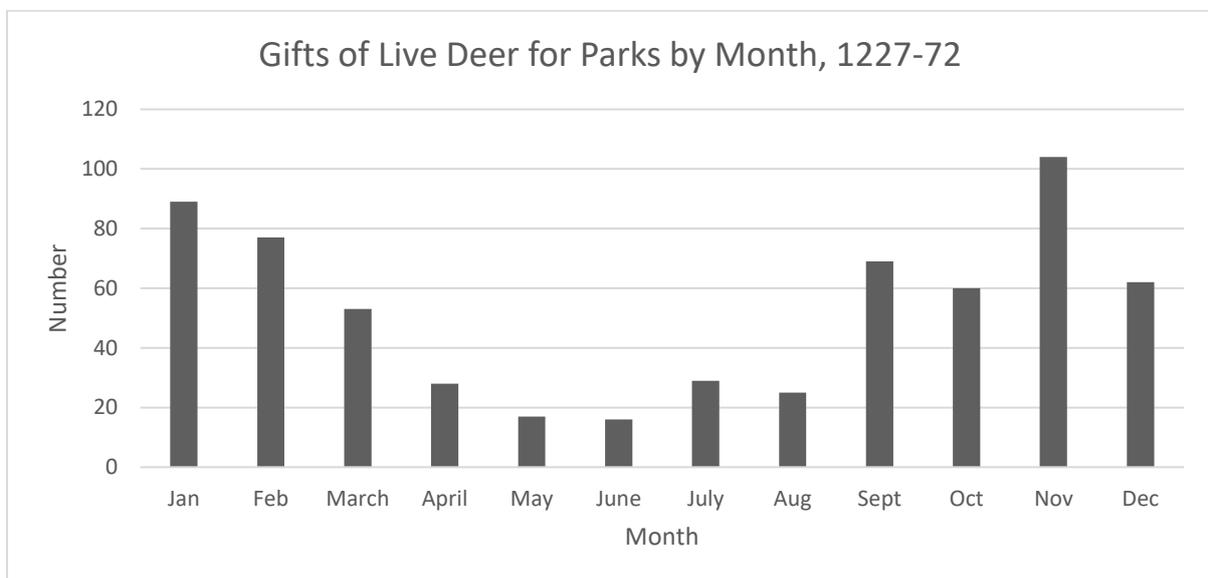


Chart 3.5: Gifts of Live Deer for Parks by Month, 1227-72

The influence of farming practices is also clear from the seasonal differences in the granting of gifts of wood.²⁵⁴ While there was generally a less pronounced variation in the timing of these gifts than with those of deer, greater ease of access and transport meant that more gifts were awarded during

²⁵⁴ Birrell, 'Medieval English Forest', pp.82-3; Cantor, 'Forests, Chases, Parks and Warrens', p.62; P. Stamper, 'Woods and Parks', in Astill and Grant (eds.), *Medieval England*, p.130.

the summer months. Additionally, and not surprisingly, there was a marked increase in the number of gifts of firewood during the winter months, as illustrated in Chart 3.6.

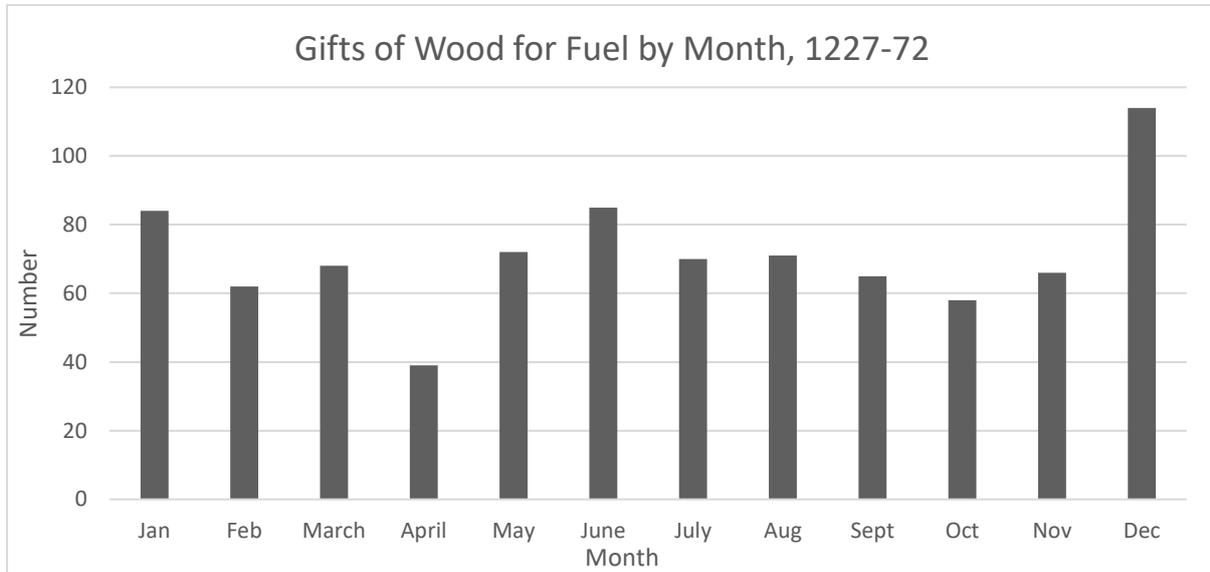


Chart 3.6: Gifts of Wood for Fuel by Month, 1227-72

None of the historiography to date has taken account of the significant influence of farming practices upon the timing of Henry's gifts which has too often been interpreted by historians as driven by other, mainly political or personal considerations. The influence of farming practices therefore injects an element of caution in placing too much emphasis on these other factors.

By taking account of these farming influences, it has also been possible to identify the monthly pattern of distribution for an 'average' year across all categories of gift, as set out in Chart 3.7. This, in turn, allows outliers against each month's expected volume of gifts to be identified and the reasons for these to be explored.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁵ As the data for each month is widely dispersed around the mean, statistical approaches towards identifying outliers, such as the calculation of standard deviations, are of limited value. Instead, for the purposes of this research, each month when the number of gifts is either double or more than double the number in the average year has been examined further. Similarly, months when the number of gifts is half or less than half the number in the average year have been considered further. In total, there are 211 months (40% of the total) that fall into either of these categories. The gifts made during these months have then been examined to seek to identify the likely factor or factors behind that particular exceptional number of gifts.

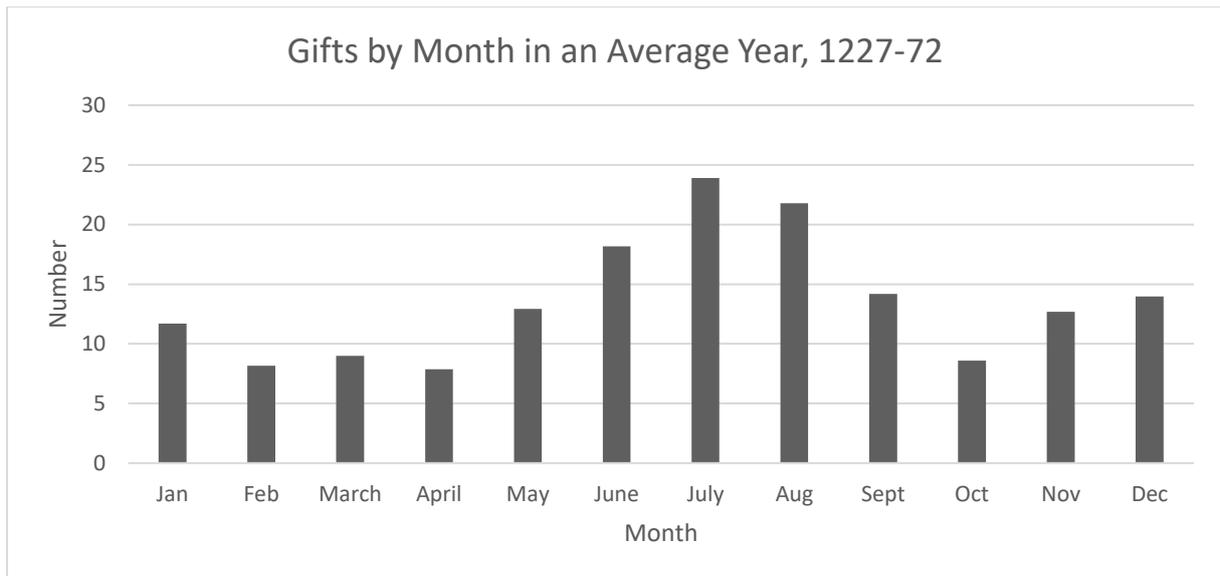


Chart 3.7: Gifts by Month in an Average Year, 1227-72

By taking account of both the annual and monthly trends set out above, it has been possible to examine Henry's forest gifts against the chronological framework and political narrative described in Chapter 1. That examination is set out below and is followed by consideration of broader influences that impacted upon Henry's gifts. The pattern of distribution is then examined in terms of categories of gift recipient to identify particular beneficiaries.

The Government of Hubert de Burgh, 1227-32

One striking feature from Chart 3.1 is the very low number of gifts at the start of the period of Henry's personal rule. There is nothing to suggest that this was the result of faults in record-keeping.²⁵⁶ It is more likely that, although Henry declared himself to be of age at the start of 1227, he remained under the influence of Hubert de Burgh.²⁵⁷ The gradual increase in gifts between 1227 and 1234 can therefore be seen as an indicator of a growing assertiveness on the part of the king, particularly in his relationship with Hubert de Burgh. As Chart 3.8 suggests, this was the continuation of a process that began during the minority, with Henry gradually asserting his independence and authority.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ There are, for example, generally more details about the purposes of the gifts in the close rolls entries for 1227-31 than for 1261-64.

²⁵⁷ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.58-61, 78; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.454-7.

²⁵⁸ Carpenter, *Minority*, pp.290, 389, 396, 409; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.264, 270; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.25-6.

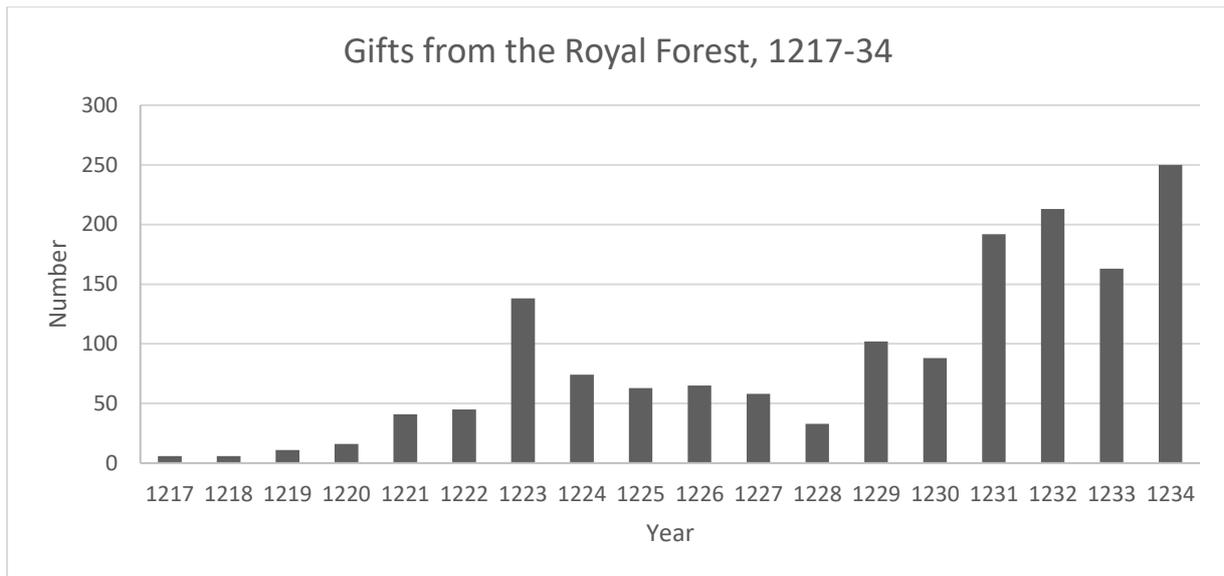


Chart 3.8: Gifts from the Royal Forest, 1217-34

Despite these signs of a gradual assertion of Henry’s independence, Hubert de Burgh dominated royal government from 1227 until his fall in 1232. His pre-eminent position meant that he controlled many of the levers of patronage and used them to reward those loyal to him in this inner circle at the court.²⁵⁹ It is appropriate, therefore, to examine whether the gifts from the royal forest conform to this assessment of this period and the extent to which they reflected the growing opposition to de Burgh that contributed to his downfall in 1232.

There is certainly evidence that a regular flow of forest gifts and privileges were awarded to Hubert’s circle, including himself and his family. His son John received three gifts during 1230 and 1231, and the wife of his kinsman Raymond a gift of venison in 1229. Hubert himself was rewarded with gifts of oak in 1227, 1231 and 1232, while his brother Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, received a gift of forty trees in 1228.²⁶⁰ Within his circle, the royal steward and sheriff, Ralph Fitznicholas and his family received eleven gifts from the forest between 1227 and 1231. Fitznicholas was also granted the right to enclose land in his manor of Winkenfield within the royal forest in Nottinghamshire. Of the fifteen individuals identified by Carpenter as key to the success of de Burgh’s government, all but three received either gifts from the royal forest or privileges in relation to it during this period. Nine received both.²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.58-61, 65-8; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.260-2.

²⁶⁰ *RLC II*, p.179; *CR 1227-31*, pp.17, 198, 455; *CR 1231-34*, pp.12, 13, 22.

²⁶¹ *CR 1227-31*, pp.194, 276, 277, 280, 305, 477, 478, 510; *CR 1231-34*, p.32; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.60-1.

However, the evidence from the records of forest gifts suggests that de Burgh was not wholly in the ascendant. There were many royal gifts during this period to his enemies at court. A long-standing opponent was Ranulf, earl of Chester and Lincoln who received three forest gifts during 1230 and 1231.²⁶² Of the earls who joined Richard of Cornwall in the brief uprising of 1227 and who were partly motivated by their desire to remove Hubert from office, five – Pembroke, Gloucester, Surrey, Hereford and Derby – received gifts in the following years.²⁶³ Whether initiated by the king or by de Burgh himself, there was a small increase in 1229 and 1230 in the number of forest gifts and privileges awarded to nobles that can be seen as part of a range of measures to neutralise complaints about the justiciar's control of government.²⁶⁴

Additionally, those who were to play a significant part in de Burgh's downfall were not excluded from the gift-giving process during these years. Peter des Roches and his close supporter, Peter de Rivallis received gifts shortly after returning to England in 1231.²⁶⁵ These gifts in themselves suggest a growing independence on the part of the king and an associated decline in de Burgh's pre-eminence in the period leading up to his fall.

It is also conceivable that the occasional increases in the number of gifts and their wider distribution beyond de Burgh's circle at court was done with his knowledge and support and was deliberately undertaken to assuage opposition to him. It is telling, for example, that, in the tense atmosphere at court in the aftermath of the aborted French campaign in the autumn of 1229, the level of gifts rose sharply. Similarly, in the first half of 1232, as de Burgh sought to shore up his position at court after the return of Peter des Roches, the number of gifts was more than double the average, with forty-five gifts given in June alone.

The collapse of de Burgh's government in 1232 resulted in a sharp decline in the following year in the number of gifts to his circle. Instead, it was the members of the new government under Peter des Roches who were able to enjoy the patronage available from the royal forest. A simple comparison of the number of awards and gifts proves the point. In 1233, Hubert de Burgh's circle

²⁶² Carpenter, 'Hubert de Burgh', pp.2-5; Carpenter, *Minority*, pp.390, 392, 399; F.A. Cazell, 'Intertwined Careers: Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches', *Haskins Society Journal* 1 (1989), pp.177, 179; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp.9-10; T. Moore, 'The Crisis of 1227' (Unpublished paper), p.1; *CR 1227-31*, pp.476, 544; R. Eales, 'Ranulf (III) [Ranulf de Blundeville], sixth earl of Chester and first earl of Lincoln (1170–1232), magnate', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 10 December 2025 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2716>. I am grateful to Dr Tony Moore for sharing with me his unpublished paper on the crisis of 1227.

²⁶³ *CR 1227-31*, pp.20, 31, 55, 151, 257, 290, 305, 438, 464, 470, 490, 560; *CR 1231-34*, pp.2, 4, 8; Moore, 'Crisis of 1227', p.2; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.67-70.

²⁶⁴ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.83; *CR 1227-31*, pp.151, 181, 197, 222, 257, 265, 273, 290, 305, 343, 438, 464.

²⁶⁵ *CR 1227-31*, p.546; *CR 1231-34*, pp.22, 41; Carpenter, *Minority*, pp.393-5; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p.273-309.

was granted only nine such awards, in comparison with the twenty-four that were given to supporters of the new government. Amongst these were Stephen of Seagrave who received two gifts of oaks in 1233 and was also granted the right to assart 40 acres in Huntingdonshire.²⁶⁶

It is clear that no one faction at any time monopolised the award of gifts available from the royal forest, suggesting either that they were sensitive to charges of being seen to do so or that Henry intervened on occasions to make sure that it was not so. What is also clear is that awards to rival court factions can only explain some of the forest gifts and privileges within its boundaries that were granted during this period. The highest share of these that were granted in one year to Hubert de Burgh and his circle was in 1230 when they accounted for approximately one quarter of all forest gifts and privileges. In 1228, that figure was only 14%. Similarly, at the height of its power in 1233, those associated with Peter des Roches' government received no more than 13% of all awards of gifts and privileges in that year.²⁶⁷

The Marshal Uprising, 1233-4

Henry's break with Richard Marshal, earl of Pembroke, had its origins in the actions of his chief minister Peter des Roches early in 1233, specifically the removal of Marshal's supporter Gilbert Basset from his manor at Upavon. This was just one of the perceived abuses of power by the des Roches government which, coupled with concerns that foreigners were dominating the court and access to patronage, led to growing opposition amongst leading nobles.²⁶⁸

Gift volumes during this period of unrest and subsequent civil war mirror the varying levels of intensity in court politics and military campaigning. Initial gift volumes were relatively low, in part because of a pilgrimage by Henry III to Canterbury in March.²⁶⁹ They rose sharply in April and May with the increasing political tension and hostility towards des Roches. By early August, Richard Marshal had mustered his troops and Henry engaged in a military campaign in the Welsh marches against him. As with other active military campaigns described below, this led to a drop in gift-giving activity. The cessation of hostilities in the early autumn was marked by an increase in gifts which fell sharply when campaigning renewed in November. Henry's attempts to re-establish his authority were matched by an increase in the number of gifts in January and March 1234, following another

²⁶⁶ *CR 1231-34*, pp.189, 232, 268, 385.

²⁶⁷ This analysis includes both forest gifts and the award of privileges within the royal forest that are described in the next chapter.

²⁶⁸ The government of Peter des Roches and the Marshal uprising are discussed in detail in Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.310-440 and Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.122-52. R.F. Walker, 'The Supporters of Richard Marshall, earl of Pembroke, in the Rebellion of 1233-34', *Welsh History Review* 17 (1994), pp.41-65 provides a good summary of the circle of supporters for Pembroke during the uprising.

²⁶⁹ The impact of pilgrimages on gift volumes is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

pilgrimage in February. The civil war ended abruptly with the sudden death of the Marshal in April. This was followed by a significant increase in the level of gift-giving that continued throughout the rest of 1234.

There is evidence that the des Roches government used forest gifts as a means of rewarding its own supporters during this period, many of whom were indeed 'aliens'. Perhaps the most provocative of all such gifts was the large award of wood from Savernake Forest to Peter de Maulay for his dwelling at Upavon very shortly after the manor was controversially awarded to him in February 1233.²⁷⁰

There are, however, also indications that Henry and des Roches used forest gifts as a means to broaden the base of their support during 1233 in the face of Richard Marshal's hostility. The new earl of Oxford, Hugh de Vere, was knighted by Henry in the spring and in September received gifts of twelve does and three bucks to establish a deer park.²⁷¹ There were also gifts during this period to the Earls of Lincoln, Chester, Derby, Aumale and Hereford as well as to Henry's brother Richard of Cornwall. Additionally, gifts were given to Fulk Fitzwarin, Ralph de Thoeny and Walter de Baskerville who held land in the Welsh marches where support for Pembroke was particularly strong.²⁷²

One of the striking features of Henry's gift-giving in the months after Richard Marshal's death is how he used it, along with the award of forest privileges, as a means of securing a reconciliation with two important groups. There was, for example, a significant revival in the number of gifts to those who had been close to Hubert de Burgh and who had subsequently suffered under des Roches. For example, the household knight Walter de Evermuth and his wife received five forest gifts during Hubert's period of ascendancy. Having suffered under des Roches's government when he was removed from office as sheriff of Lincolnshire, Evermuth was given four deer by Henry in July 1234 after des Roches's fall from power.²⁷³

Henry also used forest gifts to help in achieving a reconciliation with those associated with Richard Marshal's rebellion. This included the award of twenty separate gifts in 1234 alone to Gilbert, Richard's younger brother and successor as earl of Pembroke.²⁷⁴ In a telling act of reconciliation, between July and December 1234, Henry also awarded nine gifts of wood from the royal forest for repairs to Gilbert Basset's estate which had suffered during the civil war and fifteen deer from the

²⁷⁰ *CR 1231-34*, p.194; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.334-7; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.128-31. For a summary of Maulay's controversial career, see N. Vincent, 'Maulay [Malo Lacu], Peter de (d. 1241), knight and royal councillor', *ODNB* (2012) accessed online 15 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18375>.

²⁷¹ *CR 1231-34*, p.261; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.135

²⁷² *CR 1231-34*, pp.192, 208, 209, 219, 222, 225, 235, 240, 330, 409.

²⁷³ *RLC II*, p.200; *CR 1227-31*, pp.78, 209, 460; *CR 1231-34*, pp.92, 486; K.W.B. Lightfoot, 'The Household Knights of King Henry III, 1216-1236' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Swansea, 2006), pp.71, 259, 301, 303, 331, 383, 389, 450, 462-3, 464, 524; Moore, 'Government and Locality', pp.130-1.

²⁷⁴ *CR 1231-34*, pp.440, 456, 469, 494, 504, 505, 518; *CR 1234-37*, p.28.

royal forest to restock his park at Wootton. Basset was additionally given permission to enclose three parks and to assart two acres of woodland within the royal forest. Henry's generosity even extended to a gift of three deer to Richard Siward who had conducted a highly effective guerrilla campaign against key figures of the royal government.²⁷⁵

Henry III's Military Campaigns, 1230-57

Henry's military campaigns, both at home and overseas, had a significant impact upon his gift-giving. Broadly, each campaign consisted of three separate phases of gift-giving. In the period immediately prior to active campaigning, there was typically an increase to levels significantly above the average for those particular months. In contrast, Henry awarded very few gifts while actively campaigning. Finally, the cessation of a campaign was followed by a further sharp increase in the number of gifts. Henry's three major campaigns in France in 1230, 1242 and 1253 follow this pattern, as do his five campaigns in Wales in 1228, 1231, 1241, 1245 and 1257.

The pattern of gift-giving in relation to the Gascon campaign of 1253 is particularly noteworthy.²⁷⁶ Between announcing publicly in May his intention to campaign in Gascony to restore his royal authority there and his departure from Portsmouth on 6 August, Henry awarded an unprecedented 166 forest gifts. In June and July alone, the number of gifts was more than three times higher than the annual average for these two months. Of these pre-campaign gifts, sixty-seven (approximately 40%) were given to nobles, knights and officials who are listed in the patent rolls as accompanying him on the expedition.²⁷⁷ The other gifts were largely awarded to senior clergy, knights and administrators who had roles to play in the government in England during Henry's planned absence. Henry therefore appears to have used gifts during this pre-campaign period both as an inducement to recruitment and reward for participation in the forthcoming expedition, and as a means of putting his regency government on a solid footing for the period of his absence.

²⁷⁵ *CR 1231-34*, pp.454, 474, 537; *CR 1234-37*, pp.21, 24, 29. For a summary of lives and careers of Gilbert Basset and Richard Siward, see N. Vincent, 'Basset, Gilbert (d. 1241), knight and rebel', *ODNB* (2010) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1639> and D. Crouch, 'Siward, Sir Richard (d. 1248), mercenary and courtier', *ODNB* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37971> accessed online 15 May 2023. For a description of Siward's impact during the civil war, see Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.142, 144, 145, 147, 149-50, 159; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.400, 402, 405-8, 411, 415-6, 419, 427, 431-2, 438, 440-2, 447.

²⁷⁶ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.564, 568-583, 589-590, 592-598 provides a detailed account of the Gascon campaign. Details of Henry's itinerary during this period are provided in T. Craib, 'The Itinerary of Henry III' (Unpublished Manuscript, 1923, TNA Map Room Reference 942.037), pp.232-44. The number of gifts during active campaigning referred to above excludes gifts awarded by Eleanor of Provence and Richard of Cornwall as regents in England. Even with those gifts included, the overall number was still only approximately two-thirds of the average number for those particular months.

²⁷⁷ Participation in the Gascon campaign has been checked against a variety of primary sources, in particular *CPR 1247-58*, pp.228, 231-3, 235, 374-7.

During the campaign itself, he awarded eighty-five gifts between arriving in France and his eventual departure in December 1254, that is less than 40% of the average number of gifts for those months. Perhaps unsurprisingly, over 80% of these gifts were directed towards men who were present with him on the campaign. It is reasonable to assume in these cases that the recipient will have performed some notable service, probably military in nature, during the campaign.

While accepting that the list of those offered protection in May and July 1253 does not represent the total number of senior participants in the campaign, approximately 16% of those named received forest gifts either during the expedition itself or in the months leading up to it. While this is not largesse on a grand scale, neither does it suggest a high level of targeting directed towards favourites.

Recognition of, and gratitude for participation in the campaign continued to influence Henry's gift-giving for some time after his return to England. The level of gift-giving in January 1255 was almost double the average level for that month. Moreover, half of these were given to men who had served with the king in Gascony.

While the overall effect of military campaigning was to reduce the number of gifts by about one third, those that were given were done so primarily as a means of inducement or gratitude for military service. Andrew Spencer has highlighted how Edward I later used forest gifts in a similar way during the 1290s and early 1300s.²⁷⁸ Together, these 'military' gifts represent an estimated 10% of all Henry's gifts during the period of his personal rule.

Political and Financial Challenges, 1235-58

There were other times when Henry appears to have used forest gifts as a means of securing support for his political goals. There is an occasional correlation, for example, between the number of gifts awarded and the king's desire to secure support, particularly financial, from parliament. However, of the fifty-four parliaments that took place between January 1235 and October 1257, only seven coincided with a significant increase in the level of gift-giving.²⁷⁹ On three of these occasions in July 1235, February 1245 and May 1253, parliament approved taxes, although in the case of the first of these the high level of gift-giving was more associated with Henry's tour of the west and the midlands after parliament met in an attempt to raise further funds. The distribution of gifts in these three periods was unusually skewed towards those groups most likely to have attended the parliaments. High levels of gift-giving were, however, no guarantee of success. In October 1255,

²⁷⁸ Spencer, 'Royal Patronage', p.29.

²⁷⁹ Maddicott, *Parliament*, Appendix A provides a list and summary of great councils and parliaments between 1235 and 1257.

when Henry distributed gifts at three times the usual level for that month, parliament refused a tax in opposition to the Sicilian Business.²⁸⁰

There were also fourteen parliaments whose sitting coincided with very low levels of gift-giving on Henry's part and occasions when parliament approved his requests for funds without any evidence of a significant increase in gift-giving. For example, when in January 1237 parliament approved a thirtieth on movables, Henry's gift-giving was at no more than average levels for the month.²⁸¹ Henry therefore only rarely used gifts from the forest as a means of securing support from parliament and was by no means guaranteed success when he did so.

One striking feature of the annual number of gifts is the sharp increase between 1251 and 1257. Excluding the whole of 1254 when Henry was in Gascony, the average number of gifts per annum between 1251 and 1257 was 240 compared with 115 for those years between 1240 and 1250 when Henry was in England. This was the period when he sought to garner broad political and financial support for his intended Crusade, for his brother's candidacy as King of the Romans and, most significantly, for the Sicilian Business.²⁸² It is possible also that the high level of gift-giving during this period reflects the diminishing opportunities for the king to use other forms of patronage as both land and cash were increasingly in short supply. Forest gifts therefore acted as a substitute for these other forms of reward.

Evidence for a broad association between Henry's political and financial challenges and the volume of gifts is equally provided by the low number during the periods of relative political calm in 1240-1 and 1245-50. In ten of the eleven years between 1240 and 1250, the number of forest gifts was below the overall average. These were the years during which Henry 'could claim many positive achievements'.²⁸³

Savoyards and Lusignans, 1236-58

One of the strongest contemporary criticisms of Henry's reign was the favouritism that he showed towards 'aliens' and, particularly during the second half of his personal rule, towards the factions led by the rival Savoyard and Lusignan families. The level of gift-giving from the forest to these factions can be used to assess the validity of contemporary concerns and its effect on overall gift volumes.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁰ Maddicott, *Parliament*, pp.169, 192, 193, 194-5, 200, 202, 210, 221-2, 455, 461, 468-9; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.175, 454-5, 564-5, 630-4.

²⁸¹ Maddicott, *Parliament*, pp.173, 180, 200-1, 204, 224-5, 457; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.193-5.

²⁸² Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.512-8, 525-7, 544-54, 583-9, 598-600, 629-39, 642-7, 656-63.

²⁸³ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.414.

²⁸⁴ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.218-9, 474, 479, 554-9, 666-7, 688-90. Spencer, 'Royal Patronage', p.29 highlights the number of forest gifts of deer granted to Henry III's Lusignan half-brothers. The membership,

The rise of the Savoyards coincided with, and resulted from, Henry's marriage to Eleanor of Provence in January 1236.²⁸⁵ Their share of forest gifts was, however, not excessive in either absolute or relative terms. On average, the immediate family and its supporters accounted for 4% of the gifts annually between 1236 and 1272. The most they accounted for was 11% in 1241. The key beneficiaries were the leading knight Ebulo de Montibus (twenty-three gifts), Peter de Aigueblanche who became bishop of Hereford (twenty-one gifts) and the royal yeoman Aymo Thurbert (twenty gifts). While Peter of Savoy received twelve gifts, other leading members of the family received few, possibly because of their frequent absences overseas. Nor did the flow of gifts cascade far into the households of these leading recipients. Fewer than 20% of the household and main officials of Peter of Savoy in England received forest gifts.²⁸⁶

While the Savoyards received an average of eight forest gifts per year, the Lusignans, who were brought into court by Henry in 1247, received more than ten gifts annually.²⁸⁷ However, the annual average share was just below 6% of all forest gifts. Only in the four years between 1248 and 1251 was it higher than 10%, peaking at 13% in the final year of that period. The relatively greater generosity shown towards the Lusignans possibly reflects the more constrained circumstances that Henry found himself in during the later 1240s when other forms of patronage were scarcer. These gifts were also confined to a small circle. The key beneficiaries were William de Valence, earl of Pembroke, who, along with members of his immediate family and household, received an astonishing fifty-two gifts, two fewer than his younger brother Aymer de Lusignan, bishop-elect of Winchester. As with the Savoyards, however, only about 19% of William de Valence's household and officials in England received forest gifts between 1247 and 1272.²⁸⁸

While neither faction could therefore be accused of benefiting exclusively from Henry's forest gifts, together they accounted for a large share of the awards in some years. In particular, in five of the years between 1248 and 1253, they accounted for at least 15% of all forest gifts, with the peak being 19% in 1248. This was the period when Henry's support for the two factions was most pronounced, and it is therefore unsurprising that there were complaints in parliament in 1248 about the

role and influence of these factions have been extensively researched by Huw Ridgeway in Ridgeway, 'Aliens', pp.81-92; Ridgeway, 'Foreign Favourites', pp. 590-610; Ridgeway, 'William de Valence', pp.239-57. A recent addition to the historiography on the question of Henry III's favourites is A. Spencer, "'A Vineyard without a Wall': The Savoyards, John de Warenne and the Failure of Henry III's Kingship', in A. Spencer and C. Watkins (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England XVII* (Woodbridge, 2021), pp.90-129 which re-examines the impact of Henry's favouritism towards his Savoyard relatives.

²⁸⁵ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.178, 207-8, 217, 450.

²⁸⁶ Ridgeway, 'Politics', Table No.9, pp.415-20 provides a list of Peter of Savoy's household and main officials.

²⁸⁷ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.467-70.

²⁸⁸ Ridgeway, 'Politics', Table No.13 pp.429-33 provides a list of William de Valence's household and officials.

distribution of patronage towards 'aliens'.²⁸⁹ Tensions between the two factions reached crisis point in 1252 but subsequently the rivalry was less intense, and the overall level of gifts directed towards them fell during the decade.²⁹⁰ The generosity shown to the two factions in the late 1240s and early 1250s does not, however, appear to have increased the overall level of gift-giving. Perhaps the reason it courted controversy at the time was precisely because these particular 'aliens' were seen to be benefiting disproportionately at a time when there were constraints on Henry's resources more generally.²⁹¹

Nevertheless, Henry's gift-giving towards the two factions during the period of reform and civil war does reflect broader themes and their fortunes during these years. The enforced expulsion of the Lusignans in the summer of 1258 resulted, unsurprisingly, in their receiving no gifts in the following year. It is a mark of Henry's renewed authority after the success at Evesham that he awarded thirteen gifts to the Lusignans (9% of the total) in 1266.²⁹² Similarly, while the share of gifts to the Savoyards was relatively small during this period, it is telling that, when Henry sought to build up his support and reward his loyalists in the growing expectation of civil war in 1262, that share increased to 9%²⁹³.

Overall, therefore, the forest gifts to the Savoyards and Lusignans tend to support contemporary criticisms from the late 1240s in particular, namely that the limited resources available to the king for patronage were being directed disproportionately towards 'aliens'.

Reform and Revolution, 1258-67

The years between the spring of 1258 and the summer of 1267 marked the most sustained challenge to Henry's authority. His gift-giving from the forest during these years reflects their tumultuous nature, with wide variations in their volume and in the patterns of distribution.

Overall, Henry awarded more forest gifts (279) in 1258 than in any other year except 1256 (373). This alone is a strong indicator of the scale of the challenge that he faced from the reform movement. The vast majority of these gifts were awarded during a frenzied seven-month period from the start of April until the end of October. The start of the increase coincides almost exactly with the challenge presented to Henry's rule by the leading nobles at the end of April and reached a peak at the time of the Oxford Parliament in June.

²⁸⁹ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.479.

²⁹⁰ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.472, 554-5, 559-63, 688.

²⁹¹ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.472, 672-3, 689-90.

²⁹² Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.26, 34, 62, 63, 94.

²⁹³ Jobson, *English Revolution*, p.77.

The beneficiaries of such largesse give an indication of Henry's motives. Gifts were awarded between May and July to six of the twelve men whom Henry initially nominated to represent him on the newly formed Council of Twenty-Four.²⁹⁴ A larger number of gifts was given to those men who were nominated to represent the reformers on the same council. In particular, there was a flurry of gifts to them during the parliament at Oxford in June and then again in August, following Henry's formal acceptance of the new Council of Fifteen.²⁹⁵ However, the main beneficiaries of the increase in Henry's gift-giving during this period were the people he reached out to in the wider political community, many of whom were leading nobles and barons. The king therefore used gifts extensively during this period both to reward loyalists and also seemingly to secure support both with reformers and with the broader political community.

By late summer 1258, the reformers were firmly in control politically and remained so until the end of 1259.²⁹⁶ However, although he may have relinquished control of the great seal and, in Jobson's terms, been 'reduced to little more than a royal cipher,' Henry appears to have continued to exercise considerable authority concerning the award of forest gifts. Only twelve of the gifts awarded between summer 1258 and the end of 1259 were through the council or the justiciar Hugh Bigod, with all others continuing to be attested by the king. Forest gifts continued to be awarded at frequent intervals to royalists such as the earl of Warwick, the bishop of Norwich, John Mansel and Henry Wingham.²⁹⁷

There was also, however, a steady flow of gifts to reformers sitting on the Council of Fifteen, as well as those in key positions in the new government.²⁹⁸ Another indicator of the success of the reform movement was the cessation of gifts to the Lusignans and their close associates following their exile

²⁹⁴ The recipients were the earls of Pembroke and Warwick, the bishops of Winchester and London, Henry Wingham and the abbot of Westminster: *CR 1256-59*, pp.219, 220, 222, 226, 231, 236, 241, 242, 247, 249.

²⁹⁵ The beneficiaries included the earls of Norfolk and Hereford, Peter de Montfort, William Bardolf, Roger de Mortimer, Hugh Bigod, John Fitzgeoffrey and the bishop of Worcester: *CR 1256-59*, pp.233, 234, 236, 237, 240, 242, 249, 251, 252, 257, 259, 260; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.22-8. Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, p.68 also highlights the number of gifts awarded to reformers during this period.

²⁹⁶ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.4-46; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.24-43.

²⁹⁷ Jobson, *English Revolution*, p.27. John de Plessy, earl of Warwick was originally nominated by Henry for the Council of Twenty-Four and was one of the few royalists who subsequently joined the Council of Fifteen (Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.21, 24; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, p.11). Between 1236 and 1262 he and his immediate family received a remarkable seventy-one gifts from the royal forest. For further details see N. Vincent, 'Plessis, John de, seventh earl of Warwick (d. 1263), royal councillor', *ODNB* (2006) accessed online 24 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22379>. Simon of Walton, bishop of Norwich was one of the very few bishops who supported Henry during this period and the subsequent civil war (S. Ambler, 'The Montfortian Bishops', in Jobson (ed.), *Baronial Reform*, p.140). *CR 1256-59*, pp.374, 384, 387, 389, 395, 424, 435; *CR 1259-61*, pp.9, 10.

²⁹⁸ Jobson, *Revolution*, pp.24, 25, 29, 31-2, 182 n.91; *CR 1256-59*, pp.243, 251, 252, 257, 259, 260, 270, 335, 336, 340, 391, 404, 408, 409, 413, 414, 424, 429, 454, 456; *CR 1259-61*, pp.2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 19.

in July 1258.²⁹⁹ Henry's relationship with the reformers and the council during this period was therefore neither outwardly hostile nor harmonious.

Between the end of 1259 and May 1260, the flow of gifts reduced to a trickle due to Henry's absence in France negotiating a peace treaty with Louis IX.³⁰⁰ However, after returning to England in spring 1260, the king embarked upon a co-ordinated political campaign that had restored him fully to power by the end of 1261.³⁰¹ The grant of forest gifts was one of the tools that he used to reward his existing supporters, while also drawing erstwhile reformers to his side. There was also a marked increase in gift-giving during this period. Some of this may be attributable to external factors, such as the preparations in summer 1260 for what was an ultimately abortive military campaign in Wales.³⁰² However, a significant element of that overall increase, especially during summer 1261, was associated with Henry's deliberate campaign to reassert his authority.³⁰³

There were a number of separate elements to Henry's gift-giving in this period. Firstly, a substantial proportion of the gifts was awarded to loyal supporters whom he placed in key positions in central government or as sheriffs and castellans. For example, Robert Walerand received three forest gifts.³⁰⁴ Secondly, Henry used forest gifts as a means of securing the loyalty of leading knights and barons. In February 1261, he summoned a small military force to muster ahead of what was a potentially troublesome parliament. Of the twenty-seven barons and knights who received the summons, over half received forest gifts at some point during the year.³⁰⁵ Thirdly, Henry appears to have used gifts as one of the means of drawing those who had been associated with the reform movement over to his side. The marcher baron Roger de Clifford and Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, for example, between them received five forest gifts in the last few months of 1261 possibly as part of a package of measures to loosen their support for the reform movement.³⁰⁶

During 1262, a very large proportion of gifts was awarded to those who had shown loyalty to the king in the preceding years and those who were now closely associated with his government. This included prominent Savoyards such as Ebulo de Montibus who received four gifts during this year.

²⁹⁹ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.15-6; Jobson, *Revolution*, pp.26, 32.

³⁰⁰ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.83-108; Jobson, *Revolution*, pp.45-51.

³⁰¹ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.173-226; Jobson, *Revolution*, pp.47-63; Ridgeway, 'What Happened?', pp.89-108.

³⁰² Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.191-2; Jobson, *Revolution*, pp.53-4.

³⁰³ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.212-3 and Jobson, *Revolution*, p.64 both highlight the level of gift-giving in summer 1261.

³⁰⁴ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.188, 208; Jobson, *Revolution*, pp.61, 66; *CR 1259-61*, pp.330, 419.

³⁰⁵ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.201-4; Jobson, *Revolution*, pp.59-60; *CR 1259-61*, pp.405, 407, 422, 457.

³⁰⁶ Jobson, *Revolution*, p.71; *CR 1259-61*, pp.403, 406, 418; *CR 1261-64*, pp.7, 8.

Additionally, Henry gave awards to Poitevins such as William de Valence who had generated so much hostility in the years preceding the reform movement.³⁰⁷

Henry's prolonged absence in France late in 1262, coupled with unrest on the Welsh border, led to a gradual deterioration in his position at home and a descent into lawlessness across the country. From the start of 1263, the king was largely confined to London and the very low level of gift-giving between January and the end of July of that year (just 36% of the average level) is suggestive of a government not so much in crisis as in paralysis, particularly as Montfort progressively installed a rival administration. From August onwards, however, there was a sharp rise in gift-giving. This might partly, as Carpenter has suggested, be a measure of the control of the reformers over the process as large numbers of gifts went to their supporters. Alternatively, it is possible that the increase reflects a more concerted royalist response to the reformers, as the king directed gifts not only to loyalists, but also to those close to Montfort. Such rewards were part of a much broader package of inducements that were successful in causing a number of reformers such as Henry of Almain, John de Warenne and Hamo Lestrangle to switch sides to supporting the king.³⁰⁸

There was a reduced level of gift-giving during the first few months of 1264 as firstly, Henry was again in France and then, on his return to England, was actively engaged in a military campaign against Simon de Montfort. That first phase of the civil war ended with Henry's decisive defeat at Lewes in May 1264 and his subsequent captivity. Wild has used the wardrobe accounts to demonstrate that, despite his captivity, in many senses Henry was allowed and able to maintain the semblance of royal authority, splendour and ceremony. At the same time, the new government installed by Montfort placed very strict controls over Henry's freedom of action, effectively reducing him to not much more than a figurehead.³⁰⁹ The overall level of gift-giving during these months was at approximately 90% of its average level and the vast majority of awards were attested solely by Henry, but the distribution of these gifts presents a complex picture illustrating the different forces at work, including the strong influence that the new government had over the gift-giving process and its readiness to reward its supporters. Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, had fought alongside the king at Lewes and received two forest gifts in the month after the battle. His son, also named Humphrey, had fought with the rebels and was the beneficiary of three forest gifts in June 1264,

³⁰⁷ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.235-7; Jobson, *Revolution*, pp.76-7; *CR 1261-64*, pp.19, 73, 74.

³⁰⁸ Jobson, *Revolution*, p.102; *CR 1261-64*, pp.226, 254, 318, 328. See Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, p.276 for the view that Henry had 'little or no control over his seal' and 'had to put up' with Montfort's government awarding its supporters.

³⁰⁹ B. Wild, 'A Captive King: Henry III Between the Battles of Lewes and Evesham, 1264-5', in Burton, Lachaud and Schofield (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England XIII*, p.43; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.330-3; Jobson, *Revolution*, pp.121-2.

May 1265 and June 1265. The royalist Philip Basset who was wounded and captured at Lewes received a gift of deer in July 1264, while the rebel magnate John de Vere, earl of Oxford received a similar gift in the same month. Members of the Montfort family itself received nine gifts between June 1264 and May 1265. This included a gift of ten oaks to Simon de Montfort himself, his first gift from the royal forest since 1249.³¹⁰

Henry's position was restored as a result of Montfort's defeat and death at the battle of Evesham in August 1265. That was not followed by any marked increase in the level of gift-giving which was well below the average. The level of gifts remained low in 1266 as Henry continued his military campaigning to defeat the remaining rebels, including a protracted siege at Kenilworth. It was only in 1267 that there was a return initially to the average levels of gift-giving and then a subsequent sharp increase in the later months of the year, once peace had been established following the end of de Clare's occupation of London in July. What is particularly noticeable during the final year of the civil war was the sharp increase in the share of gifts awarded to members of Henry's household and government. These accounted for over half of all the gifts during this year compared with the 28% awarded to the broader political community and just 17% to religious houses and orders. There are a number of probable factors that help to explain this distribution. Firstly, there is no suggestion that Henry used the gift-giving process in any notable way to effect a reconciliation with erstwhile rebels. This is consistent with his initial policy more generally towards those who had opposed him during the preceding years.³¹¹ At the same time, he was doubtless keen to reward those who had remained loyal to him during the civil war. It is also possible that the gifts were one of the means at his disposal to reward his supporters given that the royal finances were, by then, in such a parlous state.³¹²

There are therefore many features of Henry's gift-giving during the years of reform and civil war that echo his practices from other periods. He regularly made use of gifts to win and bolster support during periods of severe political crisis, in particular at times reaching out to those beyond his

³¹⁰ *CR 1261-64*, pp.345, 346, 347, 348, 352, 367; *CR 1264-68*, pp.4, 26, 49, 57, 58, 60, 65; Jobson, *Revolution*, pp.42, 115, 117, 122, 141; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, p.333; N. Vincent, 'Bohun, Humphrey de, second earl of Hereford and seventh earl of Essex (d. 1275), magnate', *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 17 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2775>; R. Hogg, 'Basset, Philip (d. 1271), justiciar and royalist nobleman', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 17 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1643>. Separately, Mario Fernandes has used the award of gifts during this period as a means of identifying Montfortian supporters (M. Fernandes, 'The Midlands Knights and the Barons' War: The Warwickshire Evidence', in Jobson (ed.), *Baronial Reform*, p.172).

³¹¹ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.458-76; Jobson, *Revolution*, pp.150-1; Knowles, 'Provision for the Families', pp.124-7; Knowles, 'Resettlement', pp.25-41.

³¹² Jobson, *Revolution*, p.151; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.460-1; R. Cassidy, 'Adventus Vicecomitum and the Financial Crisis of Henry III's Reign, 1250-1272', *English Historical Review* 126 (2011), pp.624-5, 627; Jobson, 'Post-Evesham', pp.179-90.

household and government administration. The level of gift-giving fell markedly during periods of active military campaigning and his frequent absences in France. That position was reversed following the re-establishment of his authority in 1266, with a notable increase after that in the number of awards to government officials, household knights, clerks and justices.

Henry III's Itinerary and Forest Gifts

Henry III was a famously sedentary king. Excluding the period when he campaigned in France, between 1234 and 1252 Henry spent almost 30% of his time at Westminster. A similar amount was collectively spent at his favoured royal palaces at Windsor, Woodstock, Clarendon and Marlborough.³¹³ Yet while Henry spent a large proportion of his time at Westminster, it was the venue for just 19% of the gifts that he awarded during these years. In contrast, there was a high level of gift-giving on those occasions when Henry ventured outside the capital and beyond the boundaries of his favourite palaces. Excluding military campaigns which are addressed above and pilgrimages which are considered later, there were thirteen journeys during Henry's personal rule, as set out in Table 3.2, when there was an above-average level of gift-giving.³¹⁴

³¹³ J.E. Kanter, 'Peripatetic and Sedentary Kingship: The Itineraries of the Thirteenth-Century English Kings' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, King's College, London, 2011), pp.213-27; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.349-57. Kanter's thesis examines Henry's itinerary during his minority and during the periods 1234-41 and 1244-52. This thesis builds on earlier research by Craib, 'Itinerary'. Kanter's thesis is also summarised in J. Kanter, 'Peripatetic and Sedentary Kingship: The Itineraries of John and Henry III', in Burton, Lachaud and Schofield (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England XIII*, pp.11-26.

³¹⁴ This analysis excludes journeys beyond Henry's palaces of less than two weeks' duration. It also excludes journeys undertaken during the period of reform and civil war, 1258-67, which are considered earlier. The 'Expected Number of Gifts' is calculated proportionately based upon the amount of time in that month that Henry was journeying outside his usual itinerary.

Date	Itinerary	Number of Gifts	Expected Number of Gifts	Difference (%)
Dec. 1229 – Jan. 1230	East Mids./Yorks.	26	16	63
May 1231	Welsh Marches	17	13	31
May – June 1232	Worcs. and Marches	33	15	120
May – June 1234	Gloucs. and Worcs.	21	18	17
July – Sept. 1235	West Country/Mids.	43	20	115
June – July 1236	Dorset/Gloucs./Worcs.	41	30	37
Aug. – Oct. 1236	East Mids./Yorks.	32	29	10
Sept. – Oct. 1237	Mids./Yorks.	39	23	70
July – Aug. 1244	Mids./Newcastle	75	46	63
Aug. 1250	West Country	26	22	18
Nov. 1251 – Jan. 1252	Gloucs./Mids./Yorks.	68	33	106
July – Oct. 1255	Mids./Newcastle	89	52	71
July – Aug. 1256	West Country/Welsh Marches	75	38	97
Total		585	355	65%

Table 3.2: Gift-giving and Henry III's Itinerary, 1227-72

There were four ostensible reasons for these journeys. There were firstly the journeys to the northern counties that were associated with diplomatic activity concerning Scotland.³¹⁵ Other itineraries were most closely associated with political tensions in and around Wales which, while not amounting to military campaigns, ostensibly served to reinforce Henry's position in the marches region. In comparison to his father John, it appears that very little of Henry's itinerary was determined by the need to raise revenue. This does, however, appear to have been the primary driver for the journey across the west country and the midlands in the summer of 1235. It is also possible that it was the motive for a similar visit to the west country in August 1250 when Henry's attention was focused on raising revenue for his planned crusade.³¹⁶ Finally, some of these journeys were undertaken for more personal reasons. Henry's marriage to Eleanor of Provence in January

³¹⁵ W. Salt, 'The Visits of King Henry III to the Northern Counties of England, as shown by a MS Itinerary in the Possession of William Salt, Esq., F.S.A., compiled from materials communicated by Thomas Duffus Hardy, Esq., one of the keepers of the Public Records', LSE Selected Pamphlets (London, 1856); Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.229.

³¹⁶ Kanter, 'Itineraries', pp.231-9; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.545-9.

1236, for example, was followed by a series of tours of the kingdom which, in the summer of 1236, was combined with another visit to the north to meet with Alexander II. Carpenter has also highlighted that the king's visit to Worcester in May 1232 was partly so that he could attend the ceremony to mark the translation of his father's body to a new tomb there.³¹⁷

The level of gift-giving associated with these journeys was therefore at times a response to political concerns linked to events in Scotland and Wales. But they were also occasionally associated with events that had much more direct personal relevance to Henry concerning his family and the future of his dynasty. It is also likely that they were seen as opportunities for the king to demonstrate and exercise his lordship in parts of the country far removed from Westminster and his palaces in the south of England.

Within this context, it is interesting to observe who were the recipients of Henry's generosity while he was on these journeys. To that end, an analysis has been undertaken in particular of the three journeys undertaken in 1235, 1244 and 1256 as these cover different geographies and different periods in Henry's reign.

In early 1235, Henry scored a diplomatic triumph by securing the marriage of his sister Isabella to the Emperor Frederick II. However, raising the agreed dowry of 30,000 marks was a substantial challenge. In July, a great council agreed to levy an aid, albeit one that would only raise a few thousand pounds. Henry therefore journeyed first west to Bristol and then into the midlands as far as Nottingham in a campaign to raise the additional funds. His target were the religious houses that did not hold land in chief and had therefore not contributed to the aid. It is unsurprising that almost half of the forest gifts awarded during this itinerary were to abbeys and priories, presumably as inducements or rewards for contributing financially to the cost of Isabella's dowry. It appears that Henry's campaign was successful, probably reflecting the general support for such a prestigious marriage.³¹⁸

Henry's journey North in summer 1244 had its cause in a feud amongst the Scottish nobility. He ordered a full-scale military muster to take place in Newcastle at the start of August. Although a negotiated peace avoided war, the essentially military purpose of the journey was reflected in the nature of the gift-giving. Almost half of the forest gifts during these two months were given to a

³¹⁷ Kanter, 'Itineraries', pp.233-4; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.114.

³¹⁸ Kanter, 'Itineraries', pp.231-2; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.172-5. Details concerning Isabelle's marriage to Frederick II are to be found in B. Weiler, *Staufen Empire*, chapter 2 and in Wilkinson, 'Imperial Marriage', pp.20-36.

range of magnates, barons, knights and household knights, many of whom accompanied Henry on the expedition.³¹⁹

Henry's journey in the summer of 1256 to the west country and then via the Welsh marches to the west midlands had two purposes. It was firstly intended to review the political climate on the Welsh border in the face of a growing threat from Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, but also to enable his son and heir, the Lord Edward, to tour and be seen in his new appanage of Cheshire.³²⁰ These two reasons help to explain the number of gifts awarded to local lords and barons such as Maurice of Berkeley, Roger de Mortimer, Warin of Bassingbourne, Philip Marmion and Isabella, wife of John of Monmouth.

While there were specific reasons behind Henry's rare journeys outside London and beyond his favoured palaces, a large number of the gifts are therefore best understood as demonstrations of largesse to reinforce Henry's rule in parts of the country that he otherwise rarely visited.

Piety and Henry III's Forest Gifts

One of the striking features of Henry's use of the royal forest is the number of gifts that he gave to a wide range of religious houses, orders, cathedrals, churches, senior and minor clergy and recluses. Overall, these account for approximately 22% (1,622) of the 7,335 gifts. These gifts are best understood in the context of Henry's piety which has received much attention from historians, and which warranted him the title of *rex christianissimus* amongst contemporaries.³²¹

In both absolute and proportionate terms, these gifts were a constant feature of Henry's personal rule, although their significance varied at times. There is a striking correlation between the large numbers of these 'piety' gifts in both absolute and relative terms and the journeys that Henry took outside his usual itinerary that have been discussed above. For example, 85% of the gifts to religious houses, orders and hospitals were given while the king was away from Westminster, while during the 1244 visit to the north of England referred to above, a quarter of the gifts were awarded to this category. Similarly, during the visit to the west and the Welsh marches in the summer of 1256,

³¹⁹ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.421-5; Salt, 'Visits', pp.8-9, 18.

³²⁰ *CR 1254-56*, pp.340, 341, 342, 344, 346; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.640-1.

³²¹ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.273-348; D.A. Carpenter, 'King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult', *English Historical Review* 122 (2007), pp.866, 871-3, 877-9; N. Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge, 2001), pp.1, 14, 185-6, 191-2; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 155, 430-1, 443; Vincent, 'An Inventory of Gifts', pp.129-131; Kjaer, *Medieval Gift*, pp.180-2; V.A. Cole, 'Ritual Charity and Royal Children in Thirteenth-Century England', in J. Rollo-Koester (ed.), *Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Formalized Behaviour in Europe, China and Japan* (Brill, 2002), pp.229-33; S. Dixon-Smith, 'The Image and Reality of Alms-Giving in the Great Halls of Henry III', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 152 (1999), pp.79-96.

abbeys, churches and religious houses accounted for twenty of the seventy-five gifts, making them collectively the largest category of recipient. As discussed above, the primary purpose for these visits was usually either diplomatic or political, but it is notable how Henry also used them as an opportunity to distribute an unusually large number of gifts to religious houses and orders, and to hospitals.

Henry's gift-giving therefore tended to benefit those religious houses who had the good fortune to be on, or close to the route of his journeys out of and away from Westminster. A number of the beneficiaries, such as Romsey Abbey, appear to have been places where the king stayed during his itinerary so the gifts are likely to have been tokens of appreciation.³²² In the clear majority of cases, however, the awards that Henry gave while travelling outside the capital appear to have been either responses to requests received from nearby religious houses or as the result of royal initiative. Almost all the gifts were of either timber for construction or firewood, with very few gifts of vension.³²³

One other factor that may help to explain this very high level of generosity was the happy coincidence from Henry's perspective of the expansion of the Franciscan and Dominican religious orders across the country. These orders needed to establish friaries as they expanded and gifts of timber from the royal forest both responded to this need and allowed Henry to express his piety.³²⁴

There were other periods of particular generosity to religious houses and orders that do not coincide with Henry's journeys outside his usual itinerary. The high share of such gifts in 1246 and 1247 reflects the king's preoccupation at the time with religious concerns, culminating in October 1247 with the Ceremony of the Holy Blood.³²⁵ Henry's piety also notably came to the fore during the traumatic period of the civil war and accounted for an unusually high share of the few gifts that he gave during 1264 and 1265. It is also evident following the ban that Henry imposed on gifting in 1268, which is considered further below. What is telling is that Henry soon began to find exceptions to this self-imposed ban and that he broke it primarily to award gifts to religious orders and monastic houses. Clearly, the king's instinct for generosity, when coupled with his piety, was a powerful force that he found difficult to restrain.

³²² *CR 1227-31*, p.483.

³²³ The value of such gifts in the context of expensive building programmes has been highlighted in J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994), pp.152-3.

³²⁴ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, chapter 6; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.33, 167, 206, 229, 273, 277, 281-4, 302; W.A. Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers* (Rome, 1951), pp.72-85; E. Hutton, *The Franciscans in England, 1224-1538* (London, 1926), pp.9-95.

³²⁵ Kanter, 'Itineraries', pp.1207, 1209, 1225, 1227; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.474-8.

While Henry's piety therefore had a positive impact on the level of gift-giving, there were also occasions when it served to suppress the number of forest gifts. Chart 3.4 above highlights the very low number of gifts of venison during the months February to April, for which contemporary deer farming practices do not provide an explanation. The explanation rather is that, while the precise dates varied each year, this was the period of Lent, a time for abstinence and fasting and therefore also restraint in gift-giving, particularly concerning luxury food items such as venison.³²⁶ While other gifts continued to be given during Lent at a rate similar to that of other times of the year, the gifts of venison dropped to just one tenth of the rate at which they were awarded across the year as a whole. There were also many years in succession when Henry made no gifts of venison during Lent. This pattern is a telling indicator of just how much Henry's piety influenced his gift-giving and that, at times, any concerns for political patronage would be subservient to his strict observance of religious protocols.

It is also apparent that, while there is a positive correlation between Henry's journeys outside his usual itinerary and the level of gift-giving, there is not the same relationship between the pilgrimages he frequently undertook to Canterbury and the shrines of East Anglia and the number of forest gifts that he awarded during these periods. This is probably a reflection of the fact that these shrines were not in areas of forest law.³²⁷

Nor does it seem that Henry's gift giving was positively influenced by dates within the Christian calendar. There is no evidence, for example, of any greater propensity for gift-giving on key saints' days. The overall impact of Henry's piety on his gift-giving was therefore complex. In many ways, it served to increase the overall volume of his gift-giving activity and particularly so when he journeyed beyond Westminster. However, Henry's devotion also meant that there were times when gift-giving was deemed inappropriate, no matter the intended recipient.

Gift-giving and Sustainability of the Forest

As is discussed further in Chapters 4 and 6 in particular, many forest boundaries were fixed early in the period of Henry's personal rule, but there were subsequent adjustments that both increased and decreased the area of the royal forest. The most notable addition came with the crown's acquisition of the lands and forests of the earldom of Chester, a process that was completed by October

³²⁶ Vincent, 'An Inventory of Gifts', p.132; Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.66.

³²⁷ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.33, 81, 149, 205-6, 254, 315, 317-8, 420-1, 480, 526, 551, 639-40, 642; N. Vincent, 'The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England 1154-1272', in C. Morris and P. Roberts (eds.), *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan* (Cambridge, 2002), pp.21-8 looks in particular at the religious motivation.

1241.³²⁸ Henry subsequently made thirty-nine gifts from these particular forests until the estate was awarded to the Lord Edward as part of his appanage in 1254.³²⁹ Disafforestations, both early during Henry's personal rule and in subsequent years reduced the overall size of the forest as did other alienations to members of the royal family, such as the award of the Forest of Dartmoor in October 1239 to his younger brother, Richard of Cornwall.³³⁰ While, on balance, it is likely that the net effect of these changes was to reduce the size of the royal forest, the overall impact upon gift-giving volumes appears to have been immaterial.

The resources at Henry's disposal were occasionally increased by the wardships and ecclesiastical vacancies created by the deaths of tenants-in-chief and bishops. These brought under royal control, albeit on a temporary basis, the private woods and parks of these lords which provided an additional source of wood and deer for distribution as gifts. There was a rash of such wardships and vacancies in the early 1240s and, as shown in Table 3.3, a corresponding increase in the number of gifts from these sources.³³¹

Year	Number of Royal Forest Gifts	Number of Gifts from Lands in Custody	Total Number of Gifts
1240	106	18	124
1241	145	43	188
1242	75	23	98
1243	72	28	100
1244	183	20	203
Total	581	132	713

Table 3.3: Gifts from Lands in Royal Custody, 1240-44

It is debatable whether the extra provision reduced Henry's need to use the royal forest to award gifts. While the high number of gifts from custody lands in 1241 particularly indicates that this may have been a consideration, the low number of gifts during 1242 and 1243 suggests that a much greater influence was the king's absence on his military campaign in France.

Henry also used wood and deer from the royal forest for his own purposes. Hunters were regularly despatched to obtain venison for the royal household and there were frequent orders of timber from the forest to repair castles and help build the royal palaces. It is theoretically possible that

³²⁸ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.233-4, 243; R.G. Eales, 'Henry III and the end of the Earldom of Chester', in Coss and Lloyd (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England I*, pp.100-13.

³²⁹ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.234, 657; Appendix D, 'Cheshire'.

³³⁰ Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.143-4; MacDermot, *Exmoor*, p.16.

³³¹ Stacey, *Politics*, pp.219-23; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.213, 224.

demand for these royal purposes reduced the available supply for distribution as gifts. It is difficult to test this with any confidence concerning the use of wood as the mandates for royal use rarely specify the quantities to be used. In the case of venison, there is a slight negative correlation in the early 1240s suggesting a high consumption of venison by the royal household was matched by a reduced number of gifts. On the other hand, there were record numbers of venison ordered for the royal household in 1251 and 1252, years in which there were also very high numbers of gifts.

There is no evidence of a natural increase in the number of available deer within the forest boundaries. Nor is there evidence that the forest's eco-system was undermined through natural disasters such as diseases either to the trees or to the deer. Matthew Paris refers to an outbreak of murrain in 1254, but it is not clear whether this affected deer numbers. There was an unusually low number of deer gifted as venison in that year but the absence of Henry on campaign in Gascony is likely to have been a stronger explanation for this.³³² Henry's governments did, however, benefit from severe weather events resulting in fallen trees that were then available for distribution as gifts. Between 1251 and 1256, Matthew Paris highlights five occasions when bad storms affected the country.³³³ In each of these years, the number of oaks gifted was higher than the annual average and, in 1253 was more than double the average. There is a similar picture in the number of pollards gifted for firewood in 1252, 1255 and 1256, all of which were significantly above the annual average. It is possible, therefore, that unusual weather events should be considered alongside other factors that have already been highlighted in influencing the numbers of Henry's forest gifts. On the other hand, there is no record in Paris's chronicle of unusual weather conditions in 1235 which is the year when the largest number of oaks was gifted. The same applies to the gifts of pollards which peaked in 1234. Additionally, the number of pollards gifted in 1254, when Paris reported a violent storm in October, was below the annual average. Paris also reported poor weather in February 1247 but the number of gifts of both oaks and pollards in that year was below the average.³³⁴

It is clear from the extant records that Henry's government was concerned to maintain the delicate eco-system at the heart of the operation of the forest. Gifts were frequently awarded with the caveat that they should not result in damage to the sustainability of the forest. However, it does not seem that these were always successful. There are suggestions that, by the late 1250s, the forest's resources were being depleted through over-use. In May 1257 a ban was introduced on cutting down oak trees and hunting for deer in a large number of royal parks and bailiwicks within the

³³² Young, *Royal Forests*, p.101; *CM V*, p.427. The annual average number of venison gifted was 227. The number gifted in 1254 was 146.

³³³ *CM V*, pp.263-5, 272, 465, 495-6, 561.

³³⁴ *CM IV*, p.603; *CM V*, p.465.

forest.³³⁵ As discussed further in Chapter 6, in 1260 the reformist council introduced bans on taking wood and deer from the forest South of the Trent, expressing particular concern about low deer stocks in the Forest of Dean and in Bernwood Forest. Additionally, in June 1268 Henry issued an edict banning the award of forest gifts for three years due to the exhaustion of its natural resources. This was the culmination of a number of measures taken in the preceding years.³³⁶ The most likely cause of this state of affairs was the upheaval of the preceding years of civil war that had seen attacks upon royal parks and the continued lawlessness that saw rebels holding out against the government in parts of the forest.³³⁷ Although Henry's attempt at self-imposed restraint soon collapsed, the ban on gifts is the most significant explanation for the sharp reduction in their number in 1268 and 1269.

Gift Recipients: Categorisation

The remainder of this chapter examines forest gifts by reference to eight different categories of recipient as set out in Table 3.4. This approach helps to provide further insight concerning Henry's motives in awarding these gifts.³³⁸

³³⁵ *CR 1256-59*, pp.131-2.

³³⁶ *CR 1264-68*, pp.72, 314, 465, 467; *CPR 1266-72*, pp.109, 581; *CLR 1260-67*, p.229.

³³⁷ See A.C.B. Urwin, *Richard, Earl of Cornwall and King of Almayne, 1209-1272: Lord of the Manors of Isleworth and Twickenham* (Borough of Twickenham Local History Society, 1995), pp.44-6 for details of an assault on the deer park of Henry's brother. The rebel forest warden Adam Gurdon continued to resist the king from his forest base in Hampshire after the battle of Evesham (See Appendix D, 'Aliceholt and Wolmer'; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.485, 488). For evidence of damage more generally to the royal forest as a result of the civil war, see *CR 1264-68*, p.72.

³³⁸ The categorisation of recipients has been based on an extensive review of existing secondary studies, including the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sanders, *Baronies*, articles in the biennial publications of *Thirteenth Century England*, volumes of *Victoria County History*, unpublished theses and papers, and by reference to other contemporary primary sources, such as lists of charter witnesses (M. Morris (ed.), *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Henry III (1226-1272) from the Charter Rolls in the Public Record Office*, 2 volumes, List and Index Society, 2001). All relevant sources are included in the Bibliography. I also want in particular to express my gratitude to Dr Michael Ray for generously sharing with me his PhD thesis which provides invaluable details about the careers of a number of foreign officials within Henry III's governments.

Category Title	Number of Gifts	Category Description ³³⁹
Royal Family	250	Immediate family of Henry III, including wife and children, brother and sisters.
Magnates	1,035	Lay earls and ecclesiastical bishops, including their immediate families and identified members of their households.
Barons and Lords	983	Barons, lords and their families and households. The broad social rank between earls and knights.
Knights	577	Local knights and members of the gentry, their families and households.
Household Knights	1,222	Knights retained as members of Henry III's household, including their families.
Royal Officials	1,434	Senior administrators, justices, clerks and their families and households, and a wide range of royal servants.
'Piety'	1,622	Religious houses, orders, hospitals, senior and minor clergy, recluses.
Other	212	Foreign lords, local communities, unidentified gift recipients.
Total	7,335	

Table 3.4: Categories of Gift Recipient

Gift Recipients: Royal Family

Members of Henry's immediate family accounted for 250 (3%) of his forest gifts.³⁴⁰ Most of those were given to two individuals. His sister Eleanor received eighty-one gifts between 1227 and 1257. These gifts, which have been extensively examined by Louise Wilkinson as part of her biography of Eleanor, were an indication of the strong personal bond between brother and sister. This appears to have been particularly the case during the early years of Henry's rule as almost two-thirds of the gifts were awarded in the period until Eleanor's marriage to Simon de Montfort in 1238.³⁴¹

³³⁹ It is worth highlighting that individuals can appear in different categories at different times dependent upon their personal circumstances. For example, John de Plessy initially received gifts in his capacity as a household knight before later becoming an earl (N. Vincent, 'Plessis, John de, seventh earl of Warwick (d. 1263), royal councillor', *ODNB* (2006) accessed online 24 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22379>). An individual recipient has been judged to be a member of a magnate or similar household when it is implied in the records that the latter was influential in the award of the particular gift.

³⁴⁰ This category includes his sisters, brother Richard of Cornwall and his family, Henry's children and their spouses, and his wife Eleanor of Provence. It excludes members of the extended families of his Savoyard and Poitevin relatives who are included in the 'Magnates' category, as is Simon de Montfort.

³⁴¹ Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, pp.27, 30, 39-40, 44, 47, 56-7, 63, 67, 77, 85-6, 151, 152, 155-7.

Thereafter, it appears that Eleanor's standing in the eyes of the king was more closely linked to the fortunes of Simon de Montfort. The frequency of gifts gradually declined during the 1250s as relationships between Henry and Montfort deteriorated and ceased completely after 1257 when Montfort became closely associated with the reform movement.

There is no mention in Denholm-Young's biography of Richard of Cornwall of the sixty-five forest gifts that the younger brother received from Henry. Relatively few of these were given during the early years of Henry's reign when relationships between the brothers were occasionally fractious. The gifts, including those to Richard's wives, became more frequent following his return from crusade in 1242. This was the period when Richard was firmly established as 'a pillar of the regime' and when his frequent financial support and counsel to Henry were increasingly valued.³⁴²

Of the remaining members of the royal family, the twenty-nine gifts between 1256 and 1270 to the king's nephew Henry of Almain are best seen as inducements for the latter's support, particularly during the early stages of the reform movement when his behaviour was 'to shuttle uncertainly between the rival Montfortian and royalist camps.'³⁴³

The royal family therefore never accounted for a large share of the forest gifts that Henry awarded and, as Chart 3.9 illustrates, the absolute numbers gradually fell over time.³⁴⁴ Those gifts that were given show how Henry was influenced by feelings of personal affection and loyalty, but also by a desire to secure the support of influential members of his immediate family.

³⁴² Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.200-2; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp.34-7.

³⁴³ N. Vincent, 'Henry of Almain [Henry of Cornwall] (1235–1271), courtier', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 26 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12958>.

³⁴⁴ Henry III's son and heir, the Lord Edward, was awarded tithes of venison rather than gifts. The practice of granting tithes is examined in the next chapter.

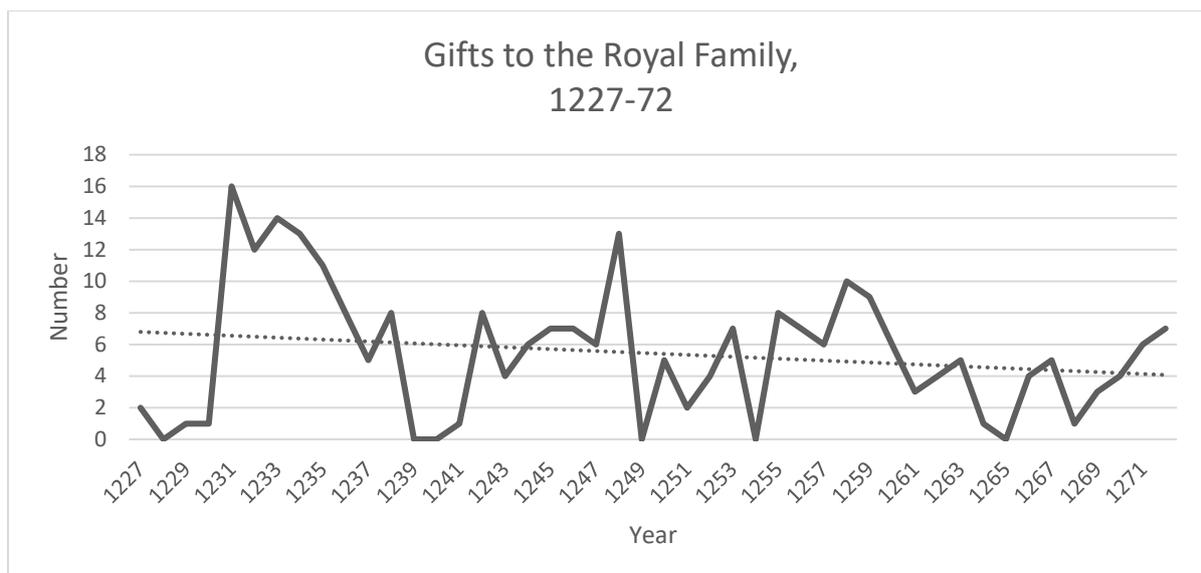


Chart 3.9: Gifts to the Royal Family, 1227-72

Gift Recipients: Lay and Clerical Magnates

Lay and clerical magnates, together with their immediate families and households, accounted for approximately 14% of gifts during the reign.³⁴⁵ As Chart 3.10 demonstrates, there was a slight decline over time in the number of annual gifts to this category. This was also the case in relative terms.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵ The decision to combine bishops with earls into one category was taken because many members of both groups had extensive and often dispersed estates, frequently including lands within the royal forest. Members of both groups also frequently served the king either via his council or as ministers in his governments. As noted in Chapter 6, bishops also often had a key political role as opinion formers.

³⁴⁶ This category also includes members of magnate households where they are explicitly identified as such. For example, it includes the four gifts between 1255 and 1261 to Peter of Savoy's steward, Guiscard de Charrum (*CR 1254-56*, p.239; *CR 1259-61*, pp.6, 355, 412). The reason for including the gifts to these recipients is because they suggest an element of influence on the part of the magnate over the gift-giving process, or at least their status as a beneficiary. Spencer, 'Royal Patronage', p.24 has emphasised the distinct status of earls within lay society.

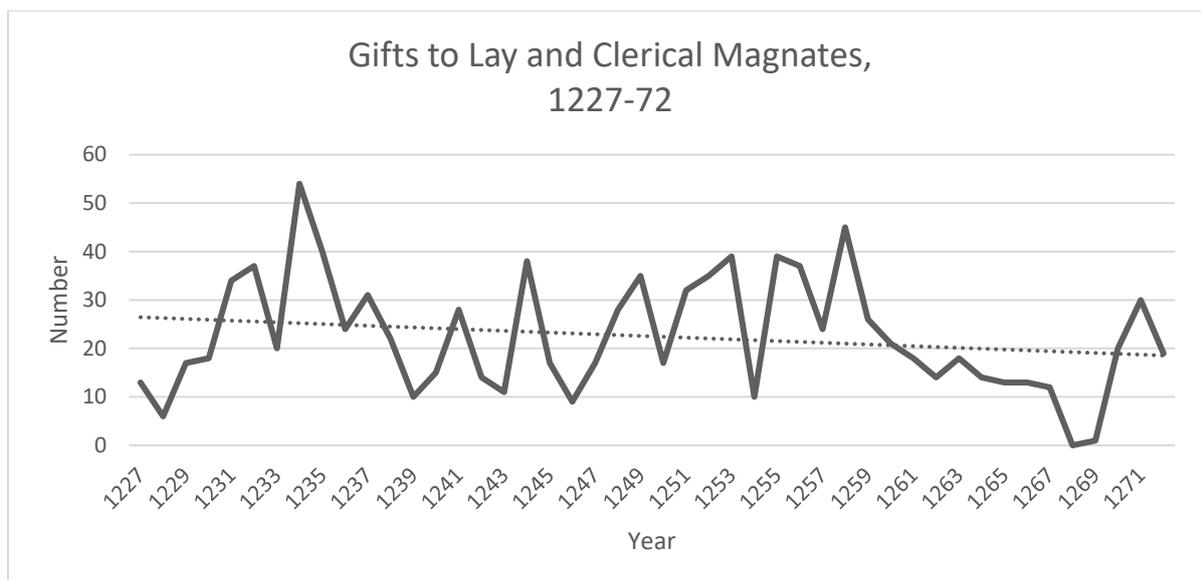


Chart 3.10: Gifts to Lay and Clerical Magnates, 1227-72

There are three main explanations for the decline. Firstly, the rise in the number of gifts to lesser lords during the 1250s, which is discussed further in Chapter 6, suggests that Henry was increasingly seeking to broaden the base of his political support for unpopular policies such as the Sicilian Business. The fall may also indicate a growing disengagement during the same period between Henry and his leading lay magnates.³⁴⁷ It is possible also that the decline reflects the resentment that Henry felt later towards those nobles who openly opposed him during the period of reform and civil war. Finally, in the post-Evesham period, Henry gave greater priority to targeting forest gifts towards his royal officials and household knights at the expense of other groups, as is discussed further below.

Almost all the heads of the established noble dynasties received forest gifts during the period of Henry's personal rule. The two notable exceptions are Baldwin de Redvers, earl of Devon and Thomas de Forz, earl of Albemarle. In some cases, the recipients were men of such political and military power that it is difficult to envisage them not being granted gifts. The de Clare earls of Gloucester and the Marshal earls of Pembroke both fall into this category.³⁴⁸ The overall leading beneficiary was, however, Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford (1220-75), who received fifty-one gifts. This might in part simply be a reflection of longevity. However, it is likely also that the number of gifts reflects the strategic importance of Bohun's estate in the Welsh marches as well as being a

³⁴⁷ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.532, 616-7.

³⁴⁸ Richard de Clare received fifteen gifts while his successor as earl of Gloucester, Gilbert de Clare, received ten. Richard Marshal, earl of Pembroke, received four gifts, Gilbert Marshal thirty-one and Walter Marshal seven.

reward for his loyalty.³⁴⁹ Also strategically important was Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester who received thirty-eight gifts. While not heavily involved in politics in England, his wealth generally and substantial estates in Scotland made him an important ally of the king's.³⁵⁰ A further significant beneficiary was William de Ferrers, earl of Derby who received forty-four gifts until his death in 1247, probably as rewards for the steadfast loyalty that he showed to Henry and to John before him.³⁵¹

Of the sixty-eight men who held positions either as archbishops or bishops during Henry's reign, approximately 70% were gift recipients. Putting the Poitevins to one side, the key beneficiaries were men such as Walter Mauclerk, bishop of Carlisle (44 gifts between 1227 and 1244) who served in Henry's government as an administrator and councillor as well as holding senior positions in the church.³⁵² In other cases, they were more personal in nature, such as the gifts to Richard le Grant (archbishop of Canterbury), Robert Grosseteste (bishop of Lincoln), Nicholas Farnham (bishop of Durham) and Richard Blund (bishop of Exeter) to coincide with their consecrations.³⁵³ While there was therefore a political dimension to Henry's gifts to his bishops, there was also occasionally a ritual element that reflects again how deeply his piety impacted upon his gift-giving practices.

Gift Recipients: Barons and Lords

A further 983 gifts (13% of the total) were given to a category loosely made up of barons, lords and their households, that is the social rank between earls and knights.³⁵⁴ As Chart 3.11 illustrates, the number of gifts to this group increased during the course of the reign, with a particularly notable increase during the 1250s.

³⁴⁹ N. Vincent, 'Bohun, Humphrey de, second earl of Hereford and seventh earl of Essex (d. 1275), magnate', *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 17 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2775>.

³⁵⁰ R. Oram, 'Quincy, Roger de, earl of Winchester (c. 1195–1264), constable of Scotland', *ODNB* (2023) accessed online 10 December 2025 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22966>.

³⁵¹ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.69, 79, 83, 86, 90, 103, 124, 144, 195, 385.

³⁵² N. Vincent, 'Mauclerk, Walter (d. 1248), bishop of Carlisle', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 18 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18355>.

³⁵³ *CR 1227-31*, p.171; *CR 1234-37*, p.90; *CR 1242-47*, p.342; *CLR 1240-45*, p.52; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.217.

³⁵⁴ This category consists of the approximately seventy-six complete baronies and sixty fractions of baronies that are likely to have been in existence during Henry's reign as per S. Painter, *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony* (Baltimore, 1943), pp.170-90. Another important source of information is Sanders, *Baronies*. Included in this group are those men and women who, while not qualifying as barons, held estates that were much larger than those of the average knight.

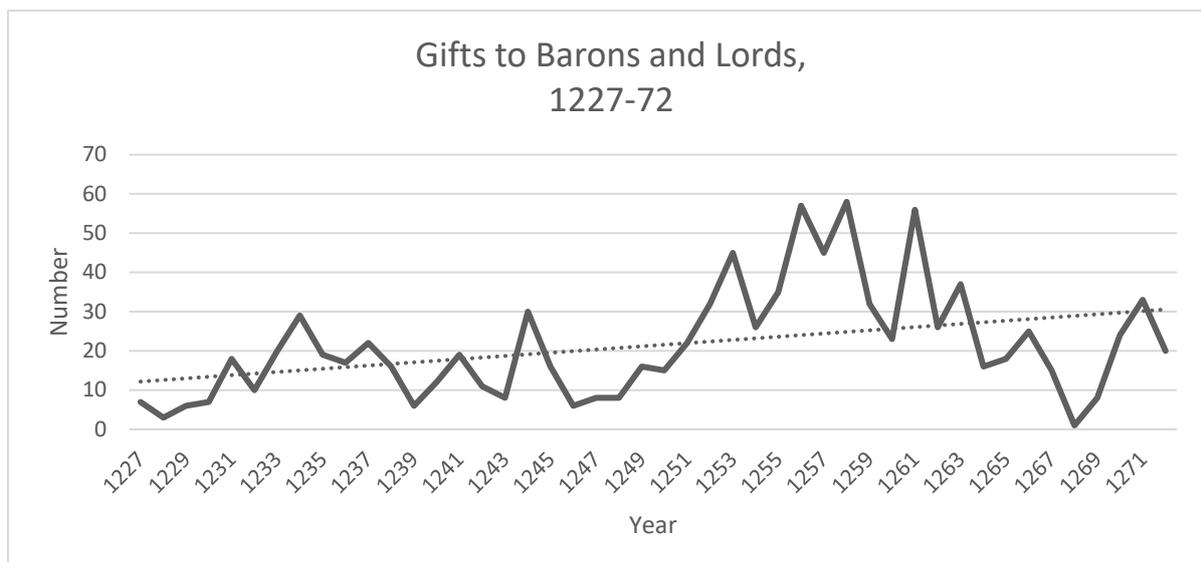


Chart 3.11: Gifts to Barons and Lords, 1227-72

The contrast with the pattern of distribution to the magnates is particularly pronounced. In the case of gifts to barons and lords, there were only five years when the number accounted for more than 20% of the total and they were all in the decade after 1254. Conversely, there were fourteen years when this group accounted for less than 10% of all gifts and twelve of these were in the period before 1249. Whereas this group may therefore have been less relevant to Henry in the early years of his reign, they seemingly became more important following his decisions to pursue a crusade and then the Sicilian Business, both of which needed broad political and financial support.³⁵⁵

There was a very broad pattern of distribution within this category. The chief beneficiary was John Fitzgeoffrey who, along with his wife, received fifty-four forest gifts between 1231 and 1258. Hailing from ‘a famous family, rich and powerful,’ Fitzgeoffrey joined the king’s council at parliament’s request in 1237 before holding various positions as a steward, sheriff and justiciar of Ireland.³⁵⁶

While many of the recipients in this category were also actively involved in Henry’s government, others benefited by virtue of being key political, social and military figures in the localities and in particular the Welsh marches where there was frequently unrest during Henry’s reign. For example, Roger de Mortimer, who with members of his family received thirty-two gifts between 1253 and 1272, inherited land in the central marches region in 1247. In the same year, his marriage to Matilda de Briouze, one of the heiresses of the Marshal patrimony, significantly increased his estate and ‘propelled the Mortimer family into the first rank of the English baronage.’ The regular flow of forest gifts from Henry during the 1250s highlight his standing and importance in an increasingly difficult

³⁵⁵ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.513-8, 525-7, 547, 550, 583-9.

³⁵⁶ D. Carpenter, ‘John fitz Geoffrey (c. 1206–1258), justiciar of Ireland and baronial leader’, *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/38271>.

region.³⁵⁷ In a similar vein, Melissa Julian-Jones has highlighted the role of the Corbets as a middle-ranking marcher family and the forest gifts that Henry III gave to Thomas Corbet.³⁵⁸

The number of gifts given to Fitzgeoffrey and Mortimer was unusual. There were approximately 220 different gift beneficiaries in this category, equating to almost five gifts per individual. However, the number of gifts awarded varied significantly. Almost fifty beneficiaries received only one gift, while approximately twenty-five families accounted for about 50% of all the gifts. It is also interesting to note that, whereas most of the gifts to women were given in their capacity as the wives or mothers of a particular magnate, baron, household knight or royal official, fifty-seven of the gifts in this category were given to women who were clearly identified as holding land in their own right.

It is impossible to say with confidence what share of the overall population of barons and lords at any point in time received forest gifts from Henry, but the evidence does point to an expanding base of recipients, particularly during the 1250s. The indications are, therefore, that Henry increasingly used the assets of the royal forest as gifts to reward and secure the support of a growing proportion of this particular social and political group.

Gift Recipients: Knights

As Chart 3.12 demonstrates, there was a very similar pattern of growth over time in the number of gifts to knights, which totalled 577 (8% of the overall total) between 1227 and 1272.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁷ J. Crump, 'Mortimer, Roger de, lord of Wigmore (1231–1282), magnate', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 18 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19352>.

³⁵⁸ M. Julian-Jones, 'Family Strategy or Personal Principles? The Corbets in the Reign of Henry III', in J. Burton, P. Schofield and B. Weiler (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England XV* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp.69-79, especially p.78.

³⁵⁹ This is another broad category of individuals who are either described as knights or appear to have held smaller estates than those individuals categorised as barons or lords. This group is also distinguished from the separate category of household knights that is discussed further below.

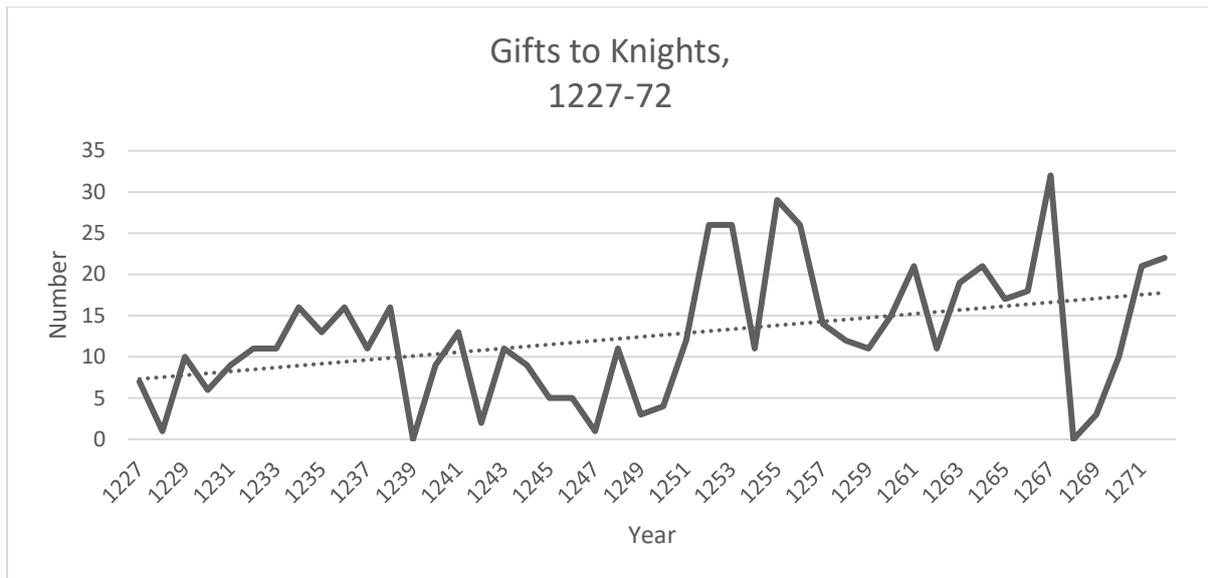


Chart 3.12: Gifts to Knights, 1227-72

In this case, the growth was driven less by the need to build political capital than to resource Henry's military campaigns. The periods of most intense gift-giving to knights, both proportionately and in absolute terms, coincided with the Gascon campaign (1252-55) and later the reform movement and civil war (1260-67). These gifts were therefore both inducements to participation and rewards for doing so. Conversely, they were at their lowest levels during periods of relative military calm, such as between 1244 and 1251.

There were a number of knights who received a steady flow of gifts, mainly because they also performed roles or duties for the royal government, while not being identified as household knights. Engelard of Cigogne received eight gifts between 1227 and 1236, probably linked to his important role as castellan of Windsor.³⁶⁰ However, while approximately forty-five individuals accounted for about half of all the gifts in this category, 135 beneficiaries received just one gift. Overall, these gifts were distributed across almost 250 different individuals. While it is again impossible to say with confidence what share this represents of the overall population, the evidence indicates that Henry regularly used forest gifts to reward a wide range of knights for military services and broader support for his government. It is also possible that, in the case of both knights and the preceding category of barons and lords, the gradual increase in gifts also reflected a corresponding reduction in other forms of patronage and reward available to the king.

³⁶⁰ *RLC II*, p.198; *CR 1231-34*, pp.204, 254, 276, 461, 533; *CR 1234-37*, pp.282, 394; S. Bond, 'The Medieval Constables of Windsor Castle', *English Historical Review* 82 (1967), pp.225, 232, 234, 238, 245; M. Ray, 'Alien Courtiers of Thirteenth-Century England and their Assimilation' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 2003), chapter 2.4.

The number of recipients represents only a small percentage of those who served in these military campaigns, so it may be assumed that the award of a forest gift or privilege was a recognition of some exceptional service.³⁶¹ For example, in June 1233, Richard de Muneton was paid 57s for the heads of fifty-seven Welshmen that he and his followers killed in fighting in Shropshire. In September, he was given a gift of ten oaks from the royal forest.³⁶² Muneton is likely to have been a local knight and it was marcher lords and barons who accounted for a significant percentage more generally of recipients of gifts and awards, reflecting the need of the crown to strengthen loyalty and commitment in the frequent struggles with Welsh princes and the upheaval caused by the Marshall uprising.

Gift Recipients: Household Knights

Henry's household knights constituted a distinct category that accounted for 1,222 forest gifts (17% of the total). These knights *de familia regis* were intended to form the core of royal armies and, between campaigns, fulfilled a wide variety of roles linked to the royal government, including acting as stewards, diplomats, courtiers and local officials. Many were retained through a financial fee and received other gifts such as robes. The number of household knights retained at any one time varied across the period of Henry's personal rule but was probably never much below eighty-five and may have been as high as 200 during the Gascon campaign.³⁶³ Between 1227 and 1272, almost 250 individual household knights received gifts, that is approximately five gifts per person. Many household knights could therefore reasonably expect to receive a forest gift during their period of service to the king, and indeed it may have come to be seen as an integral element of their overall reward package. One of the most famous household knights was Nicholas de Molis who, along with his wife, received thirty-six forest gifts between 1229 and 1267. In a long and varied career, he served Henry not only as a soldier, but also diplomat, sheriff, the keeper of lands in royal custody, Warden of the Channel Isles and Seneschal of Gascony.³⁶⁴

As Chart 3.13 shows, the number of gifts to household knights rose slightly over time in absolute terms. The share of total gifts accounted for by this category was however relatively constant. In only two years (1249 and 1268) did the share awarded to this category fall below 10% of the total.

³⁶¹ The scale of the force assembled for France in 1230 can be gauged by the 370 letters of protection issued to knights and barons. The army was transported in 230 ships (Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.86).

³⁶² *CPR 1232-47*, p.18; *CLR 1226-40*, p.218; *CR 1231-34*, p.269.

³⁶³ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.60, 75-7, 95, 97, 386-7. Lightfoot, 'Household Knights' is an invaluable guide to identifying household knights during the early years of Henry's personal rule. There is no comparable study for the years after 1236.

³⁶⁴ H. Summerson, 'Moels [Meulles, Molis], Sir Nicholas de (d. 1268/9), soldier and diplomat', *ODNB* (2021) accessed online 9 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18873>; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.386.

Perhaps not surprisingly, many of the peak years for gifts in relative terms (1230, 1253, 1254, 1261, 1263) coincided with Henry undertaking or preparing for active military campaigns when the support of his knights would have been most needed and when he would have been recruiting additional numbers.

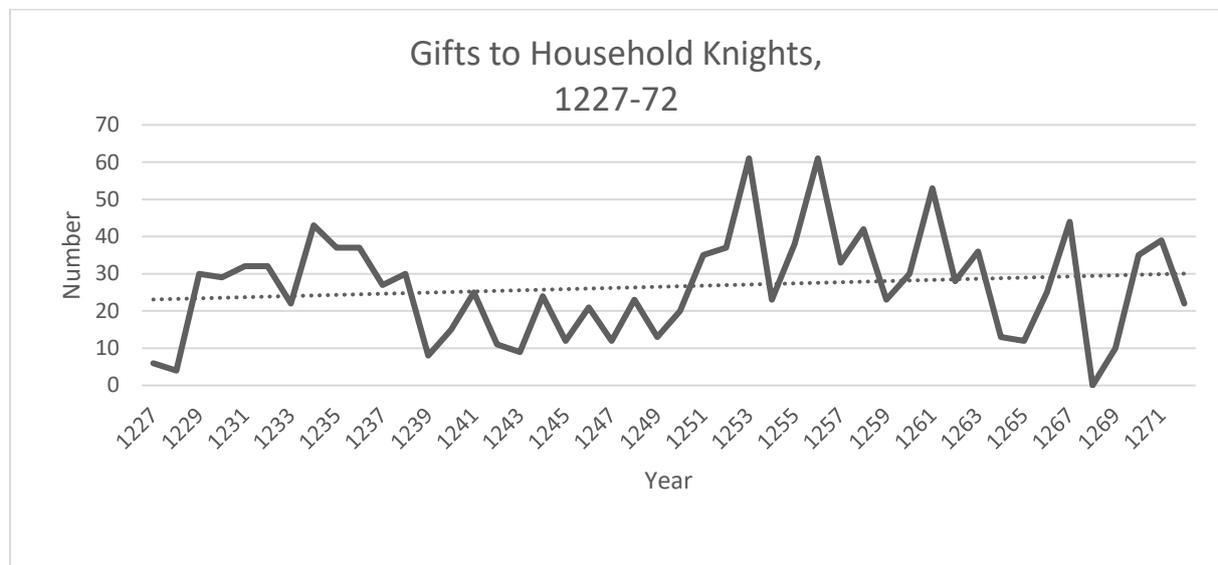


Chart 3.13: Gifts to Household Knights, 1227-72

Gift Recipients: Royal Officials and Servants

As Chart 3.14 illustrates, there was an increase in gift-giving over time to the royal officials and servants at the heart of Henry's government and household. This was the case also in relative terms. Approximately 420 individuals received a total of 1,434 gifts (20% of the total) between 1227 and 1272, that is an average of between three and four gifts per beneficiary. Again, there was a very wide range of distribution. The chief beneficiary was Robert Walerand who, along with members of his family and household, received fifty-eight gifts between 1248 and the end of the reign. After being granted 20 marks annually for his maintenance in 1244, Walerand 'was unique in his many-sided service to the king.'³⁶⁵ Approximately fifty-five individuals account for half of the gifts in this category, while slightly over 200 received just one gift.

As with many of the preceding categories, it is difficult to estimate with confidence what share of the total population of royal officials received forest gifts. It is possible that, with the increasing number over time, these gifts came to be seen as routine. In other cases, the gifts to recipients were probably seen as exceptional and in recognition of some particular service. In some cases, there was

³⁶⁵ A. Harding, 'Walerand, Robert (d. 1273), administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28455>.

a strong personal element to the gifts, for example those awarded at regular intervals during the 1230s and 1240s to Helen of Winchester, a former nurse of Henry III's and possibly his wet nurse.³⁶⁶

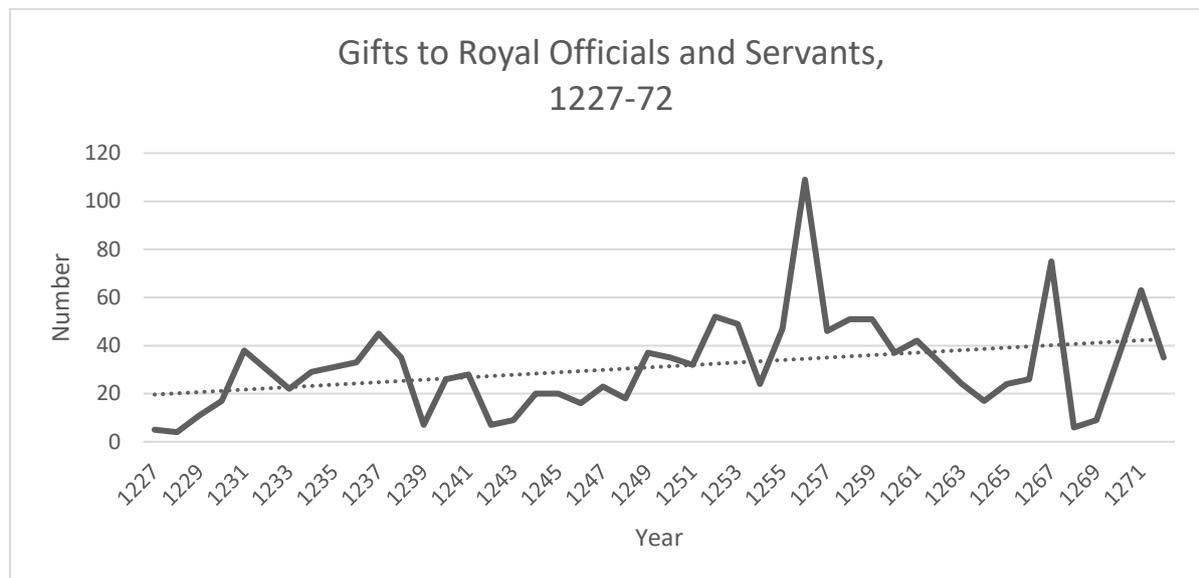


Chart 3.14: Gifts to Royal Officials and Servants, 1227-72

The increase in gift-giving to this category occurred during periods of relative calm and particularly from the late 1240s onwards. There was also a marked increase in the final years of Henry's reign following the end of the civil war. The latter can be partly explained by the need to re-establish Henry's government on firm ground after the upheaval of the preceding years. There is, however, another explanation that unites the periods of increased gift-giving either side of the years of baronial reform and rebellion. It was during these years in particular that Henry struggled financially and found it difficult to pay his creditors. It is therefore conceivable that the forest gifts during these years increasingly acted as substitutes for cash payments.³⁶⁷

Gift Recipients: 'Piety Gifts'

The 'piety gifts' that were discussed earlier accounted for the largest single category of recipients. As Chart 3.15 shows, the number of gifts to this category remained remarkably constant over time, although the share of the overall quantum of gifts varied considerably. In ten years, gifts to this

³⁶⁶ CR 1227-31, p.516; CR 1231-34, pp.25, 214, 481; CR 1234-37, pp.133, 475; CR 1237-42, pp.79, 297; CR 1242-47, pp.420, 514; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.3.

³⁶⁷ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.548, 663-7; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp. 502, 521-2, 570-4; Jobson, 'Post-Evesham', pp.179-95.

category accounted for more than 30% of the total, while in four years the share was at or below 15%.³⁶⁸

Within this overall category, the largest group of recipients consisted of abbeys and priories. Almost 200 separate religious houses benefited from Henry's largesse.³⁶⁹ While seventy-five received just one gift, a select group of eleven received more than ten gifts. There are a number of factors that explain this distribution. Some of the key beneficiaries had the good fortune to be located near to royal palaces that Henry frequented when away from Westminster. Luffield Priory (Buckinghamshire), for example, was close to royal houses at Woodstock and Geddington, as well as being conveniently located within the royal forest of Whittlewood. It received twelve separate gifts of timber between 1235 and 1266 to aid with various construction projects, most of which were awarded when Henry was staying in the near vicinity.³⁷⁰ Other religious houses such as Mottisfont Abbey (Hampshire) received gifts in part because they accommodated Henry during his various journeys outside London. Henry stayed there on at least two occasions in 1246 and 1252 and awarded eleven separate gifts of wood between 1252 and 1272, the first shortly after his second stay.³⁷¹ Many of the religious houses that received just one gift were located in those parts of the country beyond the king's usual itinerary that he visited occasionally. For example, the solitary gift of ten oaks to Little Malvern Priory in December 1232 was made when Henry was staying in Worcester.³⁷²

In some cases, the award of gifts was more due to a close personal connection with the particular religious house. For example, Henry was a keen supporter of the monastery that his father John had established at Beaulieu (Hampshire), attending its consecration in 1246 and supporting it with nine gifts between 1232 and 1251.³⁷³ Henry's deep piety may also have directly influenced some of his gift-giving. Catesby Priory (Northamptonshire) was the repository for a cloak of Edmund of Abingdon, the former archbishop of Canterbury who had died in 1240. By 1245, the process for his

³⁶⁸ The ten years where the share was above 30% were 1228, 1232, 1233, 1235, 1246, 1247, 1251, 1265, 1268 and 1269. The four years where the share was at or below 15% were 1230, 1238, 1248 and 1262.

³⁶⁹ The history and category of the religious establishments that were beneficiaries of Henry's gifts were identified by reference to D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious House: England and Wales* (London, 1971).

³⁷⁰ *CR 1234-37*, p.67; *CR 1242-47*, p.371; *CR 1247-51*, p.186; *CR 125-53*, p.414; *CR 1254-56*, pp.106, 366; *CR 1256-59*, pp.80, 260; *CR 1261-64*, p.369; *CR 1264-68*, p.193. G.R. Elvey (ed.), *Luffield Priory Charters Volume 1* (Buckinghamshire Record Society, 1968), pp.vii-viii, 15-6, 2, 96, 117-8, 160-1 and *Volume 2* (Buckinghamshire Record Society, 1975), pp.xiii-xxiii, 3, 151-4 provide background to the priory and details of its interactions with the royal forest, as does *VCH Buckinghamshire Vol. 1*, pp.347-50.

³⁷¹ Kanter, 'Itineraries', pp.1193, 1310; *CR 1251-53*, p.295; *CR 1254-56*, p.330; *CR 1256-59*, pp.16, 223, 273; *CR 1264-68*, p.422; *CR 1268-72*, pp.6, 223, 314, 456.

³⁷² *CR 1231-34*, p.175.

³⁷³ *CR 1231-34*, pp.58, 222; *CR 1237-42*, pp.74, 410, 513; *CR 1247-51*, pp.247, 494; P. Webster, *King John and Religion* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp.7, 61, 64-71; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.55.

canonisation was well-advanced and his cloak had acquired the status of a holy relic. The priory received three forest gifts between 1249 and 1266.³⁷⁴

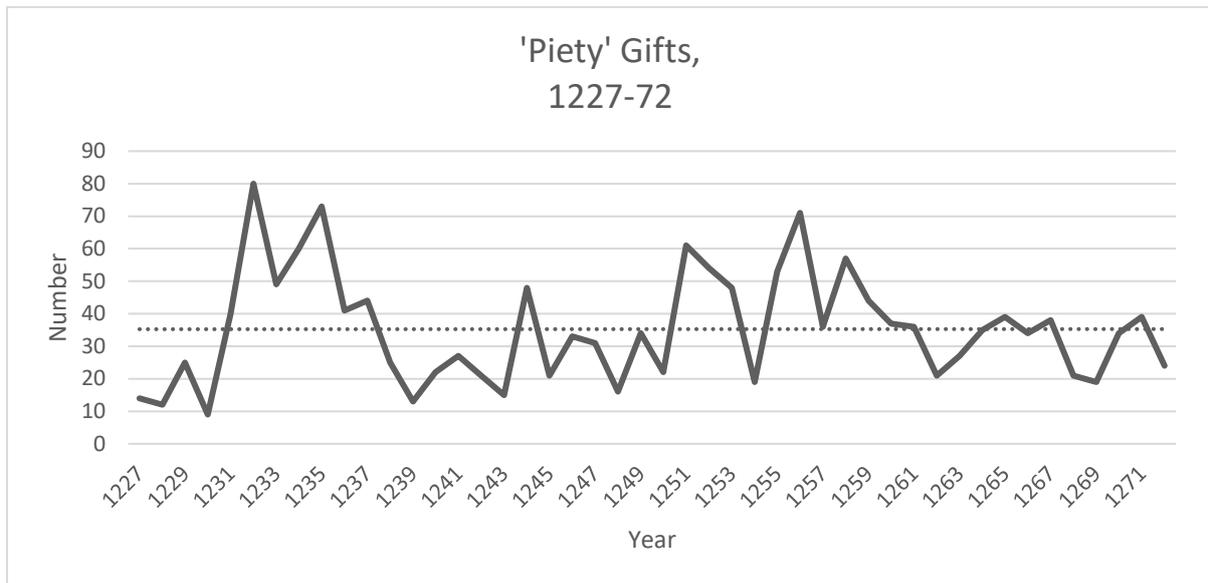


Chart 3.15: 'Piety Gifts', 1227-72

In a number of cases, these forest gifts were part of a broader pattern of royal support for particular religious houses that also included grants of land and privileges within the royal forest. For example, Flaxley Abbey (Gloucestershire) received regular awards concerning access to the Forest of Dean during Henry's reign as well as gifts.³⁷⁵

Many of these gifts may seem conventional. After all, John himself had gifted wood from New Forest to assist with the construction of Beaulieu Abbey. What made Henry's gift-giving distinctive was the sheer scale on which it was undertaken. A further distinctive feature were the more than 480 gifts that Henry made to a range of religious orders, but particularly the Dominican and Franciscan friars. It was perhaps serendipitous that the arrival of the Franciscan and Dominicans in England should coincide with the reign of arguably the most pious of English medieval kings who was understandably keen to support their expansion. As a result, well over half of the forty-eight Franciscan houses that were established in England during Henry's reign were the recipients of gifts of wood from the royal forest, either as timber or as fuel. The recently established Franciscan friary in the west of Oxford was a particular beneficiary of this royal largesse. During Henry's personal rule,

³⁷⁴ CR 1247-51, pp.188, 428; CR 1264-68, p.200; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.420, 476; J. Laughton, 'Catesby in the Middle Ages: An Interdisciplinary Study', *Northamptonshire Past and Present* 54 (2001), pp.9-12, 20; VCH *Northamptonshire Vol. 2*, pp.121-5.

³⁷⁵ CR 1227-31, pp.166, 188, 266, 354, 495, 521, 565; CR 1231-34, pp.97, 98, 273, 444, 474; CR 1234-37, p.68; CR 1237-42, p.379; CR 1242-47, p.422; CR 1247-51, pp.49, 268; CR 1251-53, p.289; CR 1254-56, pp.61, 245, 296; CPR 1247-58, p.468; CChR 1226-57, p.11; CChR 1257-1300, p.11.

it received thirty-nine separate gifts of wood. Additionally, in 1232 the friars were granted free access to the royal forest to take trees that had been gifted to them.³⁷⁶ Royal patronage of this type was equally important for the spread of the Dominicans throughout the country during Henry's reign.³⁷⁷

Another important group of beneficiaries within this category were the hospitals for the poor and lepers that demonstrated the importance that Henry placed on charity as an integral element of his piety. There were almost 150 separate gifts during Henry's personal rule to over forty individual hospitals, again mostly of timber and firewood, and again frequently awarded when Henry was away from Westminster.³⁷⁸ These charity-inspired gifts where the motivation appears to have been concern for the wellbeing of the sick and the poor are consistent with Henry's much more publicised actions in regularly feeding paupers and washing the feet of over 300 poor men and women on Maundy Thursday.³⁷⁹ The key beneficiary of Henry's generosity towards this group of recipients was another Oxford institution, namely the hospital for the poor dedicated to St. John that he founded in 1231 and which received thirty-seven separate gifts of wood during his reign.³⁸⁰

Long-term Trends in Gift-Giving

With an almost unbroken series of data covering the long period of Henry's personal rule, it is possible to identify and analyse long-term changes in the patterns of gift-giving. While numbers could vary significantly from one year to the next for the various reasons discussed above, the trendline in Chart 3.16 shows that overall, there was an increase in the number of gifts during the course of Henry's personal rule.

³⁷⁶ E. Hutton, *The Franciscans in England, 1224-1538* (London, 1926), pp.53-95; *CR 1227-31*, pp.191, 468, 510, 568; *CR 1231-34*, pp.75, 178, 217, 392, 457, 500; *CR 1234-37*, pp.104, 273, 296, 508; *CR 1237-42*, pp.45, 171, 415; *CR 1242-47*, pp.400, 462, 541; *CR 1251-53*, p.45; *CR 1254-56*, pp.52, 360; *CR 1256-59*, pp.32, 240, 395; *CR 1259-61*, p.320; *CR 1261-64*, pp.225, 343; *CR 1264-68*, pp.197, 318; *CR 1268-72*, pp.186, 384, 484; *CLR 1226-40*, pp.398, 465; *CLR 1245-51*, p.196.

³⁷⁷ W.A. Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers* (Rome, 1951), pp.72-85.

³⁷⁸ C. Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp.51, 219, 228, 296, 327, 330, 332, 333; K. Phillips, 'The Leper and the King: The Patronage and Perception of Lepers by King Henry III of England and King Louis IX of France' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Reading, 2018), chapter 6; S. Sweetinburgh, *The Role of the Hospital in Medieval England: Gift-giving and the Spiritual Economy* (Dublin, 2004), pp.60, 89-90, 114.

³⁷⁹ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.287, 290, 293; N. Orme and M. Webster, *The English Hospital 1070-1570* (London, 1995), pp.93, 95.

³⁸⁰ H.E. Salter (ed.), *A Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist* (Oxford, 1914-17), pp.v-xxv; *VCH Oxfordshire Vol. 2*, pp.158-9; B. Durham, 'The Infirmary and Hall of the Medieval Hospital of St John the Baptist at Oxford', *Oxoniansia* 56 (1991), pp.19-20, 60, 63-4, 74-5.

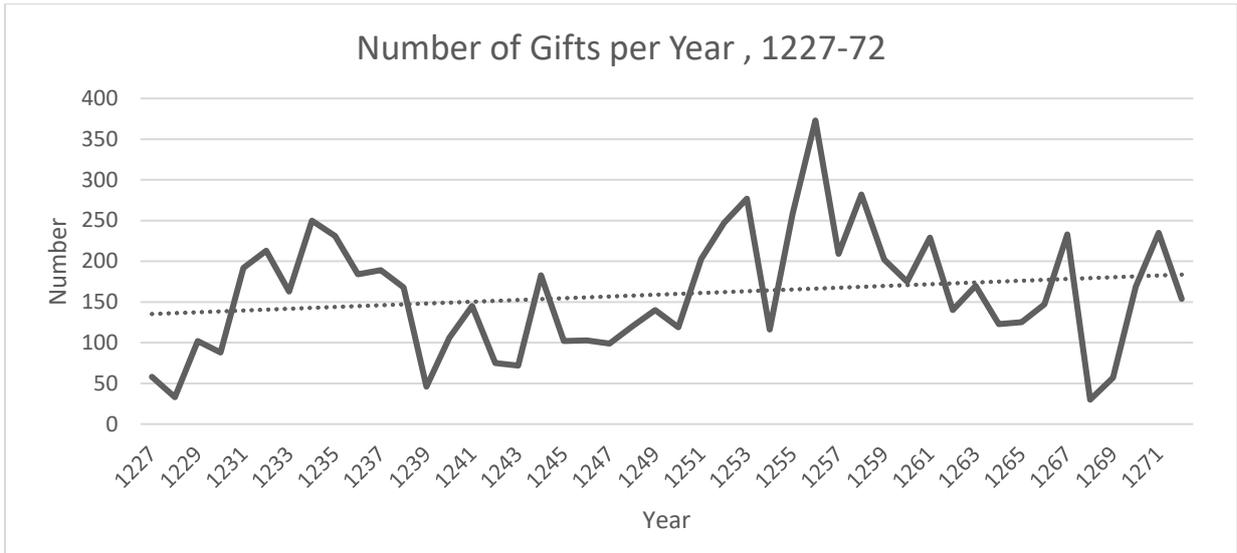


Chart 3.16: Number of Gifts Per Year, 1227-72

This growth was most pronounced in the number of gifts of venison, as shown in Chart 3.17.

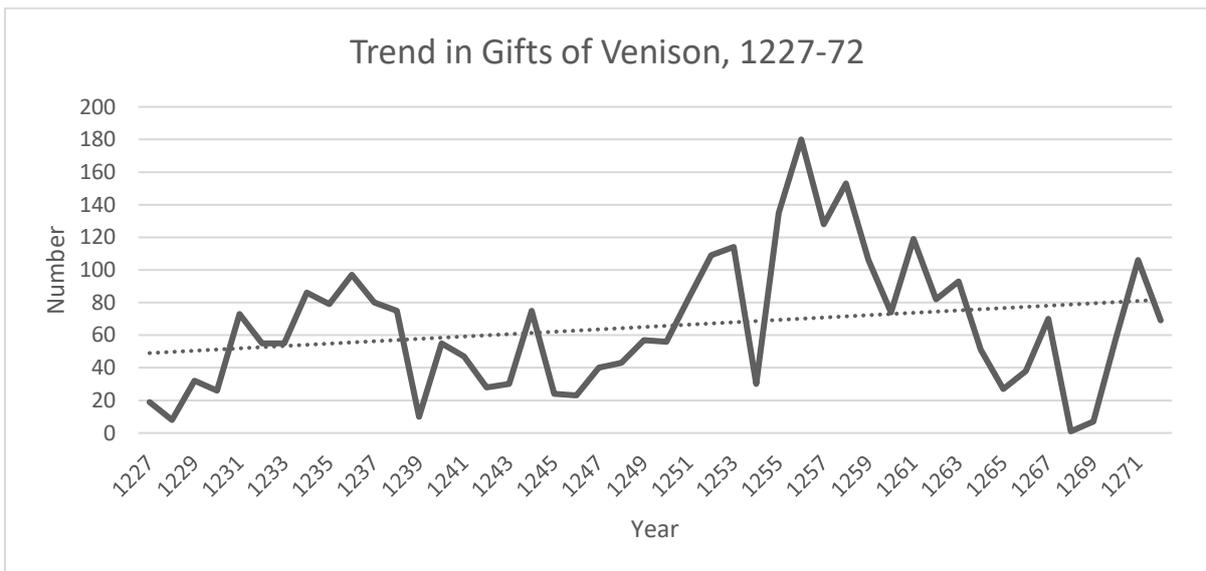


Chart 3.17: Trend in Gifts of Venison, 1227-72

The growth was also driven by an increase in the number of gifts of timber for construction as illustrated in Chart 3.18. Taken together, these two categories accounted for 79% of all gifts from the forest during Henry's personal rule.

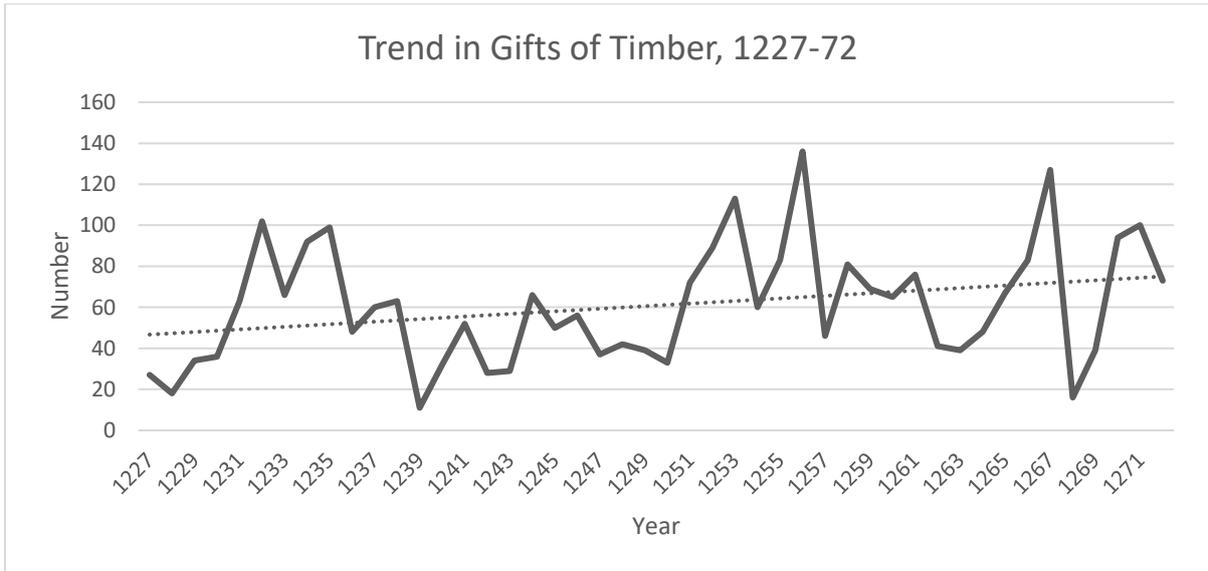


Chart 3.18: Trend in Gifts of Timber, 1227-72

The evidence therefore suggests an overall increase in Henry’s generosity over time. However, the picture is more complex than this simple summary suggests. There was, for example, a pronounced decline in the number of gifts of live deer for the stocking of parks which accounted for approximately 9% of all gifts during the period (Chart 3.19).

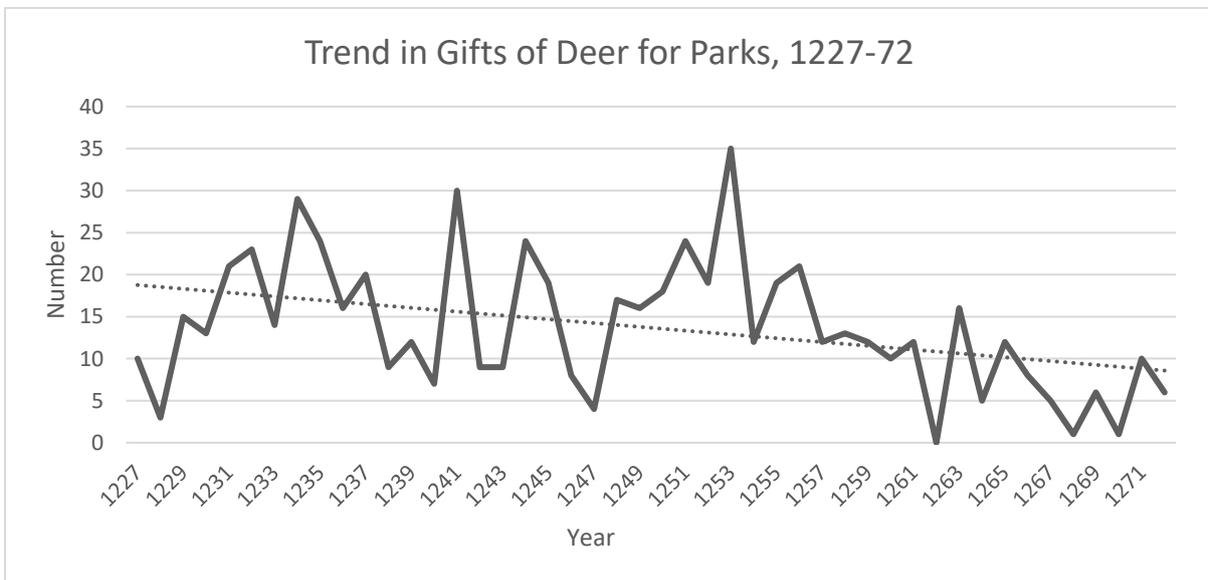


Chart 3.19: Trend in Gifts of Deer for Parks, 1227-72

As Chart 3.20 illustrates, there was also a gradual decrease in the number of gifts of firewood which again accounted for 9% of the total.

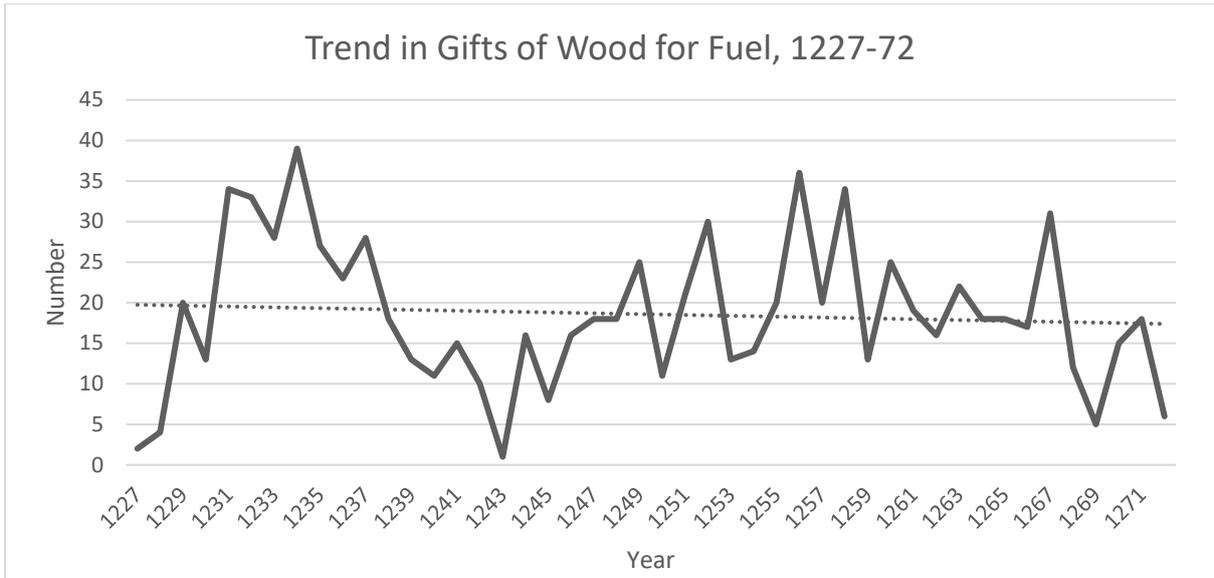


Chart 3.20: Trend in Gifts of Wood for Fuel, 1227-72

Broadly similar patterns emerge if the number of ‘units’ are examined, for example the number of deer awarded as venison and the number of oak trees given away both increased over time. However, a different picture emerges if the average number of units per gift is examined. In these cases, the trend lines show a decrease in the average number of units in each gift. This is most marked in the case of oaks gifted for the purposes of construction as shown in Chart 3.21.³⁸¹

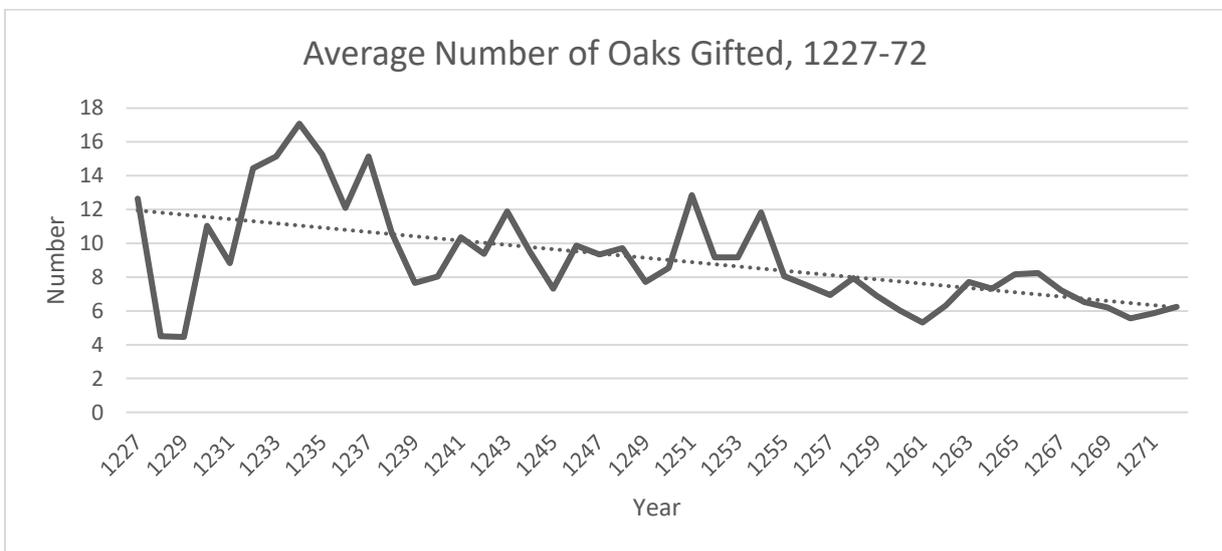


Chart 3.21: Average Number of Oaks Gifted, 1227-72

³⁸¹ A number of different Latin terms are used in the records to describe timber granted for the purposes of construction. The units of measurement also vary. For the sake of simplicity, this analysis consists solely of gifts of oaks for timber (*quercus*) which account for 91% of all gifts of wood for the purpose of construction.

There were similar reductions in the average number of deer in each gift of venison and in the average number of pollarded oaks in each gift of firewood. Taken together, these charts suggest there was a gradual but important change in the pattern of Henry's gift-giving that explains both the reduction particularly in the average value of gifts of venison and timber and the reduction in the absolute number of gifts for restocking parks. The evidence suggests that Henry's gift-giving gradually became less an exclusive and targeted activity and increasingly more one of largesse, taking in greater numbers of different recipients. Additionally, while gift-giving in the earlier part of the reign was primarily directed towards the benefit of social and political elites, as the circle of beneficiaries widened, it included men and women of lower social standing involved in the administration of realm and the local running of government who could be amply rewarded with gifts of lower average numbers and who also did not have the resources to sustain deer parks. This trend and explanation are consistent with the above analysis showing the increase in gift-giving to, for example, knights and royal officials, a large percentage of whom received just one gift.

Conclusions

The evidence from Henry's royal forest gifts reinforces the reputation for generosity that he acquired during his lifetime. Over time, Henry also awarded an increasing number of forest gifts. Whether that generosity overstepped the mark into profligacy is a moot point. There is no contemporary criticism to that effect specifically concerning this type of gift, however as noted earlier there is evidence of over-exploitation of the forest in the 1250s. Additionally, it is highly likely that the breakdown in law and order associated with the civil war resulted in an increase in poaching and other trespasses.³⁸² This helps to explain the decision to impose the ban on gifts from the forest in 1268. However, the readiness with which Henry subsequently ignored this self-imposed ban is a telling indicator of just how difficult it was for him to contain his instinct for generosity.

There is evidence that Henry directed these gifts disproportionately towards 'aliens', particularly his Savoyard and Poitevin relatives and their households. Yet the evidence is not so compelling as to suggest that this crowded out gift opportunities for other, particularly English-born recipients. Additionally, any Savoyard-Poitevin hegemony concerning forest gifts was relatively short-lived and overtaken by Henry's use of gifts in the 1250s to resource his military campaigns and broaden his support base for unpopular policies. Similarly, the earlier factions at court linked firstly to Hubert de Burgh and subsequently to Peter des Roches benefited from the distribution of forest gifts, but not disproportionately so and certainly not to the exclusion of others. More generally, while there were certainly individuals across all periods of the reign who received a large number of gifts and could

³⁸² Richardson, *Clarendon*, pp.34, 49; Birrell, 'Who Poached?', p.15.

therefore reasonably be considered to have been ‘favourites’, the majority of gifts were more generally distributed across a very wide political and social base.

The pattern of distribution of these gifts and the motives that can be discerned behind their award also challenge to some extent the image of Henry as a guileless *vir simplex*. The flow of forest gifts was, with relative ease, increased or eased depending on the political and military challenges that Henry faced and his need to build support and reward loyalty. Additionally, the frequency with which he distributed forest gifts as an integral part of his journeys across the country demonstrate an appreciation of the importance of exhibiting good lordship more generally.

The evidence so far therefore suggests that these were gifts given firmly in the ‘Germanic’ tradition of patronage, a conclusion reinforced by the increasingly important role they appeared to play in the reward of household knights and royal officials at the centre of Henry’s government. The increasing scarcity of other forms of patronage and reward, combined with efforts by the crown in the mid-1250s in particular to cut back on household expenditure, also appears to have contributed to the rise in number of forest gifts. It would, however, be wrong to characterise Henry’s gifts solely in that way. The very large number of ‘piety gifts’ are much more resonant of the ‘classical’ interpretation of the gift as something that is given with no strings attached, an interpretation that is strengthened by the number of awards that also demonstrate Henry’s charitable instincts. The evidence suggests therefore that both traditions influenced the award of forest gifts.

If Henry’s forest gifts were therefore intended, at least in part, to secure support and reward loyalty, the outstanding question is whether they were successful. These gifts were, of course, just one of the many different sources of patronage available to Henry. It is also likely that an award of venison would have had more significance for a middle-ranking exchequer clerk than for a leading magnate with access to their own deer parks.

The award of gifts was certainly no guarantee of future loyalty. Despite the large number granted to John Fitzgeoffrey, he initially aligned with the reformers in 1258.³⁸³ On the other hand, there were significant recipients such as John Mansel, Robert Walerand and the midlands baron Philip Marmion who remained steadfastly loyal to Henry throughout the challenges of his reign.³⁸⁴ It is possible also that the sheer level of generosity may, over time, have devalued the importance of these gifts in the

³⁸³ D. Carpenter, ‘John fitz Geoffrey (c. 1206–1258), justiciar of Ireland and baronial leader’, *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/38271>; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.688-9, 691; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.17-9, 24.

³⁸⁴ Philip Marmion received 33 forest gifts between 1249 and 1272 and was a committed royalist throughout the period of reform (P. Coss, ‘Marmion, Sir Philip (d. 1291), baron’, *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 9 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18080>). Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, p.72 draws attention to those linked to the reform movement in 1258 who had received forest gifts in the preceding year.

eyes of the recipient. It is also possible that the direction of these gifts towards others, particularly foreigners and court favourites, may have generated resentment, as may their potential award as a substitute for other, more valuable forms of patronage. On the other hand, there is no contemporary account that specifically draws attention to these gifts as a source of discontent with Henry's rule.

Henry's forest gifts may finally have served another more subtle purpose. By sharing generously and widely the proceeds of an institution that had been the subject of fierce political opposition in his father's reign, Henry's actions potentially helped to defuse hostility towards the royal forest more generally. In short, members of the political community might be prepared to tolerate the continued existence of the royal forest if they felt they could enjoy a share of its fruits.

Chapter 4: Forest Privileges

Introduction

This chapter examines the awards by Henry III of privileges concerning the royal forest. It covers a wide range of transactions whose common feature was to relax or remove for a beneficiary the application of some or all aspects of forest law. These transactions are distinct from the awards of gifts that were examined in the preceding chapter. Details of these awards of privileges within the royal forest are spread across a number of government records, but especially the charter, fine, patent and close rolls. While there are occasional gaps in these sources, the extant records are sufficiently comprehensive and detailed to enable an analysis to be undertaken of the awards made by Henry's governments. There are 1,699 separate transactions in the extant sources that record the award of some sort of forest privilege. While the structure and content of the entries in the records vary significantly, there is sufficient commonality to enable a database to be constructed and the results analysed, as described further in Appendix B.

Although the nature of the awards varies significantly, there were eight broad categories of privilege granted by Henry III. These are summarised in Table 4.1, which also provides the number of awards within each category.

Category	Number	Brief Description
Disafforestation and similar privileges	71	The removal of specific geographical areas from all or some aspects of the forest law system.
Hunting	290	The right to hunt within the royal forest or the relaxation of controls over hunting.
Shared use of the forest	393	Permission for individuals or communities living in or near the royal forest to have access to it for a variety of purposes.
Private use of the forest	362	Grants of exclusive use of parts of the royal forest which were still subject to the application of forest law.
Transport through the forest	181	Transportation of wood and other forest products through the forest without the imposition of cheminage tolls.
Office exemptions	223	Exemption from holding office within the forest administration.
Exemption from forest eyres	152	Exemption from attendance at forest eyres or protection from prosecution at them.
General	27	Awards of wide-ranging forest privileges as part of more general charters of privileges.
Total	1,699	

Table 4.1: Categories of Forest Privilege

As with the forest gifts studied in the preceding chapter, the number and frequency of the awards of forest privileges alone warrant attention from historians. They are also, by definition, concessions made by Henry's governments and therefore contribute, as described in Chapter 1, to the construction of a new narrative concerning the royal forest that takes account of this aspect as much as the focus on enforcement.

The awards of privileges can also be examined, in the same way as the forest gifts, to assess the extent to which existing political narratives concerning Henry's reign apply to the royal forest. Many of the themes addressed in the preceding chapter concerning the king's generosity, favouritism, support for 'aliens' in government, dependence early in his personal rule upon his chief ministers and his political naivete therefore also apply to an examination of his awards of forest privileges. There is one critical difference in that, as discussed below, the awards of privileges were at times given in return for a payment by the beneficiary in the form of a fine. These transactions can therefore also be examined to test the validity of the prevailing narrative that revenue generation was a key function of the royal forest.

Relevant Historiography

There is a substantial quantity of secondary literature covering many aspects of forest privileges. Amongst the histories of the royal forest, the most comprehensive analysis is provided by Young who highlights the tension resulting from the fact that most land within the royal forest was held by landlords other than the crown. Additionally, crown tenants within the forest sought to undertake a range of agricultural, commercial and industrial activities that were potentially at odds with its primary purpose of protecting the vert and the venison. These landholders and tenants accordingly sought to escape the restrictions imposed by forest law, either by reducing the area subject to it or by securing exemptions from it. Young argues that, as early as the reign of Henry I, the crown responded by awarding exemptions and privileges within the royal forest. During the civil war of Stephen's reign, both sides used grants of exemption from the forest as a political tool to win support. During the later reigns of Richard I and John, the crown realised there were substantial sums of revenue to be secured through selling forest privileges and exemptions, particularly after the substantial increase in the area of the royal forest under Henry II. Young also examines how the terms of the Forest Charter of 1217 created pressure for substantial disafforestations during the minority of Henry III and the early years of his personal rule. Yet, while he discusses later examples of exemptions and privileges granted during Henry's reign, Young does so briefly and without reference to the political context.³⁸⁵

There is much less attention given to Henry III's awards of privileges in other histories of the forest. Grant briefly describes the long tradition of granting rights within afforested areas, including those awarded by the crown during the twelfth century for financial or political reasons. He also highlights the crown's approval of private parks and warrens within the royal forest. However, apart from an examination of the early political disputes over disafforestation, there is no consideration of the privileges granted during Henry III's reign.³⁸⁶ Cox refers to forest privileges only in passing and without specific reference to Henry III. Turner provides a detailed account of the pressures on the crown to grant disafforestations following the issue of the Forest Charter but provides no further analysis of privileges during Henry's reign. While he examines the different status of chases, parks and warrens under forest law, Turner does not consider the process of granting privileges relating to them.³⁸⁷

³⁸⁵ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.5-6, 15-7, 18-22, 25-6, 42, 44-8, 67-73, 95-7, 100-1, 122-3.

³⁸⁶ Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.12, 15, 28, 32, 135-45. See the Glossary in Appendix A for an explanation of the term 'warren' in this period.

³⁸⁷ Cox, *Royal Forests*; Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.xciii-cxxxiv.

Many of the monographs of individual forests include a description of the rights and privileges enjoyed by non-royal landholders or communities living within them. Cyril Hart's study of the Forest of Dean describes a wide range of privileges that existed or were awarded during the thirteenth century, including parks, pannage, estovers, assarts, purprestures and the operation of private forges.³⁸⁸ Similarly in his history of Galtres, Geoffrey Cowling records the rights enjoyed by townships and individuals during the medieval and early modern periods. Rachel Thomas's study of woodland management in Bernwood during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries examines overall land use, including the rights and privileges enjoyed by local communities within the forest. What these and similar studies do not consider, however, is the award and operation of these privileges within the specific context of royal motives and priorities during Henry III's reign.³⁸⁹

Detailed studies have also been undertaken of specific forest privileges. Beryl Schumer, for example, has examined the extent, process and nature of assarting in Wychwood Forest between the Domesday survey and the early fourteenth century, while John Langton has highlighted the wide range of uses made of the vert.³⁹⁰ There is also a considerable body of literature concerning medieval parks, including those located within the royal forest. The most thorough examination of the application of royal regulation and the granting of privileges in this area is contained within Stephen Miles's comprehensive study of medieval parks, while the collection edited by Robert Liddiard also examines the motives behind their creation.³⁹¹ There is also extensive literature concerning hunting within the royal forest, including studies by Almond. There has, however, been surprisingly little attention given to date to the process of awarding hunting rights within the royal forest. Two articles by David Crook examining the development of private hunting rights in the royal forest counties of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire are important in this respect.³⁹²

The award of forest privileges is frequently also covered in studies of the recipients, in particular emphasising the value attached to them. For example, Vincent has highlighted the privileges enjoyed by Peter des Roches that relaxed aspects of forest law across his lands.³⁹³ Many of the recipients of

³⁸⁸ Hart, *Royal Forest*, pp.29-52. See the Glossary in Appendix A for an explanation of these terms.

³⁸⁹ Cowling, *Galtres*, pp.159-61; R. Thomas, 'Woodland and its Management in Medieval Lowland Forests: An Illustration from Bernwood Forest', in Langton and Jones (eds.), *Forests and Chases*, pp.91-100.

³⁹⁰ Schumer, 'Assarting', pp.101-8; J. Langton, 'Forest Vert: The Holly and the Ivy', *Landscape History* 43 (2022), pp.5-26.

³⁹¹ Miles, *Parks*, pp.121-45; R. Liddiard (ed.), *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield, 2007).

³⁹² Almond, *Medieval Hunting* is a thorough examination of many aspects of medieval hunting practices. Almond, 'Hunting Ground' examines hunting practices specifically within the royal forest, with a particular focus on the late medieval period. D. Crook, 'The Development of Private Hunting Rights in Derbyshire, 1189-1258', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* 121 (2001) pp.232-43 and D. Crook, 'The Development of Private Hunting Rights in Nottinghamshire, c.1100-1258', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire* 105 (2001), pp.101-9 examine the development of private hunting rights in two afforested counties.

³⁹³ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.185-90, 219, 284, 290.

concessions and privileges within the forest under Henry were religious houses and hospitals. Most of the examination of these has hitherto been within the context of the histories of individual institutions and, as in the case of Flaxley Abbey, is to be found within the pages of the relevant volume of the *Victoria County History* or the transcribed and published cartulary.³⁹⁴

Amongst political historians of Henry's reign, by far the greatest attention given to forest privileges concerns the disafforestations granted during his minority and at the start of his personal rule. The most comprehensive account is provided by David Carpenter in his study of the minority and in his later biography of the king, while Margaret Bazeley has assessed the overall impact of disafforestations upon the extent of the forest.³⁹⁵ In general, however, the historians of Henry's reign have tended to overlook the potential political relevance of the award of forest privileges. A notable exception is the study by Crook of the award of charters of free warren between 1227 and 1258, and the political consequences of these during the early period of the baronial reform movement.³⁹⁶

To date, there has therefore been no comprehensive study of the forest privileges awarded by Henry III that examines them within the political context of his reign. This chapter attempts to fill this gap in the historiography and address the questions highlighted above concerning these awards. As there is a considerable difference in the types of awards, each of the eight categories identified above is examined in turn against a common framework. After a brief introduction, each separate section includes an examination of the chronology for the particular category of award, identifying periods when the number of grants was either notably high or low. It then discusses the motives behind the awards from the perspective of both the beneficiary and the crown. It particularly considers the extent to which the awards by Henry's governments were motivated by financial and/or political considerations. The study then considers the extent to which Henry III was confirming established privileges or whether he was making new awards. In turn, this helps assess whether the king was seeking to preserve royal rights or was adopting a more concessionary approach to the forest. This section also addresses the question of whether Henry's awards were damaging to the crown's interests. Finally, the study identifies the beneficiaries of each type of privilege, applying the same categorisation used in the previous chapter for analysing forest gifts.

³⁹⁴ A.W. Crawley-Boevey (ed.), *The Cartulary and Historical Notes of the Cistercian Abbey of Flaxley* (Exeter, 1887), pp.10, 17-19, 22-35, 40-1; *VCH Gloucestershire Vol. 2* accessed online 14 February 2023 [Houses of Cistercian monks: The abbey of Flaxley | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/houses-of-cistercian-monks-the-abbey-of-flaxley).

³⁹⁵ Carpenter, *Minority*, pp.89-91, 129-31, 150, 159-64, 168-9, 180-2, 236, 252, 384-5, 392-3; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.38-9, 63-4, 70; Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.148-53.

³⁹⁶ D. Crook, 'The "Petition of the Barons" and Charters of Free Warren, 1227-1258', in Prestwich, Britnell and Frame (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England VIII* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp.33-48.

The chapter then examines the awards together, drawing overall conclusions concerning their chronology, royal motives and beneficiaries, and the extent to which they conform to prevailing narratives concerning the politics of Henry III's reign.

Disafforestation and Similar Privileges

There were seventy-one awards during Henry's personal rule that placed specific geographical areas outside some or all of the forest law system.³⁹⁷ The most significant of these were thirty-three awards to disafforest areas, removing them entirely from the scope of the forest law. The other thirty-eight awards excused the beneficiary from the application of some part of the forest system. For example, in August 1232, Haughmond Abbey (Shropshire) was granted 16 acres of land that would be 'quit of waste, regard and view of foresters, verderers, regards and their ministers...notwithstanding that the said land was put back into the forest', having previously been proposed for disafforestation.³⁹⁸ In other cases, the privileges awarded were tantamount to disafforestation in all but name. Also in 1232, Aconbury Priory (Herefordshire) was granted three carucates of land in the forest of the same name that was to be 'quit of waste, regard and view of foresters, verderers and regards, and of all that pertains to the forest.'³⁹⁹

There was a long history of disafforestation before 1227. The royal forest had reached its widest extent by the late twelfth century because of the significant additions made to it by Henry II. However, because of their financial difficulties, his sons Richard I and John were prepared to approve the disafforestation of specific areas in return for payment.⁴⁰⁰ Pressure for further disafforestation grew in response to John's abuses of the forest legal system. Accordingly, the Forest Charter of 1217 included provisions enabling further extensive disafforestations. However, differences in interpretation of the Charter's terms led to a protracted dispute during Henry III's minority between his ministers and those seeking disafforestations. There was therefore a pent-up demand for formal recognition of disafforestations at the time when Henry III ended his minority in January 1227.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁷ Many of these awards are recorded in the charter rolls and, where applicable, the fine rolls. Further information about them is occasionally recorded in the close and patent rolls.

³⁹⁸ *CChR 1226-57*, p.167; *CR 1231-34*, p.94.

³⁹⁹ *CChR 1226-57*, p.172.

⁴⁰⁰ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.20-1, 26; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.135-7; Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.146-8; J.C. Holt, *Magna Carta* (2nd edition, Cambridge, 1992), pp.60-1.

⁴⁰¹ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.68-73; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.139-44; Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.148-53; Carpenter, *Minority*, pp.89-91, 129-31, 150, 159-64, 168-9, 180-2, 236, 252, 384-5, 392-3; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.38-9, 63-4, 70; Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.xciii-ci.

Chronology

As Chart 4.1 illustrates, there were two main periods when Henry III awarded grants of disafforestation and similar privileges. Between 1227 and 1236 there were forty-six such awards, with many of these being granted during the first few years of his personal rule. One of Henry's first acts, when announcing the end of his minority in January 1227, was to challenge the perambulations of the forest extent that had been undertaken in the preceding years and the proposed disafforestations resulting from them. The political background to this decision and its consequences are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. The final outcome was a compromise in which the crown approved a number of significant disafforestations in the early years of Henry's personal rule.

There was a further, smaller peak in grants of disafforestation and similar privileges during 1251 and 1252. Nine awards were granted in these two years, including a grant for life in July 1252 to Ellen de Percy that her three woods in Pickering Forest 'shall be quit of regard and she shall take her profit in the said woods without view and livery of the king's foresters.'⁴⁰² Outside these two periods, very few grants were awarded.

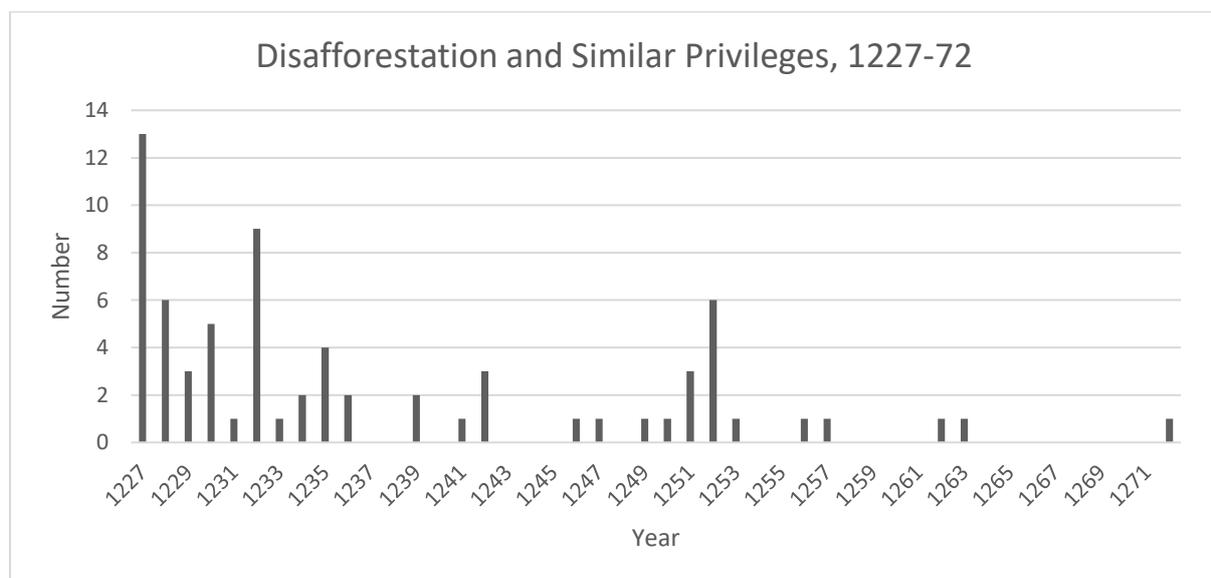


Chart 4.1: Disafforestation and Similar Privileges, 1227-72

Royal Motives

The crown stood to lose much by approving disafforestations. It lost access, for example, to valuable forest resources for its own use and to distribute as gifts. It also lost opportunities to exercise patronage in the appointment of forest officials and lost revenue from rents and amercements. As

⁴⁰² CPR 1247-58, p.146.

Turner has noted, disafforestation was inherently 'an act of disinheritance'.⁴⁰³ Symbolically, it also had the potential to project the image of a weakened crown that was unable to defend its interests. It was therefore a significant concession by the king.

As discussed in Chapter 6, there was strong political pressure associated with the Forest Charter that was a key driver behind the disafforestations at the start of Henry's personal rule, but other factors may have also influenced the decisions to award them. Grant, for example, has suggested the awards were also influenced by the crown's need to raise revenue, especially given Henry's ambitions to launch a military campaign in France.⁴⁰⁴ The fines that accompanied the awards of disafforestation between 1227 and 1236 totalled approximately £6,715, although almost 60% of that figure was accounted for by the single transaction of the sale of Treville Forest to John of Monmouth.⁴⁰⁵ The levels of the fines seem mainly to have been related to the resources of the beneficiary rather than an assessment by the crown of the revenue foregone by removing an area from forest jurisdiction. For example, the men of Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Leicestershire and the Kesteven and Holland parts of Lincolnshire all paid between 200m and 250m to secure their particular disafforestations. By contrast, the bishop of Durham agreed a fine of 800m for disafforestation 'for himself, the archbishop of York, the abbot of St. Mary's, York, and the earls, barons, knights and free men, and all others both clerks and laymen having lands between the Ouse and the Derwent.'⁴⁰⁶ These sums are likely to have made grants of disafforestation appealing from the crown's perspective given that the alternative revenue sources had not proven so rewarding. The most recent eyres in Berkshire, Gloucestershire and Leicestershire in the early 1220s, for

⁴⁰³ Turner, *Select Pleas*, p.xcix.

⁴⁰⁴ Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.143; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.78, 86, 111-2.

⁴⁰⁵ Monmouth subsequently received a number of pardons concerning the payment of this sum. In total, he probably paid no more than approximately £876 (22% of the original sum) during Henry III's reign, with more than £322 outstanding in 1272. *CChR 1226-57*, p.114; *CFR 14/197* accessed online 16 September 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_029.html; *CFR 15/281* accessed online 16 September 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_030.html; *CFR 19/34* accessed online 16 September 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_034.html; *CR 1227-31*, pp.296, 565, 567; TNA, E 372/116, rot. 25d, m. 1 accessed online 16 September 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.aalt.uh.edu). There is a useful summary of the history of Treville Forest in S. Robinson, 'The Forests and Woodland Areas of Herefordshire', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* 24 (1923), pp.204-6.

⁴⁰⁶ *CChR 1226-57*, pp.39, 75-6, 84, 122, 193; *CR 1227-31*, pp.58, 293, 337; *CR 1231-34*, p.56; *CR 1234-37*, p.51; *CFR 11/229* accessed online 16 September 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_025.html; *CFR 12/173* accessed online 16 September 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_027.html; *CFR 14/132*, *14/177*, *14/268* accessed online 16 September 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_029.html; *CFR 17/228* accessed online 16 September 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_031.html; *CFR 18/264* accessed online 16 September 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_033.html; *CFR 19/47*, *19/48*, *19/146* accessed online 16 September 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_034.html. Almost all of these sums were paid during Henry's reign. Document E 32/282 at the National Archives consists of an interesting compilation of fines for grants of disafforestation made during the period between 1227 and 1252.

example, had generated between them no more than £84, while as discussed in Chapters 2 and 6, in many cases the existing management arrangements meant the crown was not realising the full revenue potential from farms and rents.⁴⁰⁷

While raising revenue was one motive behind the royal approval of disafforestations during this initial period of Henry's personal rule, it is important to note that half of the forty-six grants awarded between 1227 and 1236 were not accompanied by the payment of a fine by the beneficiary. Henry's readiness to award grants of disafforestation in these early years was probably also therefore partly a reaction to the continued political sensitivity concerning the royal forest. Conversely, there was political capital to be gained for the king in arguing that the grant of disafforestations demonstrated his compliance with both the spirit and the letter of the Forest Charter. As is discussed later in Chapter 6, it was Henry III's avowed commitment to the Charter that helped at times to unlock approval by parliament to the levying of taxes.

The awards during this period also highlight the importance of forest privileges as a form of royal patronage and favouritism. On four occasions between 1227 and 1232, Henry granted extensive privileges to his chief minister, Hubert de Burgh. In September 1227, as part of his being granted the manor of Archenfield (Herefordshire), de Burgh was awarded the woods there 'quit of the forest'. In November 1228, other woods of the earl were also henceforth to be 'quit of waste and regard', while in January 1232 Henry granted that de Burgh's manor of Hatfield Peverel (Essex) 'shall be quit of waste and regard and of view of foresters and verderers and of all things pertaining to them.' Finally, in May 1232, de Burgh was granted the privilege that his woods in Kinver Forest would be 'quit of regard.' Apart from the commitment to render an annual fee of £20 for the manor of Archenfield, there is no record of any fine or payment by de Burgh concerning the award of these privileges.⁴⁰⁸ They are a useful illustration of the high standing in royal eyes of de Burgh during these years, as well as the control he exercised over the king and over access to patronage.⁴⁰⁹

It would be wrong, however, to conclude that Henry exercised no agency in the granting of forest privileges during these years. In November 1228, he granted that the woods and heathland of the leper colony of Maiden Bradley (Wiltshire) should be quit of waste and regard, requiring no payment in return. This is an early example of the acts of charity and piety with which he was to become heavily associated, as well as the start of a reign-long patronage of the colony which also included

⁴⁰⁷ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.157-8, 160.

⁴⁰⁸ *CChR 1226-57*, pp.58, 81-2, 148, 154.

⁴⁰⁹ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.59-61, 65-8, 70-1, 82, 98, 112, 114; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.260-2, 270-1, 278-9, 284.

grants of access to the forest and gifts of timber from it, respite from the lawing of hunting dogs, and the pardon of an amercement arising from a forest eyre, as well as a gift of wine.⁴¹⁰

The ongoing pressure for disafforestations from lord and local communities resulted in an irregular flow of grants after 1236, before there was an increase in the number of awards in the early 1250s. There were probably two main drivers behind this later concentration of grants. Firstly, as discussed in Chapter 2, the programme of forest eyres launched in 1244 had gained notoriety for its severity. It is possible that some of the awards of disafforestation were initiated by the beneficiary to reduce the risk of future punitive amercements. There is a small number of cases where the award came soon after an eyre in the relevant county, although in none is there any record to indicate that the beneficiary had been amerced prior to the grant. For example, in November 1251 the community of Archenfield (Herefordshire) agreed a fine of 200m for the disafforestation of that part of the county. An eyre had been undertaken in Herefordshire in the preceding year.⁴¹¹

It is likely that the increase in the number of awards from 1250 was also because of Henry III's need to raise additional revenue, firstly to support his proposed crusade and later his military campaign in Gascony.⁴¹² Of the thirteen awards granted between 1250 and 1257, eight were accompanied by fines with a total value of approximately £373. In April 1252, Wardon Abbey (Bedfordshire) agreed a fine of 100m for a wide range of forest privileges in Midloe (Huntingdonshire), including that their wood and grange there should be 'quit of waste, regard and view and custody of foresters, verderers and all bailiffs of the forest.'⁴¹³

New and Existing Privileges

Of the seventy-one grants of disafforestation and similar privileges, fifty-six (79%) were new, while the balance were confirmations by the king of previous awards. The settlement over the forest boundaries that was reached early during Henry's personal rule proved to be long-lasting and supports the argument examined further in Chapter 6 that, overall, this was a compromise that was broadly acceptable to most parties, including the king. While it did result in some substantial disafforestations, this was probably viewed by Henry and his ministers as the necessary price to draw a line under a troublesome issue that had been ongoing since the issue of the Forest Charter in

⁴¹⁰ CChR 1226-57, p.84; CR 1227-31, p.128; CPR 1225-32, p.468; CR 1234-37, p.282; CR 1242-47, pp.294, 539; CR 1247-51, p.375; CR 1251-53, p.358; CR 1264-68, p.48; TNA, E 372/93, rot. 6d, m. 2 accessed online 12 September 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.aalt.uh.edu/); Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, p.327.

⁴¹¹ CChR 1226-57, p.369; CR 1251-53, p.130; CFR 36/53 accessed online 26 July 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_049.html; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.181-2, 196-7.

⁴¹² Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.544-9, 568.

⁴¹³ CChR 1226-57, pp.385-6; CFR 37/651 accessed online 12 September 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_050.html.

1217. Additionally, the crown was still largely able to exploit effectively the resources of the royal forest for much of Henry's reign, despite its reduced size. As shown in the preceding chapter, it was able to provide a regular flow of gifts to a wide broad of beneficiaries, while the eyres held between 1244 and 1252, no matter how notorious and unpopular, were able to generate significant revenue. All in all, it does not appear that the scale of disafforestations undermined royal interests in any serious way.

More generally, there is plenty of evidence in these awards to challenge the argument that grants of disafforestation were awarded grudgingly by a reluctant crown. At the time of the grants in the early part of the reign in particular, the revenue generated from them is likely to have been viewed favourably when compared with the sums that would otherwise have accrued from annual rents and the less predictable, and politically sensitive, income from forest eyres. Additionally, the king and his ministers were able to use disafforestations as a form of patronage.

Beneficiaries

Three groups, accounting for 79% of all awards, particularly benefited from the grants of disafforestation. By far the largest group were religious houses and charitable hospitals which accounted for over 40% of all awards, most of which were new. This partly reflects the fact that many abbeys had been previously established within royal forest areas.⁴¹⁴ It was also, however, an indication of the royal piety that became such a defining feature of Henry's reign.

The second largest group of beneficiaries were the lay and clerical magnates who were major landholders. All but three of the seventeen awards to this group occurred before 1234 and indicate the desire of this constituency to secure concessions during a period of uncertainty concerning the future extent of the forest. The third main group of beneficiaries consisted of local communities of interest, typically lords, knights and their tenants. Again, most of these grants were awarded during the early years of Henry's personal rule when local communities were responding to royal decisions concerning the settlement of forest boundaries.

Hunting Privileges

The royal forest was created as a private hunting ground for the king and the strict rules that evolved concerning the vert and the venison were intended to preserve it as such. There were therefore tight controls over hunting by others within the forest and harsh penalties for those who violated its laws.

⁴¹⁴ Young, *Royal Forests*, p.15.

For example, at the Yorkshire eyre of 1250, Nicholas de Boltby was amerced 200m for hunting offences, a sum that he paid over the following four years.⁴¹⁵

These tight controls and punitive penalties ran counter to a deeply ingrained culture across all segments of society that viewed hunting, both for food and for pleasure, as an important activity. This had already been acknowledged in the Forest Charter which granted archbishops, bishops, earls and barons travelling through the forest the right to take one or two beasts. The award by the king of hunting rights within the royal forest to an individual beyond the provisions set out in the Charter was not only welcome in itself, but also therefore a statement about the beneficiary's standing in royal favour and in local society.⁴¹⁶

There are 290 recorded instances between 1227 and 1272 when Henry III granted hunting privileges within the royal forest.⁴¹⁷ These, in turn, fall into one of three categories. The largest group of 210 awards consists of grants that allowed the beneficiary to undertake some form of hunting within the royal forest. These usually followed a formula of specifying the animals that could be hunted and the geography to which the privilege applied. In October 1253, for example, John le Moynes was granted the right 'to hunt with three greyhounds and six brachhounds the hare, fox, badger and cat throughout the forests in the county of Huntingdon, but not in fence time, so that he take not the great deer, and not in warrens'.⁴¹⁸ Most of these awards were for the duration of the lifetime of the recipient. Others were more wide-ranging in their scope and of longer duration. As part of the *quo warranto* proceedings at the start of his personal rule, in February 1227 Henry III confirmed a charter originally granted by Richard I to the bishops of Bath awarding them extensive hunting rights in perpetuity across Somerset.⁴¹⁹ Other hunting awards were temporary, although they could be extensive in scope. In May 1255, for example, foresters across the country were ordered to permit the Count of St Pol to enter their forests and 'to hunt and have his sport there and take venison'.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁵ TNA, E 372/94, rot. 6d, m. 2 accessed online 10 September 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/95, rot. 15d, m. 2 accessed online 10 September 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/96, rot. 2d, m. 2 accessed online 10 September 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/97, rot. 19d, m. 2 accessed online 10 September 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/98, rot. 19d, m. 1 accessed online 10 September 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

⁴¹⁶ Almond, *Medieval Hunting* is the most detailed recent account of many aspects of medieval hunting, emphasising its importance throughout society. See also Birrell, 'Procuring Venison', pp.177, 179, 188; Birrell, 'Who Poached?', p.11; Grant, 'Animal Resources', pp.164-5, 178-9; A. Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth Century to the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1992), pp.198-9; Rothwell, *English Historical Documents*, p.339.

⁴¹⁷ Most of these are recorded in the patent rolls, with supporting entries in the fine and charter rolls. There are also some records in the close rolls.

⁴¹⁸ *CPR 1247-58*, p.245.

⁴¹⁹ *CChR 1226-57*, p.7.

⁴²⁰ *CPR 1247-58*, p.436.

The second category of awards relates to the grant of free warren allowing a landholder to hunt a specified range of animals within their demesne lands. There has been some confusion amongst historians about the extent to which this privilege was granted within the royal forest. Turner stated that medieval charters of warren included a proviso that the lands to which the privilege was awarded should be outside the royal forest. This was largely accepted by Young who argued that initial grants of warren by kings William I and William II were not in the royal forest, that similar awards by their Angevin successors 'had no necessary connection with the royal forest' and that warrens within the royal forest were 'exceptional'.⁴²¹ In his valuable study of the awards of nearly 500 charters of warren between 1227 and 1258, Crook does not directly address the question of those that were granted within the royal forest, focusing instead upon the complaints by the reformers of 1258 about the behaviour of lords with warrens in disafforested areas. His studies of the development of private hunting rights in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire also focus upon areas outside the royal forest.⁴²²

It is clear, however, that Henry III granted charters of free warren to landholders whose demesne estates were within the boundaries of the royal forest. These included awards early during his personal rule to Roger de Clifford concerning his lands in Lydiard Tregoze in Wiltshire and to Peter des Roches and his successors as bishop of Winchester 'in all his manors', as well as a number of awards to landholders in Essex, much of which was subject to forest law.⁴²³

The third category of privilege concerns relaxations granted by the king to the requirements for the lawing of dogs. This long-established practice, also known as hambling or expeditation, involved the cutting of a dog's claws to prevent it chasing game. Although conditions about its application had been set out in the Forest Charter, respite from the practice remained a welcome benefit to those who wished to hunt.⁴²⁴ For example, in March 1253 Stanley Abbey paid a fine of 35m so that the 'demesne dogs of the abbey and its granges which they have at present be not expeditated.'⁴²⁵

⁴²¹ Turner, *Select Pleas*, p.cxxiii; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.10, 46. Spencer, 'Royal Patronage', pp.30-1 largely echoes the views expressed by Turner and Young.

⁴²² Crook, 'Free Warren', pp.33-48; Crook, 'Private Hunting Rights in Derbyshire', pp.232-43; Crook, 'Private Hunting Rights in Nottinghamshire', pp.101-9.

⁴²³ *CChR 1226-57*, pp.74, 169. The position of Lydiard Tregoze within the royal forest in the thirteenth century is covered in Crowley, *Braydon*, pp.24-5, 27-8, 30, 40-1, 48. The forest privileges enjoyed by Peter des Roches as bishop of Winchester, and the measures he took to obtain and protect them, are discussed in Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.73-4, 79, 185-90, 219, 290, 360. See Appendix D, 'Essex' for details of the extent of the royal forest in that county.

⁴²⁴ Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.47; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.17, 29, 41, 68, 113; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.6, 44-5, 57, 108, 118; Rothwell, *English Historical Documents*, p.338.

⁴²⁵ *CPR 1247-58*, p.180; *CFR 37/508* accessed online 10 September 2024
https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_050.html.

Chronology

As Chart 4.2 illustrates, very few awards of hunting privileges were granted by the king until 1252. There was then a concentrated period of activity until the end of 1256 during which a third of the privileges was granted.⁴²⁶ There was subsequently a small peak of awards in 1263 and a more sustained period of grants towards the end of the reign.

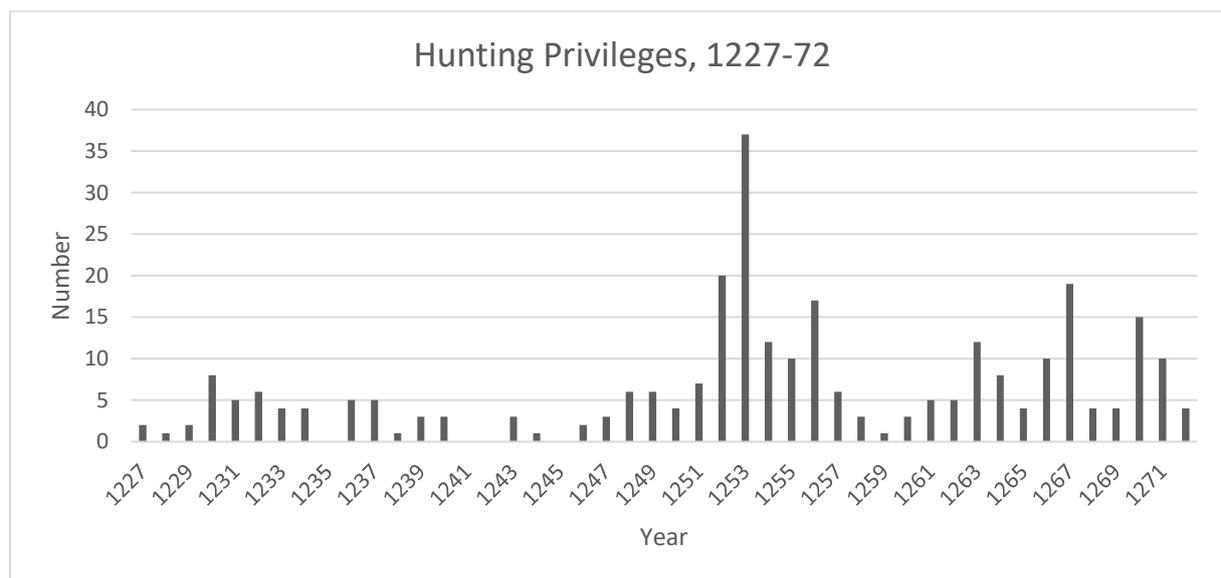


Chart 4.2: Hunting Privileges, 1227-72

Royal Motives

Royal motives in granting hunting privileges can best be considered by examining three separate periods of activity. There is firstly the long period between 1227 and 1251 when relatively few privileges were granted. There was then the concentrated period of award activity between 1252 and 1256, followed by the years from 1267 until the end of the reign. Table 4.2 provides further details.

⁴²⁶ There was a similar sharp rise in the award of charters of free warren more generally between 1251 and 1257 (Crook, 'Free Warren', p.38).

Period	Number of Privileges	Average Number per Year	Number of Fines for Privileges (%)	Value of Fines m.	Average Value of Fines m.
1227-51	81	3.24	8 (10%)	79	9.88
1252-56	96	19.20	41 (43%)	382.5	9.33
1257-72	113	7.06	7 (6%)	67	9.57
Total	290	6.30	56 (19%)	538.5	9.44

Table 4.2: *Hunting Privileges, 1227-72*

Between 1227 and 1251, hunting privileges were granted on average at the relatively low rate of approximately three per year. With evidence of fines for only 10% of these awards, it appears that the crown's motive in awarding the privileges was not primarily financial. As most of the beneficiaries were either magnates, household knights or royal officials, these awards were therefore primarily acts of patronage towards those close to the king and the royal administration.

The frequency of awards rose sharply between 1252 and the end of 1256 to an average of nineteen per year, with a pronounced spike in 1253. The profile in this period is therefore very similar to that for the award of exemptions from forest offices discussed below and similar motives can be attributed for the increase. It is possible that the recent eyres drove demand for exemptions from forest law restrictions on hunting, while the crown's need for additional revenue is reflected in the fact that over 40% of privileges were accompanied by fines with a total value of over 380m. The increase in fines was part of a broader drive by Henry III to build up a gold treasure that also included the sale of licences for markets and fairs.⁴²⁷

The sharp increase in awards in 1253 raises the possibility also that these were partly granted as inducements or rewards for those joining Henry on his Gascon campaign. During the spring of 1253, a number of hunting awards were granted to men who subsequently participated in the campaign. While Henry was in France, he made eighteen awards of hunting privileges, twelve of which were granted to men who can confidently be identified as participating in the campaign. Additionally, in none of these eighteen cases is there a record of a fine accompanying the award. It is therefore

⁴²⁷ D.A. Carpenter, 'The Gold Treasure of King Henry III', in D.A. Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996), pp.112-3, 120; E. Jamroziak, 'Networks of Markets and Networks of Patronage in Thirteenth Century England', in Prestwich, Britnell and Frame (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England X*, pp.41-9.

likely that the awards granted during the campaign were in recognition of the service provided to the king. It was members of the 'knightly class' who noticeably benefited from the grants of hunting privileges during this period. Whereas they accounted for 15% of the beneficiaries between 1227 and 1251, that number rose to 32% for the years between 1252 and 1256.

The association between awards of hunting privileges and military service to the crown is further evident in the period of baronial reform and the subsequent civil war. Not only did Henry III generally grant these later awards without any accompanying fine, but they were also largely granted at times of military or political difficulty. For example, the sharp rise in 1263 coincided with the start of the descent into civil war, while the grants from 1267 onwards reflected the need to restore order after the upheaval of the civil war. It is therefore unsurprising that knights accounted for 35% of the beneficiaries during this period, with a similar percentage accounted for by household knights and royal officials. Interestingly, Montfort also issued grants of hunting rights to his supporters during the brief period he was in power after Lewes.⁴²⁸

There is, however, another dimension to these awards that is not explained by the immediate financial, military or political pressures of the crown. The grant of hunting privileges within the royal forest was a recognition of the standing of the recipient in royal eyes and was therefore also frequently something that was given to visiting foreign lords. In July 1230, for example, the visiting Duke of Saxony was granted hunting rights in Windsor and Essex forests, an example of Henry conforming to expectations about what constituted a good royal host.⁴²⁹

New and Existing Privileges

Only sixteen (6%) of the hunting awards granted by Henry III were confirmations of existing privileges. The very large percentage that were therefore new awards raises the question of whether the crown was risking damage to the integrity of the royal forest in pursuit of revenue, and political and military support. On the one hand, the risks to the forest and the crown's long-term interests were quite limited. Many of the awards were purely for the lifetime of the recipient, were geographically contained and were specific concerning when and which animals could be hunted. Additionally, certainly until the 1250s, the grants of charters of warren were preceded by an inquisition *ad quod damnum* to establish the risk to royal interests. While moreover the beneficiaries of the grants were mainly restricted to a narrow range of animals that could lawfully be hunted,

⁴²⁸ Wild, 'Captive King', p.44.

⁴²⁹ CR 1227-31, pp.365-6.

these were the animals whose presence was seen as potentially damaging to the vert and the venison and therefore hunting them was arguably assisting the preservation of the forest.

On the other hand, the financial return to the crown of granting these privileges was largely in the form of relatively small, one-off payments and the overall sums raised were consequently modest. There was also the increased risk of collateral damage to the physical environment of the forest through the granting of any additional hunting activity, as well as the potential for increased levels of poaching.⁴³⁰ It would also appear that Henry's government became more relaxed over time in its protection of the forest. The majority of the awards of warren in the forest areas of Essex were made after 1258, while from that time onwards there was an increasing tendency to grant the privileges not only to the immediate beneficiary but also to their successors. This was also the period when the crown granted more privileges without seeking payment in return. It would therefore seem that, particularly after 1258, Henry's awards of hunting privileges became noticeably more generous, a reflection perhaps of the political and military pressures he experienced during this period.

Beneficiaries

While a number of hunting privileges were granted to the heads of religious houses, the demand for them came overwhelmingly from the laity. Approximately 90% of the privileges were awarded to three broad groups of recipients. Just under 30% were granted to senior nobles, lay and clerical magnates, visiting foreign lords and members of the royal family. Approximately 31% were granted to men who were either household knights or royal officials and a further 29% were awarded to local knights. It was this final group that progressively became more prominent amongst the beneficiaries.

Shared Use of the Forest

In addition to hunting rights, the crown was prepared to award privileges allowing others legitimately to share in the use of the forest resources in other ways without risk of prosecution. Specifically, there is a category of 393 awards that permitted individuals or communities living within or near the royal forest to use it for a variety of purposes, such as taking wood or having access for the pasture of their animals. There was a long history of such practices, and the Forest Charter had again set out certain requirements for their continued use. Also included in this category are the

⁴³⁰ Birrell, 'Who Poached?', p.11 for example highlights the 'common aristocratic habit' of excessive hunting beyond what was permitted within the royal forest.

tithes which committed the crown to an ongoing annual provision of wood or venison to the recipients.⁴³¹

Chronology

As Chart 4.3 shows, there were three main periods when these privileges were awarded. An initial cluster was granted in 1227 and during 1231-32, with a further significant period of grants between 1234 and 1236. There was a final intense period of award-giving between 1250 and 1253. An examination of each of these three periods helps to explain the motivations of the parties and the nature of the privileges that were awarded.

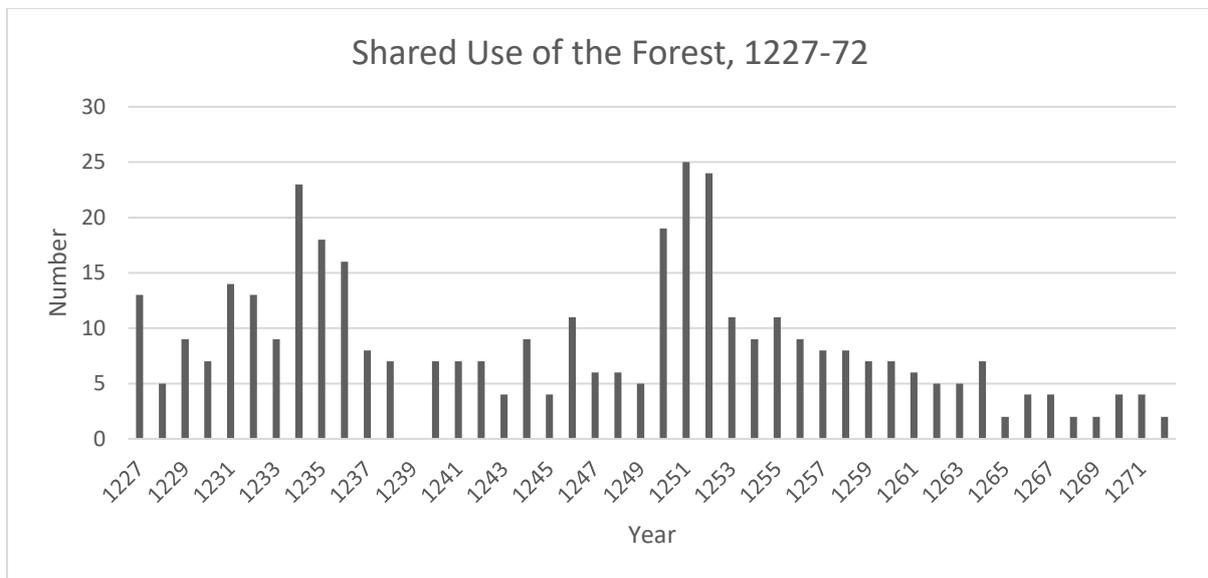


Chart 4.3: Shared Use of the Forest, 1227-72

Royal Motives

Awards of this type could represent considerable concessions by the crown. Allowing access to the forest risked damage to the vert, while grants of annual tithes put the crown under an ongoing obligation to the beneficiary.

The peak in awards at the start of Henry III’s personal rule is largely explained by two factors. In declaring an end to his minority in January 1227, Henry required those who claimed to have lands and liberties by the gift of his predecessors or by his own order during the minority to demonstrate the legitimacy of their claims, as well as requiring anyone who sought a charter or confirmation of an

⁴³¹ Rothwell, *English Historical Documents*, pp.338-9; Birrell, ‘Peasant Craftsmen’, pp.91, 104; Birrell, ‘English Forest’, pp.80, 82, 83; J. Birrell, ‘Common Rights in the Medieval Forest: Disputes and Conflict in the Thirteenth Century’, *Past and Present* 117 (1987), pp.22-3; Richardson, *Clarendon*, p.39; Langton, ‘Forest Vert’, pp.10-6; Stamper, ‘Woods and Parks’, pp.130, 133-4. The vast majority of the awards are recorded in the close rolls, with a small number also appearing in the patent rolls, charter rolls and, where relevant, the fine rolls.

old one to come before him. This led to a flurry of activity, with religious houses and towns in particular making payments to the crown for formal confirmation of existing or new privileges.⁴³² Amongst these were awards recognising privileges within the royal forest, some of which were granted in return for payment. For example, in March 1227 the men of Lancaster paid 5m for having the confirmation of privileges granted to them by previous kings including ‘pasture of the king’s forest for as far as their animals can reach in a day.’⁴³³

The other main driver during these early years was the settlement that was gradually reached concerning the boundaries of the forest. Once individuals, religious houses and communities were clear that the area which they inhabited was not to be disafforested, there was an understandable desire to secure existing or new privileges within the forest. For example, in March 1231, Henry confirmed the rights of the lepers of St Bartholomew’s Hospital in Oxford to estover within Bernwood forest that had previously been granted to them by John.⁴³⁴ In other cases, the royal confirmation seems to have been motivated by a desire to prevent or remedy wrongful actions by local forest officials at the expense of royal demesne tenants or others holding land within forest boundaries. There were, for example, letters to this effect concerning the rights of the inhabitants of Gillingham (Dorset) and Northamptonshire.⁴³⁵

It is also possible that some privileges were confirmed in the light of the programme of eyres that commenced late in 1229.⁴³⁶ This covered sixteen counties and was the first extensive programme to be undertaken following the settlement of the forest boundaries. The outcomes of these eyres may have acted in some cases as a catalyst for securing confirmation of forest privileges. For example, the town of Mansfield was amerced £13 and half a mark for an unspecified offence at the Nottinghamshire eyre held in 1229. Early in 1230, the king wrote to the local forester to confirm the privileges of the men of Mansfield concerning Sherwood Forest.⁴³⁷

⁴³² Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.64-5; D. Carpenter, ‘Fines made with Henry III for the confirmation of charters, January-February 1227’ accessed online 16 September 2024 <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-07-2006.html>; S. Ambler, ‘The fine roll of 11 Henry III, 28 October 1226 – 27 October 1227’ accessed online 16 September 2024 <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-12-2007.html>; D. Carpenter, ‘The Bishop of Winchester’s fine in 1227’ accessed online 16 September 2024 <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-08-2006.html>.

⁴³³ *CFR 11/137* accessed online 30 July 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 11 HENRY III \(28 October 1226–27 October 1227\) \(finerollshenry3.org.uk\)](https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-07-2006.html).

⁴³⁴ *CR 1227-31*, p.485.

⁴³⁵ *CR 1227-31*, pp.54, 385.

⁴³⁶ Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.163-71.

⁴³⁷ *CR 1227-31*, p.281; TNA, E 372/73, rot. 5d, m.1 accessed online 16 September 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.aalt.uh.edu/); *PR 1230*, p.81; Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, p.165.

Given the focus of the *quo warranto* procedures and the likely impact of the forest eyres, it is unsurprising that 62% of the awards between 1227 and 1232 were confirmations of pre-existing privileges. However, only seven (11%) of the sixty-one privileges granted during this period were accompanied by fines, suggesting that the crown did not see these awards as a legitimate source of revenue.

There was another spike in the number of privileges granted between 1234 and 1236. This was the period with the lowest number of payments for awards, with just two fines being agreed. There therefore seems again to have been little financial motivation on the part of the crown behind these grants. Nor can they be attributed to the impact of the forest eyres, the latest programme of which only started in 1236 and finished abruptly in 1238 after covering just five counties.⁴³⁸

The most likely explanation for this demonstration of royal largesse was Henry's need to restore his authority following the Marshal revolt and the collapse of the des Roches government. The high number of awards of privileges in 1234 and 1235 is similar therefore to an equally prominent spike in the number of gifts from the royal forest in these years. It is notable that the beneficiaries included Richard Seward who had been a prominent supporter of Marshal in the recent civil war. In January 1235, he was awarded temporary rights to husbote and heybote in Stow Wood, Oxfordshire which were confirmed in April, pending a full enquiry. Those rights were subsequently confirmed in February 1236.⁴³⁹

The first half of the 1250s also saw a pronounced rise in the number of privileges granted to use the forest, similar to the increase noted earlier concerning awards of disafforestation. As with those grants, it is possible that some of the awards were connected to the programme of eyres that commenced in 1244. For example, an especially harsh eyre in Yorkshire in 1250 may have been a driver behind the men of Pickering and Newton-on-Rawcliffe paying the king 10m 'for having an inquisition concerning pannage of their pigs' and confirmation of those rights.⁴⁴⁰ However, there are very few potential examples of this type and none that are definitively proven by the extant evidence.

It is more likely that Henry III's need to raise revenue was a greater influence on the number of privileges granted during this period. Of the seventy-nine awards between 1250 and 1253, seven were accompanied by fines with a total value of 167m. For example, in April 1252 Merton Priory

⁴³⁸ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.171-3.

⁴³⁹ *CR 1231-34*, pp.36. 84; *CR 1234-37*, p.244. D. Crouch, 'Seward, Sir Richard (d. 1248), mercenary and courtier', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 15 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37971>.

⁴⁴⁰ *CFR 35/79* accessed online 30 July 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 35 HENRY III \(28 October 1250–27 October 1251\) \(finerollshenry3.org.uk\)](https://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk); *CR 1247-51*, pp.341-2; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', p.203.

paid 2m of gold into the wardrobe for confirmation of a number of royal charters, one of which dated from the reign of Henry II and gave the canons 'pasture for their mares in the king's forests in England, and [that they should] be quit of pannage.'⁴⁴¹

However, the relatively small number of awards accompanied by payments suggests that motives other than purely financial were behind this increase in grants. Some of the awards may have been in recognition of military service. For example, while he was in Gascony in August 1254, Henry confirmed the rights of Patrick de Chaworth, who was serving with him, to husbote and heybote within the royal forest. This was in addition to the confirmation issued in June 1253 shortly before Henry embarked for France that Chaworth was entitled to estover within his woods in Bere Forest. In September 1254, Chaworth was also given a gift of thirty deer from Braden Forest to establish a park.⁴⁴²

Across Henry III's personal rule as a whole, it is striking how few of the awards were accompanied by fines paid by the beneficiary. Just eighteen (5%) of the awards required a payment to accompany the grant, suggesting that raising revenue was in the main not a priority for the crown. There may have been an ongoing revenue stream attached to some of these privileges, such as the payment of pannage fees, but this is generally not evident from the extant records. It is also likely that, in some cases, any subsequent recurring revenue associated with these awards, was collected and retained by local foresters and did not reach the crown.

It is worth also considering why there were years when comparatively few grants were given. For example, there was a prolonged period between 1237 and 1249 when awards were granted at a low average of fewer than seven per year.⁴⁴³ To some extent, a reduction in numbers could be expected following the initial flurry of activity generated jointly by the *quo warranto* proceedings and the settlement of forest boundaries. This also was a period of relative political calm and, until the commencement of the programme under Robert Passelewe in 1244, one in which the forest eyres did not generally drive the need for confirmation of privileges, or the award of new ones. For different reasons, there were again relatively few awards of either new privileges or confirmations of existing ones after 1256. Certainly the numbers declined significantly with the start of the baronial programme of reform and the resulting constitutional struggle and ultimately civil war. The scale of the political and administrative upheaval between 1258 and 1267 in particular meant that the granting of privileges was either not a priority or not a realistic possibility. As noted below, many of

⁴⁴¹ CChR 1226-57, p.381; CFR 36/413 accessed online 30 July 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 36 HENRY III \(28 October 1251–27 October 1252\) \(finerollshenry3.org.uk\)](https://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk).

⁴⁴² CChR 1226-57, p.437; CR 1253-54, pp.267, 270; CPR 1247-58, p.231.

⁴⁴³ It should be noted again at this point that there are no close rolls records for the regnal year 1238-39.

the historic beneficiaries were religious and charitable houses who played a minor role in the upheaval of this period and therefore were not priorities for the distribution of patronage by the king.

New and Existing Privileges

Overall, almost two-thirds of the awards were confirmations of existing privileges. It does not appear, therefore, that Henry III made significant new concessions that risked the future preservation of the forest or undermined the crown's long-term interests. A further indication of that is the relatively small number of new tithes that he awarded. There are records of just six new tithes, of which the most significant was the commitment to Westminster Abbey in 1235 to provide it yearly with the venison of eight deer.⁴⁴⁴

Beneficiaries

By far the largest group of beneficiaries of these awards were religious and charitable houses which accounted for 257 (65%) of the awards. This might partly be simply a reflection of the proximity of many abbeys to the royal forest. It is, however, also another indicator of the strength of Henry's piety and how that influenced his patronage. It should also be noted that approximately 20% of these awards were granted when Henry was travelling outside London and was in the proximity of the beneficiary. For example, when he was in Gloucester in 1231, 1234 and 1235, he made awards to Llanthony Secunda Priory and to St Peter's Abbey. Some of the awards may therefore have been expressions of gratitude for hospitality. They may also have demonstrated the greater accessibility of Henry when travelling around his kingdom as opposed to being resident in Westminster, as well as the importance he placed on demonstrable acts of generosity on these occasions.⁴⁴⁵ This echoes a similar pattern of behaviour concerning forest gifts as described in the preceding chapter.

The other main group of beneficiaries were local communities living in or near the forest which collectively accounted for forty-seven (12%) of all grants of this category of privilege. For example, in 1242 the men of Easingwold were granted access to Galtres Forest specifically to take wood to repair their houses. There were further awards in 1247 and 1259 acknowledging their historic right to husbote and heybote and to estover within the same forest.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁴ *CChR* 1226-57, p.210.

⁴⁴⁵ *CR* 1227-31, p.533; *CR* 1231-34, pp.366, 433, 451; *CR* 1234-37, p.124; *CPR* 1232-47, p.37.

⁴⁴⁶ *CR* 1237-42, p.441; *CR* 1242-47, p.519; *CR* 1256-59, p.378.

Private Use of the Forest

The preceding category examined privileges enabling beneficiaries access to the forest to share in its resources. There is another category of 362 awards that granted recipients more exclusive use of the forest while preserving the application of forest law.⁴⁴⁷ These awards were effectively authorised encroachments upon the forest in that the crown formally ceded land or assets within its boundaries to the recipient.

There were four types of privilege within this category. First, there were royal grants of land or wood within the forest boundaries. In April 1257, for example, Coggeshall Abbey paid a fine of 55m to enclose 'with a little dike and a low hedge' a number of heaths and woods in Essex Forest totalling almost 480 acres. The grant came with a large element of delegated authority to ensure compliance with forest law. While payment in the form of either or both a one-off sum and a recurring rent were frequently required for these awards, that was not always the case. In June 1259, for example, Lacock Abbey was gifted 40 acres of wood in Melksham Forest along with considerable freedoms from the application of forest law.⁴⁴⁸

Some of these grants were indistinguishable in substance from the awards of assarts and purprestures that together form the second type of privilege granted by the crown where these terms were explicitly used.⁴⁴⁹ For example, in January 1257 Henry Engayne agreed a fine of 15m with the king to have a licence to enclose 16 acres of land in Cliff forest 'and assart and employ the same as he will.'⁴⁵⁰ Taken together, these first two types of privilege account for almost 70% of the transactions within this category of award.

As a result of a rapidly expanding population, there was increased pressure on land during the thirteenth century and an accompanying expansion in the establishment of assarts and purprestures. As these presented a threat to the vert, the crown sought to control the process through the award of licences approving assarts and purprestures. It also used the triennial forest regard to record assarting activity and subsequent eyres to punish those who had established assarts and purprestures without the appropriate authority. For example, at the Hampshire eyre of 1245 John de Gatesden was amerced £20 for illegal assarts. There was an understandable desire on the

⁴⁴⁷ About half of these awards are recorded in the close rolls. Other awards are to be found in the charter and patent rolls and, where relevant, the fine rolls.

⁴⁴⁸ *CChR 1226-57*, pp.466-7; *CChR 1257-1300*, p.25; *CFR 41/529* accessed online 15 August 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_054.html; *CR 1259-61*, pp.22-3.

⁴⁴⁹ See Glossary for an explanation of these terms.

⁴⁵⁰ *CChR 1226-57*, pp.455-6; *CFR 41/298* accessed online 15 August 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_054.html.

part of landholders and tenants therefore to secure formal recognition of their assarts to avoid eyre ameracements.⁴⁵¹

There was similar pressure for the creation and royal recognition of deer parks which account for 16% of the awards in this category. Functioning both as valuable sources of food and high status symbols, parks became an increasingly common feature of the medieval landscape, numbering at least 1,900.⁴⁵² Their creation within the boundaries of the royal forest presented potential threats to royal interests, particularly with the increased risk of poaching. As with assarts and purprestures, the crown sought to manage the creation of parks through the award of licences and to punish illegal emparkments through the eyre system.

The final type of privilege granted by Henry's governments in this category were licences to undertake commercial activity within the forest, which together accounted for approximately 15% of the awards. From 1228 onwards, for example, Mabel de Cantilupe regularly received royal licences to operate a forge within the Forest of Dean. When, in 1248, it was deemed that the scale of industrial activity was damaging the forest and the forge had to cease operation, she was granted an annual sum of 10m for the rest of her life in recognition of the lost income.⁴⁵³ There are also eighteen instances of royal grants enabling landholders to sell wood from their estates within the royal forest. For example, in June 1270, Bromhall Priory was given permission to sell wood from its lands within Windsor Forest to raise funds to repair buildings recently damaged in a fire.⁴⁵⁴

Chronology

As Chart 4.4 illustrates, a large number of awards were granted during the early years of Henry III's personal rule and then again in the mid-1230s. There was then little activity until 1246 and 1248. The last notable peak in the number of awards was in 1252. After that, relatively few awards were granted for the remainder of Henry's reign. This pattern of activity is explored in more detail below as part of the examination of royal motives in granting the privileges.

⁴⁵¹ TNA, E 372/89, rot. 12d, m. 2 accessed online 16 September 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Young, *Royal Forests*, p.16; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.15-6; Birrell, 'English Forest', pp.78, 80; Brindle, *Windsor*, pp.74-5; J.L. Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy, 1150-1500* (London, 1980), pp.82-3; J. Aberth, *An Environmental History of the Middle Ages* (London, 2013), pp.95-7.

⁴⁵² Mileson, *Parks*, pp.3, 134-6; L. Cantor, 'Forests, Chases, Parks and Warrens', pp.78-82; Stamper, 'Woods and Parks', pp.140-3; O. Creighton, *Designs Upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp.122-6.

⁴⁵³ CR 1227-31, p.74; CR 1231-34, pp.91, 452; CR 1237-42, pp.314, 385; CR 1242-47, p.423; CPR 1225-32, pp.451, 476; CPR 1247-58, p.28; CLR 1245-51, p.322; CLR 1251-60, pp.242, 306; Hart, *Royal Forest*, p.48.

⁴⁵⁴ CR 1268-72, pp.199-200; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.123.

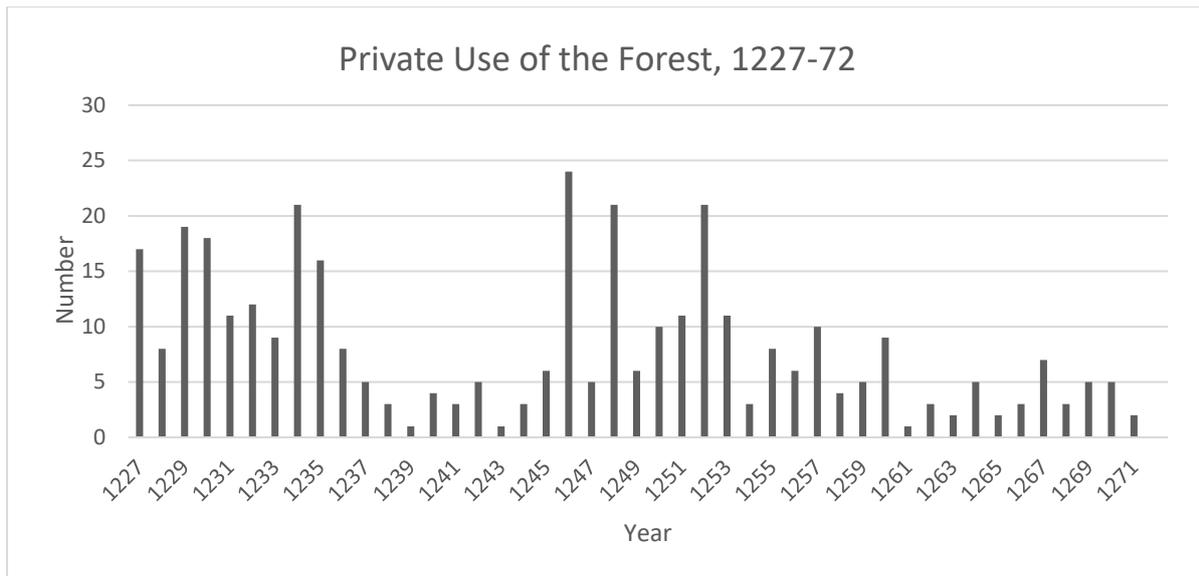


Chart 4.4: *Private Use of the Forest, 1227-72*

Royal Motives

With the exception of acts of disafforestation, the activities covered by these awards presented a greater direct challenge to royal interests than the other privileges examined in this chapter. In particular, assarts, purprestures, enclosures and parks involved a permanent reduction in the habitat for the deer that the system was designed to protect. The commonly accepted narrative amongst historians is that the crown was prepared to accept these changes for two reasons. Firstly, the sheer scale of pressure from landholders and communities to convert forest land to agricultural use was difficult to resist and was, in any case, something that the crown itself was ready to embrace on its own demesne lands within the forest because of the economic benefits of doing so. Secondly, it was clear that there were revenue benefits to the crown from accepting change of use on this scale through upfront approval using paid-for licences, subsequent annual rental payments and punitive amercements through forest eyres for any illegal activity.⁴⁵⁵

These arguments give primacy to revenue considerations as the motives for crown approval of these encroachments. They have also allowed Young, for example, to conclude that the ‘essential nature of the forest’ changed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Whereas previously the financial importance of the forest was based primarily upon the income extracted through the enforcement of forest law, it increasingly became dependent upon the exploitation of the forests for agricultural purposes and other economic activities.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁵ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.117-23 is particularly good in examining and summarising these arguments.

⁴⁵⁶ Young, *Royal Forests*, p.122-3.

There is undoubtedly evidence from Henry III's reign to support this interpretation. Many of the examples already given show that awards of assarts, purprestures and parks were granted in return for either a lump sum payment or recurring annual rents. However, only approximately one quarter of the new awards granted by Henry III were accompanied by explicit references to a payment or can be traced to financial entries within the fine rolls or pipe rolls. A reappraisal is therefore needed in considering revenue as the primary motive of the crown.

It is worth noting that much of the recurring income from the rents for assarts and purprestures did not directly reach the royal treasury. Instead, in many cases these rents were collected and retained by local wardens. Records for Feckenham Forest (Worcestershire) include rolls of assarts demonstrating the scale of assarting and its financial value. However, this revenue seems to have been largely retained by local wardens as the pipe rolls for Worcestershire record only one regular payment that was accounted for at the exchequer, by the citizens of Worcester, concerning a purpresture. While there was theoretically the potential for the crown to obtain a greater share of the value of assarts through adjusting the amounts it required from its forest wardens, the evidence of Chapter 2 is that it frequently did not do so.⁴⁵⁷

Contrary to Young's suggestion, it is also clear that the crown continued to rely heavily upon forest eyres and their amercements as a key means of collecting revenue for assarts and purprestures. For example, the amount collected between 1227 and 1272 via eyres that can be directly attributable to illegal encroachments was approximately £645, a significant understatement of the true value given that the rationale for most amercements was not specified. By contrast, the amount collected through the awards of grants approving assarts and purprestures was approximately £630.⁴⁵⁸ Charging for these encroachments via eyres rather than via awards had the additional benefit of generating revenue that came directly to the crown rather than being collected and retained by forest wardens.

This partly explains the pattern of awards in the above chart. In particular, the peaks in awards in 1246, 1248 and 1252 can be partly attributed to the intensive programme of eyres that began in 1244 and that focused upon identifying illegal assarts.⁴⁵⁹ The effect of these was not only to increase revenue from the eyres, but also to act as a catalyst for landholders to secure approvals to avoid the risk of future amercements. It is telling that almost 95% of approvals for assarts and similar awards

⁴⁵⁷ Birrell, *Feckenham*, pp.xx-xxi, 1-10, 33-7. The citizens of Worcester were required to pay 15d per annum for the purpresture. The last payment of the reign was recorded in the pipe rolls of 1254 (TNA, E 372/98, rot. 4, m. 1 accessed online 13 August 2025 [AALT Page](#)).

⁴⁵⁸ These amounts are discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

⁴⁵⁹ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', p.181.

during the period between 1246 and 1252 came after an eyre had been undertaken in the relevant county. This association between eyres and the award of approvals may also help to explain the very few grants awarded between 1237 and 1245. Although there was a steady flow of eyres undertaken during this period, they were relatively light touch compared with later visitations. Indeed, it could be argued that the severity of response to illegal assarts by the eyres held under Robert Passelewe from 1244 was partly a response to the very few approvals that had been given in the preceding years.

Additionally, financial motives cannot satisfactorily explain other awards of privileges for assarts, purprestures and parks. The peak of activity at the start of the reign is likely to have been a response to the *quo warranto* proceedings that Henry initiated at the start of 1227. As with other types of privileges, the increase in awards in 1234-5 may have also been a reflection of Henry's need to secure political support and stability following the upheaval caused by the Marshal revolt. It should also be noted again that many of the awards were seemingly granted without any expectation of financial return to the crown, particularly in the case of religious houses and hospitals.

Another category of recipient that particularly benefited from Henry's largesse was made up of the lay and clerical magnates and senior lords who, in contrast to lesser landowners, were proportionately less required to pay for the award of these types of privileges. Even if payments were required for the approval of deer parks, as noted in Chapter 3, Henry frequently helped to stock these with gifts of deer from the royal forest. While theoretically therefore the presence of private deer parks presented a challenge to the preservation of the forest, Henry was ready to support them, once approved, as a demonstration of his patronage, largesse and favouritism.

What the above examination illustrates is that revenue considerations were just one of a number of drivers behind the king's readiness to approve assarts. Furthermore, the revenue that was generated through awards was less than that raised via eyre amercements which continued to play a key role in the management of the assarting process.

New and Existing Privileges

Approximately two-thirds of the awards granted by the king for these privileges were new, although some were temporary or one-off in nature. It is difficult to assess the overall impact of approved assarts and purprestures in terms of the amount of land that was converted to agricultural use. Some of the awards could be substantial. For example, in April 1252 Robert de Neville agreed a fine of 100s to 'bring into tillage up to two hundred acres of the demesnes of his manor of Sutton in the forest of Galtres...and may enclose the said land with a dike.' This award appears to have been

exceptional in its scale as others, such as the grant to Luffield Priory in July 1233 to assart two acres of woodland were comparatively very small.⁴⁶⁰ There are records of sixty-nine new assarts between 1227 and 1272 where the acreage of the land concerned can be identified. In total, these assarts involved the conversion of almost 2,200 acres of forest land to agricultural use, that is an average of 32 acres for each award. This is certainly an understatement of the overall figure given that many transactions do not record the acreage to be converted to agricultural use.

The absence of a reliable baseline figure for either the scale of existing assarts or the acreage of uncultivated land within the royal forest at the outset of Henry III's personal rule makes it difficult to establish proportionately just how much change was brought about by his awards. However, a roll of assarts for the Popperode bailiwick in Feckenham Forest shows that there was already at least 103 acres of forest land that was being cultivated there by the early 1240s. Popperode was just one of the five bailiwicks of the forest so it is likely that the total amount of forest land under cultivation was significantly higher.⁴⁶¹ In that context, the awards granted by Henry III for further assarts appear relatively small in scale.

Beneficiaries

The largest category of beneficiaries was made up of religious houses and hospitals that together accounted for approximately 44% of these awards. The second largest group consisted of members of the royal family, lay and clerical magnates and senior lords, who collectively accounted for 27% of the awards. Those in royal service as officials or household knights made up a third group that accounted for 17% of the awards, while the balance was granted to knights, local landholders and communities within the forest. These figures again reflect the significance of religious houses as major landholders within the royal forest. However, the readiness of the king to approve their assarts, frequently without requiring upfront payment, is also a measure of the patronage that he exercised in support of them, reflecting in turn his piety. It should also be noted that, as with the awards granting shared use, a number of these privileges were awarded when Henry III was travelling outside London.

Transport through the Forest

Cheminage was a toll raised on those with carts or pack-animals loaded with wood or other forest products who were passing through the royal forest. Abuse by local wardens of the administration of

⁴⁶⁰ *CChR 1226-57*, p.381; *CFR 36/408* accessed online 14 September 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_049.html; *CR 1231-34*, p.241. Aberth, *Environmental History*, pp.95-6 highlights the generally small size of average assarts during the thirteenth century.

⁴⁶¹ Birrell, *Feckenham*, pp.xv-xvi; 1-5.

the charge had become sufficiently widespread and controversial that a clause was inserted into the Forest Charter of 1217 to limit the amounts that could be collected, by whom and in what circumstances.⁴⁶²

In most cases during the thirteenth century, collection of the toll was the right and responsibility of the local forest warden, who then retained the proceeds while paying an annual amount to the crown for overall management of the forest. It was, for example, one of the sources of revenue granted to Robert Walerand in November 1255 when he was appointed as warden of the Forest of Dean. Similarly, the hereditary warden of Bernwood Forest had the right to the proceeds of cheminage throughout his bailiwick. There was therefore an incentive for wardens locally to abuse the system to maximise the proceeds.⁴⁶³ Despite the provisions of the Charter, there are many examples from thirteenth-century forest inquests to suggest that abuse remained a problem during Henry III's reign. Complaints were made in Feckenham Forest in the mid-1240s that foresters were taking cheminage unjustly, while an inquiry in Surrey in 1258 concerning Windsor Forest heard that, whereas the annual charge per cart used to be 4d, the foresters were now charging 2s or more. A 1269 inquest into Rutland Forest was informed that the warden, Peter de Neville, had appointed a sub-forester to collect cheminage against both precedent and the law, while the Staffordshire forest eyre of 1271 heard that the local wardens had 'raised a large sum of money' through charging cheminage illegally and excessively.⁴⁶⁴ Those transporting wood and similar products through the forest therefore risked being obliged to pay when no cheminage was lawfully due, or excessively when it was. Attempts at avoidance also brought with them the risk of prosecution. Any relief from these risks in the form of royal protection was therefore a welcome privilege.

There are 181 examples in the extant records when Henry III provided letters of protection concerning the transport of wood through the royal forest.⁴⁶⁵ In half of these, it was explicitly stated that the recipient had the right to transport free of cheminage. For example, in April 1235 the London Dominican Friars were allowed to take a gift of eighty oak trees from the wood of the earl of Pembroke in the royal forest of Odiham without having to pay cheminage.⁴⁶⁶ In the other cases, the

⁴⁶² Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.59-60; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.69, 84; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.103; Rothwell, *English Historical Documents*, p.339. Richardson, *Clarendon*, p.137 suggests cheminage was 'perhaps the most disliked feature of the forest system'.

⁴⁶³ *CPR 1247-58*, p.450; Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.xxi, 46, 122; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.78-9; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.103, 113-4. See Chapter 2 and Appendix D for further details on the management arrangements of individual forest areas.

⁴⁶⁴ Birrell, *Feckenham*, pp.xvi, 16, 29; Stewart, *Surrey*, pp.xxxii, 89; Turner, *Select Pleas*, p.51; Birrell, *Cannock and Kinver*, p.96.

⁴⁶⁵ Over 90% of these are recorded in the close rolls, with the balance appearing in the patent rolls or charter rolls.

⁴⁶⁶ *CR 1234-37*, p.71.

recipient was granted the right to transport through the royal forest without impediment and with the implication, if not explicitly stated, that cheminage was not payable.⁴⁶⁷

Chronology

Chart 4.5 shows the annual distribution of these awards. There is a particular peak in the number of awards in the period between 1250 and 1256, and especially during 1253. There were also less significant peaks during the mid-1230s and mid-1240s. By contrast, very few awards were granted before 1231, between 1238 and 1245, and after 1256.

It is possible that some of these peaks in activity reflected greater demand for these privileges, for example if there were higher levels of gift-giving by third parties from their own woods or a general increase in construction activity, but it is not possible to establish this with confidence from the available sources. It is, however, possible to attribute this pattern of award-giving partly to the policies and priorities of Henry's governments.

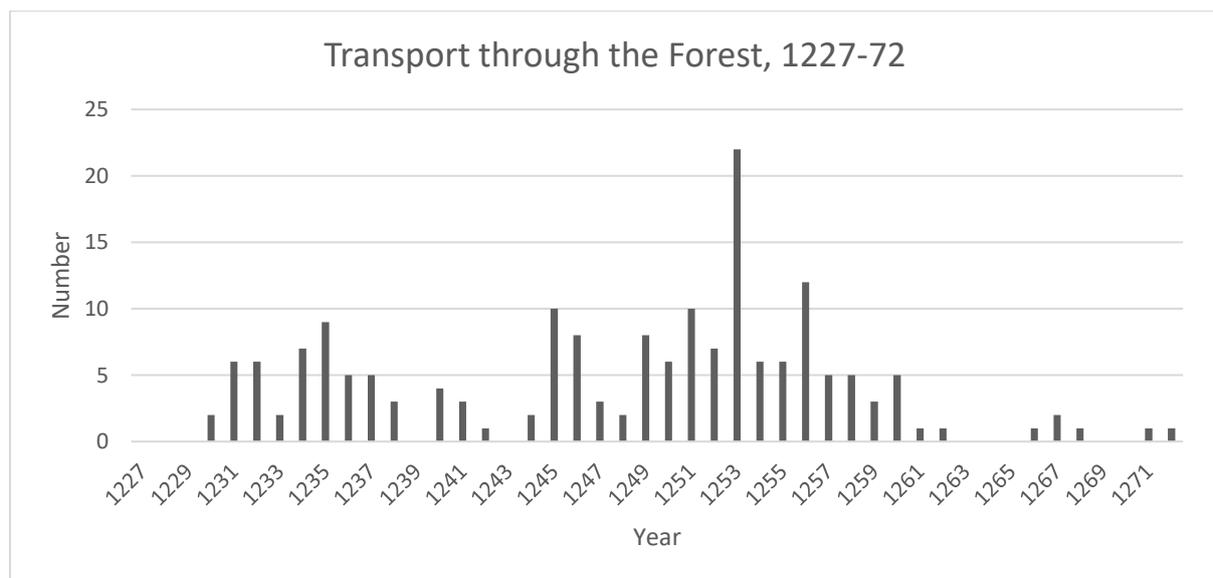


Chart 4.5: Transport through the Forest, 1227-72

Royal Motives

So far as the crown was concerned, the award of these privileges was financially neutral. There is no record that it sought payment for granting them. Additionally, as cheminage fees were usually collected and retained by local foresters, the decision by the king to waive the toll rarely had a direct impact upon the crown's revenues and, even then, the sums involved were small. There was

⁴⁶⁷ For example, the letters in April and May 1253 to Richard de Tany, Henry of Bath and John of Lexinton (*CR* 1251-53, pp.342, 348, 355).

therefore no direct financial motive or consequence in the king's decision to award access to the royal forest free of cheminage.

As with many of the other awards, the pattern of distribution can be partly attributed to Henry III's piety and his desire to be seen as a generous patron of religious houses and orders, and of hospitals. Almost half of the grants of transport of wood within the forest were to recipients within this category. Repeat beneficiaries included Campsey Priory which was granted access to its own wood in Essex Forest on five separate occasions between 1240 and 1258.⁴⁶⁸ The award of this particular privilege was also at times associated with Henry's journeys away from Westminster, including his pilgrimages. The three awards to Ickleton Priory (Cambridgeshire) in 1248, 1251 and 1256 all coincided with Henry undertaking pilgrimages in East Anglia. Two of his grants to Abingdon Abbey in 1238 and 1240 coincided with his staying there and may therefore have been acts of gratitude for their hospitality.⁴⁶⁹

Secular considerations undoubtedly also played their part in this pattern of royal award-giving. For example, the king's need to re-establish his authority in 1234 and 1235 after the Marshal revolt may help to explain the increase in awards in those years. More particularly, while lay recipients accounted overall for just over half of all the awards, that share rose to 76% in the period between 1253 and 1256. There is a complex interaction of probable factors that helps to explain the increase during these years. As a result of his need to raise funds for his proposed crusade, Henry called a parliament at the start of 1253. As noted in the preceding chapter, this coincided with a sharp increase in the level of gift-giving from the royal forest as the king successfully canvassed support for his plans. It is possible the same motivation was behind the award of grants of access to the forest. Subsequently, his attention turned to the need to launch a military campaign in Gascony, something that he undertook in August. This again prompted a flurry of gifts from the royal forest as an inducement and recognition of support for the campaign, and also partially helps to explain the increase in awards of access to the forest.

The similarities between the pattern of these awards and the pattern of gift-giving can be taken further. It was noted in the preceding chapter that, while Henry generally gave few gifts during active military campaigns, he tended to grant significantly more in their aftermath. Again, that pattern can be observed concerning the awards of transport access to woods in the royal forest

⁴⁶⁸ *CR 1237-42*, p.232; *CR 1242-47*, p.428; *CR 1251-53*, p.157; *CR 1254-56*, p.290; *CR 1256-59*, p.218. By the late thirteenth century, the temporalities of Campsey Priory were widely scattered over Suffolk, with certain lands and rents in Norfolk and Essex, *VCH Suffolk Vol. 2*, pp.112-5.

⁴⁶⁹ *CR 1237-42*, pp.97, 187; *CR 1247-51*, pp.33, 426; *CR 1254-56*, p.401; Kanter, 'Itineraries', pp.1084, 1118, 1230-1, 1285-6; Craib, 'Itinerary', p.251; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.480, 526, 639-40.

during this period. In both gift-giving and the awards of these privileges, there were also similar periods of relatively little royal activity in the years before 1231 and between 1238 and 1244.

The large number of awards during the 1250s more generally, when compared with preceding and later decades may also be an indication of the challenges that the king faced in accessing other forms of patronage, including land and cash.⁴⁷⁰ Grants of access to the forest free of charge were one of the means of providing that patronage in a way that resulted in no direct financial cost to the crown. In some cases, the effect of that patronage went beyond the immediate beneficiary. Approximately 37% of the awards were granted to enable the recipient to take possession of a gift of timber or firewood from the woods of a third party who held land within the royal forest. Granting the right and security of access to the recipient was therefore also likely to win the crown goodwill with the gift-giver, many of whom were senior nobles. For example, in August 1255 Thomas de Cantilupe was granted access to the wood of Roger de Mortimer in Pamber Forest to take three oak trees that Roger had gifted to him.⁴⁷¹

There are finally more specific reasons concerning the royal forest that help to explain the increase in awards in 1253 in particular. It is possible that it was political disquiet generated by the cumulative effect of the punitive eyres led by Robert Passelewe and Geoffrey de Langley that contributed to Henry's decision late in 1252 to remove the latter from office. It is likely therefore that the subsequent readiness to award privileges within the forest during 1253 formed part of a more general package of concessions designed to defuse some of the political tension that had built up as a result of the eyres of the preceding years.⁴⁷²

New and Existing Privileges

In all but five of the 181 cases, the awards granted by Henry III were new. However, this does not indicate that the awards collectively presented a major threat to the integrity of the forest. Of the 176 new awards, 168 (95%) were one-off or temporary in nature, with only a small number being permanent or for the lifetime of the recipient.

⁴⁷⁰ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.472; Ridgeway, 'Foreign Favourites', pp.590-610; Ridgeway, 'Aliens', pp.81-92.

⁴⁷¹ *CR 1254-56*, p.220.

⁴⁷² The political opposition to the programme of eyres that took place between 1244 and 1252 is covered later in Chapter 6.

Beneficiaries

As noted above, the largest category of beneficiaries were religious orders and houses which collectively accounted for 49% of the awards. Royal officials and household knights accounted for another 25%, while magnates and senior lords were recipients of 20% of the awards.

Exemptions from Office

The final two main categories of privileges were concerned with relieving the beneficiary of some of the burdens associated with the administration of the royal forest. There were firstly 223 recorded occasions on which Henry III granted exemptions to a recipient from serving as a forester. These invariably formed part of a much broader set of exemptions that have previously been studied by Scott Waugh.⁴⁷³ For example, in January 1253, Robert de Mares was exempted for life from 'being put on assizes, juries or recognitions, and from being made coroner, verderer or escheator.'⁴⁷⁴

There are four primary forest roles for which exemptions are recorded, namely the office of forest warden itself and the positions of verderer, agister and regarder.⁴⁷⁵ Beneficiaries of the awards could be exempted from all, some or just one of these main roles. Rather than being generic or formulaic, there appears to have been a high degree of specificity in the award of the exemptions that were therefore tailored to individual circumstances. For example, the patent rolls for May 1255 record that Richard, the son of Ralph Bugge of Nottingham was to be exempted for life from being made 'sheriff, coroner, escheator, forester, verderer or other bailiff of the king'. The following entry records that Richard Pauncefot is awarded the same exemptions 'with the addition of regarder, agister, seller of the king's wood and omitting verderer'.⁴⁷⁶ Table 4.3 records the number of exemptions awarded for each of the four roles across the 223 records.

⁴⁷³ S.L. Waugh, 'Reluctant Knights and Jurors: Respites, Exemptions and Public Obligations in the Reign of Henry III', *Speculum* 58 (1983), pp.937-86. All but one of the exemptions from forest positions is recorded in the patent rolls.

⁴⁷⁴ *CPR 1247-58*, p.172.

⁴⁷⁵ See the Glossary in Appendix A for definitions of these roles. Verderers were directly responsible to the crown rather than local forest wardens and were responsible for the administration of attachments for vert or venison trespasses at the forest courts. Agisters were usually appointed by local forest wardens and were responsible for the collection of revenue from the agistment of cattle and pigs. Regarders were local knights who were appointed to undertake triennial inspections of the woods within the royal forest. Further details are to be found in Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.11, 17-8, 23-4, 41; Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.xix-xx, xxvi, xxxi, xxxv, xxxix, lxxv-lxxxvii; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.125-9; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.85-7.

⁴⁷⁶ *CPR 1247-58*, p.411.

Role exempted	Number of Exemptions
Forest warden	178
Verderer	216
Agister	137
Regarder	124
Total	655⁴⁷⁷

Table 4.3: Exemptions from Forest Roles, 1227-72

It may initially seem surprising that such exemptions were sought. As noted in Chapter 2, the position of warden within the forest administration brought with it not only some form of official financial reward, but also social standing and, if the many contemporary complaints are to be believed, the scope for financial gain through the abuse of office. This admittedly was not the case with the unpaid forest roles of verderer, regarder and agister. At the same time, positions within the forest administration could be burdensome and time-consuming, preventing the office-holder from undertaking more rewarding forms of activity. There was also the possible risk to an office-holder's reputation locally, and the risk of physical danger, from being associated with upholding the forest system. There was finally the risk of punishment at the hands of Henry's government if an office-holder were deemed either to be abusing their office or failing to fulfil their responsibilities. As discussed previously in Chapter 2, the purge of office-holders and their punishment financially in the wake of the eyres that commenced in 1244 was extensive and it is telling that exemptions from forest roles are first recorded at the start of 1253, following the completion of most of those eyres.⁴⁷⁸

These exemptions need to be understood also within the context of the broader range of office exemptions granted by Henry III. As Waugh has demonstrated, there were approximately 800 general grants of royal exemptions between 1250 and 1256, with fewer than 30% including a specific reference to forest duties. The primary driver behind these awards was the impetus from Henry III to record a larger number of knights who were then liable both for military service and to fill posts in the government administration. However, the reluctance of some local men to acquire knightly

⁴⁷⁷ Some beneficiaries were exempted from more than one role and therefore the total number of exemptions is greater than the number of beneficiaries in the 223 records.

⁴⁷⁸ The various risks to office-holders are well-addressed in Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.125-9; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.81-3. Young also provides a useful summary of the opportunities for abuse of office by foresters. The case of William de Albamare in the Forest of Dean is a good example of the burdens of forest office (*IPM Vol. 1*, pp.98-9). Both Birrell, 'Who Poached?', p.15 and Aberth, *Environmental History*, p.118 highlight the risks of physical assaults upon forest officials.

status and the increasing need for Henry's government to raise revenue meant that the king was prepared to sell exemptions from public duties and offices.⁴⁷⁹

Chronology

As Chart 4.6 illustrates, over 93% of the exemptions from forest roles were granted between the start of 1253 and the end of 1256, with a small cluster of grants also being awarded in the years immediately following the civil war of the mid-1260s. There are no records of any exemptions being awarded before 1253. Waugh has noted that exemptions more generally initially referred to jury or assize service and it was only from about 1252 that grants regularly included an exemption from service as a royal officer.⁴⁸⁰

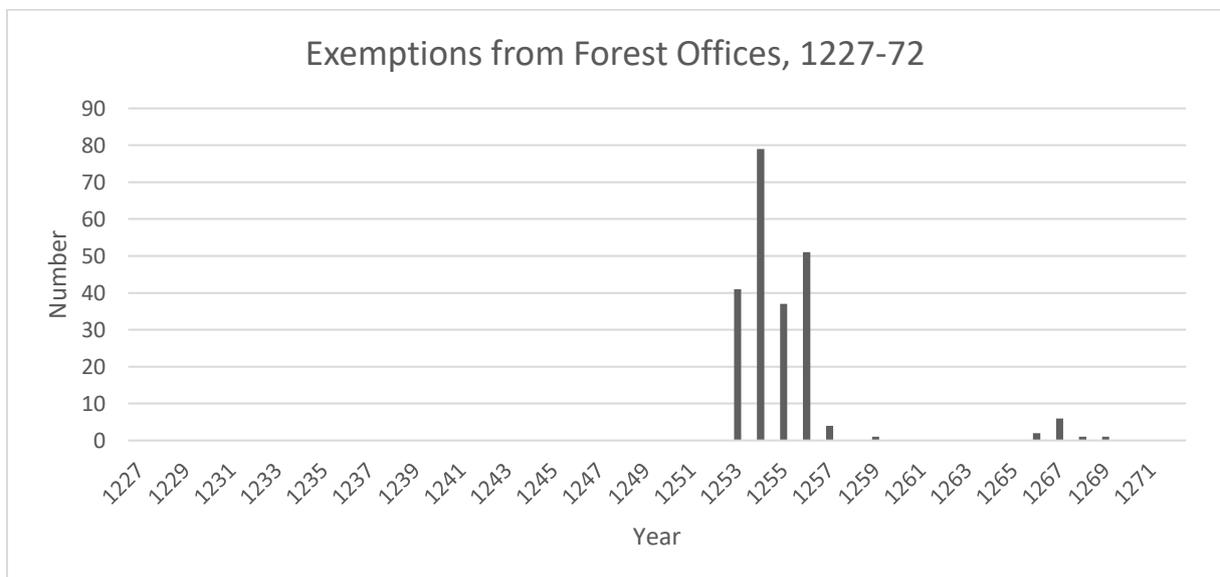


Chart 4.6: Exemptions from Forest Offices, 1227-72

Royal Motives

The crown's motives in granting these awards are best understood by examining them in four distinct phases. Table 4.4 records the different periods, the number of awards, the revenue raised through fines for the awards and the average value of those fines. It should be noted that the fines relate to the whole of an award of exemption, of which forest roles were invariably just one element. It is not possible to disaggregate the fines to establish with confidence the element that might have related specifically to forest exemptions.

⁴⁷⁹ Waugh, 'Reluctant Knights', pp.937-43, 949, 962, 964-6; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.662-3.

⁴⁸⁰ Waugh, 'Reluctant Knights', p.964.

Grant Period	Number of Exemptions Awarded	Number of Fines for Exemptions (%)	Value of Fines for Exemptions	Average Value of Fines for Exemptions
January – July 1253	38	29 (76%)	311m	10.72m
August 1253 – December 1254	82	1 (1%)	5m	5m
January 1255 – December 1259	93	58 (62%)	463m	7.98m
1266 – 1269	10	0 (0%)	0	0
Total	223	88 (39%)	779m	8.85m

Table 4.4: Exemptions from Forest Offices, 1253-69

As noted above, it is possible that by early 1253, there was an increased demand for exemptions from forest roles in the light of the recent forest eyres. This coincided with a renewed drive on the part of Henry's government to raise revenue, initially to fund the king's proposed crusade and subsequently to enable him to raise the necessary military force to quell unrest in Gascony. Most of the fines for the exemptions were paid in gold and directly to the wardrobe.⁴⁸¹ In a small number of cases, there is no evidence of a fine, suggesting that Henry was occasionally prepared to award these exemptions as free privileges. It is possible that some of the awards also served as inducements for the recipient to join Henry's campaign in Gascony or reward for having done so. While the king was mustering his forces in Portsmouth in July 1253, for example, John le Moyne was exempted for life from a range of positions, including all four forest roles highlighted above. He was seemingly not required to pay a fine for these privileges and subsequently served in the Gascon campaign.⁴⁸²

Between August 1253 and December 1254, Henry III was in France and the motive for awarding exemptions appears to have changed fundamentally. While he awarded exemptions slightly less frequently than in the first few months of 1253, there was no longer any focus on raising revenue from them. There are extant records of just one fine that was agreed for an award of an exemption during this period. As with his gifts from the royal forest, it is likely that instead the king used these grants of exemptions as a means of rewarding knights serving with him in Gascony. It is not possible from the extant records to identify all the details of Henry's retinue at this time, but at least

⁴⁸¹ Henry's accumulation of gold in these years is studied in Carpenter, *Reign of Henry III*, pp.107-36. For the sake of consistency throughout this thesis, any recorded payments of gold have been converted into silver marks.

⁴⁸² *CPR 1247-58*, pp.215, 232.

nineteen of those granted exemptions from forest roles during this period can be confidently identified as serving with him in Gascony.⁴⁸³

It should also be noted that there are many examples of the king responding to the agency of third parties in the granting of exemptions during this period. As many as forty-five (55%) of the awards granted by Henry III when he was in France state that they are at the request of a third party. Between June and September 1254, David de Monte Alto was responsible for requesting four such awards. He had himself secured an exemption from serving as a verderer in February that year and, in the preceding month, had been granted extensive hunting rights in Cheshire and Wales.⁴⁸⁴ The specific recording of the third party request suggests that the crown was keen to demonstrate its patronage both of the immediate recipient and of the wider community of knights serving with it in France.

In the years immediately after his return from Gascony, Henry III continued to award many exemptions from forest roles. However, the share of these that were accompanied by fines declined and the average level of the agreed fines also fell when compared to those granted before the Gascon campaign. At the end of 1256, the award of privileges slowed significantly, with only four forest exemptions being granted in 1257 and none in 1258. The same pattern can be seen regarding exemptions more broadly. The reasons for this are not immediately apparent. Henry's financial challenges were as serious, if not worse, in this period as they had been before the Gascon campaign. It is possible that there was growing concern about the impact of the number of exemptions on the effective running of government, a complaint subsequently later made in 1258 by the leaders of the reform movement.⁴⁸⁵ It is possible also that demand for such exemptions was simply drying up.

The award of forest office exemptions unsurprisingly went into abeyance during the period of baronial reform and subsequent civil war. The reformist barons made clear in their petition to the crown in May 1258 that they wished to see a remedy to the award of office exemptions that they believed had adversely impacted upon the administration of justice.⁴⁸⁶ If the king had ambitions to revive the practice, the gradual collapse of effective royal government increasingly made that difficult.

⁴⁸³ This calculation is based on examining the lists of those given letters of protection for serving with the king in Gascony as set out in *CPR 1247-58*, pp.228, 231-3, 235, 374-7.

⁴⁸⁴ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.260, 272, 304, 318, 329.

⁴⁸⁵ Waugh, 'Reluctant Knights', pp.968-70.

⁴⁸⁶ *DBM*, p.89.

The practice was therefore only revived in September 1266, after the restoration of royal government. While royal finances remained in a precarious state during the last years of Henry's reign, there was seemingly no attempt to raise revenue through the award of office exemptions, of which only ten were made during this period. Instead, it would appear that other motives were behind the revival. The award of exemptions to William de Hastorp in June 1267 may have been in recognition of the role he had played as a loyalist during the civil war. Conversely, a similar award earlier in the year to the former rebel William de Cornhill and his son might equally have been an act of reconciliation.⁴⁸⁷

New and Existing Privileges

All the exemptions from forest offices that Henry III granted were new privileges and lasted for the lifetime of the recipient. While the widespread practice of selling office exemptions therefore potentially set a precedent for the future, it did not commit the crown in the long term to a reduction in its rights. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that the administration of the forest was adversely impacted by the granting of exemptions from 1253 onwards. This is in contrast to the complaints made by the reformers of 1258 that the administration of royal justice had been affected by the inability to find sufficient knights to hold grand assizes. Overall, this appears therefore to have been one set of privileges granted by Henry that generated a short-term injection of relatively small amounts of additional revenue without significantly impacting the preservation of the royal interest in the forest.

Beneficiaries

As the growth in the award of office exemptions was largely a by-product of the drive by Henry's government to recognise formally a larger number of knights, the largest group of beneficiaries unsurprisingly was 'the knightly class', who accounted for over 80% of all recipients. Additionally, household knights and royal officials accounted for approximately 16% of the beneficiaries.

Exemption from Forest Eyres

The other main type of privilege that was intended to relieve the burden associated with the administration of forest law was relief from the requirement to attend eyres. There are records of 152 instances when Henry III granted exemptions of this type.⁴⁸⁸ Of these, 134 (88%) were quittances of common summons, meaning that the beneficiary was not required to attend a specific

⁴⁸⁷ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.391, 472, 591; *CPR 1266-72*, pp.40, 68.

⁴⁸⁸ Most of the exemptions are recorded in the close rolls. Some exemptions are also to be found in the patent rolls, charter rolls and, where relevant, the fine rolls.

eyre. In November 1256, nine beneficiaries were granted this exemption from attending the forthcoming eyre in Hampshire. In another eleven cases (7%), the grant of quittance was for a specified period and not limited to a particular eyre. For example, in July 1262 the Prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem was granted quittance of summons concerning forest eyres for two years.⁴⁸⁹ In the remaining seven cases (5%), the award was either a general exemption from attendance or protection against prosecution.

These awards are comparable to the exemptions that were also granted concerning general eyres. Attendance at eyres could be burdensome and time-consuming, but a failure to do so carried with it the risk of a fine.⁴⁹⁰ There are numerous examples in the pipe rolls of amercements against local communities for non-attendance, while in 1250 the archdeacon of Stafford was fined 5m for not appearing at the Staffordshire eyre.⁴⁹¹ Securing a royal exemption from attendance was therefore an attractive privilege.

Chronology

As Chart 4.7 illustrates, there were very few exemptions granted until the mid-1250s. There were then three peaks of activity, with seventy-four (49%) of the awards being granted between 1255 and 1257, a further twenty-one (14%) in 1262 and 1263, and forty-four (29%) in the last four years of the reign.

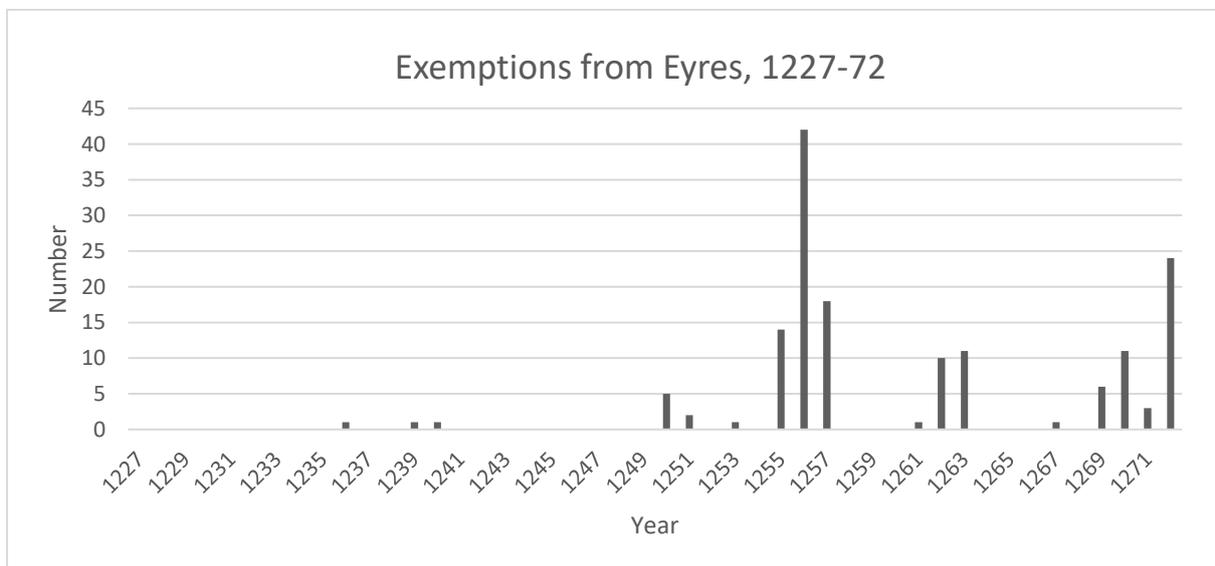


Chart 4.7: Exemptions from Eyres, 1227-72

⁴⁸⁹ CR 1256-59, p.105; CPR 1258-66, p.22.

⁴⁹⁰ P. Brand, *Kings, Barons and Justices: The Making and Enforcement of Legislation in Thirteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2003), pp.91-4.

⁴⁹¹ TNA, E 372/94, rot. 14d, m. 2 accessed online 16 September 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

Royal Motives

Pressure for eyre exemptions was probably a constant feature of Henry's reign. Originally, many were granted because it was physically difficult or impossible for the beneficiary to attend. For example, in 1236 the bishop of Ely was granted quittance from the Huntingdonshire forest eyre as he was due to be present at the *Coram Rege*.⁴⁹² Unfortunately, subsequent awards of one-off quittances do not record the reason for the non-attendance.

It is likely that demand for exemptions grew following the punitive eyres that took place between 1244 and 1252, and it is therefore unsurprising that the peak activity for awards thereafter coincided with the last three eyre visitations of the reign, namely those in 1255-58, 1262-63 and 1269-72. However, this does not fully explain why the crown was more inclined to respond sympathetically to pressure for exemptions in these periods than previously. Revenue-raising does not appear to have been a powerful motive, as there are only six cases where the award of the exemption was accompanied by a fine. It is possible that part of the reason for the increase was better recording of the exemptions that were awarded, but likely explanations are also to be found by examining the specific political contexts of each of the three periods.

There were exemptions awarded in all but two of the thirteen eyres held between 1255 and 1258, with almost half of all the exemptions being granted during this period.⁴⁹³ The practice was therefore widespread and suggests that Henry's government had embarked upon a deliberate policy of approving exemptions. As noted in the preceding chapter, the mid 1250s were a period when many traditional sources of patronage were not available to the king and he was increasingly obliged to use other means to recognise and reward loyalty. At the same time, he needed to build political support for a range of initiatives, in particular his ambitions to secure the Sicilian crown for his family. Granting exemptions from eyre attendance can therefore be seen as a relatively small, but not unimportant means of patronage to further these ambitions.⁴⁹⁴

The eyres held during 1262 and 1263 coincided with an increasingly febrile political environment and the gradual descent into civil war. The awards of exemptions during this period are likely to have been partly a reflection of Henry's need to secure support. While it is not explicitly stated, they may also reflect the original reasons for the grants of such exemptions, namely the logistical difficulties of

⁴⁹² *CR 1234-37*, p.349; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', p.173.

⁴⁹³ *CR 1254-56*, pp.193-4, 396; *CR 1256-59*, pp.39, 105, 117, 279; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.206-37.

⁴⁹⁴ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.643-6, 649-51, 656-69.

attending eyres, in these cases because of the increasingly fractious and dangerous political environment.⁴⁹⁵

The final programme of eyres between 1269 and 1272 generated a further cluster of exemptions. These probably partly reflected the need for the king to rebuild support for the crown after the damaging civil war. However, there are also indications that some exemptions were consistent with their original purpose of recognising the logistical difficulties of the beneficiary being able to attend. For example, in July 1270, John de Verdun was granted a four-year exemption from attending forest eyres because he was accompanying the Lord Edward on his crusade.⁴⁹⁶

New and Existing Privileges

Almost all the awards of exemptions were either one-off transactions concerning a specific eyre or were temporary arrangements for a specified period. In only a very small number of cases were they for longer periods. In May 1250, for example, William de Ferrers, earl of Derby was granted an exemption for life from 'all common summonses of justices in eyre, as well for pleas of the forest.' This was probably in recognition of the severe illness that prevented him from participating in national affairs.⁴⁹⁷ Overall, it would appear there was very little impact in the short-term of these concessions upon the operation of the forest system and no longer-term implications for its preservation.

Beneficiaries

There were two main groups of beneficiaries of these privileges. Approximately 37% of the awards were granted to lay and clerical magnates and senior lords. This may partly reflect the leniency more generally shown by the king towards the application of the law to his senior nobles, but also the greater likelihood of the logistical difficulties of those with large and dispersed estates being able to attend different eyres, particularly if they were also engaged on government business.⁴⁹⁸ As with many other types of forest privileges, the other main beneficiaries were religious houses and orders who collectively accounted for 31% of the awards.

General Privileges

There is a final small category of twenty-seven transactions that largely consist of awards of wide-ranging forest privileges contained within more general charters. For example, in February 1227, the

⁴⁹⁵ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.249-52, 255-8; Jobson, *Revolution*, pp.84-93.

⁴⁹⁶ *CPR 1266-72*, p.448.

⁴⁹⁷ *CPR 1247-58*, p.65; J. Maddicott, 'Ferrers, Robert de, sixth earl of Derby (c. 1239–1279), magnate and rebel', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 19 August 2025 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9366>.

⁴⁹⁸ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.532-3, 537.

king confirmed the privileges previously awarded to Reading Abbey which, concerning the royal forest, were that they should hold all their lands quit of 'essarts and wastes; nor shall any forester intervene in the woods of the said abbot and monks; and they shall have warren throughout their lands to take the roe, the hare and the fox; nor shall anyone expeditate their dogs, but the dogs of their men abiding in the forest the abbot and monks shall cause to be expeditated.'⁴⁹⁹

Most of these awards were granted either in the early years of Henry's personal rule as a result of his *quo warranto* enquiries or in the aftermath of the civil war when recipients sought confirmation more generally of their rights and privileges. Almost three-quarters of the awards were confirmations of existing privileges. Overall, 30% of them were accompanied by payments from the recipient, almost all of which concerned the awards granted as part of the *quo warranto* proceedings. Almost 80% of the beneficiaries were religious houses and hospitals, with clerical magnates accounting for another 11%.

Conclusions

Chronology

Chart 4.8 shows the overall chronology for the awards of these privileges when all the eight separate categories are combined. While the summary can be challenged in equating, say, one single grant of an eyre exemption with an approval for a large-scale disafforestation, it nevertheless helps to identify general periods of both high and low award-giving concerning forest privileges.

⁴⁹⁹ CChR 1226-57, p.14; B. Kemp, *Reading Abbey Cartularies Vol. 1* (London, 1986), pp.52-3, 80-1.

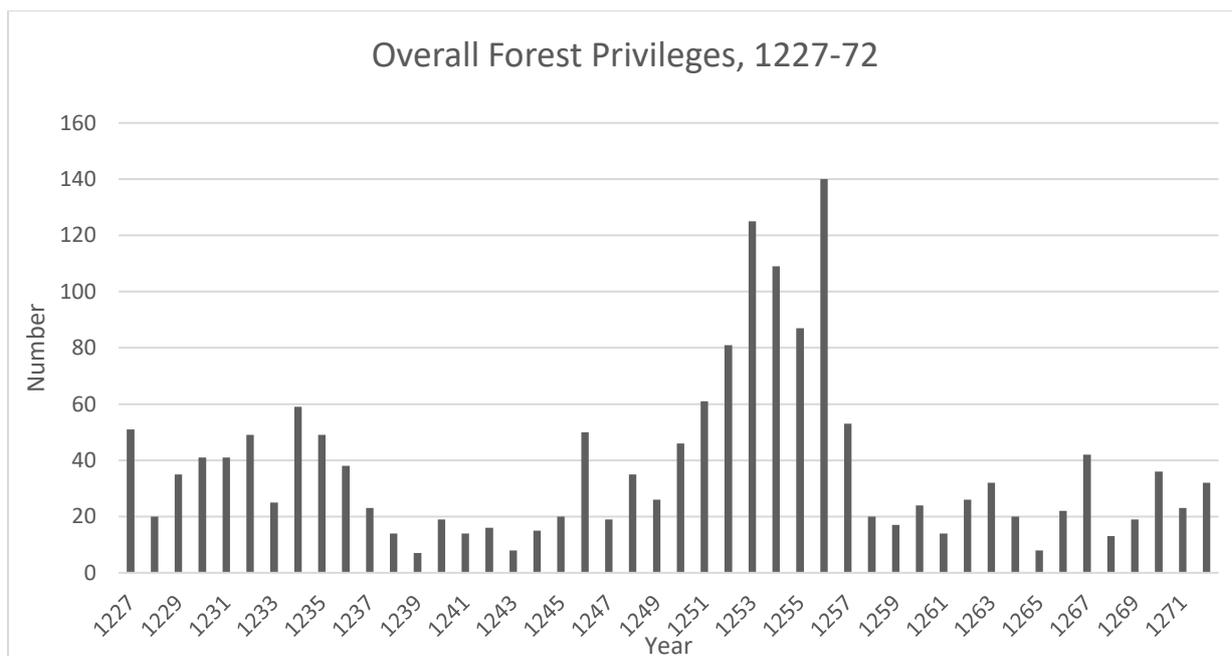


Chart 4.8: Overall Forest Privileges, 1227-72

The chart highlights four periods of high activity in the award of forest privileges. There were firstly the opening years of Henry’s personal rule until 1232 when a combination of *quo warranto* proceedings and the settlement of forest boundaries resulted in awards confirming many existing privileges, but also new grants of disafforestation and both shared and private use of the forest.

There was secondly an intensive period of award-giving between 1234 and 1236 when the king emerged from under the shadow of the ministers, firstly Hubert de Burgh and then Peter des Roches, who had dominated his governments until that period. These were also the years immediately following the damaging Marshal uprising. Most of the awards during this period were either of disafforestation or allowed beneficiaries to access the forest either on a shared or exclusive basis. There was also a large number of awards during this period that allowed beneficiaries access to wood within the forest without the imposition of cheminage.

After 1236 there was over a decade-long period of low activity when relatively few awards were granted. The most pronounced period of activity began in 1250 and continued for the following seven years. During this period, privileges of disafforestation, free transport and both shared and private use of the forest continued to be granted. It was during this period that the crown also began to award large numbers of hunting privileges and of exemptions, both from holding office in the forest administration and from attending forest eyres.

After 1257, there was another decade of low activity that coincided with the period of the baronial reform movement and subsequent civil war, before the final years of Henry's reign when there was again an increase in grants, mainly relating to eyre exemptions and hunting within the forest.

Royal Motives

Revenue-raising has frequently been cited by historians as a primary motive for the award of forest privileges. There is plenty of evidence to support this assertion. For example, fines totalling over £10,600 were agreed during Henry's personal rule, although some of these partly related to privileges that extended beyond the royal forest.⁵⁰⁰ The pressure to raise revenue was particularly severe during the early 1250s for the intended crusade, Gascon campaign and Sicilian Business, and partly helps to explain the rise in the number of privileges granted then for disafforestations, office exemptions, hunting and both shared and private use of the forest. In other cases, however, such as the awards resulting from the *quo warranto* proceedings, the revenue that was raised was more in the form of business as usual rather than as a response to a financial crisis. While these measures generated revenue for the crown, this was more a by-product of a widely accepted important and necessary process of asserting the authority of the new king.

More generally, the revenue motive can be overstated. Of the 1,699 transactions that have been examined in this chapter, only 296 (17%) can be confidently linked to a fine or payment. In some cases, a charge for the privilege, such as free transport within the forest, would have been counter-intuitive given that the award involved releasing the beneficiary from an obligation to pay a toll. However, in all other cases there were precedents for the crown to require a payment from the beneficiary for the privilege, but it appears on these occasions that Henry's governments decided not to do so. Clearly, therefore, factors other than the purely financial were influential in the decisions to grant these privileges.

In particular, Henry was prepared to use the granting of privileges within the royal forest as one measure amongst many to secure and recognise political and military support when it was needed. They were awarded, for example, in relatively large numbers in the aftermath of the Marshal revolt when Henry needed to reassert royal authority. In the early 1250s, two other motives appear to have been particularly influential in the sharp increase in the number of privileges that were awarded. Firstly, the unpopular and punitive eyres that began in 1244 seem to have generated a greater demand for privileges to protect the beneficiary from the risk of future prosecutions. There was therefore, to some extent, an association between the crown's adoption of a policy of

⁵⁰⁰ The following chapter examines how much of this amount was subsequently received by the crown and also how this revenue compares to other sources, including that generated from eyres.

enforcement towards the forest and its use also of concessions. Henry's government could, of course, have chosen not to respond to that demand. The fact that it did respond illustrates the political sensitivity associated with the eyres.

Another explanation for the increase in awards during this period was the paucity of other forms of patronage and reward, including land and cash. The problems created by that paucity became increasingly apparent as the king sought to realise a number of expensive and sometimes controversial ambitions overseas. Henry's need to secure both political and military support for these ambitions helps to explain the increase not only in familiar forms of privilege linked to the forest such as further grants of shared and private use, but also new forms that addressed the interests and concerns of local knights and gentry, in particular eyre and office exemptions, and the granting of hunting privileges. A number of these awards were probably also substitutes for other forms of reward associated with active participation in Henry's campaign in Gascony.

Similar needs for military and political support help to explain further rises in awards during 1263 when Henry was actively preparing for the likelihood of civil war, and in the years after that crisis when he was both seeking to reassert royal authority and increasingly preparing for a smooth succession to the Lord Edward, his son and heir.

However, even these military and political considerations do not fully explain the pattern of Henry's awards of forest privileges. Some of the favouritism for which he was criticised in the latter part of his reign is also apparent in these awards. The influence that both Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches had over the patronage decisions of the young king is evident in the privileges that they were able to secure concerning their own lands. Later in the reign, Henry also granted privileges to his unpopular Lusignan relatives, including William de Valence and Aymer de Valence, bishop of Winchester.

The piety with which Henry was to become so closely associated was also an important driver in determining both the volume of forest privileges that he awarded and their beneficiaries. While religious houses and charitable hospitals with lands in or near the royal forest had a tradition of receiving royal privileges, these became especially prominent during Henry's personal rule.

In summary, royal motives for awarding forest privileges were varied and complex. It certainly should not be interpreted that these awards were grudgingly awarded by a reluctant crown, or that it did so because of either a sole or even primary focus upon the revenue that could be secured from them.

It should finally be noted that the chronological profile of the awards of privileges bears a striking similarity to that of gifts from the royal forest which were examined in the preceding chapter. Chart 4.9 combines the two profiles.

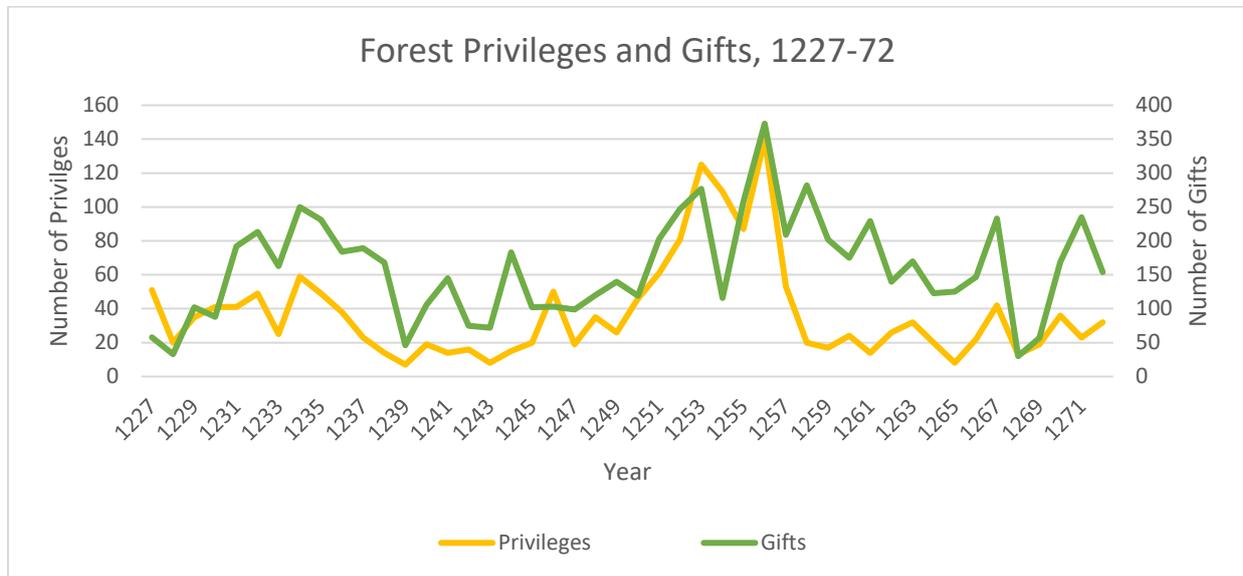


Chart 4.9: Forest Privileges and Gifts, 1227-72

In both cases, the largest number of transactions occurred in 1256. More generally, the period from 1250-51 until the start of the period of baronial reform was the most active in terms of the number of gifts and awards. Other common peaks of activity were in the early years of Henry's personal rule and especially in 1234-35 in the aftermath of the Marshal uprising. Similarly, the 1240s were in both cases a decade of comparatively little activity. The respective profiles only noticeably diverge in the years after the civil war until the end of the reign, when the level of Henry's gift-giving was high compared with the number of privileges granted. In statistical terms, the correlation co-efficient across the period of Henry's personal rule is +0.56, suggesting a moderately strong positive correlation. However, for the period between 1255 and 1272 that rises to +0.69 suggesting a strong correlation between the two sets of transactions for the final seventeen years of Henry's reign.⁵⁰¹

There was no automatic connection between the awards of privileges and the grants of gifts. There is some relationship between the awards of rights to have a deer park and the subsequent granting of live deer to stock them, but that accounts for only a small share of the total number of transactions. The most likely explanation is that common factors, particularly from the mid-1250s onwards, were driving both patterns of behaviour. As forest gifts were awarded without any

⁵⁰¹ For a description of the statistical technique used, see P. Hudson, *History by Numbers: An Introduction to Quantitative Approaches* (London, 2000), pp.147-9, and S. Cameron and S. Richardson, *Using Computers in History* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp.115-6.

expectation of a payment in return, the drivers were more directly political and personal rather than a need to raise revenue. In turn, this emphasises that the revenue-raising motive for the granting also of forest privileges was just one of a number of drivers. In particular, the years from 1255 onwards were when Henry sought to build a broad coalition of political and military support, initially for his foreign ambitions and subsequently to oppose the reform movement and was prepared to use a variety of levers of patronage and reward, including forest privileges and gifts, to do so.

New and Existing Privileges

While many of the awards of privileges were new, on balance it seems that the crown conceded much that might have been of value to the beneficiary without in most cases seriously undermining its own interests and the long-term preservation of the forest system. Disafforestation on some scale was almost inevitable following the explicit statements written into the Forest Charter. However, Henry was ultimately able to reach a compromise solution around the forest boundaries that both stood the test of time and still gave him sufficient resource both to meet the food and fuel needs of his household and support an extensive programme of gift-giving. Targeted disafforestations following the settlement of the forest boundaries also produced high levels of one-off revenues.

In other cases, particularly concerning the shared use of the forest, the awards were mainly confirmations of existing privileges and therefore did not diminish further royal rights and interests. Even the new privileges that were granted seem generally to have had little adverse impact. Neither the awards of office exemptions nor of exemptions from attending eyres seem to have challenged the continued operation of the administrative and judicial parts of the forest system.

It was therefore only in two areas that there was a risk that Henry's award of privileges may have impacted adversely upon royal interests. While the scale of new assarts that was awarded appears modest overall, it nevertheless represented a reduction in the physical size of the forest for a relatively small direct financial benefit to the crown. Additionally, the increasingly generous awards of hunting privileges injected greater risk into the preservation of viable numbers of deer within the forest to meet royal needs.

Beneficiaries

By far the largest group of beneficiaries were religious houses and charitable hospitals that together accounted for 624 (37%) of the awards. These beneficiaries also paid less frequently (11% of cases) for their privileges than other categories of recipient. The next largest group was made up of members of the royal family, magnates and senior lords who collectively accounted for 359 (21%) of

all awards. Local knights were the third largest group, accounting for 327 (19%) of the grants, while the last of the major groups of recipients consisted of royal officials and household knights who together were the beneficiaries of 297 (17%) of the awards.

The position of religious houses and charitable hospitals as primary beneficiaries of these awards partly reflects, as Donkin has highlighted in a series of articles specifically concerning the Cistercians, their proximity to forest areas and their exploitation of its resources.⁵⁰² It also reflects how the king's piety influenced his decision-making. As noted in the preceding chapter, religious houses and hospitals also received more forest gifts than any other category. Taking both gifts and the awards of privileges together, this category accounted for 25% of all grants, significantly more than any other group.

The position of magnates and senior lords as the second largest group of beneficiaries of the awards of privileges also reinforces some of the contemporary complaints of Henry's reign that this elite social group was able to protect itself from the full impact of the royal judicial system. Finally, the relatively large number of awards to local knights emphasises the increasing importance of this group of society to Henry's ambitions, particularly from the 1250s onwards. This is explored further in Chapter 6.

⁵⁰² R.A. Donkin, 'The Cistercian Settlement and the English Royal Forests I', *Citeaux* 11 (1960), pp.39-54; R.A. Donkin, 'The Cistercian Settlement and the English Royal Forests II', *Citeaux* 11 (1960), pp.117-32; R.A. Donkin, 'The English Cistercians and Assarting c.1128 - c.1350', *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 20 (1964), pp.49-75.

Chapter 5: Forest Revenue

Introduction

Amongst the various functions that the royal forest performed, it has become commonplace amongst historians to stress its importance as a source of revenue to the crown. It has already been noted in the preceding chapter, for example, that raising revenue has been frequently viewed as a key motivation in Henry III's award of forest privileges.

Amongst the forest historians, Young has suggested that the 'full import of the forest as a source of revenue did not become apparent until the reign of Henry II' but, by then, 'the royal forests had come to have an economic value independent of their value as hunting preserves.' Thereafter, whether it was through a rigid enforcement of forest laws, the grants of disafforestations and other privileges, or the exploitation of its natural resources such as the sale of wood, revenue-raising was a key driver of royal policy towards the forest.⁵⁰³ Grant has argued that the forest became an important source of royal revenue as early as Henry I's reign and was increasingly viewed as an 'instrument of financial exaction', particularly under Henry II and his sons, with the objective of the forest eyres becoming more one of 'profit rather than punishment.'⁵⁰⁴ Birrell has similarly highlighted the emergence of revenue as a key driver of royal policy towards the forest, while Carpenter has stated that, by John's reign, its 'main purpose' was to provide the crown with money.⁵⁰⁵

This increasing appreciation by the crown of the forest as a source of revenue had political implications. Henry II's sons broadened the scope of forest revenue sources to include fines for disafforestation but, as James Holt has noted, it was John's notorious eyre of 1212 that, above all, ensured that the royal forest became a political issue and a target for the barons who subsequently revolted against him.⁵⁰⁶

The purpose of this chapter is to assess the importance of the forest as a source of income for the crown during Henry III's personal rule and, in so doing, to test the validity of the assumption that revenue generation was one of its primary functions. Such a review is valuable also in that Henry III was the first king to attempt to manage royal finances within the constraints imposed by Magna

⁵⁰³ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.3, 6, 19, 20-1, 23-4, 25-6, 37-40, 42-5, 54-8, 134.

⁵⁰⁴ Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.14, 17-20, 133-7.

⁵⁰⁵ Birrell, 'Medieval Forest', pp.80, 84; Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, pp.176-7.

⁵⁰⁶ Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.20, 135-7; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.20-2, 25-6, 39, 42-3, 55, 61; Holt, *The Northerners*, pp.157-64.

Carta and the Forest Charter, the former of which 'stopped up so many sources of royal income' and accelerated the development of a 'tax-based parliamentary state.'⁵⁰⁷

Given the importance placed by historians upon the forest's role as a source of revenue, it is surprising that there has, to date, been no comprehensive assessment of the amounts of money that it generated. Indeed, Young has suggested that, surviving 'records are not adequate to form any estimate of the annual income the king could expect from his forests'.⁵⁰⁸ Despite Young's pessimism and the various methodological challenges that are examined below, a number of studies in recent years have formed estimates of forest revenue at times during Henry III's reign as part of wider assessments of overall crown income. This chapter builds upon those studies to provide figures for forest revenue for each year of the period of Henry's personal rule.

The chapter then addresses a number of questions that are integral to assessing the importance of the royal forest as a source of revenue for the king. It firstly provides an estimate for each year of the share of overall crown revenue that was accounted for by the forest and therefore its importance relative to other sources of royal income. It then breaks annual forest revenue down into three constituent elements, represented by income from routine management of the forest, the award of privileges and the eyres. Analysing the relative revenue from each of these sources also helps to address one of the additional objectives of this thesis, namely whether Henry's approach towards the royal forest was primarily one of enforcement or concession. Finally, the chapter examines how successful the king was in collecting the forest revenue that was due to him. It examines the possible reasons for non-collection and how these in turn reflect royal priorities in the management of the forest. The chapter concludes by considering, in the light of the preceding evidence, the validity of the traditional view that a key purpose of the forest was to generate revenue for the crown.

Relevant Historiography

Among historians of the royal forest, surprisingly little attention has been given to date to identifying the revenue it generated for the crown. Perhaps reflecting a bias towards describing the administrative and legal arrangements of the forest, neither Cox nor Turner addresses the subject of revenue. As noted above, Grant has stressed its importance, stating that 'the crown exploited the forest system as a significant source of revenue', but makes no attempt to identify the overall amount that it generated. With specific reference to Henry III's reign, he limits his analysis to highlighting the value of the disafforestations approved at the start of the period of personal rule

⁵⁰⁷ Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, p.459.

⁵⁰⁸ Young, *Royal Forests*, p.130.

and which have been discussed in the preceding chapter, the financial impact of the overhaul in management under Robert Passelewe that has been examined in Chapter 2 and the efforts to raise revenue in the 1250s that are considered further below.⁵⁰⁹ Despite his reservations about the available sources, Young devotes almost a chapter of his study of the royal forest to considering its revenue. His focus is upon examining the periodic accounts of forests North of the Trent from 1257 until the early fifteenth century. He supplements that analysis with more general observations about sources of royal revenue, in particular assarts, timber sales and agistment. While his study therefore assists in examining forest revenue during Henry III's reign, it is far from comprehensive and does not address questions about its overall value and its relative importance to the crown.⁵¹⁰ Among the many local studies of individual forests previously mentioned in this thesis, only Bazeley has sought, in the case of the Forest of Dean, to assess its importance as a source of revenue to the crown.⁵¹¹ As noted previously, most local studies instead continue to give primacy to the arrangements for managing the forest and the various extant administrative and judicial records. Even recent collections covering a range of issues concerning the royal forest, such as that edited by Langton and Jones, largely ignore questions about the revenue it generated.⁵¹²

Financial historians of the thirteenth century have largely considered forest revenue as part of overall assessments of crown income. However, little attention has been given within these studies to the years between 1227 and 1272. Barrett's wide-ranging examination of royal revenue between 1130 and 1330 provides figures only for 1230 from the period of Henry III's personal rule, while Serovayskaya's analysis concludes in 1209. Stacey's examination of royal finances in the early 1240s does not treat the royal forest as a distinct source of revenue.⁵¹³

Amongst the unpublished historiography, four studies are particularly important. As part of her examination of forest eyres between 1154 and 1368, Jane Winters provides valuable information, including revenue details, for every eyre conducted during Henry III's reign. Drawing upon evidence from both financial and judicial records, the figures she has calculated are important in assessing this particular category of forest revenue. Tony Moore's study of local government and society in Essex provides figures from the pipe rolls for forest revenue from the county during Henry III's reign.

⁵⁰⁹ Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.135, 143-4, 148, 149-50.

⁵¹⁰ Young, *Royal Forests*, chapter 6, especially pp.114-24, 126-31.

⁵¹¹ Bazeley, 'Forest of Dean', pp.219-52.

⁵¹² For example, Crowley, *Braydon*; Langton and Jones, *Forests and Chases*.

⁵¹³ N. Barratt, 'English Royal Revenue in the Early Thirteenth Century and its Wider Context, 1130-1330', in W.M. Ormrod, M. Bonney and R. Bonney (eds.), *Crises, Revolutions and Self-Sustained Growth: Essays in European Fiscal History, 1130-1830* (Stamford, 1999), pp.68, 69, 75, 77; Y.J. Serovayskaya, 'Royal Forests in England and their Income in the Budget of the Feudal Monarchy from the Mid Twelfth to the Early Thirteenth Centuries', in C. Watkins (ed.), *European Woods and Forests: Studies in Cultural History* (Wallingford, 1998), pp.33-8; Stacey, *Politics*, pp.201-36.

James Collingwood's thesis provides amounts for both overall crown revenues and forest revenues for the years between 1255 and 1270 as part of a broader study of royal finances during this period. Finally, Richard Cassidy's detailed examination of the 1259 pipe roll provides not only a very useful transcript of the source document, but also a valuable assessment of overall crown revenue for that year and the amount that was derived from the royal forest. An updated transcription of the 1259 pipe roll and analysis by Cassidy of crown finances between 1250 and 1264 has recently been published by the Pipe Roll Society. These studies together form important foundations upon which the following examination seeks to build in assessing the significance of revenue from the royal forest.⁵¹⁴

Sources

The primary source documentation for assessing overall annual crown revenues and the revenue from the royal forest during Henry III's reign are the pipe rolls. While there are a number of methodological challenges in their use that are examined below, they are at the core of assessing the importance of the forest as a source of crown revenue. Accordingly, the studies undertaken by Barratt, Serovayskaya, Winters, Moore and Collingwood all use the pipe rolls as their key source. While there is an unbroken series of pipe roll accounts for the whole of Henry III's reign, only those for 1230, 1242 and 1259 from the period of his personal rule have to date been transcribed and published.⁵¹⁵ There are also relevant extracts concerning revenue from the royal forest in the partial accounts that have been transcribed and published for Cheshire, Cumberland and Westmorland, and for Northumberland.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁴ Winters, 'Forest Eyre'; Moore, 'Government and Locality', pp.79, 126, 177; J.A. Collingwood, 'Royal Finance in the Period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion, 1255-1270 (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 1996); R.Cassidy, 'The 1259 Pipe Roll' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 2012). I am grateful to Dr Richard Cassidy for sharing a copy of his thesis with me and more generally for making himself available to help answer my queries about the pipe rolls.

⁵¹⁵ Barratt, 'Royal Revenue', p.60; Serovayskaya, 'Royal Forests', p.33; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.42-4; Collingwood, 'Royal Finance', p.2. There are pipe rolls for every year between 1227 and 1272, archived at the National Archives under catalogue reference E 372 ([Exchequer: Pipe Office: Pipe Rolls | The National Archives](#)). These have been consulted both in person and online via the extremely useful AALT website [HenryIII \(uh.edu\)](#). The three accounts that have been published to date are Cannon, *Great Roll*, Robinson, *Great Roll* and Cassidy, *Great Roll*. These are referred to throughout the rest of this thesis respectively as *PR 1230*, *PR 1242* and *PR 1259*. Other published pipe roll accounts from earlier in Henry III's reign have been consulted as necessary. A complete list of the accounts published to date by the Pipe Roll Society can be found on its website at [Full List of Publications](#).

⁵¹⁶ M.H. Mills (ed.), *Cheshire in the Pipe Rolls, 1158-1301* (Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1938), pp.33-105; F.H.M. Parker (ed.), *The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland, 1222-1260* (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1905), pp.v-viii; J. Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, Part iii, Vol. iii (Newcastle, 1835).

However, not all crown revenue, including not all forest revenue, was accounted for through the pipe rolls. In particular in the case of the royal forest, the wardrobe was used at times during Henry III's reign to receive and record revenue, effectively bypassing the audit and accounting procedures of the exchequer that underpinned the production of the pipe rolls. Summary enrolled wardrobe accounts cover thirty-five of the fifty-six years of Henry III's reign and have been transcribed and published. There are therefore some gaps in the wardrobe records, but those that are available are an important additional source of information concerning forest revenue.⁵¹⁷ There are also occasional entries in the close rolls, patent rolls, liberate rolls and especially fine rolls that provide useful supplementary information about forest revenue transactions. By combining the information from this range of sources, it is possible to assess levels of forest revenue and their significance to the crown during Henry's personal rule.

Use of the Pipe Rolls

There are a number of methodological challenges that need to be recognised in using the pipe rolls as a measure of annual crown revenue.⁵¹⁸ Firstly, in essence the pipe rolls are an annual compilation of the government's debtors ledger, based on the exchequer's audit of the accounts of local officials.⁵¹⁹ They record when revenue was accounted for rather than necessarily when it was received. There can theoretically be a significant time lapse between the payment of a sum due by an official and that being recognised in the accounts, with the two events potentially occurring in separate financial years. Details of cash receipts are recorded in the receipt rolls and, while those from 1242 have been transcribed and published, and have been consulted as part of this research, the series is incomplete and cannot therefore be relied upon to compile recurring annual revenue statements. It has also proven difficult in practice for historians to reconcile entries on the receipt rolls with those in the pipe rolls.⁵²⁰ While the pipe rolls have therefore been used as the primary

⁵¹⁷ Wild, *Wardrobe Accounts*. Also very helpful is B. Wild, 'Royal Finance under King Henry III, 1216-72: The Wardrobe Evidence', *Economic History Review* 65 (2012), pp.1380-1402, while N. Barratt, 'Finance on a Shoestring: The Exchequer in the Thirteenth Century', in A. Jobson (ed.), *English Government in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.71-86 includes a consideration of the relationship between the Exchequer and the Wardrobe during Henry III's reign, especially pp.74-6.

⁵¹⁸ The various challenges are well-addressed in Cassidy, '1259', pp.20-1, 35-6, 42-4, 47 and Collingwood, 'Royal Finance', pp.4-13. A very helpful recent publication is R. Cassidy, *Approaching the Pipe Rolls* (Abingdon, 2024), especially chapters 1, 3 and 5.

⁵¹⁹ This primary purpose of the pipe rolls to record debts and their payment as opposed to a measure of the health of royal finances is helpfully stressed in R. Cassidy, '*Recorda Splendidissima*: The Use of the Pipe Rolls in the Thirteenth Century', *Historical Research* 85 (2012), pp.1-12.

⁵²⁰ Stacey, *Receipt and Issue Rolls*. For a discussion of these issues, see Cassidy, 'Pipe Rolls', pp.3-4, 16, 57-8, 84; Cassidy, '1259', pp.20, 42-4, 47; Collingwood, 'Royal Finance', pp.4-7. [Exchequer of Receipt: Receipt Rolls and Registers | The National Archives](#) accessed online 28 October 2024 gives further information about the receipt rolls.

source document, it is important to remember that they record when revenue was accounted for, not necessarily when it was received.

A further complication is that not all accounts were presented and audited each year. This was particularly the case during the upheaval of the civil war. For example, in 1265 only eight sheriffs presented their accounts at the exchequer.⁵²¹ In extreme circumstances, revenue might be formally accounted for many years after its receipt. There was, for example, no account submitted at the exchequer for Staffordshire between Michaelmas 1261 and Michaelmas 1266. The latter account could therefore theoretically include revenue that had been received as long ago as the autumn of 1261. Collingwood and Cassidy have sought to address this problem by allocating any such revenue evenly across the period between the different sets of accounts.⁵²² While this approach theoretically helps to identify an average annual crown revenue, it does not reflect the reality of the government's financial administration in practice and makes it more complex to assess the reasons behind the year-on-year variations. Instead, the approach taken in this thesis has been to follow the pipe rolls exactly and assign any such revenue wholly to the year in which it is recorded, while highlighting the impact of any significant amounts accounted for in that way.

An additional methodological complication occurs when a debtor was given approval to offset expenses they had legitimately incurred against outstanding revenue due in the form of an allowance. For example, the 1252 pipe roll records that Geoffrey de Langley was able to offset expenditure he had incurred locally in repairing the walls of Rockingham Castle against the debt he owed as warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford. In these cases, this thesis has followed the practice adopted by Collingwood of including as revenue both the sum expended locally by the official from forest receipts with crown approval and the sums that the official paid into the treasury.⁵²³

There is finally the problem common to all extant records of this period, namely that at times the parchment is torn or missing and the writing faded and illegible so that inevitably some material is missing. This is the case, for example, with a section of the 1265 pipe roll for Essex.⁵²⁴

Despite these reservations, as Collingwood has observed, the pipe rolls 'remain tolerably reflective of annual revenue' and can be used, with the relevant caveats highlighted above, as a reasonably

⁵²¹ TNA, E 372/109 accessed online 2 December 2024 [Pipe Roll Table of Contents](#).

⁵²² Collingwood, 'Royal Finance', pp.7-9; Cassidy, '1259', pp.35-6. Collingwood's figures for annual revenue include both amounts adjusted on this basis and amounts without any such adjustments.

⁵²³ TNA, E 372/96, rot. 10d, m. 2 accessed online 2 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); Collingwood, 'Royal Finance', pp.2, 14.

⁵²⁴ TNA, E 372/109, rot. 2d, m. 2 accessed online 2 December 2024 [AALT Page](#).

reliable measure of the crown's income and, within that, the share that was accounted for by the royal forest. This is particularly true of Henry III's reign compared with his successors who relied increasingly upon revenue sources that were not always recorded on the pipe rolls.⁵²⁵ The rolls have also been used by Barratt and Serovayskaya as the basis for their calculations of annual crown revenue, with the former noting that historians have concluded that, 'although pipe rolls do not give an accurate revenue total for one financial year, they do broadly reflect the general level of royal revenue.'⁵²⁶

Identifying Forest Revenue within the Pipe Rolls

It should be noted at the outset that not all income from the royal forest was received and accounted for by the crown. As stated in Chapter 2, some revenue was legitimately collected and retained by local foresters who instead paid an agreed annual farm to the crown, keeping any surplus for themselves. Quite apart from the impossibility of assessing with any confidence the revenue that was generated and retained, both legitimately and otherwise, by local officials from forest sources, the focus of this study is upon the income that was due to the crown itself.

Occasional attempts by Henry III's governments to redress the balance between the sums that were retained locally and those that were received by the treasury are discussed further in Chapter 2 and below.

Within the pipe rolls themselves, there are some elements of forest revenue that are relatively easily identified. For example, it is generally straightforward to identify entries for recurring revenue in comparatively simple sheriff accounts that were frequently presented to the exchequer for audit, such as the annual farm payment for Inglewood Forest in Cumberland.⁵²⁷ Additionally, details of revenue due from individual forest eyres are usually preceded by a heading to that effect although, as Winters has noted, 'it is not always easy to decide where forest entries end and others begin', while Cassidy has commented that 'the order of entries often appears to be jumbled.'⁵²⁸

One frequent challenge in identifying forest revenue was the common practice within the pipe rolls of combining the sums due from an individual debtor. This might involve combining, for example, one or two forest-related debts with a similar number of debts that were entirely unrelated to the royal forest. The treatment of subsequent payments therefore presents a theoretical challenge. For the sake of simplicity, it has been assumed that, unless stated in the documentation to the contrary,

⁵²⁵ Collingwood, 'Royal Finance', p.6; Barratt, 'Royal Revenue', pp.80-1.

⁵²⁶ Barratt, 'Royal Revenue', p.60; Serovayskaya, 'Royal Forests', p.33.

⁵²⁷ For example, see TNA, E 372/73, rot. 15, m. 1 accessed online 2 December 2024 [AALT Page](#). As noted in Appendix D 'Inglewood', this is usually referred to as Carlisle Forest in the pipe rolls.

⁵²⁸ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', p.43; Cassidy, '1259', p.21.

subsequent payments were made in relation to each constituent element of the debt proportionate to their share of the overall balance. An example of how this has been applied in practice, concerning the forest debts of William de Beauchamp of Elmley, is set out in Appendix E.

When debts were combined in this way, the pipe rolls tended no longer to record the originating reason for an individual sum and therefore its association with the royal forest would no longer be apparent. This is not a problem for those sums that were identified during this study at the outset as relating to the forest. It does, however, potentially mean that some debts partly relating to the forest that originated during Henry III's minority may not be identified as such in the pipe rolls of the early years of his personal rule and that, therefore, when payments were made, these sums would not be recorded. However, the impact of any such understatement of revenue is highly unlikely to be material given that the sums generated by the royal forest during the minority were generally relatively small. For example, the total value of the ameracements due from the 1221-25 programme of forest eyres was approximately just £703.⁵²⁹

Very few pipe roll records from the period of Henry's personal rule have to date been transcribed and published. Consequently, despite Cassidy's sound advice that 'the pipe roll is, for the most part, as interesting to read as a telephone directory' and that 'it is not intended to be read from beginning to end', the only approach to provide sufficient confidence of identifying revenue generated from the royal forest is to undertake a systematic trawl through each set of annual accounts.⁵³⁰ Such an exercise is highly likely to be of nugatory value concerning those counties such as Kent, no part of which had ever been subject to forest law. The results set out below are therefore based primarily on an examination of the twenty-two accounts in the pipe rolls for shires that included royal forests within them. Revenue from individual forests, in particular New Forest, Windsor Forest and the Forest of Dean was also occasionally accounted for via the foreign accounts section of the pipe rolls which appeared with increasing regularity from the 1220s for non-sheriff officials such as escheators.⁵³¹ Additionally, extant memoranda rolls have been consulted where necessary to provide further information about particular debts. While there are no sections in these specifically relating to the royal forest, relevant information can often be found in both the *communia* parts of the rolls and the *compoti* parts dealing with individual counties.⁵³²

⁵²⁹ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.152-60.

⁵³⁰ Cassidy, '1259', p.9.

⁵³¹ Cassidy, *Pipe Rolls*, pp.15, 38-42, 83. For a good example of an account submitted through the Foreign Accounts section of the pipe rolls, see that of Amaury de St. Amand for the Forest of Dean in the 1237 pipe rolls [AALT Page](#) accessed online 20 February 2025.

⁵³² A list of the counties examined on this basis is included in Appendix F. The memoranda rolls, which included items such as acknowledgements of debts and arrangements for them to be paid, are discussed in Cassidy,

A small number of forest-related debts were occasionally transferred to shires not subject to forest law as the individual debtor accounted for overall sums due from them on that basis. For example, in 1230, John Marshall accounted in the sheriff's account for Norfolk and Suffolk for 36s that he owed concerning pannage in Galtres Forest in Yorkshire.⁵³³ Where this occurred, those debts have been recorded in the overall calculations of forest revenue. Nonetheless, it is conceivable that there is some relevant forest revenue recorded on these other accounts that has not been identified, although any such sums are again not likely to be material.

There are two other areas where likely forest revenue has been excluded from the overall figures that are discussed below, although in neither case is this due to challenges presented by the pipe rolls. As discussed in the preceding chapter, Henry III began his personal rule by requiring beneficiaries to seek royal confirmation of their charters of privileges and liberties. A number paid fines for these confirmations, which occasionally included privileges within the royal forest. For example, in February 1227, Reading Abbey paid 60m for confirmation of a charter that gave it a wide range of privileges, including some concerning the application of forest law, as noted in the preceding chapter. It is impossible in these cases to attribute with any confidence the element of the fine relating specifically to the forest privilege and therefore no sum has been included for it in the calculation of forest revenue.⁵³⁴ Similarly, the cases of exemptions from office that were also discussed in the preceding chapter frequently involved many roles and responsibilities in addition to those in the royal forest. For example, in June 1253 Richard de Middleton paid 12 bezants into the wardrobe not to be put on assizes, juries or recognitions and not to be made a sheriff, coroner, verderer, agister or knight.⁵³⁵ Again, it is impossible to disaggregate with any confidence the share of the fines for these that related specifically to roles within the royal forest administration and therefore no sums have been included. This inevitably means that the figures reported below are, to some extent, an understatement although the sums involved are minor within the broader context of overall forest revenue.

Pipe Rolls, pp. 16, 55-7, 59-60, 73, 84. C. Robinson (ed.), *The Memoranda Roll of the King's Remembrancer for Michaelmas 1230 – Trinity 1231* (Pipe Roll Society, 1933) and R.A. Brown (ed.), *Memoranda Rolls 16-17 Henry III* (London, 1991) are to date the only memoranda rolls from the period of Henry III's personal rule to be published. Other memoranda rolls have been consulted as necessary either via the AALT website [HenryIII](#) or at the National Archives [Exchequer: Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer: Memoranda Rolls | The National Archives](#).

⁵³³ *PR 1230*, p.345.

⁵³⁴ *CFR 11/114* accessed online 20 February 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 11 HENRY III \(28 October 1226–27 October 1227\)](#); *CChR 1226-57*, p.14.

⁵³⁵ *CFR 37/964* accessed online 20 February 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 37 HENRY III \(28 October 1252–27 October 1253\)](#); *CPR 1247-58*, p.198.

Taking account of the reservations highlighted above, all sums relating to forest revenue in this chapter should be regarded as approximate. Nevertheless, they should also be seen as forming a reasonable basis on which to assess the importance of the royal forest as a source of crown revenue.

Revenue from the Royal Forest

Chart 5.1 shows the total forest revenue recorded on the pipe rolls and other sources for each year of Henry III's personal rule, based on the methodology described above.⁵³⁶

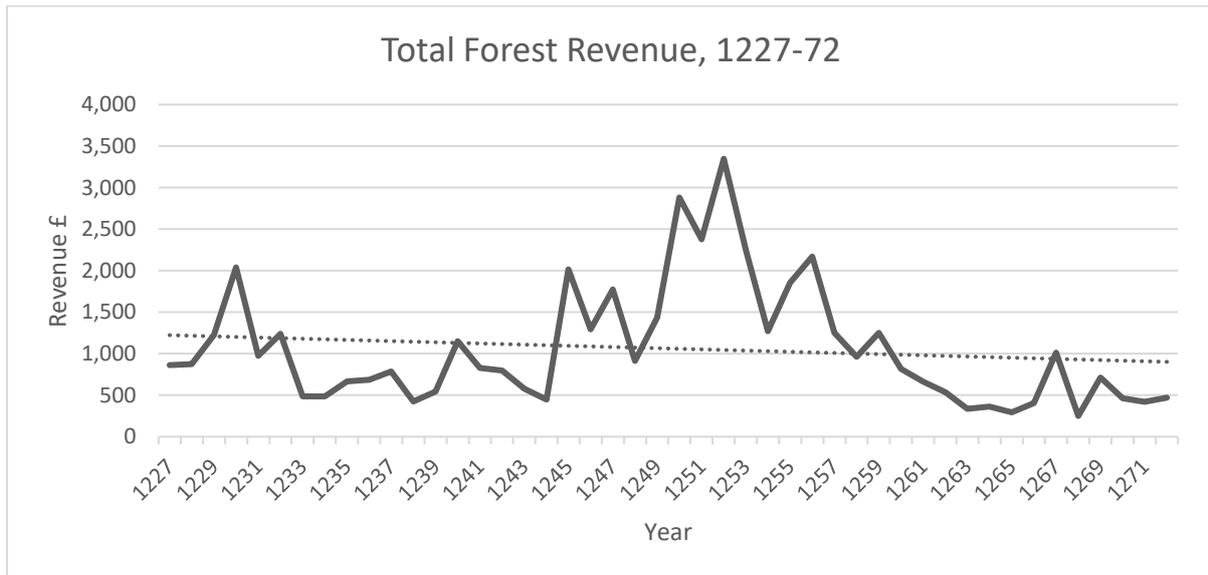


Chart 5.1: Total Forest Revenue, 1227-72

Total forest revenue received during the period of Henry's personal rule was approximately £48,885 with an average annual figure of £1,063. As the chart shows, the amounts varied significantly between years, although the long-term trend was one of a gradual decline. The largest amount accounted as received in any one year was £3,347 in 1252, while the lowest amount was £250 in 1268. The reasons for these variations are examined later as part of the consideration of the three constituent elements of overall forest revenue.

As Table 5.1 demonstrates, the sums identified in this research are significantly higher than the forest revenue recorded in previous studies.⁵³⁷ One of the reasons for these marked differences is likely to have been the difficulty in earlier studies, noted above, of identifying all sources of forest

⁵³⁶ All identified transactions from the pipe rolls and other sources have been recorded in a spreadsheet as set out in Appendix B.

⁵³⁷ Barratt, 'Royal Revenue', p.75; Cassidy, '1259', p.54; Collingwood, 'Royal Finance', pp.33, 146-7, 201, 269, 281, 319. The figures from Collingwood's thesis are what he describes as 'Actual Annual Revenue' ('Royal Finance', pp.7-8) to be consistent with the approach adopted in this thesis towards dealing with multi-year revenue that was accounted for in one year.

revenue when this is not clear from the description accompanying the debt in the pipe rolls. For example, there is nothing in the 1259 Warwickshire and Leicestershire pipe roll account transcribed by Cassidy that would allow him to identify that the 13m paid by Simon de Wauton concerned a fine of £100 originally owed by Hugh de Loges for a trespass in Cannock Forest.⁵³⁸ Additionally, Collingwood's study understates forest revenue because of his decision to include in this category 'all judicial payments pertaining to forest pleas and rights associated with the forest, such as pannage', but to exclude forest 'farms, rents and assarts' which he instead treats as royal demesne income.⁵³⁹ As noted earlier in this thesis, while some forests contained royal demesne land, this was not always the case and it is deemed more appropriate to treat revenue from those forests as distinct from that of demesne lands.

⁵³⁸ *PR 1259*, p.68; TNA, E 372/85, rot. 14d, m. 2 accessed online 2 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/100, rot. 6, m. 1 accessed online 2 December 2024 [AALT Page](#).

⁵³⁹ Collingwood, 'Royal Finance', p.11.

Year	Forest Revenue This Study £	Forest Revenue Previous Study £	Difference between Studies £	Difference from Previous Study %	Source of Previous Study
1230	2,039	804	+1,235	+154	Barratt, p.75
1256	2,172	886	+1,286	+145	Collingwood, p.33
1257	1,249	250	+999	+400	Collingwood, p.33
1258	962	370	+592	+160	Collingwood, p.33
1259	1,252	246 (Collingwood) 314 (Cassidy)	+1,006 +938	+409 +299	Collingwood, pp.146-7 Cassidy, p.54 ⁵⁴⁰
1260	818	186	+632	+340	Collingwood, pp.146-7
1261	662	322	+340	+106	Collingwood, pp.146-7
1262	536	149	+387	+260	Collingwood, p.201
1263	336	187	+149	+80	Collingwood, p.201
1264	364	85	+279	+328	Collingwood, p.269
1265	295	16	+279	+1,743	Collingwood, p.269
1266	404	326	+78	+24	Collingwood, p.281
1267	1,013	284	+729	+257	Collingwood, p.281
1268	250	49	+201	+410	Collingwood, p.319
1269	713	84	+629	+749	Collingwood, p.319
1270	463	175	+288	+165	Collingwood, p.319

Table 5.1: Comparison of Forest Revenue with Previous Studies

Royal Forest and Total Crown Revenues

These revisions to earlier calculations of forest revenue inevitably mean that the royal forest accounted for a greater share of overall crown income than has previously been estimated. The chart below records that annual share applying the forest revenue figures from Chart 5.1 above. Wherever possible, figures for total crown revenue have been derived from previous studies. Where this has not been possible, reasonable estimates have been made based upon previous research and a review of the relevant secondary literature. Further details are provided in Appendix G.

⁵⁴⁰ For a discussion on the difference between Cassidy's and Collingwood's figures, see Cassidy, '1259', p.39. In his more recent publication of the 1259 pipe roll, Cassidy has amended the forest revenue figure slightly to £310 (*PR 1259*, p.7).

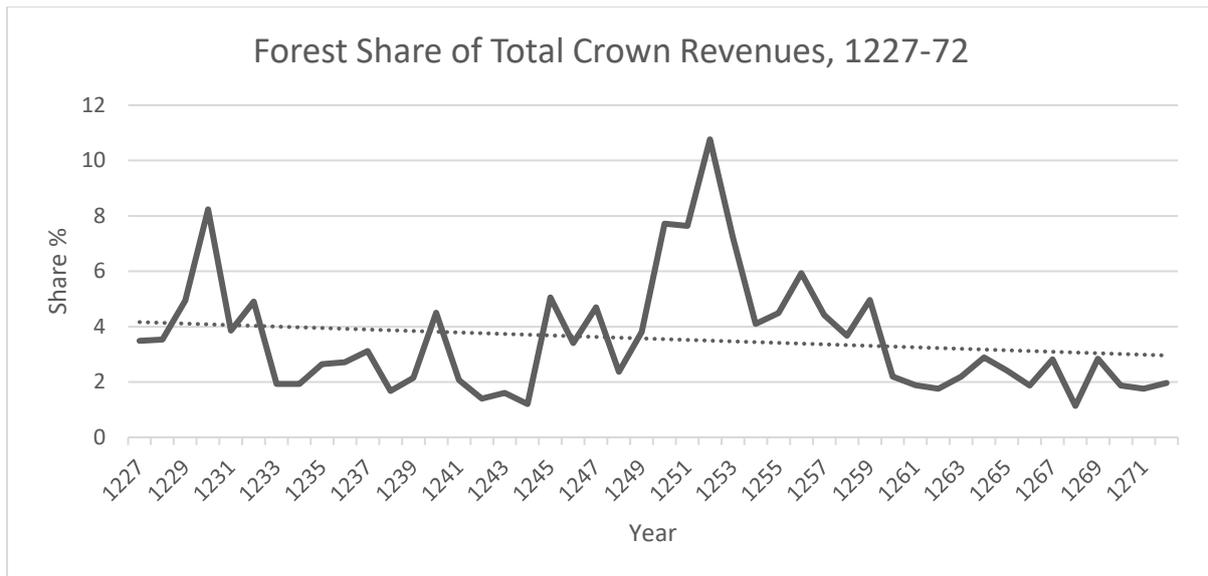


Chart 5.2: Forest Share of Total Crown Revenues, 1227-72

It is apparent from Chart 5.2 that, in general, forest revenue made only a modest contribution to the overall financial resources of the crown. On average, it accounted for less than 4% of annual crown revenue and, as the trend line demonstrates, that share fell during the period of Henry’s personal rule, although there were significant peaks in 1230 and the decade from 1250 onwards. In only eight years (1230, 1245, 1250-53, 1255 and 1256) did the share rise above 5%. In twelve years, the share was below 2% of total crown revenue ((1233-4, 1238, 1242-4, 1262, 1266, 1268 and 1270-2).

The factors behind the level of forest revenue specifically are discussed further below. Chart 5.3 compares forest income with overall crown income for each year of Henry III’s personal rule and helps to explain the changes in the share accounted for by the former. The low share recorded in 1233-4 and 1238 was a reflection of declining revenue from the forest at a time when overall crown income was broadly static. While revenues from the forest remained low in the early 1240s, the main reason for the decline in its share of total income was because of some sharp and sustained increases in other sources of royal revenue. After 1258, forest revenue and overall revenue followed a broadly similar pattern of decline. However, the low share recorded by the former towards the end of the reign indicates that recovery from the civil war was particularly slow in the case of forest revenue compared with other sources of royal income. In contrast, the relatively high share of forest revenue in the eight years highlighted above was because of a particularly sharp increase at a time when total crown income was either broadly static or itself high compared with historic levels.

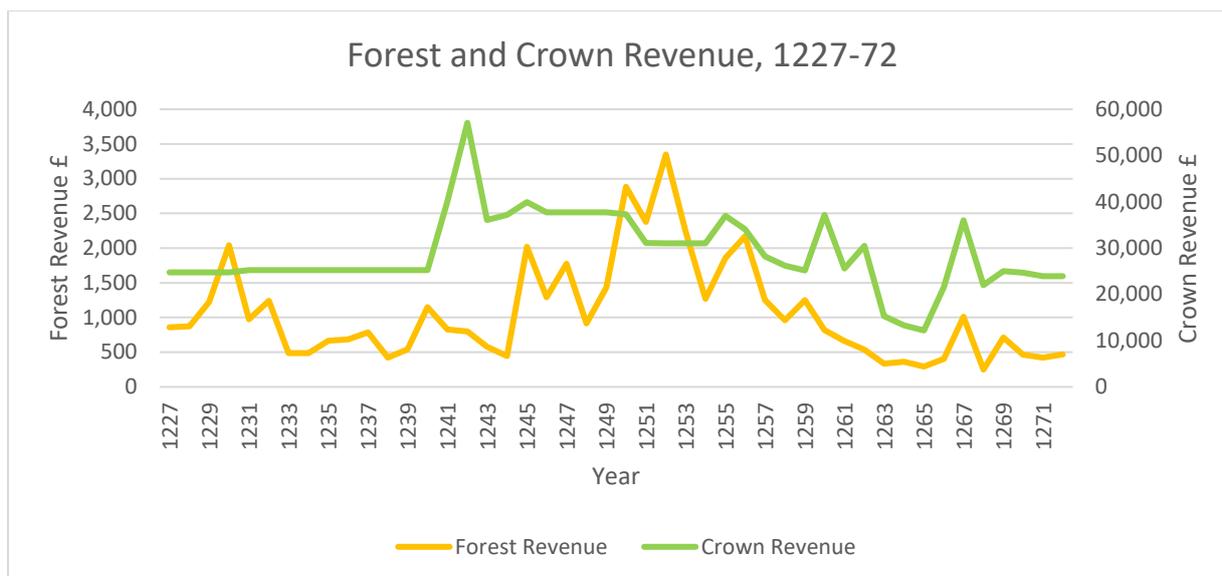


Chart 5.3: Forest and Crown Revenue, 1227-72

There is a remarkable similarity in the share of crown revenue that was accounted for by the forest between the period of Henry III's personal rule and that of the reign of his father. Under John, forest revenue as a share of total income was on average approximately 4%. The peak years for forest revenue were 1208 (£2,091) and 1212 (£3,104), when in both cases it accounted for just under 9% of overall income. The primary reason for the sharp increases in forest revenues in these years were the punitive eyres whose unpopularity played a key role in fomenting unrest against the king.⁵⁴¹

The forest share of overall revenue was also impacted by the crown's capacity during Henry III's personal rule for resorting to other, more buoyant sources of revenue to supplement the recurring income that it received from the farm of the shires. Indeed, the reforms to the management of the shires and the royal demesne that were implemented between 1236 and 1240, alone added at least £2,000 per year to Henry's regular revenues.⁵⁴² While it was politically difficult to secure, the tax of one thirtieth granted by parliament in 1237 raised approximately £22,665 for the crown, while the fortieth of 1232 generated another £16,475 and the twentieth of 1269 had resulted in revenue of almost £31,500 by the time of the king's death.⁵⁴³ A particularly profitable source of revenue were the frequent ecclesiastical vacancies, and the escheats and wardships arising from the deaths of lay nobles. For example, between September 1258 and August 1262, the king received over £16,200

⁵⁴¹ N. Barratt, 'The Revenue of King John', *English Historical Review* 111 (1996), p.846; Crook, 'Forest Eyre', pp. 75-6, 78-80.

⁵⁴² Stacey, *Politics*, p.131.

⁵⁴³ S.K. Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation under John and Henry III* (Yale, 1919), pp.205, 218, 299; Maddicott, *Parliament*, p.457; Stacey, *Politics*, pp.36, 37, 42, 102, 109, 110, 112, 116-7, 121-3, 128, 131, 202, 249; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.123, 194; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.559-61.

from the vacant bishopric of Winchester.⁵⁴⁴ Henry III also taxed England's Jewish community heavily, generating 10,000m from a tallage in 1233 and another 20,000m on a similar basis in 1241. A further tallage in 1244 raised an astonishing 40,000m between 1244 and 1249, while four further tallages between 1250 and 1253 generated another 24,000m.⁵⁴⁵ The crown also benefited from the revenue raised from the 'heavy and increasing burden' of the general judicial eyres, such as the £22,000 generated by the visitations between 1246 and 1249. Finally, there were also the exceptional one-off items, such as the recoinage launched in 1247, which raised about £7,000 for the king.⁵⁴⁶ Against these figures, the amounts generated by the forest eyres and the sale of forest privileges, while useful for the crown, were relatively minor.

The following sections of this chapter break the total figures down into three constituent elements of overall forest revenue to help identify the various drivers behind the annual changes noted above.

Management Revenue

Management revenue consists of the payments made by wardens for the custody of forests and the recurring annual farm fees associated with them. As discussed in Chapter 2, actual revenues received by the crown were a function both of the terms on which forest wardens were appointed and the efficiency with which Henry's governments were then able to ensure that those wardens paid the amounts that were due. This category of revenue also includes exceptional, non-recurring items such as revenue from the sale of wood. While there often were small amounts of recurring revenue from the sale of wood, these were frequently retained by local forest wardens.⁵⁴⁷ As discussed below, there were occasions when Henry's governments launched specific initiatives to raise large sums directly for the crown from wood sales. On average, management revenue generated approximately £275 annually for the crown and overall accounted for 26% of total forest revenue.

As the trendline in Chart 5.4 illustrates, over the period of Henry III's personal rule, this revenue was broadly constant, although there were marked peaks and troughs. Two periods in particular are worthy of note. In general, the decade after 1249 was characterised by high levels of management revenue, despite the loss in income resulting from the award to the Lord Edward of the forests of Cheshire, New and Peak as part of his appanage.⁵⁴⁸ The high levels of revenue reflected two drivers.

⁵⁴⁴ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.37, 226.

⁵⁴⁵ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.134, 223, 451, 546-7.

⁵⁴⁶ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.464-7, 661; Maddicott, 'Magna Carta', p.47.

⁵⁴⁷ For example, the hereditary forest warden of Bernwood Forest was allowed to keep trees felled by the wind so long as 'the wind fells less than ten trees in one night and one day', with any excess reverting to the king. Turner, *Select Pleas*, p.122.

⁵⁴⁸ Appendix D, 'Cheshire', 'New', 'Peak'.

There was firstly much stronger management of forest wardens following the purge of officials during the eyres led by Passelewe and Langley, as discussed in Chapter 2. This led not only to more regular and complete accounting for forest proceeds at the exchequer, but also a greater commitment locally to generating revenue for the crown.

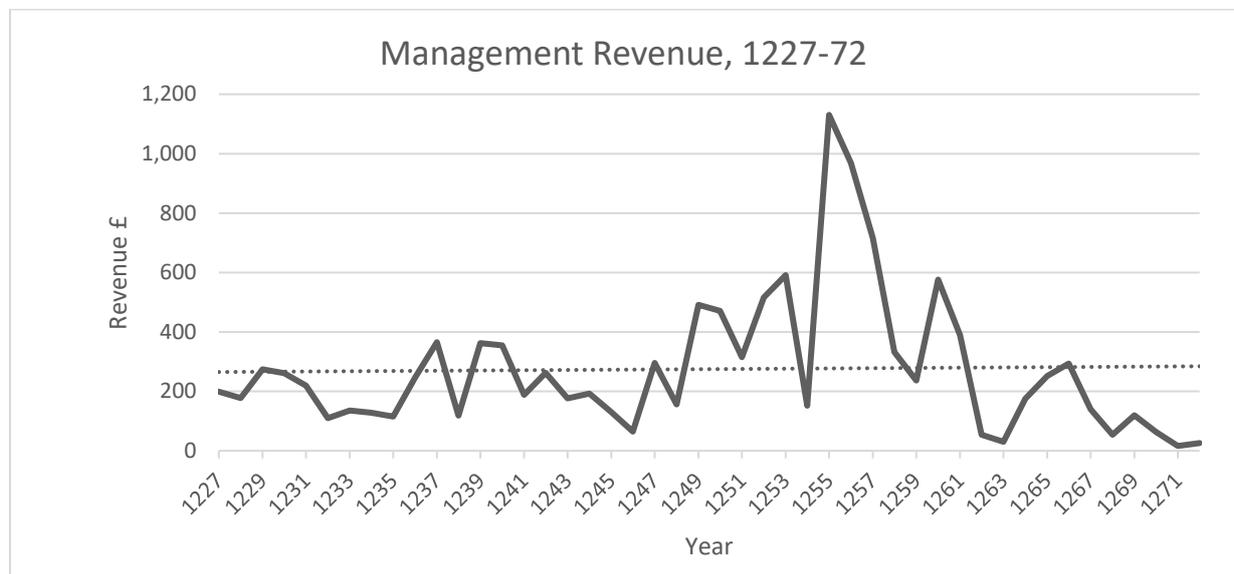


Chart 5.4: Management Revenue, 1227-72

The second major driver behind the increase in revenue from the late 1240s was the initiative led from the centre of Henry's government to increase the sales of wood. This has not previously been addressed in this thesis so is covered in some detail as part of this chapter.

While, before this decade, there are a number of entries in the pipe rolls recording revenue from the sale of wood, their values tend to be small and largely related to individual forests. Often, the sales were linked to the need to invest in the repair of a nearby castle or park. For example, in May 1244 John de Grey was mandated to sell dead wood from Peak Forest up to the value of 20m to fund repairs to Peveril Castle.⁵⁴⁹ At other times, Henry's governments took advantage of the damage to the forests caused by storms to sell cabbish (see Glossary, Appendix A), as it did in Chippenham and Melksham forests in 1268. These opportunistic responses to extreme weather events frequently find support in contemporary chronicles. For example, both the Waverley and Osney Chronicles refer to the storms of 1268.⁵⁵⁰

During the 1250s, however, there were three separate initiatives by Henry's governments to adopt a planned, nationwide campaign to generate additional revenue through the sale of wood. The first

⁵⁴⁹ CR 1242-47, p.187.

⁵⁵⁰ CPR 1266-72, p.203; AM Waverley, p.374; AM Osney, p.215.

was in May 1251 when Henry appointed three men in almost all counties with forests ‘to sell his underwood in all his demesne woodlands...in every bailiwick where foresters are found.’ The only exceptions were Northumberland, Surrey, Devon and Warwickshire where it was deemed that there was insufficient woodland.⁵⁵¹ In September, instructions were issued to Geoffrey de Langley, as chief justice, to proceed with the sales. However, they do not appear to have been particularly successful. In Northamptonshire, Staffordshire and Buckinghamshire, the process had to be halted due to concerns about the damage caused to the sustainability of the forest, and therefore the habitat of the deer, by felling so many trees. In March 1252, those responsible for the sales in other counties were urged to complete the process and submit their accounts. The records for the years 1252, 1253 and 1254 suggest that only approximately £129 was raised by the initiative, most of which was paid into the wardrobe.⁵⁵²

The second major initiative began in March 1255, when commissioners were appointed ‘to sell part of the woods’ in the royal forests across twenty counties to relieve the king’s debts. It was very soon realised not only that such an ambitious programme could result in severe damage to the sustainability of the forest, but also that the crown risked flooding the timber market, with a consequent impact on the price of wood and the revenue that could be generated. It was therefore decided, in April, to proceed at a slower pace and concentrate in the short term on the sale of underwood, while an inventory was developed of trees that could be sold in the future. It is difficult, from the extant records, to establish with confidence the revenue that was generated by this short-lived initiative, but it appears to have been in the region of £684.⁵⁵³ It is likely that the failure of the programme to sell wood from the royal forest was a factor in the royal decision to commission the hundred rolls survey of 1255. This included articles examining the state of the forest and the rights of local forest wardens. While the primary purpose of the survey was probably to provide evidence to justify an increase in the increments demanded from sheriffs, it also provided the crown with up-to-date information on the state of the royal forest.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵¹ *CFR 35/604 – CFR 35/626* accessed online 5 December 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 35 HENRY III \(28 October 1250–27 October 1251\)](#); Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.149.

⁵⁵² *CR 1247-51*, p.563; *CR 1251-53*, pp.43, 49, 131, 140, 143, 147, 201, 243; Wild, *Wardrobe Accounts*, p.76; TNA, E 372/98, rot. 6, m. 2 accessed online 5 December 2024 [AALT Page](#).

⁵⁵³ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.432-6; *CFR 39/270* accessed online 5 December 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 39 HENRY III \(28 October 1254–27 October 1255\)](#); *CLR 1251-60*, pp.221, 225, 232; Wild, *Wardrobe Accounts*, p.80; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.123-4; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.150.

⁵⁵⁴ D. Roffe, ‘The Hundred Rolls of 1255’, *Historical Research* 69 (1996), pp.201-10. Returns are extant only for parts of Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Shropshire, Somerset, Staffordshire, Wiltshire and Worcestershire, all of which are counties that included royal forests. The returns are to be found in *Rotuli Hundredorum Temp. Hen. III and Edw. I in Turri London*, 2 volumes (1812-18).

It is not clear whether it was part of the same programme or a separate initiative, but in February 1256, commissioners were appointed to arrange the sale of wood specifically in the Forest of Dean. In May, they paid £200 into the wardrobe and two months later, James Fresel was appointed to assess the scope for further revenue from wood sales in the forest. In August, Henry's government set out a detailed plan to generate 1,100m (approximately £733) from further sales in the Forest of Dean. It is again difficult from the extant records to be precise about the actual revenue that was generated. It would appear that almost £393 was paid into the wardrobe during 1257. No further payments have been identified after that, but the eyre conducted in Gloucestershire at the end of the reign identified approximately £380 as outstanding in relation to the sale of wood in the county, so it is conceivable that these sums account for the balance of the original target of 1,100m.⁵⁵⁵

In February 1257, Henry's government revived the nationwide programme of wood sales that it had paused two years earlier. In doing so, it may have been influenced by the results of the hundred rolls survey highlighted above. Philip Lovel was appointed to arrange for the sale of wood across the royal forests to the significant sums of 3,000m or 4,000m. The initiative does not, however, appear to have been a success. It encountered the familiar challenge of trying to raise additional revenue without causing serious damage to the sustainability of the forest and, in November 1258, a mandate was issued to suspend sales activity in Rutland for that reason. By then, the initiative may have been impacted by the upheaval in government caused by the baronial programme of reform, and in January 1260 a mandate was issued by the council to the reformist new chief justice, Thomas Gresley, to cease all sales activity in the forest South of the Trent. Financially, the programme does not appear to have been a success as, excluding the proceeds from the Forest of Dean highlighted above, only approximately £199 appears to have been generated between 1257 and the end of the reign.⁵⁵⁶

The other period of particular note concerning management revenue in addition to the 1250s was the decade after the launch of the baronial movement for reform. This appears to have resulted in some initial disruption to the government's administrative machine as only thirteen counties with forests submitted accounts in Michaelmas 1258. While that number improved to eighteen in the following year, both recurring and exceptional management revenue were seemingly, by then, in steep decline. The marked improvement in revenue reported in 1260 was due to the submission of

⁵⁵⁵ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.463, 488, 524; *CFR 40/584* accessed online 5 December 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 40 HENRY III \(28 October 1255–27 October 1256\)](#); *CLR 1251-60*, pp.304, 359, 365, 380, 386; TNA, E 372/115, rot. 2d, m. 2 accessed online 5 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.270-2; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.150; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.126; *PR 1259*, p.27.

⁵⁵⁶ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.544, 550; *CLR 1251-60*, p.375; *CR 1256-59*, p.345; *CR 1259-61*, p.22; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.124, 127.

accounts from Robert Walerand, particularly concerning his wardenship of the Forest of Dean. It is possible that this brief improvement reflects the efforts of the reformers, and particularly their appointed treasurer John of Crakehall, to improve royal finances. If so, it is broadly consistent with the overall picture of the reformers' attempts to improve royal finances during this period which, as both Adrian Jobson and Nick Barratt have described, were relatively modest.⁵⁵⁷

The sudden, severe and sustained collapse in management revenues during the 1260s can be attributed to the upheaval created by the civil war. However, while some of this was corrected by the higher revenues reported at the end of the war in 1266 and 1267, it is striking that they fell again significantly after that. Indeed, the two years with the lowest reported management revenue were the final ones of Henry's reign. This picture of slow and fragile financial recovery after the civil war is largely consistent with the analysis of overall crown revenues during the post-Evesham period that has been undertaken by Adrian Jobson.⁵⁵⁸

Revenue from the Award of Privileges

The second category records the revenue generated from the award of the privileges that were discussed in the preceding chapter. This includes both one-off payments in the form of fines for awards such as disafforestations and the recurring revenue from, for example, the rents of assarts. Included in the figures for 1230, for example, is the payment of a 250m fine for the disafforestation of Kesteven Forest in Lincolnshire. Additionally, the pipe roll account for Herefordshire first records a rental payment of 20s by Nicholas Secularis for an assart in the county in 1228. He then accounted for the assart annually, with the last payment of the reign being recorded in 1270.⁵⁵⁹ Chart 5.5 shows the revenue generated each year from the awards of forest privileges.

⁵⁵⁷ A. Jobson, 'John of Crakehall: The "Forgotten" Baronial Treasurer, 1258-60', in Burton, Lachaud and Schofield (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England XIII*, pp.91-6; Barratt, 'Crisis Management', pp.58, 64-70. Royal revenue during the period of reform and civil war is also explored in Cassidy, 'Adventus Vicecomitum', pp.614-27, especially pp.621, 624, 627 and in R. Cassidy, 'The reforming council takes control of fines of gold, 1258-59' accessed online 8 May 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: Fine of the Month: October 2011](#).

⁵⁵⁸ Jobson, 'Post-Evesham', pp.179-80, 183-7, 188-92.

⁵⁵⁹ *PR 1230*, p.312; TNA, E 372/72, rot. 2d, m.1 accessed online 2 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/114, rot. 3d, m. 2 accessed online 2 December 2024 [AALT Page](#).

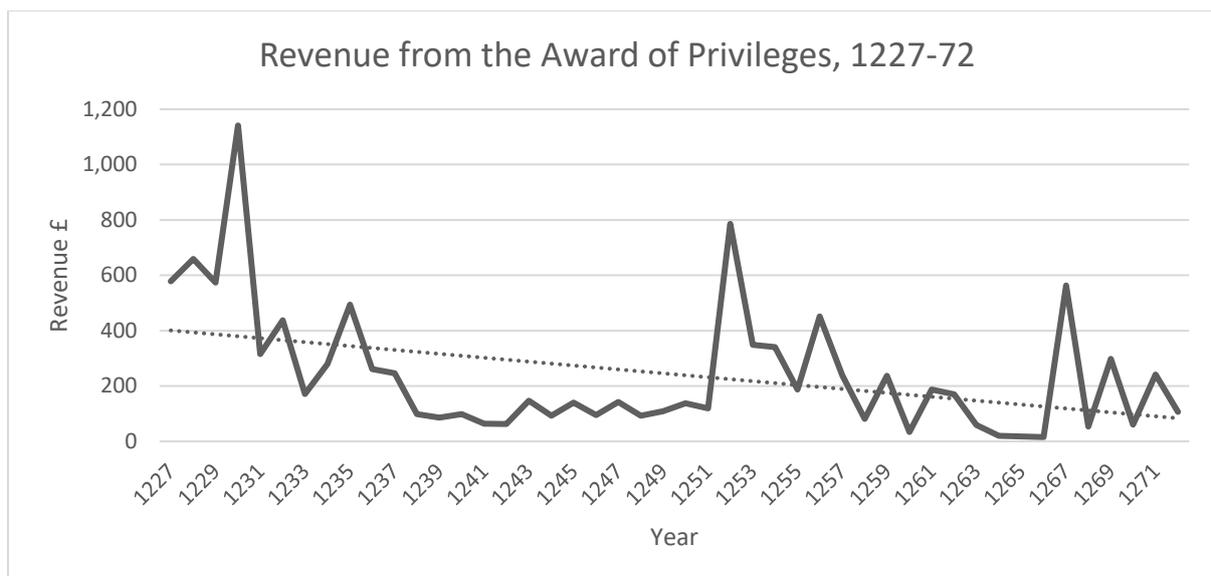


Chart 5.5: Revenue from the Award of Privileges, 1227-72

Overall, this source accounted for approximately 23% of total revenue from the forest. The average annual revenue of approximately £242 again disguises some marked variations between years. In particular, the early years of Henry’s personal rule are characterised by high levels of revenue from this source, reflecting the measures that he initiated at the start of 1227 to confirm existing charters. As noted above, the revenue from this initiative will be slightly understated as it is not possible to disaggregate the forest share of the revenue generated by some of these awards. Following that concentration of one-off events, revenue inevitably fell and was remarkably static for the period between 1238 and 1251. The sharp and sustained rise between 1252 and 1257 reflects the government’s drive, discussed in the preceding chapter, for increased revenues more generally from the sale of a wide range of forest privileges. It included, for example, approximately £223 raised from the sale of hunting privileges within the forest, such as the 1m of gold paid into the wardrobe in 1252 by Robert de Mares for licence to hunt ‘the hare, fox and cat through all the forests except in the warrens of the king or others’ in Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Huntingdonshire and Essex. This particular transaction was part of the gold treasure that Henry III built up between 1243 and 1253 and that was spent financing the subsequent Gascon campaign. It included revenue from the sale of liberties including markets, fairs and respites of knighthood as well as the forest privileges discussed in the preceding chapter.⁵⁶⁰ The final notable increase in reported

⁵⁶⁰ CPR 1247-58, p.145; CFR 36/907 accessed online 2 December 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 36 HENRY III \(28 October 1251–27 October 1252\)](#); Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III*, pp.107-36 and especially pp.108, 111-3, 120; Jamroziak, ‘Markets’, pp.41-9.

revenue in 1267 is largely a reflection, as already discussed, of the upheaval caused by the civil war and the delays to the receipt and reporting of revenue.

Eyre Revenue

Approximately 51% of all forest revenue was accounted for by the amercements resulting from the eyres that were conducted during Henry's reign. The king's revenue from the forest was therefore primarily driven by a policy of enforcement of forest law rather than one of concession through the sale of privileges. Henry III's reign was not unusual in that respect as Winters has stressed the financial importance of the eyre as a source of royal revenue as early as the preceding century.⁵⁶¹ Indeed, there is a reasonable case for arguing that the timing of the visitations, particularly those in 1229-32, 1244-52 and 1255-58, correlated with the king's urgent need to raise revenue for his overseas military campaigns and political ambitions. On average, the forest eyres generated approximately £546 annually, although again the sums varied significantly between individual years, as shown in Chart 5.6.

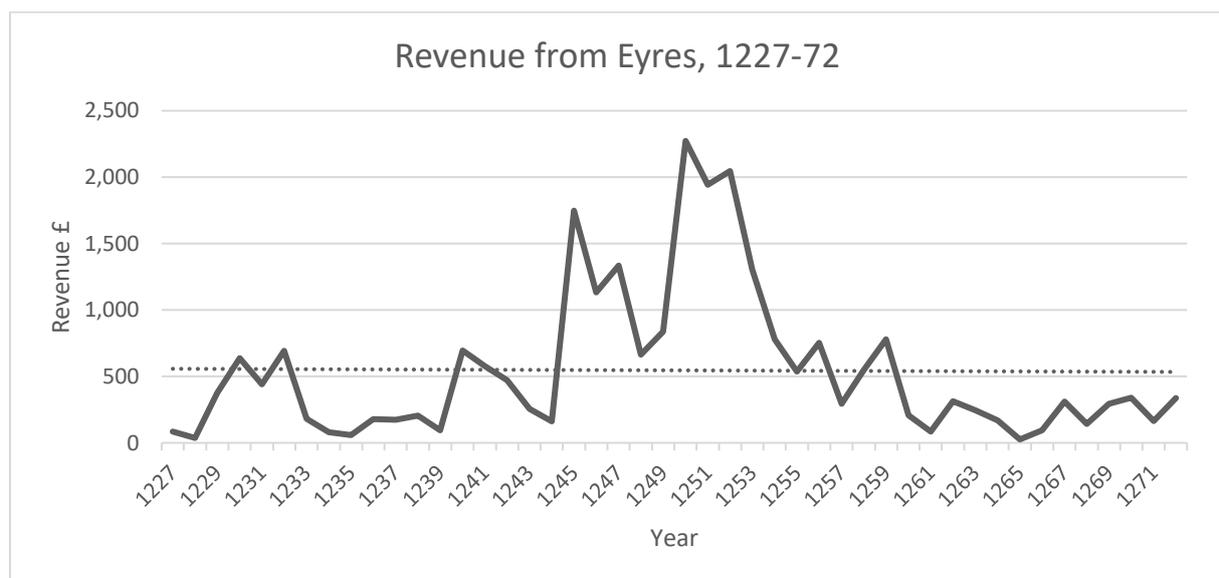


Chart 5.6: Revenue from Eyres, 1227-72

The profile of this revenue source unsurprisingly largely mirrors the timing of the eyres. The visitations of 1229-32, 1239-44, 1244-52 and 1255-58 all resulted in notable increases in revenue. The chart also reinforces the contemporary complaints, including those by the chronicler Matthew Paris, about the harsh financial penalties generated by the programme of eyres and inquisitions initiated by Robert Passelewe in 1244 and continued by Geoffrey de Langley until 1252.⁵⁶² The only

⁵⁶¹ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.10, 24.

⁵⁶² *CM IV*, pp.426-7; *CM V*, pp.136-7.

visitations that do not follow this pattern are those of 1262-63 and 1269-72 which generated relatively little revenue, although the level of amercements was comparable to that of previous eyres, as shown in Table 5.2. The reasons for this are examined further below. It is also apparent that, despite the notoriety of the 1244-52 eyres, the long-term trend for eyre revenue was one of a very slight decline.

Revenue from the forest eyres has previously been extensively examined and documented by Jane Winters. Her thesis examines forest eyres between the mid-twelfth and mid-fourteenth centuries and provides a comprehensive summary of the amercements generated by individual eyres as recorded in the pipe rolls and in supporting documents such as the estreat and plea rolls, where they exist. Her thesis is an invaluable aid to any research into the forest eyres, but the overall revenue identified as part of this study differs from the figures Winters has recorded. There are four main reasons for this.⁵⁶³ Firstly, Winters identifies what she terms ‘assessed’ revenue rather than actual revenue, that is ‘the revenue that the crown would have received if all fines and amercements had been paid in full.’ She does not therefore adjust her revenue figures to take account of unpaid debts or of pardons. To be consistent with the approach of other historians and internally consistent within the scope of the current research, this study includes as revenue only those sums that are recorded as being paid. Unpaid eyre debts and pardons are considered further below.

The second difference is that Winters has excluded revenue ‘from what might be termed regular payments, primarily pannage and herbage’. The approach in this research has been to include such sums as part of eyre revenue when it is clear from the pipe roll entries that they originated as a result of eyre activity. For example, Winters notes, but excludes, the amercement concerning pannage raised against Elias Mansel at the Surrey eyre of 1256. This has been included in the eyre revenue figures as part of this study.⁵⁶⁴ Thirdly, Winters has also excluded payments relating to the forest that appear in the *Nova Oblata* sections of the pipe rolls unless they are specifically linked to an eyre. It is clear from the descriptions in the pipe rolls that these sums relate to forest offences and they have therefore been included in the figures in this study. For the ease of analysis, it has been assumed that they originated as a result of the most recent eyre activity in the county in which their debt is recorded. For example, the 1241 pipe roll account for Yorkshire includes in its *Nova Oblata* section a 20m amercement against William de Vescy for taking venison without a warrant.

⁵⁶³ Winters discusses the first three of these points in ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.42-3.

⁵⁶⁴ Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, p.225; TNA, E 372/101, rot. 15d, m. 1 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#).

This has been excluded by Winters but is included in this research, with the assumption that it relates to the eyre undertaken in Yorkshire in 1240.⁵⁶⁵

Finally, Winters includes revenue recorded in the accounts that fall outside the period covered by this research. For example, her calculation of the proceeds of the forest eyre undertaken in Northamptonshire in 1226 includes revenue recorded on the pipe rolls for that year, whereas this study excludes any such revenue from before 1227. Equally, Winters includes in her calculation of revenue from the Hampshire eyre of 1269 sums that were accounted for in the pipe rolls as late as 1292, whereas this study excludes any such amounts after 1272.⁵⁶⁶

The net effect of these differences in approach is set out in Table 5.2. As noted above, Winters makes no adjustment in her study for non-payment and pardons. In effect, her ‘assessed revenue’ is synonymous with the amercements charged as a result of the eyres, regardless of whether they were paid. To avoid confusion with the use of the term ‘revenue’ elsewhere in this thesis, the table below therefore refers to the ‘amercements’ charged as a result of each eyre visitation. The table excludes amercements that have been identified through the current research as relating to eyres undertaken before 1227 as it is frequently not possible to identify the relevant eyre visitation with sufficient confidence. It can be seen that the effect of the various adjustments described above is to increase the total of amercements due from the eyres by over £9,250.

Eyre Visitation	Amercements Due as per Winters £	Amercements Due as per Current Research £	Difference £
1229-32	2,050	3,105	+1,055
1236-38	617	704	+87
1239-44	2,104	3,391	+1,287
1244-52	18,215	23,090	+4,875
1255-58	1,805	2,689	+884
1262-63	2,346	2,967	+621
1269-72	3,566	4,014	+448
Total	30,703	39,960	9,257

Table 5.2: Comparisons of Amercements Due from Eyre Visitations, 1229-72

⁵⁶⁵ TNA, E 372/85, rot. 12d, m.1 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, p.178.

⁵⁶⁶ Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.162, 259.

Forest Revenue Categories Combined

The two charts below repeat the data from Chart 5.1 to show the combined effect of the trends of the three different sources of revenue. Chart 5.7 shows the total revenue generated broken down by category, while Chart 5.8 shows the share annually of overall forest revenue accounted for by each of the three categories. The charts emphasise how, in some years, one source largely accounted for overall revenue. For example, eyre revenue accounted for almost all forest revenue in 1245. At other times, more than one source was important in contributing to the overall total. In particular, the charts emphasise the positive impact on revenues of what was effectively a tripartite initiative from the late 1240s to increase income through better day-to-day management of the forest, the selling of privileges and a rigid application of the law through the eyres.

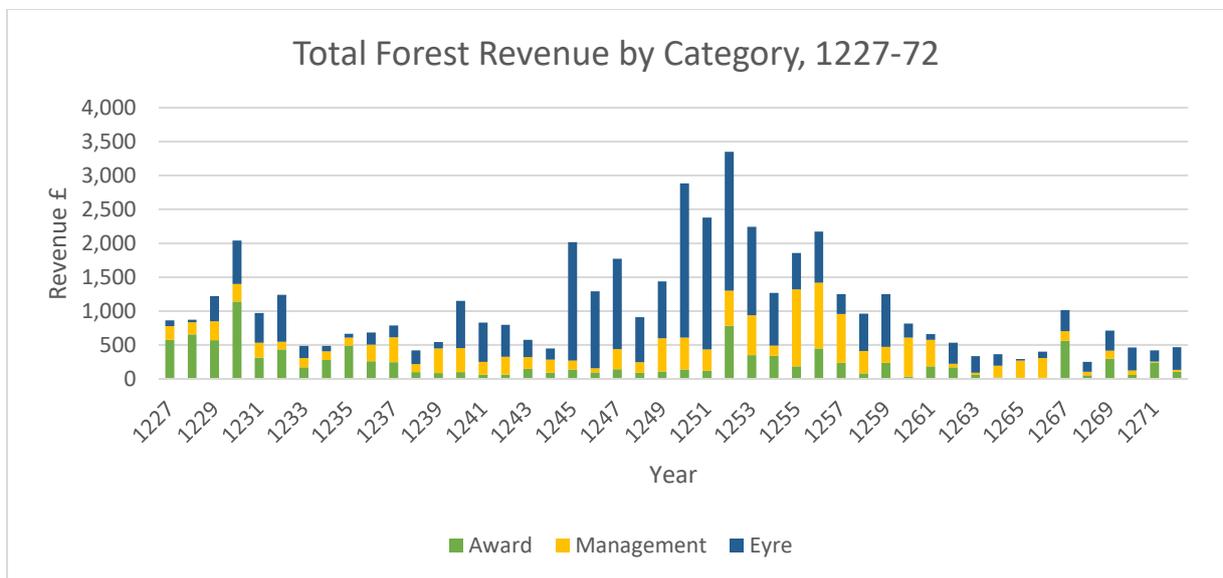


Chart 5.7: Total Forest Revenue by Category, 1227-72

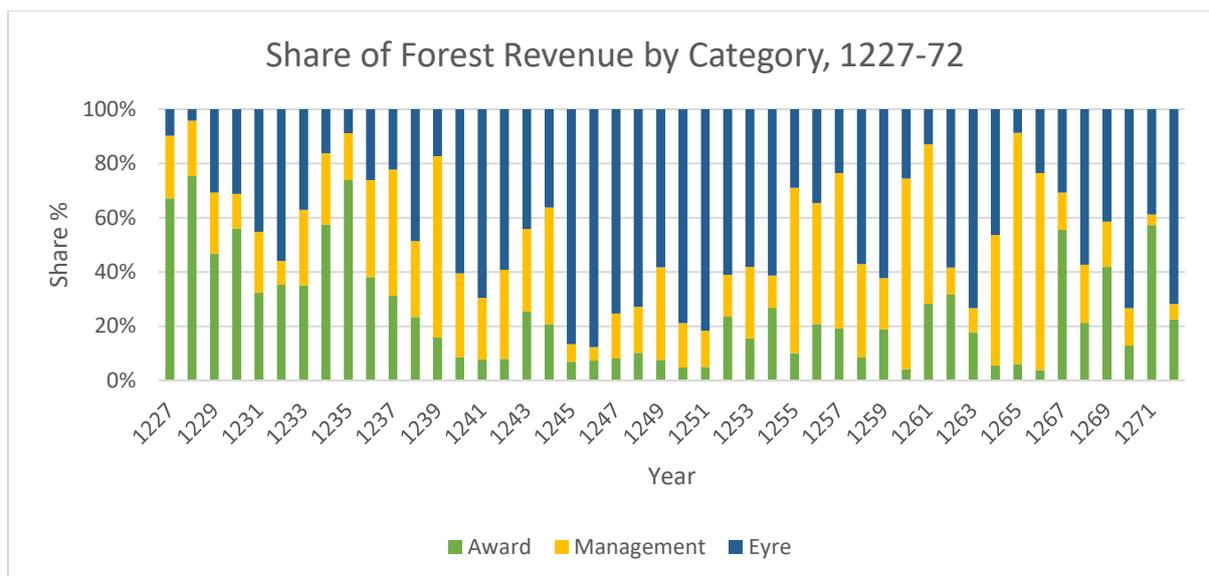


Chart 5.8: Share of Forest Revenue by Category, 1227-72

Revenue Due from the Royal Forest

The analysis so far has concentrated on the revenue that was recorded as paid in either the pipe rolls or the wardrobe accounts. This is consistent with the approach to identifying overall crown revenues that has been adopted by other historians, including Barratt, Cassidy and Collingwood. There has been to date no published study that examines how the revenue received by the crown related to the revenue that was due to it, although Moore has examined the effectiveness of sheriffs in Essex in collecting sums owing to the crown during Henry's reign.⁵⁶⁷ As noted above, Winters has approached this challenge from a different direction by identifying the total amounts due from the forest eyres, but then not examining whether these were collected in practice.

This study has sought to address this challenge by tracking every debt relating to the forest that was recorded between 1227 and 1272 on either the pipe rolls for counties with royal forests or in the wardrobe accounts. This is not a straightforward exercise. As noted earlier, debts due at the exchequer were frequently combined and could be transferred between shire accounts, making it difficult to identify the forest element within them. The structure of individual rolls could also at times, such as during the upheaval of the civil war, become complex and confusing, while a number are damaged and impossible to read. There were also occasional initiatives to clear the pipe rolls of long-outstanding debts.⁵⁶⁸ Consequently, it has not been possible to identify with confidence the

⁵⁶⁷ Moore, 'Government and Locality', pp.97-8, 191, 229.

⁵⁶⁸ On this last point, see Cassidy, *Pipe Rolls*, pp.70-1 and C.A.F. Meekings, 'The Pipe Roll Order of 12 February 1270', in J. Conway Davies (ed.), *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson* (Oxford, 1957), pp.222-253.

ultimate outcome of approximately 5% of the value of all the debts that have been recorded as relating to the royal forest, most of which relates to individually small amounts.

There were three possible outcomes for the remaining 95% of the value of the forest debts that have been identified. These amounts were either paid, outstanding at the end of the reign or were written off, either through a pardon or some recognition that they were not collectable. It should be noted that not all sheriffs presented accounts in 1272 and, in these cases, the last available set of accounts have been assumed as presenting details on the state of debts at the end of the reign. For example, the last set of accounts for the reign from Shropshire and Staffordshire were audited in 1269.⁵⁶⁹ Through this process, this study has identified debts totalling £10,422 that were outstanding at the end of the reign.

The extant sources, primarily the close, patent and fine rolls, record a total of 470 pardons issued by Henry III concerning forest debts during the course of his personal rule, most of which related to amercements arising from the eyres. In 182 cases (39%), there is insufficient detail to link the pardon to a debt recorded in the pipe rolls. It is possible also that some of these pardons were granted at an earlier stage in the legal process before any amercement was formally recorded on either the pipe rolls or supporting documentation such as the estreat rolls. In 288 (61%) of the cases, the pardon can be linked to a debt recorded in the pipe rolls where there is often, although not always, a corresponding entry recording that the sum due had been pardoned. The total value of the pardons granted by Henry III was £9,718. As illustrated in Table 5.3, they accounted for over 13% of total revenue due from the forest.

Debt Outcome	Amount (£)	Share of the Total (%)
Paid	48,886	67.01
Outstanding Michaelmas 1272	10,422	14.28
Pardoned	9,718	13.32
Uncertain	3,932	5.39
Total	72,958	100.00

Table 5.3: Forest Debt Outcomes, 1227-72

The total of the forest revenue collected was £48,886 which is the sum of the income from management, the awards of privileges and the eyres that has been analysed above. This represented 67% of all the forest revenue that was due during this period. There has been no detailed assessment of how much of the sums due from other sources, such as aids, tallages and the sheriff

⁵⁶⁹ TNA, E 372/113, rot. 19d, m. 2 and TNA, E 372/113, rot. 20d, m. 2 accessed online 3 December 2024 [Pipe Roll Table of Contents](#).

farms was collected by Henry III's governments, so there is no reliable comparative data on which to draw to assess the relative effectiveness of the administrative system in collecting forest revenue.

Table 5.4 breaks down these overall figures into the three constituent elements of forest revenue as discussed above. Each of the three elements is then examined in more detail.

Debt Outcome	Management Revenue		Revenue from Awards		Eyre Revenue	
	Amount (£)	Share (%)	Amount (£)	Share (%)	Amount (£)	Share (%)
Paid	12,638	80.55	11,140	71.83	25,108	60.13
Outstanding	1,424	9.08	954	6.15	8,044	19.26
Pardoned	1,153	7.35	2,986	19.25	5,579	13.36
Uncertain	474	3.02	430	2.77	3,028	7.25
Total	15,689	100	15,510	100	41,759⁵⁷⁰	100

Table 5.4: Forest Debt Outcomes by Revenue Category, 1227-72

Management Revenue

The crown appears to have been largely successful in collecting the revenue that is recorded on the pipe rolls as due from its local officials for their management of the forest. As already highlighted in Chapter 2, it successfully collected much of the annual farm revenue that was due to it from the hereditary forest wardens. Overall, almost 81% of the total sums identified as due within the pipe rolls were paid at some point during Henry's reign. Moreover, much of the £1,424 revenue that was outstanding at the end of the reign was either relatively recent or dated from the period of baronial reform and civil war and is indicative of the more general challenge to the effective running of royal government during this period. Of the remainder, the most significant debts were the approximately £75 concerning Hasculf de Neville's farm of Rutland Forest, that had been outstanding since 1236 and the approximately £277 that had been owed by Philip Marmion since 1253 for the sale of hay from the forest in Herefordshire.⁵⁷¹

The greatest challenge for the crown appears to have been obtaining payment for outstanding debts from the heirs of former forest officials who had died. For example, the Yorkshire pipe roll for 1272 records an unpaid amount of £20 relating to Brian de Lisle's farm of Galtres Forest that was linked to a debt that had been outstanding since 1237.⁵⁷² In some cases, it appears to have acknowledged the

⁵⁷⁰ This total is higher than that recorded earlier in Table 5.2 as it includes revenue from eyres undertaken before 1229, but which is recorded as received in the pipe rolls from 1227 onwards.

⁵⁷¹ TNA, E 372/80, rot. 12, m. 2 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/97, rot. 7d, m. 2 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 12d, m. 1; TNA, E 372/116, rot. 7, m. 2.

⁵⁷² TNA, E 372/81, rot. 8, m. 1 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 22d, m. 1 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#).

impossibility of further debt collection. For example, in 1247 Hugh de Loges was pardoned the 80m debt that had built up from 1240 concerning his farm of Cannock Forest.⁵⁷³

Despite these challenges, the crown issued relatively few pardons relating to debts from the management of the forest. They accounted for just twenty-one (7%) of the number of pardons issued and £1,153 (12%) of their overall value. Much of the outstanding value was accounted for by the pardon granted to William Walerand in 1268 concerning £289 from the sale of hay in Herefordshire that had been outstanding since 1253. Indeed, there appears to have been a deliberate decision at both the start of Henry's personal rule and at the end of the reign to write-off certain long-outstanding debts as, in 1228, Hugh de Neville was pardoned over £83 outstanding concerning his farm of Rutland Forest.⁵⁷⁴

Revenue from the Award of Privileges

At first glance, the collection rate for revenue due from the awards of privileges appears less impressive than that for revenue from management of the forest. However, these figures are heavily impacted by the £4,000 (6,000m) fine that was agreed in 1230 with John of Monmouth for the sale and disafforestation of Treville Forest in Herefordshire which was highlighted in the preceding chapter. By the end of the reign, only £876 (22%) of this had been paid. A total of £2,802 (70%) had been pardoned in two separate transactions in 1231 and 1234, while there was a sum of £322 (8%) outstanding at the end of the reign.⁵⁷⁵ There must be some doubt as to whether either party truly expected at the outset that the debt would be paid in full. It is possible that the very large amount for the fine was a throwback to the pattern of royal behaviour seen during John's reign. It is possible also that Monmouth's ability to pay was seriously impacted, as described in Chapter 2, by the losses he sustained during the revolt led by Richard Marshal in 1233.

If the fine for the sale of Treville Forest is excluded, the collection rate for this category of revenue rises to 89%, with just 5% of the value of the debt outstanding at the end of the reign. Part of the reason for the high collection rate was the common practice during the 1250s for the awards of privileges to be granted following receipt of a cash payment into the wardrobe. For example, in

⁵⁷³ TNA, E 372/91, rot. 5d, m. 2 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#).

⁵⁷⁴ TNA, E 372/72, rot. 8d, m.2 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/97, rot. 7d, m. 2 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/112, rot. 10, m. 1 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#).

⁵⁷⁵ *CFR 14/197* accessed online 3 December 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 14 HENRY III \(28 October 1229–27 October 1230\)](#); *CFR 15/281* accessed online 3 December 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 15 HENRY III \(28 October 1230–27 October 1231\)](#); *CFR 19/34* accessed online 3 December 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 19 HENRY III \(28 October 1234–27 October 1235\)](#); *CChR 1226-57*, p.114; *CR 1227-31*, p.296; *PR 1230*, p.222; TNA, E 372/116, rot. 25d, m. 1 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#).

March 1253, the abbot of Stanley Abbey in Wiltshire paid 3.5m of gold into the wardrobe for the privilege of not having his hunting dogs hambled.⁵⁷⁶

The pipe rolls occasionally continued to record long-outstanding debts where the possibility of collection must, by the end of the reign, have been remote. For example, the pipe roll of 1272 continued to record 30m owing from Hugh of Bath since 1233 for the disafforestation of lands in Berkshire. On the other hand, it also successfully pursued debts some years after they originally became due. For example, payment was still being made by the bishop of Durham in 1250 for the disafforestation of the forest between the Ouse and the Derwent that had been granted in 1234.⁵⁷⁷

Excluding the two pardons granted to John of Monmouth, there were twenty-five pardons totalling £184 that were granted concerning debts linked to the award of privileges. The beneficiaries included a number of religious houses such as Wardon Abbey which, in 1253, was pardoned half of the 100m fee that it had entered into in the preceding year for disafforestation of its lands and other privileges in Huntingdonshire. It was allowed to retain the outstanding 50m 'in part recompensation for the damages that the house... suffered in the siege of Bedford Castle.'⁵⁷⁸

Eyre Revenue

As Table 5.4 illustrates, revenue due from the eyres was the largest of the three categories, emphasising the importance the crown placed on enforcement rather than concession as a means of raising income. However, the collection rate for amercements from the forest eyres was noticeably lower than that for the other two sources of revenue. As Young has noted, this was not a new problem as difficulties in collecting eyre revenue were noted in the preceding century. Winters has also highlighted the difficulties of collecting amercements during Henry's reign.⁵⁷⁹ The reasons for the lower collection rate during Henry III's reign can best be explored by examining the success of each separate programme of eyres of converting amercements charged into revenue received. These details are set out in Table 5.5, which includes amercements from the eyres undertaken

⁵⁷⁶ *CFR 37/508* accessed online 3 December 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 37 HENRY III \(28 October 1252–27 October 1253\)](#).

⁵⁷⁷ TNA, E 372/77, rot. 8, m. 2 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/94, rot. 16d, m. 1 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 14, m.2 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); *CFR 17/228* accessed online 3 December 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 17 HENRY III \(28 October 1232–27 October 1233\)](#); *CFR 18/264* accessed online 3 December 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 18 HENRY III \(28 October 1233–27 October 1234\)](#).

⁵⁷⁸ *CFR 37/651* accessed online 3 December 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 37 HENRY III \(28 October 1252–27 October 1253\)](#); TNA, E 372/96, rot. 15d, m. 1 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#).

⁵⁷⁹ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.39-40; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.27-8.

before the start of the 1229 visitation which are omitted from the comparison with the amercements reported by Winters in Table 5.2 above.

Eyre Visitation	Total Amercements £	Average Amercements per county £	% Paid	% Outstanding 1272	% Pardoned	% Uncertain
Pre 1227	1,725	N/A	30	8	53	9
1227-28	74	37.00	84	0	0	16
1229-32	3,105	194.06	77	7	4	12
1236-38	704	140.80	83	0	8	9
1239-44	3,391	188.39	77	7	8	8
1244-52	23,090	1,154.50	67	12	15	6
1255-58	2,689	224.08	58	13	12	17
1262-63	2,967	228.23	49	36	8	7
1269-72	4,014	334.50	12	82	5	1
Total	41,759	N/A	60.13	19.26	13.36	7.25

Table 5.5: Eyre Revenue Collection Rates, 1227-72

Unsurprisingly, the collection rates for eyres held later in the reign are generally lower than for those in the earlier years simply because there was a longer period of time in which the crown could take action to ensure payment. Indeed, there is an almost constant rate of decline in collection rates with each subsequent programme of eyres from 1236 onwards. The particularly low collection rate for the final programme of eyres is heavily impacted by a small number of very large amercements levied during the Gloucestershire eyre of 1270 and which are recorded as outstanding in the pipe rolls two years later.⁵⁸⁰ The other particularly low collection rate concerned the debts that appear in the pipe rolls as outstanding from before 1227 and, in some cases, from John's reign. As is discussed in more detail below, this is largely attributable to the very high level of pardons that were awarded. Notwithstanding the unsurprisingly lower collection rates of later eyres, the results in the table indicate that Henry's governments found it increasingly difficult over the course of the reign to convert amercements charged at the eyres into cash that was received.

The watershed appears to have been the eyres of 1224-52. In April 1244, as part of a broader set of initiatives to generate revenue, the king commissioned detailed inquiries into unlicensed assarts and purprestures in the royal forest. These helped inform the programme of eyres that began at the end

⁵⁸⁰ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.270-2; TNA, E 372/115, rot. 2d, m.1 - m. 2 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 24d, m. 1 – m. 2 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#).

of the year, which also included an examination of abuses by local foresters at the suggestion of Robert Passelewe. The eyres were initially concentrated geographically in the South of the country but, following Passelewe's replacement as chief justice in 1250 by Geoffrey de Langley, were then rolled out in the North too.⁵⁸¹ As Table 5.5 demonstrates, the eyres generated substantial revenue for the crown, both in total amercements and in the average per county which far exceeded previous levels. However, the eyres also resulted in a particularly high level of pardons and large debts that were still outstanding at the end of the reign. It would therefore appear that not only did the imposition of the amercements result in considerable hardship as described by Matthew Paris, but also high levels of successful avoidance.⁵⁸² Collection may have also been made more difficult as a result of the declining status of the sheriffs, as discussed in Chapter 2. It will have also been made more challenging by the changing composition of the overall sums that sheriffs were required to collect following the eyres. While there are relatively few extant estreat rolls before 1255, three from 1240-1 for Northamptonshire, Northumberland and Oxfordshire show that sheriffs were, on average, required to collect 270 amercements with an individual value of £0.46. Two surviving similar rolls from eyres led by Geoffrey de Langley in 1249-50 in Rutland and Shropshire show that, while the average amercement value had more than doubled to £1.00, the average number of debts to be collected had almost quadrupled to 1,071. The plea roll for the Derbyshire eyre covering the Peak Forest in 1250 also records over 1,000 entries.⁵⁸³

Later eyres generated far smaller levels of total amercements, although the average per county continued to be at levels considerably above those of the pre-1244 eyres. However, the crown continued to struggle to achieve the kind of collection rates it had enjoyed earlier in the reign and resorted much more to granting pardons. Overall, eyre amercements accounted for 415 (88%) of the total number of pardons and £5,579 (57%) of their value. These later difficulties in collecting eyre amercements may, in part, be the result of an ongoing legacy of avoidance and resistance generated by the unpopular eyres of 1244-52. They are probably also a reflection of the upheaval to the administration of government as a result of the baronial campaign for reform and subsequent civil war, as highlighted earlier.

Pardons

Given that pardons accounted for over 13% of all revenue that was due from the forest (Table 5.3 above), they are worth examining in more detail. Chart 5.9 shows by year both the number and the

⁵⁸¹ See Chapter 2 for further details on these eyres.

⁵⁸² *MP IV*, pp.400-1, 426-7; *MP V*, pp.136-7.

⁵⁸³ These figures are calculated from the information included in Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.174-6, 178-9, 192-6, 198-203.

value of all 470 forest debts that Henry III pardoned. As noted above, most of these related to eyre amercements. The total also includes debts that were formally written off without evidence of a pardon being issued.

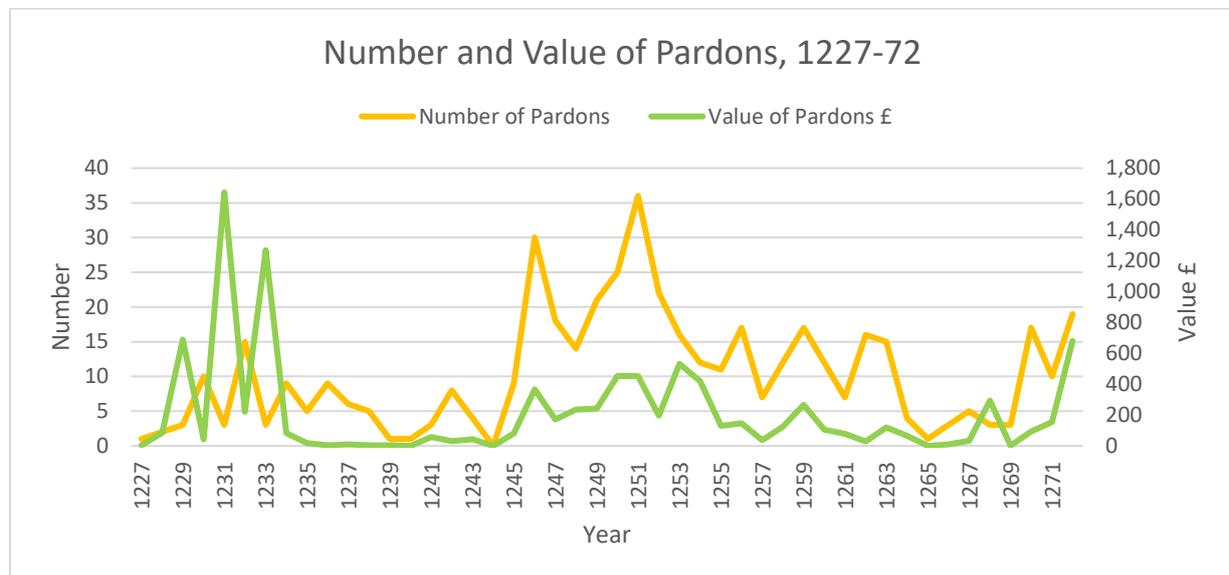


Chart 5.9: Number and Value of Pardons, 1227-72

Debt pardons represented a conscious decision on the part of the crown and were clearly not taken lightly. They can be seen alongside gifts and the awards of privileges as another element of a concessionary approach by Henry’s governments concerning the royal forest.

As demonstrated above, Henry’s government was prepared to pursue some debts many years after they first became due, sometimes with success, and was reluctant in many cases to acknowledge the unlikelihood of being paid. This is clear also from the pardons that were granted. Only a small number of these concerned long-outstanding debts. In most cases, the pardon was granted either very soon after the debt was initially incurred or within a few years of that. As the above chart illustrates, there were notable increases in the number of pardons granted that can be correlated to the timing of all major forest eyre visitations.

A number of explanations can be suggested to help interpret the pattern of the grant of pardons. In some cases, the crown was prepared to acknowledge that the legal process had resulted in an unfair amercement. For example, in November 1241, Agatha de Trussebut was pardoned the 5m that she had been wrongly amerced during the forest eyre in Northamptonshire in the preceding year.⁵⁸⁴ Even if it did not acknowledge mistakes, Henry’s government does at times seem to have recognised when eyres may have been excessively punitive. This helps to explain the very large number of

⁵⁸⁴ CR 1237-42, p.372; Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.174-5.

pardons granted throughout, and shortly after, the notorious visitation of 1244-52. It is rarely apparent how individual cases came to be heard and acted upon by government administration. It may have been the result of direct lobbying of royal officials or as the result of an intercession by an individual at court.

The granting of pardons should also be seen at times within a political context and the likelihood that there was capital to be gained from such acts of royal grace. This is particularly the case during three periods when above-average numbers of pardons were awarded. In the early years of his personal rule, Henry III granted relatively large numbers of pardons, some of which were of considerable value. For example, in 1232 St Albans Abbey was pardoned 300m owing from John's reign concerning a forest offence in Yorkshire.⁵⁸⁵ As Table 5.5 above demonstrates, very few of these related to the recent eyres. Instead, most of these pardons concerned debts incurred during the minority and, more especially, the reign of his father and therefore signalled a break with an unpopular past. They may also have been a response in part to the anger generated by Henry's decision to overturn the perambulations and proposed disafforestations of the later years of his minority, which is covered in more detail in the next chapter. It is possible also that they were attempts to build political capital during the period of unrest associated with the fall of Hubert de Burgh, the government of Peter des Roches and the revolt led by Richard Marshal.

There was secondly a short, but nevertheless notable, increase in the number of pardons granted during 1262 and 1263. This was most likely a response in part to the programme of eyres undertaken during those years. However, they can also be viewed as efforts by the king to secure political capital as the country increasingly descended into civil war.

The third period when grants of pardons can be linked to political events are the final years of Henry's reign. The eyres of 1269-72 resulted directly in relatively few pardons. The sharp increase in both the number and value of pardons can instead be largely attributed to two significant political developments. It is firstly possible to view them as part of the measures taken more generally by Henry's government to restore peace and stability in the aftermath of the recent civil war. Secondly, they may also have been partly an attempt to signal the arrival of a new era with the anticipated end of Henry's reign and the impending succession by his son, the Lord Edward.

⁵⁸⁵ TNA, E 372/76, rot. 16, m. 1 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); M. Clasby, 'The Abbot, the Royal Will and Magna Carta: the amercement of the Abbot of St Albans for non-attendance at the common summons of the Yorkshire Forest Eyre in 1212' accessed online 8 May 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: Fine of the Month: September 2009](#).

Finally, there is evidence also in the award of pardons of the personal priorities and predilections of the king himself. One of the frequent and growing contemporary criticisms of his rule was the leniency he showed towards his magnates and there is evidence of this in the award of his pardons for forest offences.⁵⁸⁶ Approximately 20% of the pardons he granted went to earls, barons and senior lords. As David Crouch has noted, Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester was an avid hunter. In addition to establishing deer parks and hunting grounds across his extensive estates, the pipe rolls show that he was prosecuted for forest offences on at least seven occasions between 1231 and 1250, incurring amercements totalling almost £209. While he paid just over £122 (58%) of the total, he received two pardons from the king for the balance. In 1246, the Huntingdonshire pipe roll records that he was pardoned 110m of a £100 amercement relating to both venison and vert offences. Six years later, he was pardoned 20m of a 60m fine for trespass offences in Nottinghamshire for which he was prosecuted at the 1250 eyre. Additionally, Quincy was granted privileges concerning assarts and hunting rights within the forest and was the recipient of forty-seven gifts of deer and timber between 1227 and his death in 1264.⁵⁸⁷

As noted elsewhere in this thesis, Henry III's approach towards the royal forest was also frequently influenced by his piety. For example, in May 1269 he was moved by compassion to pardon the nuns of Bromhall Priory for a trespass they had committed in taking wood illegally from Windsor Forest to repair buildings that had recently been damaged by fire.⁵⁸⁸ In total, 31% of the recipients of pardons for forest offences were either members of the clergy, or religious or charitable houses. As noted in the preceding chapter, this category of beneficiary accounted for a similar share of the combined royal grants of forest gifts and privileges. The evidence of the award of pardons suggests therefore that these were not simply financial transactions divorced from the political context in which they were taken or from the personal priorities of the king.

Revenue Maximisation and the Royal Forest

There is plenty of evidence to support the argument that the crown viewed the royal forest as a valuable source of revenue. Apart from the regular recurring income that it was due to receive from

⁵⁸⁶ This is covered in detail in D. Carpenter, 'King, Magnates, and Society: The Personal Rule of King Henry III, 1234-1258', *Speculum* 60 (1985), pp.39-70.

⁵⁸⁷ TNA, E 372/90, rot. 6d, m. 2 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/96, rot. 1d, m. 1 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); *CFR 35/175* accessed online 3 December 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 35 HENRY III \(28 October 1250–27 October 1251\)](#); *CChR 1226-57*, pp.140, 216; *CR 1242-47*, p.345; *CR 1247-51*, p.415. D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London, 1992), pp.308-9; R. Oram, 'Quincy, Roger de, earl of Winchester (c. 1195–1264), constable of Scotland', *ODNB* (2023) accessed online 10 December 2025 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22966>. Details of the amercements and of the gifts of deer and timber are taken from the databases described in Appendix B.

⁵⁸⁸ *CR 1268-72*, p.51.

its forest officials, it occasionally launched initiatives to sell wood, sometimes at the risk of causing severe damage to the sustainability of the forest. Alongside that, it sold forest privileges in sufficient numbers that, as Table 5.4 illustrates, the overall revenue due was similar to that from the management of the forest. As noted in Chapter 2, a number of its reforms to the administration of the forest, including the establishment of two separate chief justice roles, can be attributed to its desire to generate greater revenue. Additionally, it undertook programmes of forest eyres at generally regular frequency and, at times, determination in the face of the odds, such as the visitation undertaken in 1262-3 in the run-up to the outbreak of civil war. There are many cases when it was prepared to pursue long-outstanding debts, including those that passed between generations of the original debtor's family, to secure the sums owing to it.

It is, however, arguable that Henry's governments could have done more administratively to maximise their revenue from the royal forest. The eyres were uneven in their impact, with Oxfordshire receiving seven during the period of Henry's personal rule, but Lancashire only one.⁵⁸⁹ Some debts were recorded as outstanding for many years after they became due and, while there are few remaining records of the actions taken by the crown to recover them, the impression in some cases is of an administrative machine that was not always clear of the situation or of its own intentions. For example, Ralph de Tony was amerced 5m at the Cumberland eyre of 1231, although he subsequently accounted for the debt in the Essex pipe rolls. The sum was outstanding at the time of his death around 1239/40. As late as 1272, the pipe roll continued to record the debt as outstanding in his name.⁵⁹⁰ While collection rates may be expected to be lower concerning eyre debts, the nevertheless relatively high levels of uncollected sums relating to both the sale of privileges and, more significantly, the management of the forest, suggest that this was a bureaucratic machine that did not always operate smoothly and efficiently.

Perhaps more fundamental than the issue of bureaucratic efficiency is the question of whether Henry III's governments consistently prioritised the maximisation of forest revenues. While it appears that they did particularly during the late 1240s and early 1250s, the evidence of this and preceding chapters is that this was not always the case. The analysis of the pardons granted by the king suggests that other priorities, both political and personal, worked counter to any unrelenting focus on revenue maximisation. As discussed in Chapter 2, the apparent leniency with which Henry's government responded to the failure of some forest officials to present financial accounts suggests that, at times, patronage and political priorities were of greater importance than receiving revenue.

⁵⁸⁹ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.433, 438-9.

⁵⁹⁰ TNA, E 372/75, rot. 10, m. 1 accessed online 3 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.168-9; Sanders, *English Baronies*, p.117.

As also shown in Chapter 2, when the crown had the opportunity to reform the management of the forests in 1237 and 1250 to generate additional revenue, it chose not to do so. Similarly, the examination of the awards of privileges in the preceding chapter highlights that many were granted without any expectation of a fine being paid.

Finally, it is possible that Henry's governments took the view ultimately that generating revenue from the forest was simply too much effort for relatively limited reward. In that respect, they would have been conscious of the political backlash that resulted from John's efforts to raise revenue from the forest. In particular, the forest eyres had the potential to generate the kind of hostility expressed by Matthew Paris and may have shown, through the declining collection rates after the 1244-52 visitation, that there were limits to what the country was prepared and able to pay.

Conclusions

A complex, somewhat paradoxical picture emerges from this study of forest revenue during the period of Henry III's personal rule. The evidence suggests that the role of the forest as a revenue generator was quantitatively greater than previously identified by historians, but at the same time it was not as important as suggested by forest historians such as Young and Grant. As a share of total crown revenues, the forest was generally relatively minor, while other sources generated much higher levels of income.

While there is plenty of evidence that revenue generation was a key function of the forest during Henry's reign, this should not be overstated. In policy terms, Henry's governments only partially revised the levels of rent due from its forest wardens and did not seek a payment for the majority of the privileges that it granted. When fines for privileges were agreed, they were usually at lower levels than under John. Additionally, the frequency of forest eyres was uneven, particularly in the North.

Administratively, the record of Henry's governments also demonstrate revenue generation was not its sole concern. In particular, non-hereditary forest wardens were frequently able to avoid either accounting or making payments for their custodies. This was doubtless in part due to administrative inefficiencies, but it also probably reflects the influence of other factors.

There were broadly four other factors beyond revenue generation that impacted upon both policy and administration. The evidence from both this and preceding chapters emphasises the importance of the royal forest as a source of patronage serving to dilute the focus on revenue generation. This was reinforced by Henry's use of the royal forest at times to secure political capital at the expense of raising income. The king's deep personal piety similarly meant that he was frequently prepared to

ignore revenue considerations in showing his support for a wide range of religious and charitable houses. Finally, the generally modest sums required for fines and the annual farms and the readiness to award pardons for eyre amercements show a sensitivity on the part of Henry's governments to the historic role of the royal forest as a toxic political issue and a desire to avoid a repeat of the mistakes of his father.

Chapter 6: The Royal Forest as a Political Issue, 1227-72

Introduction

Henry III was the first English ruler to oversee the royal forest within the constraints imposed by the Forest Charter.⁵⁹¹ As noted previously, there is currently a gap in the historiography of both the politics of Henry's reign and of the royal forest during this period about the extent to which there was continued opposition to the latter, the reasons for that and how it was expressed. The purpose of this chapter is to address that gap and, in doing so, consider the validity of assumptions that the royal forest was inherently a source of conflict between the crown and the political community. In particular, it assesses the role of the royal forest in the most serious challenge to Henry's rule in the form of the baronial movement for reform and the subsequent civil war between 1258 and 1267.

Much of the evidence for addressing these questions can be drawn from extant government records. Additionally, the contemporary or near-contemporary monastic chronicles occasionally provide further details and insights to inform a discussion on the extent to which the royal forest was a political issue during Henry's personal rule.

The chapter commences with a brief review of previous considerations of political conflict concerning the royal forest under Henry III. It then examines the extent and the nature of the political opposition to the royal forest in the period until 1258, followed by a study of its role in the baronial reform movement. It then concludes with a reassessment of the extent to which the royal forest was a political issue between 1227 and 1272.

Relevant Historiography

Historians of the thirteenth-century royal forest have viewed it as a source of inevitable conflict between the crown and political society. For Grant, 'forest law was universally hated because of the penalties and restrictions it imposed on all classes of the king's subjects.' Emphasising the universality of ingrained opposition to the 'hated system' of the forest, he argued that 'from the twelfth century onward a bitter and determined struggle was carried on between crown and people for its abolition.' While John made concessions by granting disafforestations in return for large fines,

⁵⁹¹ A translated version of the text of the Forest Charter can be found in Rothwell, *English Historical Documents*, pp.337-9. For useful commentaries on the Forest Charter, see Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, pp.176-7; Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.6, 9, 12, 13, 22, 40, 42, 47, 60; Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.xl, xlviii, lxxvi, lxxv, lxxvi, lxxxii, lxxxiii, xciii; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.64-5, 67-70, 84, 85, 87, 89, 90, 98; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.35-7, 43-4, 55, 62, 103, 108, 138-9; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.10, 44; Stacey, *Politics*, pp.4-5, 7-8.

the royal forest had become significant enough as a political issue to feature prominently in the list of baronial grievances that formed the basis in 1215 of Magna Carta.⁵⁹²

Young's tone is more measured and his argument slightly different, but he still saw the royal forest as a source of inevitable political tension. For him, discontent with the royal forests and how they were being administered was 'nothing new' in John's reign. Accordingly, the demands for reform that were articulated in Magna Carta 'were responses to the entire Angevin forest system.' For Young, it was the forest eyre of 1212, the fines for disafforestation and the abuses of local forest officials under John that were the catalysts that 'insured that the royal forest would become a political issue.' Unlike Grant, however, he argued that the baronial reformers of 1215 were not seeking abolition of the forest system but rather bringing about its return to 'the "good customs" of an earlier period.' Magna Carta and the subsequent Forest Charter did not resolve these concerns and consequently 'the forest as a political issue had entered English history and was to remain an issue until the fourteenth century.' In particular, 'the question of the extent of the forest was one in which the interests of the barons and the crown were fundamentally opposed.'⁵⁹³

Although Grant and Young are united in their view that, by the time that Henry reached his majority in 1227, the royal forest was firmly established as an inevitable source of political tension, they pay relatively little attention to its role in the subsequent political events of his reign. Grant limits his focus to the frequent financial difficulties that the king faced and how he sought to address them through both awards of disafforestation and the enforcement of the eyres, particularly those led by Robert Passelewe and Geoffrey de Langley between 1244 and 1252.⁵⁹⁴ Young's examination of the political impact of the forest during the period of Henry's personal rule largely concludes with the confirmation of the Forest Charter in 1237.⁵⁹⁵

Additionally, neither historian gives a detailed account and analysis of the role of the forest during the most difficult political challenge of Henry III's reign, namely the baronial movement for reform and the subsequent civil war between 1258 and 1267. Young has argued that, until the mid-fourteenth century, the forest 'remained unresolved and festering beneath the surface of other issues' and that therefore its role as a "'sleeper"' issue emerged during the struggle between the barons and King Henry III in the decade after 1258 without ever becoming a major point of contention.⁵⁹⁶ In contrast, Grant argued that it was Henry III's failure to address concerns about the

⁵⁹² Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.133-8, 140.

⁵⁹³ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.60-1, 64-73.

⁵⁹⁴ Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.145-52.

⁵⁹⁵ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.71-3.

⁵⁹⁶ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.135-6.

forest that meant that grievances against it 'featured prominently' in the baronial petition of June 1258. However, once in the ascendancy, the reformers followed 'a cautious policy' concerning the forest, although the reasons for this are not then explored.⁵⁹⁷

As discussed in Chapter 1, political historians of Henry's reign have tended to give only limited attention to the royal forest. Of the more recent studies, David Carpenter has highlighted the tensions created by the king's decisions to revisit the extent of the forest in 1227, as discussed below. However, the royal forest rarely features in his subsequent examination of the baronial reform movement and civil war. Adrian Jobson similarly does not place much emphasis upon the royal forest during the period of upheaval between 1258 and 1267.⁵⁹⁸

The Royal Forest as a Political Issue, 1227-58

The Extent of the Forest and the Uprising of 1227

The first clause of the Forest Charter of 1217 required that all forests created by Henry II should be inspected and that any woods that he afforested, except his own demesne woods, were to be disafforested.⁵⁹⁹ This was the basis for a protracted political struggle during Henry III's minority between his government and local communities over both the interpretation and the practical implementation of the clause. In 1225, in return for the great council's agreement to an aid, Henry's government issued new versions of Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forest, and approved perambulations that would have resulted in extensive disafforestations across the country. The contemporary chronicler, Roger of Wendover, rejoiced at the prospects presented by such extensive curtailment of the bounds of the forest. By contrast, the king and his chief minister, Hubert de Burgh, were aggrieved at the outcome which they thought resulted from concessions that were unreasonable and that they had granted under duress. It was also generally understood that no permanent grants or alienations of royal rights or property could be made until the king came of age. While Henry's government approved the concessions, the king also stated at the time, in relation to a controversial perambulation in Dorset, that he intended to require revisions at a later, more opportune date.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁷ Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.152-3.

⁵⁹⁸ Carpenter, *Henry III, 1207-58*; Carpenter, *Henry III, 1258-72*; Jobson, *English Revolution*.

⁵⁹⁹ Rothwell, *English Historical Documents*, p.338.

⁶⁰⁰ H.G. Hewlett (ed.), *Rogeri de Wendover Liber Qui Dicitur Flores Historiarum, Volume II* (London, 1887), pp.282-3, 286, 318-9; *AM Tewkesbury*, p.68; *AM Burton*, pp.232-6; *AM Waverley*, p.300; Carpenter, *Minority*, pp.62-3, 89-91, 145, 150-1, 168-9, 180-2, 191, 382-5, 387, 391-3; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.30-2, 38-9, 44, 51-2, 58, 64; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.70-3; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.137-42; Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.xciii-xcix; Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, pp.417-29; D. Crook, 'Roger of Wendover, Prior of Belvoir and the Implementation of the Charter of the Forest, 1225-7', in Crook and Wilkinson (eds.), *Royal Government*,

Accordingly, one of Henry's first acts after declaring the end of his minority in January 1227 was to challenge the 1225 forest perambulations. Both Bazeley and Carpenter have described and analysed what then transpired, although the former's account has some errors that have a bearing upon how the events are interpreted. It is therefore worth revisiting the events of early 1227 in some detail.⁶⁰¹

Henry III assumed full power on 9 January 1227. On the following day, his government ordered that the knights who had undertaken the perambulations in 1225 in Shropshire, Rutland, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire should come before him to show why they had disafforested parts of the forest that had been afforested before the reign of Henry II, and why they had disafforested certain royal demesne lands and woods. Henry's initial challenge to the 1225 perambulations was therefore quite limited in its geographical scope and Bazeley is mistaken to suggest that 'in all other forest counties a revision was ordered by Henry on attaining his majority in 1227,' something that Stacey echoed in commenting that 'among Henry III's first acts...was to order a complete review of all the disafforestations.'⁶⁰² In fact, the next wave of challenges, along the lines of the first, was not issued until 8 February when the perambulators in Hampshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Huntingdonshire were required to report back in March.⁶⁰³ At about the same time, the knights from the initial wave of counties duly came before the king, acknowledging errors in the perambulations they had undertaken in 1225 and seeking royal forgiveness. Henry accordingly directed that the forests in Leicestershire and Rutland should be returned to the boundaries that existed before the 1225 perambulation, while Nottinghamshire was to be subject to further review. The date of the letters confirming the errors of these perambulations is 9 February, but it is quite possible that the knights appeared before the king before then and that the outcome influenced the decision to extend the challenge to the next four counties.⁶⁰⁴

pp.169-71. D. Crook, 'The Struggle over Forest Boundaries in Nottinghamshire, 1218-1227', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire* 83 (1979), pp.35-45 provides a detailed description of the interactions between the local community and Henry's government concerning disafforestation in one county during the minority.

⁶⁰¹ Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.149-53; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.64-5, 68-70; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.71-3; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.142-5; Powicke, *King Henry III*, pp.71-2; Crook, 'Struggle', pp.39-40; Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.xcvii-ci provides the most detailed account of the actions taken by Henry's government in 1227 and 1228 to challenge the 1225 perambulations.

⁶⁰² *RLC II*, p.206; Turner, *Select Pleas*, p.xcix; Bazeley, 'Extent', p.149; Stacey, *Politics*, p.8; Crook, 'Struggle', p.39. Bazeley excludes from her list the counties of Sussex, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, Northumberland and Buckinghamshire but the implication of her statement is that Henry's initial challenge applied to all other counties.

⁶⁰³ *RLC II*, p.206; Turner, *Select Pleas*, p.xcix.

⁶⁰⁴ *RLC II*, pp.169, 207-9; *CPR 1225-32*, pp.109-10; Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.xcix-xc; Crook, 'Struggle', p.39. Shropshire was included in the first wave of counties but there is no record of the outcome. As noted later, it was included in a third wave of reviews in August. Turner states that the perambulators of Huntingdonshire reported back on 9 February which seems highly unlikely if they were only challenged on the preceding day. No satisfactory explanation can be provided for this anomaly other than the likelihood, as suggested by the

While Henry and Hubert de Burgh's actions in these initial challenges of the 1225 perambulations were a strong assertion of royal authority, they were more measured and cautious than has occasionally been portrayed by historians. There is nothing in the sources, for example, to support Grant's suggestion that the perambulators were induced, 'probably by threats of amercement and imprisonment,' to acknowledge their previous errors.⁶⁰⁵

Moreover, the king and Hubert de Burgh did not overturn all the results of the 1225 perambulations. There is no formal record of the outcome of the challenges in the second wave to the perambulations of Berkshire and Oxfordshire. However, in the case of the former, Henry granted a charter in May 1227 that disafforested a large part of the county in line with the perambulation of 1225 in return for a fine of 230m. It would therefore appear that the 1225 perambulation was allowed to stand and Bazeley has concluded the same concerning Oxfordshire, although the timing of the latter is not clear and there is no evidence of payment of a fine.⁶⁰⁶ By July 1227, therefore, Henry III had confirmed at least one of the 1225 perambulations while overturning three more and returning the forests to their previous boundaries. The Nottinghamshire perambulation of 1225 had been overturned, but no final decision was seemingly reached concerning its boundaries until August.⁶⁰⁷

It was at this time that the royal forest appears to have briefly become a political issue. In July, Henry's younger brother Richard of Cornwall revolted against the king and quickly drew support from a number of leading magnates. While the origins of the revolt lay in magnate irritation at the uneven distribution of royal patronage towards the circle of Hubert de Burgh, and specifically the perceived failure to provide adequately for Richard of Cornwall, the earls sought to broaden their support in part by championing opposition to the revisions to forest boundaries and complaints about sheriffs breaching Magna Carta. The crisis quickly blew over, largely because of concessions made by Henry to the individual magnates, although none of these concerned the forest.⁶⁰⁸

It appears that the earls sought to exploit local grievances concerning the forest rather than that they were motivated themselves by opposition to Henry's challenge to the 1225 perambulations.

date of the entry in the patent rolls, that the Huntingdonshire perambulators came before the king, as initially required, in March 1227.

⁶⁰⁵ Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.143.

⁶⁰⁶ *CChR1226-57*, p.39; *CFR11/229* accessed online 27 November 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 11 HENRY III \(28 October 1226–27 October 1227\)](#); Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.150, 151, 152, 167. Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.64 is therefore mistaken in suggesting that the perambulators in Berkshire and Oxfordshire admitted to errors.

⁶⁰⁷ Crook, 'Struggle', pp.39-40.

⁶⁰⁸ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.68-70; Moore, 'Crisis of 1227'; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp.10-4; M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307* (2nd edition, Oxford, 1962), pp.71-2; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.71.

Certainly, the uprising did not result in any change in government policy towards the forest. If anything, Henry's government appears to have been emboldened. On 13 August, very shortly after the end of the crisis, letters were sent to sixteen sheriffs whose counties included royal forests along the same lines of those issued in the first wave of challenges in January. Contrary to the impression given by historians, it was therefore only after the earls' uprising that the government completed its programme of challenging the outcomes of the 1225 perambulations.⁶⁰⁹ Even then, the list of perambulations to be reviewed excluded those for Northumberland, Derbyshire, Warwickshire and Buckinghamshire where it would seem that the government was content to accept the 1225 perambulations. Also excluded were Leicestershire, Rutland, Huntingdonshire and Berkshire where, as noted above, a resolution concerning their boundaries had been reached earlier in the year.⁶¹⁰

The actions of Henry's government in these months therefore appear cautious and measured. While it was prepared to insist on the preservation of old forest boundaries where it believed it was right to do so, it was equally prepared to concede and compromise in other cases. It is reasonable, therefore, to express doubt about whether its actions generated the level of opposition suggested by the earls' uprising. The primary source describing the events of these months is the chronicle of Roger of Wendover.⁶¹¹ There are, however, three reasons for doubting his assertion that opposition to the revision of the 1225 perambulations was an important factor behind the uprising.

Firstly, as Noel Denholm-Young has indicated, Wendover was an unreliable narrator who described Henry's actions concerning the forest 'in an exaggerated form', while Young concluded that his account of the events of 1227 was 'rather garbled.' Both Denholm-Young and Tony Moore have also identified problems with the timeline described by Wendover.⁶¹² As already noted, Wendover was also an enthusiastic supporter of disafforestation, so it is unsurprising that he opposed the actions taken by Henry's government in the first few months of 1227. His resentment was probably even greater as he was, at that time, the prior of Belvoir Priory which held lands in Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire and Rutland, precisely the counties that featured in the first wave of royal challenge

⁶⁰⁹ *RLC II*, p.212-3; Turner, *Select Pleas*, p.c. Turner states that letters were sent to 17 sheriffs, but the entry in the published close rolls shows that the entry for Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire as crossed out. Also included in the list was Shropshire which had been one of the original four counties challenged by Henry III in January 1227. Its inclusion in the list in August suggests that no resolution had been reached by that time. Also included from the second wave were Hampshire and Oxfordshire, again suggesting that no resolution had been reached by that time. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp.11-12, has challenged Wendover's timeline for the events of the summer, suggesting that the reconciliation between the king and his brother took place on 11 August rather than 3 August. Even so, the meeting predates the despatch of the third wave of letters challenging the 1225 perambulations.

⁶¹⁰ Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.c-ci.

⁶¹¹ *Wendover II*, pp.318-22.

⁶¹² Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp.10-4; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.71; Moore, 'Crisis of 1227.'

to the 1225 perambulations. As David Crook has shown, the priory had a record of amercements at forest eyres and Wendover was probably personally responsible for amercements levied as recently as 1225.⁶¹³ Finally, the only other chronicler to mention the uprising is that of Bermondsey Abbey who states that the primary focus of the uprising was to secure the dismissal of Hubert de Burgh, and who makes no reference to the royal forest.⁶¹⁴

Following the more extensive challenge to the 1225 perambulations in August 1227, there were more specific letters issued in January 1228 to the sheriffs of Surrey and Warwickshire, before final decisions were reached by Henry's government in April of that year. The final outcomes were a complex mix of decisions, indicating that, overall, a compromise was reached. Of twenty-five counties with royal forests within them, ten, and possibly also Buckinghamshire and Northumberland, reverted to the pre-1225 boundaries and therefore had no disafforestation. In the cases of Leicestershire, Worcestershire and Yorkshire, the pre-1225 boundaries were initially enforced, but later disafforestations were approved, perhaps indicating, as Bazeley has suggested, that Henry 'was not very sure of his ground'. In the other ten counties, disafforestations to a greater or lesser extent were approved by Henry's government. The last major adjustment to forest boundaries was in Leicestershire in 1235 when almost all the county was disafforested for a fine of 200m.⁶¹⁵ After that, ad hoc disafforestations were approved throughout the remainder of Henry's personal rule and even as late as 1272, when William de Wintershull's manor of Estle in Bere Forest was disafforested in recognition of his good service. As Bazeley has noted, there were other occasional adjustments to forest boundaries before 1258 that both brought areas under forest law but also resulted in further disafforestations.⁶¹⁶

There is a broad consensus amongst historians that the lasting effect of the challenge to the 1225 perambulations during 1227 and 1228 was simmering resentment against the king, particularly amongst the knightly class in local communities. Despite that, there is little to suggest any further action was taken before the baronial movement of reform to challenge the outcomes reached in April 1228. Young is alone in suggesting that 'the barons did not accept this reversal' and took action in January 1237 when they required Henry to confirm Magna Carta and the Forest Charter in return

⁶¹³ Crook, 'Roger of Wendover', pp.174-7.

⁶¹⁴ *AM Bermondsey*, p.456.

⁶¹⁵ *CR 1227-31*, p.90; *CR 1234-37*, p.51; *CChR 1226-57*, p.193; *CFR 19/47*, *CFR 19/48*, *CFR 19/146* accessed online 9 December 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 19 HENRY III \(28 October 1234–27 October 1235\)](#); Bazeley, 'Extent', p.149 seems to have overlooked the letter to the sheriff of Warwickshire and is therefore mistaken in suggesting that there was no evidence of government action concerning the county. Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.149-53 provides a very helpful summary of the final outcomes, as do Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.64, 70, Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.71-3 and Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.142-3.

⁶¹⁶ *CChR 1257-1300*, p.179; Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.153-5.

for the tax of a thirtieth. However, that confirmation did not result in any further amendments to forest boundaries.⁶¹⁷

In relation specifically to the 1227 challenges to the perambulations, Turner concluded that ‘people who had enjoyed complete immunity from the forest laws would resent their reimposition, whether it was just or not.’ Stacey has stated that Henry’s actions inspired ‘much popular ill will’ and ‘aroused much ill feeling’ while simultaneously the matter of the forest boundaries ‘was never fully resolved.’ Denholm-Young has similarly stated that Henry’s actions ‘remained a grievance throughout the century,’ while Maddicott has argued that ‘there is no doubt about the sense of grievance which Henry’s actions produced...[they] generated a passive resentment which lasted much longer.’ Carpenter, to a greater extent than most other historians, has emphasised that the outcome of the reviews of 1227 and 1228 was a ‘compromise,’ but he has also stated that ‘the events rankled for a long time’ and that ‘the bitterness over these events lingered.’⁶¹⁸ Against the background of this accepted narrative, it would be reasonable to have expected the reformers of 1258 to have focused on the royal forest as a major area for attention. The extent to which they did in practice is examined later in this chapter.

Local Forest Abuses

Alongside the hostility generated by the eyre of 1212 and the large fines demanded by John for disafforestations, one of the reasons why the royal forest became a pressing political issue in the final years of his reign were the allegations of abuses by his forest officials at the local level.⁶¹⁹ This helps to explain some of the clauses that were included in the Forest Charter of 1217, including the limits on the numbers of foresters, the requirement that no forester except a forester in fee could charge cheminage and that no warden of a castle could hold forest pleas.⁶²⁰ Despite the provisions within the Charter and, as discussed below, the king’s repeated commitments to uphold it, there is plenty of evidence of complaints about alleged or real abuses committed by local foresters during the period of Henry III’s personal rule.

Appendix H provides details for each of the thirty-one years of Henry III’s personal rule between 1227 and 1258 of complaints and concerns that were raised about the activities of local forest officials. The scale and regularity of royal concerns about local forester abuses is also reflected in the

⁶¹⁷ Young, *Royal Forests*, p.73.

⁶¹⁸ Turner, *Select Pleas*, p.ci; Stacey, *Politics*, pp.7-8, 35, 257; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.70; D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066-1284* (London, 2003), p.309; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p.13; Maddicott, ‘Magna Carta’, p.39.

⁶¹⁹ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.26-7, 42-3, 61; Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, pp.176-7.

⁶²⁰ Rothwell, *English Historical Documents*, pp.338-40.

presence of a pro forma letter to that effect within a contemporary formulary.⁶²¹ Many of these involved some sort of royal intervention to prevent or correct the alleged abuse or risk of it. It is not always clear how, in the absence of a formal process, such complaints reached the king. In some cases, it would appear that Henry made himself directly available to hear the concerns of local people. For example, on his journey north in December 1229, he stayed at the royal manor of King's Cliffe in Northamptonshire and heard complaints from the local people there about the actions of Hugh de Neville in restricting their customary rights in the forest.⁶²² On other occasions, it is possible that intermediaries at court helped to bring local concerns to royal attention, while others sought redress through the legal system. For example, a dispute between the forester and Wardon Abbey about services due from the latter in the forest in Huntingdonshire came before the *Coram Rege* in 1244.⁶²³

Cases of abuse also came to light through the occasional national inquiries initiated by Henry's government. For example, in response to the inquiry into assarts initiated by Robert Passelewe in 1244, the jurors in Feckenham Forest drew attention to a number of abuses committed by local foresters. Having provided a long list of local foresters who took money for assarts and purprestures, they then identified some as having made purprestures to the detriment of the forest, sold wood without royal authority, destroyed the vert and created 'so much waste that the quantity is impossible for them to estimate.'⁶²⁴ Similarly, in 1255 the king commissioned a comprehensive audit of regal rights in the localities that became known as the hundred rolls. These included a group of articles that focused on the royal forest and, while there are few surviving records, it is clear that jurors raised a number of concerns about the actions of local foresters, particularly concerning the sales of wood.⁶²⁵

It is also clear that, on occasions, Henry III acted upon these complaints. Many of the letters responding to complaints consist of instructions to forest officials to cease their actions and amend their ways, while the purge of foresters described in Chapter 2 may have been partly informed by the evidence of abuses arising from the various inquiries and complaints. However, it is reasonable to suspect that the examples of royal intervention accounted for only a small share of the grievances that were felt in the localities about abuse by forest officials. Additionally, as noted in Chapter 2,

⁶²¹ M. Carlin and D. Crouch (eds.), *Lost Letters of Medieval Life: English Society, 1200-1250* (Philadelphia, 2013), pp.24-5, 232-4. Birrell, 'Forest Law', pp.16-7 also highlights the prevalence of poaching by forest officials.

⁶²² *CR 1227-31*, p.385.

⁶²³ *CRR 1243-45*, p.802.

⁶²⁴ Birrell, *Feckenham*, pp.19-32.

⁶²⁵ Roffe, 'Hundred Rolls', pp.201-10, especially p.205.

Henry's purge of forest officials in the late 1240s and early 1250s was not accompanied by any fundamental reform of the system, with many foresters ultimately returning to their roles on their previous terms following the payment of a fine or amercement.

It is therefore likely that, at the time of the reform movement, there was widespread grievance felt in local communities about the prevalence of abuse by forest officials, some of which would have been disappointingly familiar to those who had sought reform at the time that the Forest Charter was first compiled forty years beforehand. It is also likely that these grievances, similar to those against the sheriffs, were felt most by local, middle-ranking landholders who did not have ready access to courtiers who could represent their case at court, or the financial resources to mount legal action.

Opposition to Forest Eyres

Crimes against forest law, for example poaching or unlicensed assarting, could of course be viewed in themselves as forms of protest against the royal forest system. While the extant eyre records are unlikely to be able to prove it conclusively, it is theoretically likely that the level of illegal assarting increased during the thirteenth century in response to the growing pressure on the land, as discussed in the preceding chapter. Additionally, as a number of studies undertaken by Jean Birrell have shown, poaching was widespread and involved all levels of society.⁶²⁶

In themselves, these illegal actions did not directly present a political threat to royal authority and the forest. Instead, the greater political risk lay with how the government responded through the eyre system which could provoke opposition. There had been occasions during the minority, for example, when the holding of forest eyres had been opposed. In 1221, eyres were commissioned in a number of counties but were postponed when the visitations encountered opposition. When the government tried to revive them in the following year, they were again met with concerted opposition in Northamptonshire and Yorkshire. When the eyres resumed in 1223, they did so on a very tentative basis.⁶²⁷

There is no evidence of equally strong protests during the period of Henry's personal rule. Winters has suggested that the proceedings of the 1224-8 eyre visitation were cut short and that pleas were heard in fewer counties than was originally intended, although she does not explore the reasons why this might have been the case. Across the period covered by the visitation only eight counties were visited, with just two eyres being undertaken in Hampshire and Essex after Henry announced

⁶²⁶ Birrell, 'Who Poached?', pp.9-25; Birrell, 'Peasant Deer Poachers', pp.68-88; Birrell, 'Aristocratic Poachers', pp.147-54; Birrell, 'Forest Law', pp.174, 176.

⁶²⁷ Carpenter, *Minority*, pp.236, 252, 263, 276-9, 295-6, 298, 337.

the end of his minority at the start of 1227.⁶²⁸ There is no information on the timing of these two eyres beyond the entries in the pipe rolls which indicate that the Hampshire eyre was concluded before Michaelmas 1227 and the Essex eyre before Michaelmas 1228. If the programme of eyres was indeed truncated, two reasons can be suggested. Firstly, Henry's decision to challenge the results of the perambulations of 1225 inevitably injected a high degree of uncertainty concerning forest boundaries in the affected counties that would have made conducting an eyre extremely difficult. Additionally, while it was short-lived, the uprising by the earls in the summer of 1227 and the possibility that they raised complaints about the king's actions concerning the royal forest are likely to have resulted in a difficult political environment in which to conduct any further eyres.

While none of the eyres of the period of Henry's personal rule therefore appears to have generated the strong responses seen to those of his minority, opposition to them and their impact was felt in a number of different ways. Firstly, as discussed in Chapter 4, the records suggest there were increases in the number of cases concerning rights and privileges within the forest that came before the king following eyre visitations. The actions of Henry's forest justices therefore frequently resulted in individuals and communities seeking redress for perceived injustices arising from recent eyres. For example, in December 1229, shortly after leaving King's Cliffe where he had been approached by local residents concerning the abuses of the forest warden, Henry received complaints in Nottingham that the eyre justices were acting in contravention of the Forest Charter. The king accordingly issued instructions to the justices to abide by the Charter.⁶²⁹

The particularly harsh programme of eyres undertaken by Robert Passelewe and Geoffrey de Langley between 1244 and 1252 unsurprisingly generated a large number of concerns and complaints. In Nottinghamshire, men who had lands and tenements in parts of the county that had previously been disafforested offered a fine of 300m to be quit of the common summons. In effect, 'they were agreeing to pay a considerable sum for something that had already been twice conceded.' In response to complaints, a charter was issued in December 1250 confirming these liberties, although the men were still required to pay the fine.⁶³⁰ In October 1249, a review of the records was required to confirm that the liberties enjoyed by the bishop of Lincoln meant that he was not liable for amercements resulting from the recent Rutland eyre. Two months later, Henry III intervened following protests from the 'king's men of Shropshire' that they were not liable for the payments being demanded of them by Geoffrey de Langley relating to the eyre undertaken in 1240 by John Biset. Henry ordered Langley to cease his demands until he had consulted the king. In March 1251,

⁶²⁸ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.160-3.

⁶²⁹ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.163-6; *CR 1227-31*, p.238; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.84-5.

⁶³⁰ Crook, 'Struggle', p.40.

the king wrote to the justices who had recently completed the eyre in Derbyshire to defend John Gumbaud from likely prosecution for a number of forest-related offences as Henry had already pardoned him.⁶³¹ As with the cases of local forester abuses discussed above, the genesis of many of these royal interventions remains a mystery, but what they illustrate is both that a means existed for complaints to be heard and that the king was, at least at times, receptive to them.

There are also indications that, at times, grievances about the forest eyres may have impacted upon the national political mood and discourse. Carpenter, for example, has reasonably suggested that the 'burdensome' forest eyres launched in 1229 were one of the factors that weakened Hubert de Burgh's position at court in the winter of 1231.⁶³² Most famously, Matthew Paris wrote forcefully about the impact in 1245 of the inquiries and eyres being undertaken by Robert Passelewe. There is no evidence to suggest that complaints about these were directly aired in parliament, but again both Carpenter and Stacey have reasonably suggested that anger with the inquiry into illegal assarts and the impending programme of eyres had created alarm within the political community, stiffened opposition to royal demands for taxation and precipitated the calls for governmental reform in the form of the 'Paper Constitution'. Similarly, when parliament met in February 1248, Carpenter has suggested that the ongoing programme of forest eyres, along with simultaneous judicial eyres, 'cannot have helped the mood.' Nor was Henry necessarily above responding to these concerns. It is possible, for example, that his dismissal of Geoffrey de Langley from the post of chief justice in 1252, was partly in response to the unpopularity of the eyres that he had undertaken after replacing Passelewe.⁶³³

Finally, as discussed in the preceding chapter, the worsening collection rate across the eyre visitations and the increasing recourse by the crown to pardons are possible indicators of growing resistance and a recognition within royal circles that some of the eyres had gone beyond what was considered reasonable. While only 8% of the value of the amercements from 1239-44 were pardoned, that number rose to 15% for the eyres undertaken between 1244 and 1252.

Clerical Complaints

The clergy were not immune from prosecution under forest law and the pipe rolls record many amercements charged against both religious houses and individuals at all levels within the clerical

⁶³¹ *CR 1247-51*, pp.210, 244, 425; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.176, 191-4, 197-203.

⁶³² Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.108

⁶³³ *CM IV*, pp.400-1, 426-7; *CM V*, pp.136-7, 340; *CM VI*, pp.94-9; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.452-63, 478-9, 546, 553; Stacey, *Politics*, pp.211, 250-1; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.77; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.145, 148-9; D. Carpenter, 'Chancellor Ralph de Neville and Plans of Political Reform, 1215-58', in Carpenter, *Reign of Henry III*, p.70.

hierarchy.⁶³⁴ For example, in the Oxfordshire eyre of 1246, Bruern Abbey was amerced 500m, a sum it paid in annual instalments over the following years.⁶³⁵ In 1255, the bishop of Lincoln was prosecuted at the Huntingdonshire eyre for offences against the forest law and amerced 20m, a sum that remained outstanding at the end of the reign.⁶³⁶ In the Northamptonshire eyre of the same year, William, the vicar of Cliff, agreed a fine of 20m concerning venison offences. The pipe rolls of 1271 record a payment of 20s but otherwise the sum remained unpaid.⁶³⁷ Finally, as Birrell has pointed out in her study of poaching in the thirteenth century forests in the midlands, abbeys occasionally harboured poachers and many clergy were poachers themselves.⁶³⁸

Quite apart from the prosecutions and amercements for forest offences, bishops and religious houses were frequently in dispute with local forest officials, as illustrated in Appendix H and in the case of the bishop of Winchester where the king intervened in February 1248 over disagreements with the foresters in Pamber and Windsor.⁶³⁹

Prosecutions and disputes of this type may have generated general clerical resentment towards the royal forest, and this is occasionally evident in the monastic chronicles. In 1232, for example, the Waverley chronicler was moved to complain that the burden of the forest was now greater than ever before.⁶⁴⁰ It was, however, the bishops in particular who were in a position to ensure that their complaints were heard. They enjoyed a privileged status as key opinion formers in senior circles. For example, Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln between 1235 and 1253, and ‘the outstanding scholar and pastor of his day’ was a close friend and confidant of Simon de Montfort, while Sophie Ambler has emphasised the important role that bishops subsequently played, both in securing royal confirmations of Magna Carta and the Forest Charter, and in the reform movement. They were also an influential voice in the parliaments of Henry’s personal rule.⁶⁴¹ Their complaints focused on two areas where they argued that the practices of Henry’s government were in violation of customs concerning the application of forest law to the clergy. Firstly, there were concerns that the crown

⁶³⁴ Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.lxxxvii-xciii; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.13, 24, 29, 94, 103-4; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.81-2.

⁶³⁵ TNA, E 372/90, rot. 2, m. 2 accessed online 11 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/106, rot. 1, m. 2 accessed online 11 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); CR 1261-64, pp.339-40.

⁶³⁶ TNA, E 372/99, rot. 18d, m. 1 accessed online 11 December 2024 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 6d, m. 2 accessed online 11 December 2024 [AALT Page](#).

⁶³⁷ Cassidy, *Great Roll*, p.152; TNA, E 372/115, rot. 5, m. 2 accessed online 11 December 2024 [AALT Page](#).

⁶³⁸ J. Birrell, ‘Who Poached?’, p.17.

⁶³⁹ CR 1247-51, p.31.

⁶⁴⁰ AM Waverley, pp.310-1.

⁶⁴¹ Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.79-81, 121; S. Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community* (Oxford, 2017), pp.1-31, 86, 110, 120, 176-7, 179, 181; Maddicott, *Parliament*, pp.192-8; R. Southern, ‘Grosseteste, Robert (c. 1170–1253), scientist, theologian, and bishop of Lincoln’, *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 29 January 2025 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11665>.

was not adhering to the special procedures for clergy accused of trespasses in the forest that provided them with a certain degree of protection.⁶⁴² The second area of concern related to the exploitation of vacant bishoprics. While these did not always include estates subject to forest law, the resources of their woods and parks could be exploited by the crown in ways that were similar to its use of the royal forest.

Grievances concerning the application of forest law in contravention of clerical liberties were included in a wider list of complaints presented to the king for redress in 1237. Complaints about the application of forest law to the clergy and the exploitation of vacant bishoprics were then voiced at an assembly of bishops in January 1240.⁶⁴³ Similar complaints were made four years later as part of the 'Paper Constitution'. They also feature in the long list of complaints that were drawn up by the bishops at a meeting called by the archbishop of Canterbury in London in August 1257. These articles were presented to the king following the grant of money to pursue his ambitions for the crown of Sicily. They include a complaint about the waste of woods in vacant bishoprics, contrary to the terms of Magna Carta and ecclesiastical liberties. They also detail how the handling of clerics accused of forest offences was at odds with agreed procedures.⁶⁴⁴ It is not easy to corroborate the second complaint from other available sources, but it appears to have been a significant factor in Grosseteste's opposition to Passelewe's appointment to a clerical position in Northampton.⁶⁴⁵ There is certainly plenty of evidence in support of the first complaint that the crown made extensive use of the woods and parks of vacant bishoprics, effectively supplementing or substituting for the resources of the royal forest. For example, during the time that the bishopric of Winchester was vacant between the death of Peter des Roches in 1238 and the appointment of William de Raleigh in 1244, Henry's government made thirty-five separate gifts of wood and venison from its woods. During the later vacancy between 1259 and 1262, it gave another twenty-seven gifts from the bishopric's woods.⁶⁴⁶

There was clearly a level of senior clerical resentment towards perceived abuses of the forest system throughout much of the period of Henry's personal rule and in the years immediately before the reform movement. It also appears that the king did not take any significant remedial steps to address them. However, it is important not to give these complaints undue prominence. The 1257

⁶⁴² Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.lxxxvii-xciii; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.94, 103-4; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.80-3.

⁶⁴³ *AM Burton*, p.254; Stacey, *Politics*, pp.138-9; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.216

⁶⁴⁴ *CM VI*, pp.353-65; *AM Burton*, pp.401-7; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.649-50; Maddicott, *Parliament*, p.472.

⁶⁴⁵ Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.146; H.R. Luard (ed.), *Roberti Grosseteste Episcopi Quondam Lincolniensis Epistolae* (London, 1861), pp.cxxx, 349-50, 353-5.

⁶⁴⁶ These details are drawn from various volumes of the close rolls.

articles address a wide range of clerical concerns about the administration of Henry's government, of which the application of forest law is just one element. Additionally, as noted in preceding chapters, the clergy were regular beneficiaries of Henry's largesse from the royal forest. They received a high proportion of the gifts of wood and deer that he distributed, enjoyed many of the privileges that he granted within the boundaries of the forest such as free cheminage and hunting rights, and were the beneficiaries of many of the pardons of amercements that he awarded. For example, in 1264 Bruern Abbey was pardoned the remaining 60m outstanding in relation to its amercement for causing waste. It also regularly received awards granting it access to the forest and, between 1232 and 1262 was given six separate royal gifts of wood. In other cases, such as that of Notley Abbey, religious houses were both beneficiaries of royal patronage but also had to contend with opposition from local forest officials.⁶⁴⁷

Parliamentary Complaints and Confirmations of the Forest Charter

The detailed content of parliamentary proceedings during this period remains largely unclear due to the paucity of available sources. There are, however, some records in the extant chronicles, particularly those of Matthew Paris, and of Dunstable Priory, Tewkesbury Abbey and Burton Abbey. While these frequently comment on the more tempestuous and confrontational nature of the parliaments that met during Henry's reign, they do not explicitly refer to the royal forest as an issue. Matthew Paris reported that there were complaints in the parliaments of January 1242 and November 1244 that the king was failing to uphold Magna Carta, although there is no specific reference to the Forest Charter.⁶⁴⁸

If parliament was not necessarily a forum in which concerns about the royal forest were expressed, it did ensure that the subject nevertheless remained at the forefront of the political consciousness. It did so by repeatedly requiring the king to assert his adherence to Magna Carta and Forest Charter as a precondition for the approval of any taxes. The precedent for this was established during Henry's minority when, in 1225, the charters were confirmed in return for a tax to fund a military campaign in France.⁶⁴⁹ This was repeated in 1237 in return for the last significant tax to be approved for the

⁶⁴⁷ CR 1231-34, pp.73, 389; CR 1242-47, pp.384, 408, 488, 513; CR 1251-53, pp.3, 294, 312; CR 1253-54, p.38; CR 1259-61, p.399; CR 1261-64, pp.34, 339; W. Strange, *Notley Abbey: A Buckinghamshire House of Augustinian Canons* (Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, 2024), pp.31-2, 48-9, 56, 64-5, 89, 92-3, 104, 135.

⁶⁴⁸ CM IV, pp.181-8; 362-8, 395; Maddicott, *Parliament*, pp.459-60, 461.

⁶⁴⁹ Carpenter, *Minority*, pp.376, 379, 382-8; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.30; Stacey, *Politics*, p.8; Carpenter, *Struggle*, pp.307, 357; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.140.

next thirty years.⁶⁵⁰ In 1245 he promised parliament that he would uphold the charters in return for a limited aid for the marriage of his daughter. He again formally confirmed his adherence to the charters in parliament in 1253 when he secured a crusading tenth from the church and an aid on knights' fees. He also issued letters patent threatening excommunication against all those who violated the terms of Magna Carta and the Forest Charter.⁶⁵¹ Parliament also challenged Henry over his observance of the charters in October 1252, April 1255 and March 1257.⁶⁵²

It would be wrong to conclude from this that Henry's statements of personal commitment to the Forest Charter were made purely for the purposes of securing financial support from parliament. According to Wendover, his first political statement had been a verbal confirmation of the charters. As noted above, in December 1229, he sided with the local people of Nottinghamshire living outside the forest who complained that, contrary to the terms of the Forest Charter, they had been summoned to attend the recent eyre in the county. Henry instructed the justices to uphold the terms of the Charter which he wished to see preserved unharmed. He again reiterated his support for the Charters in August 1234 following the collapse of the autocratic government of Peter des Roches, ordering them to be observed throughout the kingdom and stating that there should be copies in each county. In 1238 he followed that up by requiring Richard de Mountfitchet to ensure specifically that the Forest Charter was publicly read out in Essex.⁶⁵³

It is possible that Henry's repeated confirmations concerning the Forest Charter provided some reassurance that the abuses of John's reign would not be repeated. However, they also kept alive in the public consciousness unresolved issues about the forest boundaries and set benchmarks against which his government could be assessed. Maddicott has persuasively argued that similar repeated confirmations concerning Magna Carta increasingly rang hollow in the face of communities' everyday experience of local abuse by royal and seignorial officials. It is highly likely that those communities, based on their experiences of abuses by local forest officials and harsh forest eyres, increasingly felt the same.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵⁰ *CM III*, p.380; *CM V*, pp.360-1; *AM Tewkesbury*, pp.102-5; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.193-7; Maddicott, *Parliament*, pp.173, 457; Carpenter, *Struggle*, pp.348, 357; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.73; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.150.

⁶⁵¹ *CM IV*, p.372; *CM V*, pp.373-8; *AM Dunstable*, pp.167, 189; *AM Waverley*, p.345; *AM Burton*, pp.318-20; Maddicott, *Parliament*, pp.461, 468-9; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.150; *CPR 1247-58*, p.229.

⁶⁵² Maddicott, *Parliament*, pp.468, 470; *CM V*, pp.324-32, 334-6, 493-4, 495, 621-3; *AM Dunstable*, pp.195, 199-200, 202; *AM Burton*, pp.336, 384, 386-8.

⁶⁵³ *CR 1227-31*, pp.274-5; *CR 1231-34*, pp.592-3; *CR 1237-42*, p.22; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.48, 84-5, 194.

⁶⁵⁴ J.R. Maddicott, 'Magna Carta', pp.25-65.

The Royal Forest 1258

By 1258, there were therefore good reasons to believe that the royal forest would feature prominently in any programme aiming to reform the government of the realm. A compromise had been reached over the forest boundaries, but one that had seemingly left significant numbers unhappy with the outcome. The forest eyres were commonly viewed as increasingly oppressive, and abuses of office by local foresters appeared widespread. While the king had made repeated reassurances of his commitment to uphold the Forest Charter, his actions seemed largely to consist of ad hoc interventions rather than any commitment to deliver meaningful reform. This at least is the commonly accepted historical narrative against which the actions of the baronial reform movement can be measured.

Baronial Reform and the Royal Forest, 1258-72

The Baronial Reform Programme, April 1258 – October 1259

Although the initial challenge to Henry III's rule came from a confederation of seven leading magnates at the end of April 1258, it was not until the Oxford Parliament in June that the king was presented with details of 'matters requiring correction in the kingdom.' These were set out in the Petition of the Barons which was drawn up for consideration of the committee that the king had agreed to establish and that met for the first time in Oxford. Of the twenty-nine grievances it listed, two directly concerned the royal forest, while another three were more loosely associated with it.⁶⁵⁵

The main complaint about the royal forest was set out in clause 7 of the petition which stated 'that whereas woods and lands lying outside the bounds of the forest were disafforested by a grant to the lord king of a fifteenth of all the goods of the men of England and by the perambulation of sound men, the lord king has now reafforested them arbitrarily.'⁶⁵⁶ The reformers were therefore revisiting the vexed subject of the forest boundaries that had troubled the period of Henry's minority and the early years of his personal rule. Their statement was clearly a defence of the perambulations that had been undertaken in 1225 and a rejection of the revisions that Henry had insisted upon two years later. It is possible also that the clause was a complaint against subsequent actions by Henry's governments that brought parts of Nottinghamshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire and especially Hampshire back under the jurisdiction of the forest law.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁵ *DBM*, pp.77-91; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.20-3; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.1-6; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.152; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.136; D.A. Carpenter, 'What Happened in 1258?', in Carpenter, *Reign of Henry III*, pp.183-197.

⁶⁵⁶ *DBM*, p.81.

⁶⁵⁷ Bazeley, 'Extent', p.153; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.77.

Clause 8 of the Petition also directly concerned the royal forest, requiring 'redress in the matter of newly-arrented assarts made within the bounds of the forest...on account of which the lord king claims for himself the custody of the heirs of any such holdings, and nevertheless claims also all the service due in respect of them.' The clause therefore raised a complaint against a specific aspect of royal policy concerning the application by the crown of feudal rights over assarted land.⁶⁵⁸

Three subsequent clauses only partially relate to the royal forest. Clause 9 consisted of a complaint that royal grants of warren in disafforested areas were contrary to the purpose of the acts of disafforestation which were intended to allow 'that everyone might be able to hunt freely everywhere.' The background to this clause and its relevance to the reform movement have been studied by David Crook, were considered in Chapter 4 in the context of the award of forest privileges and are returned to below.⁶⁵⁹ Clause 13 complained about the practice of holding forest and general eyres simultaneously in different parts of the country, thus making it impossible for earls and barons to attend, with the consequence that 'they are amerced at the lord king's will for their absence, unless they hold the lord king's writ of quittance.'⁶⁶⁰ This also was examined in Chapter 4 with reference to the exemptions granted by the crown from the requirement to attend forest eyres. Although there had been a sharp increase in these awards in the years immediately before 1258, it clearly remained a significant concern for the reformers. Finally, clause 28 raised concerns about the royal practice of granting acquittances to knights from being placed on assizes, juries or recognitions, with the effect that 'it is not possible to hold any grand assize...and petitioners never obtain justice'. As discussed in Chapter 4, this practice of acquittances also extended to forest roles.⁶⁶¹

The Petition therefore echoed some of the concerns about the royal forest, and more broadly Henry's rule, that had been raised at various points during the preceding thirty years, although it was silent on the matter of abuses by local forest officials. Despite its title, the concerns it expressed were those that united both magnates and lesser landowners in a formidable political alliance that enabled the committee to impose upon the king an ambitious and radical reformist agenda.⁶⁶²

That agenda was set out in the Provisions of Oxford which detailed a set of measures for reform of the realm, including the establishment of a new council which was authorised to govern in the king's name, revival of the office of justiciar, council control over key ministers and the chancery, reform of the exchequer, fundamental changes to the role of the local sheriff and the appointment of local

⁶⁵⁸ *DBM*, p.81.

⁶⁵⁹ *DBM*, p.81; Crook, 'Free Warren', pp.33-48.

⁶⁶⁰ *DBM*, p.83.

⁶⁶¹ *DBM*, p.89.

⁶⁶² Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.22-3; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.6, 47-51.

panels of knights to collect details of complaints against royal officials.⁶⁶³ The Provisions were not intended to be a line-by-line response to the Petition, but instead the establishment of a programme whereby the complaints in the former could be addressed. On the matter specifically of the royal forest, however, the Provisions were silent. There was no clear mechanism through which the two main questions raised in the Petition concerning the extent of the forest and the treatment of assarts would be addressed, and no action subsequently taken by the new council over the course of the following eighteen months to address them.

It is possible that the revival of the office of justiciar under Hugh Bigod was intended to address concerns about the royal forest. His primary responsibility was to provide judicial redress and investigate abuses committed by officials, both royal and seignorial. He was to achieve this through a countrywide tour preceded by an evidence-gathering exercise undertaken by panels of local knights. It is unclear whether his scope extended to forest officials, although the inclusive nature of the wording within the Provisions suggests that it was. The opening clause of the Provisions states that the knights should hear complaints of trespasses and injuries committed by 'sheriffs, bailiffs, or any other persons', although the latter has often been interpreted by historians as implying the inclusion of seignorial officials rather than necessarily extending to other government office holders such as local foresters.⁶⁶⁴ The Provisions therefore potentially provided an opportunity for grievances against local forest officials to be heard, but it is difficult to see how the Bigod eyres were intended to address concerns about the forest extent, its eyres and the handling of assarts, all of which were matters of policy determined at the centre of Henry's government.

If the establishment of the panels of knights and Bigod's special eyre were the means through which complaints about the forest could be raised, the evidence suggests that very few took the opportunity. The plea roll for the special eyre in Yorkshire, for example, contains no references to complaints against the forest administration.⁶⁶⁵ The other extant plea rolls contain almost 1,550 entries of complaints and issues raised during Bigod's special eyres, which included visits to thirteen counties with royal forests in them. However, only seven of the entries relate explicitly to the forest. Of these, only one raised concern about the forest boundaries. Specifically, the jurors in Surrey complained that Henry had initially disafforested the county for a fine of £100 and then later reafforested it 'at his own will.' The other six entries related either to alleged abuses by Justices of the Forest or local forest officials, or to disputes on forest matters. The same Surrey jury, for

⁶⁶³ *DBM*, pp.97-113; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.23-8; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.7-15.

⁶⁶⁴ *DBM*, p.99; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.24-6; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.7-9, 22-8, 31-2, 122-5.

⁶⁶⁵ C.T. Clay (ed.), *Three Assize Rolls from the Reigns of King John and King Henry III* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 1911), pp.88-139.

example, stated that Robert Passelewe and Geoffrey de Langley had caused land within Windsor Forest to be farmed, even though the king allegedly had no demesne over these lands. They also complained that the bailiff of the forest, Godfrey de Liston, had been charging excessive rates for cheminage and pannage and had, with others, illegally seized animals for his own park within the forest. In Huntingdonshire, there were two complaints about the actions of the local forester, while in Nottinghamshire there was a dispute about an assart. However, apart from a small number of forest trespass cases, these are the only records within the plea rolls specifically relating to the royal forest. Even if communities had come forward with complaints about the forest, it is not clear how these would have been addressed by the council. In two of the cases highlighted above, the records simply state that the matter was to be discussed with the king. Bigod's eyres also struggled through having insufficient capacity to deal with the volume of cases that came before them.⁶⁶⁶

As noted above, there was no specific reference in either the Petition of the Barons or the subsequent Provisions of Oxford to abuses by local forest officials. Nor does it appear that any action was taken against individual wardens. The only change of note was the replacement of Elias de Tingewick as a forester in Northamptonshire, but this appears to have been an action taken by Henry III on the grounds of various trespasses committed by Tingewick and others. The lack of action concerning forest wardens was in marked contrast to the changes made to the offices of sheriff and escheator. A root and branch reform of the terms on which they held office was initiated in the summer of 1258, culminating in the appointment of nineteen new sheriffs at the end of October.⁶⁶⁷

In one area of common concern at least, it is arguable that the reform movement had an impact upon the royal forest in the first few months. In 1255, another programme of forest eyres had commenced. Although the intended scope of these is unclear, it is likely that it was greater than the first stage of Buckinghamshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire that was set out in a writ of May 1255, and of the second stage of Berkshire, Essex, Rutland and Surrey that was ordered in a writ issued in January 1256. Writs subsequently issued in November and December 1257 extended the programme to include Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire. It is possible that the intention was to roll out the programme further given that it was by then almost

⁶⁶⁶ A.H. Hershey (ed.), *Special Eyre Rolls of Hugh Bigod 1258-60 Volume I* (Selden Society, 2014), pp.213-4; A.H. Hershey (ed.), *Special Eyre Rolls of Hugh Bigod 1258-60 Volume II* (Selden Society, 2016), pp.524-5, 545-6, 773-5; A.H. Hershey (ed.), *The 1258-9 Special Eyre of Surrey and Kent* (Surrey Record Society, 2004), pp.43-4, 64; A.H. Hershey, 'Success or Failure? Hugh Bigod and Judicial Reform during the Baronial Movement, June 1258 - February 1259', in P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England V* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp.65-87, especially pp.78-82; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.22-8, 32-3, 122-5; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.30-1, 36, 37.

⁶⁶⁷ *CPR 1247-58*, p.651; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.25, 27, 29, 31; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.9-10, 28-9; R. Cassidy, 'Bad Sheriffs, Custodial Sheriffs and Control of the Counties', in Burton, Schofield and Weiler (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England XV*, pp.35-49.

six years since the completion of the last visitation. It is also the case that, when the next programme of eyres commenced in early 1262, it initially focused on those shires that had not been visited between 1255 and 1258. In the event, it is likely that the Gloucestershire eyre that was undertaken early in 1258 was the last before the launch of the reform movement.⁶⁶⁸ There is no evidence to suggest, however, that suspension of the eyres was the result of a deliberate decision taken by the reformist council. A simultaneous programme of general eyres ceased in similar fashion in the spring, with the famine then prevalent in the country being cited as the reason. While there is no record of any further postponement, David Crook has argued that the political situation by the autumn prevented the revival of the general eyres and it is likely that applied also to the forest eyres.⁶⁶⁹

Taking account of all the evidence, there is little to suggest that reform of the royal forest was a priority for the baronial movement in its first eighteen months or that it took any clear action to address concerns about it.⁶⁷⁰

The Provisions of Westminster and Baronial Reform, October 1259 – December 1260

By October 1259, there was much that the reformists could celebrate, although the absence of any meaningful action concerning the royal forest casts doubt upon Adrian Jobson's assertion that the council had undertaken 'a systematic reformation of Henry's government at all levels.' There was also growing unease within the movement over the scope and pace of change.⁶⁷¹

It was now that the reformers decided to act concerning the royal forest. In September, as described in Chapter 2, the council replaced Robert Walerand as chief justice South of the Trent with the reformer Thomas Gresley. Furthermore, when parliament met in October, it agreed another programme of reform in the form of the Provisions of Westminster. These included a commitment for Gresley to 'investigate the state of the forests, vert and venison, sales and damage, and by whom these things have been done.' He was also to investigate 'abuses of forest pleas, and by whom these were begun, and when.' The outcome was an intended report to the king and council. There was no change to the chief justice role North of the Trent, which continued to be held by John D'Eyville. It is therefore likely that D'Eyville had already by then demonstrated his commitment to the reformist cause. North of the Trent, however, the investigation into the forest was to be conducted by the

⁶⁶⁸ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.206-37.

⁶⁶⁹ D. Crook, *Records of the General Eyre* (London, 1982), p.118.

⁶⁷⁰ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.20-1 draws a similar conclusion when she states that 'the issue of the forest was raised in 1258 but was not accorded any real weight and no decisive action was taken to reduce the influence of the Crown in this sphere.'

⁶⁷¹ Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.36-8; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.31-2, 38.

justiciar Hugh Bigod. The latter was due to visit the northern counties in any case, but the decision to appoint him to investigate forest abuses might also reflect an appreciation of the need for this to be done by someone independent of D'Eyville.⁶⁷²

The terms of reference for the forest investigation are interesting. It is notable, for instance, that there was no commitment to review the boundaries of the forest or to address concerns about reforestation. Instead, the primary focus of the inquiry was upon the damage that had been done to the state of the forest through the actions of Henry's government and his local officials. This was therefore less a challenge concerning the future of the forest system than a proprietorial concern about previous mismanagement of a valuable royal asset. These measures are consistent with the broader reformist complaint that Henry had wasted and alienated the royal estate and that action was needed to bring it back to sound management. Alongside the inquiry there would also be an investigation into allegations of abuses of the forest eyre system.

It is not clear whether the latter investigation did proceed, while Grant has also questioned whether the inquiry into the state of the forest took place.⁶⁷³ It is, however, possible that it was the review into the state of the forest that resulted in a significant impact upon its use. In January 1260, a ban was introduced on future sales of wood in the Forest South of the Trent. In the summer and autumn, tight restrictions were also introduced on taking deer from the same forests, with particular concern being expressed about the numbers in the Forest of Dean and in Bernwood Forest.⁶⁷⁴ The actions of the reformers were therefore not focused on advancing any programme of disafforestation or promoting barons' rights at the expense of the king, but rather upon preserving the infrastructure of the forest and correcting the previous over-exploitation of its assets. Indeed, it could be argued that any reduction in the forest and the crown's authority within it would have been inconsistent with the reformers' avowed intent to protect the royal estate and return the country to good government.

As noted earlier in Chapter 2, Grant has suggested that the reformers made a number of administrative changes 'designed to effect a stricter supervision by the exchequer over the collection of the forest revenues, and to lessen the temptation to extortion by the forest officers.'⁶⁷⁵ However, as discussed previously, the evidence he presents is not compelling. From the autumn of 1259, it therefore appears that the reform movement was more focused than hitherto upon introducing

⁶⁷² *CPR 1258-66*, p.43; *CR 1256-59*, pp.486-7; *DBM*, p.155; *AM Burton*, p.478; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.38-43; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.31-2; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.152. Young, *Royal Forests*, p.136; Clay, *Assize Rolls*, p.xviii; R.F. Treharne, *The Baronial Plan of Reform, 1258-1263* (Manchester, 1971), pp.182, 192.

⁶⁷³ Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.152.

⁶⁷⁴ *CR 1259-61*, pp.22, 48, 79, 304.

⁶⁷⁵ Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.152-3.

changes to the royal forest. However, the focus of those changes was primarily upon preserving the infrastructure of the forest through limiting the sales of wood and the taking of game and investigating local abuses, rather than addressing its extent or fundamentally reforming its administrative arrangements. It is also notable that, in November 1259, it issued instructions for a forthcoming regard, an indicator that it was possibly planning to commence a visitation of forest eyres.⁶⁷⁶

Royalist Revival and the Royal Forest, January 1261 – April 1263

Henry III's gradual reassertion of his authority during 1260 and the first half of 1261 culminated in his public rejection of the Provisions of Westminster.⁶⁷⁷ Unsurprisingly, he also ended any progress towards addressing complaints concerning the royal forest. In June 1261, he replaced both Thomas Gresley and John d'Evville as chief justices of the forest with, respectively, Alan la Zouche and Robert de Neville, both of whom were trusted loyalists.⁶⁷⁸ As noted in Chapter 2, from this period until the decisive royal victory at the battle of Evesham in August 1265, both sides sought to appoint men loyal to their cause to these roles. This was not any longer primarily about promoting or implementing either a reformist or loyalist agenda concerning the royal forest, but rather about having men in these positions who could deliver political and military support for their cause. This echoes the observations made by Moore and Cassidy concerning the appointments of sheriffs at various times during this period.⁶⁷⁹

In another measure of his renewed authority, in December 1261 Henry III recommenced forest eyres. Initially visiting those shires that had not been included in the eyres of 1255-58, it is possible that the programme was a completion of the one that had been previously planned rather than a completely new visitation, although as noted above the reformers had commissioned a series of regards in November 1259 which suggests that a new round was being envisaged. The decision to proceed with the programme was particularly bold given the opposition that had been encountered in the preceding summer when Henry's government revived the general eyres.⁶⁸⁰ Moreover, the eyres on this occasion were completed at speed. Between January 1262 and the spring of 1263 when the programme was suspended due to escalating unrest across the country, fourteen counties

⁶⁷⁶ *CR 1259-61*, pp.139-41.

⁶⁷⁷ Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.45-63; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.173-211.

⁶⁷⁸ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.158-9; Jobson, *English Revolution*, p.63.

⁶⁷⁹ Moore, 'Local Administration', pp.82-5; R. Cassidy, 'Simon de Montfort's Sheriffs, 1264-5', *Historical Research* 91 (2018), pp.3-21.

⁶⁸⁰ *CR 1259-61*, pp.139-40; *CR 1261-64*, pp.101, 104-5; *CPR 1258-66*, pp.193, 205; Winters, 'Royal Forest', pp.237-8; Crook, *General Eyre*, pp.126-8; Jobson, *English Revolution*, p.66; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.215-6, 231-2.

were visited, resulting in amercements totalling almost £3,000.⁶⁸¹ It is difficult to establish whether these eyres generated any opposition. There are no records of unrest directly linked to them, while the low collection rates that were discussed in the preceding chapter were probably more the result of the upheaval of the civil war that subsequently followed rather than of any particular antipathy towards the eyres. As described in the preceding chapter, by the end of the reign, just 49% of the value of the amercements had been collected, with another 8% pardoned and 36% outstanding.

Henry III's attitude towards reform of the royal forest was clearly expressed in May 1262 when he publicly announced his commitment to uphold both Magna Carta and the Forest Charter.⁶⁸² As noted above, similar commitments had been made on occasions in the period before 1258 in the hope of securing approval from parliament to a tax. The statement of May 1262 served a different purpose in emphasising the benchmark that the king viewed he should be measured against and a firm rejection of the reformist agenda relating both to the royal forest and to the government of the realm more generally. While he judged it necessary in January and June 1263 to reissue the Provisions of Westminster, these actions appear more designed to secure support for Henry's government rather than signal his commitment to further reform.⁶⁸³

Simon de Montfort and the Royal Forest, April 1263 – August 1265

By the spring of 1263, Simon de Montfort had become the acknowledged leader of the reform movement.⁶⁸⁴ Between then and his death at the battle of Evesham in August 1265, there is no evidence to suggest that he was committed to promoting reform of the forest. Indeed, at the Surrey eyre of 1269, it was 'presented and proved' that Montfort, along with members of his family and followers, had taken ten deer without licence in the forest in June 1263. Additionally, some of those he appointed to forest roles were later accused of illicit sales of wood.⁶⁸⁵ As discussed below, in September 1266, Henry III ordered the reforestation of areas that had been disafforested during the period of upheaval, but there is no other evidence to suggest that this was a deliberate act on the part of the reformers or Simon de Montfort. The lack of any progress in reforming the forest under the latter is perhaps understandable given that, until the battle of Lewes in May 1264,

⁶⁸¹ Winters, 'Royal Forest', pp.237-53. See the preceding chapter for a discussion on the calculation of the eyre amercements and their collection rate.

⁶⁸² *CR 1261-64*, p.123; *DBM*, p.40.

⁶⁸³ Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.82-3, 90; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.250-1; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.221-2, 226.

⁶⁸⁴ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.252-8; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.84-93; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.225-38; Ambler, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.242-8.

⁶⁸⁵ Stewart, *Surrey*, pp.xxxiii-xxxiv, 100; P. Coss, 'Retinues, Agents and Garrisons during the Barons' War', in Jobson (ed.), *Baronial Reform*, pp.195-6.

Montfort was primarily concerned with gaining ascendancy over the king. Following his success at Lewes, his focus was then on securing his government militarily and politically.⁶⁸⁶

The scope for pursuing a reformist agenda was therefore severely limited and the decisions that Montfort made concerning appointments to forest positions, such as the return of John d'Eyville to chief justice North of the Trent, and the awards of forest gifts discussed earlier in Chapter 3 were primarily concerned with shoring up his government.⁶⁸⁷ Following his triumph at Lewes, a new constitution was presented to parliament in June 1264 that declared that 'the charters of general liberties and of the forest...shall be observed in perpetuity, and let provision be made for their better and firmer observance.' The last part of the statement opens up the intriguing possibility that Montfort may yet have undertaken reforms of the royal forest, but no actions were taken to put that into effect.⁶⁸⁸

A new perspective to the reformist agenda emerged alongside Montfort's rise to leadership of the movement and subsequently to rule of the kingdom. While the bishops had been largely silent in the early years of the reform movement, they now became increasingly vocal in their support for Montfort. Their influence can be seen in the list of complaints that were made by the reformers to Louis IX in his role as mediator at the end of 1263. Alongside complaints that Henry III had 'sought gradually to whittle away' the liberties set out in the charters, the reformers now complained that Henry's officials had exploited ecclesiastical vacancies, including using the resources of their woods and parks to supplement those of the royal forest. While Louis IX's response was a complete rejection of the reformers' complaints, the inclusion of these ecclesiastical complaints in the submission to him was evidence that this particular issue had not been resolved. Indeed, between September 1259 and July 1262, the king awarded twenty-seven gifts of timber and firewood from the woods and parks of the vacant bishopric of Winchester.⁶⁸⁹

Henry III's Government 1265-72

While the resounding defeat of the rebels at Evesham in August 1265 did not conclude the civil war, it signalled the end of the hopes of the reform movement.⁶⁹⁰ It also meant that there would be no

⁶⁸⁶ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.259-422; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.84-137; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.239-331; Ambler, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.242-310.

⁶⁸⁷ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.272, 344.

⁶⁸⁸ *DBM*, p.299; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.322-6; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.121-3; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.285-9; Ambler, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.285-6; S.T. Ambler, 'Magna Carta: Its confirmation at Simon de Montfort's Parliament of 1265', *English Historical Review* 130 (2015), pp.801-30.

⁶⁸⁹ *DBM*, pp.269-70; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.269-71, 291-5; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.99, 104-5; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.250-62; Ambler, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.293-9. Details of the gifts from the estate of the bishopric of Winchester are included in the databases developed as part of this research.

⁶⁹⁰ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.449-53, 458-9; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.141-9.

change in Henry III's approach towards the royal forest. The king continued to confirm his commitment to uphold both Magna Carta and the Forest Charter, for example in the 1266 Dictum of Kenilworth and in April 1270 when he secured a taxation for the Lord Edward's impending crusade. The 1267 Statute of Marlborough also implied a commitment to uphold the Charter of the Forest alongside Magna Carta, although Paul Brand has observed the former was no part of the legislation as originally enacted and was only explicitly referred to in later manuscripts.⁶⁹¹

In substance, the approach adopted by Henry's government towards the royal forest after 1265 was largely similar to that which had prevailed before 1258. As noted in Chapter 2, former rebels within the ranks of the forest officials were removed from their posts and loyalists appointed instead. In June 1269, another programme of forest eyres was convened. Complaints against abuses by local foresters continued to be made and heard, including most notably against Peter de Neville, the hereditary warden of Rutland Forest. In a clear signal that royal authority had been restored, in September 1266 Henry III ordered that any areas of the Forest North of the Trent that had been disafforested during the period of upheaval, probably because of local unauthorised initiatives, should be brought back under forest law.⁶⁹²

This final period of Henry III's reign also witnessed the growing importance of the Lord Edward in decisions concerning policy and appointments. This partly reflected his age and the key role he had played in ensuring royal success in the civil war, as well as Henry's increasing frailty and bouts of ill-health. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the influence of the Lord Edward is clear in a number of appointments to key roles within the royal forest during this period. With his subsequent departure on crusade in 1270, Henry's government also took measures to ensure that loyalists held key positions of authority and power should, as indeed happened, the king die before the Lord Edward's return. This involved a number of important appointments within the royal forest, such as the award of Windsor Castle and Forest to Queen Eleanor.⁶⁹³

The Royal Forest as a Political Issue, 1227-72

The above narrative highlights that at no point between 1258 and 1265 was the royal forest a priority issue for attention on the part of the reformers. Only in the autumn of 1259 did it briefly

⁶⁹¹ DBM, p.321; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.495-7, 516-20; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.157-8, 160, 162-3; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.136; Maddicott, *Parliament*, pp.266-70; Brand, *Kings, Barons and Justices*, pp.185-6, 194-5, 461.

⁶⁹² Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.253-86; *CPR 1258-66*, p.675; Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.44-53; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.81-2, 112; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.106-7, 153; Birrell, 'Forest Law', pp.159-60. The lack of reform of the forest is highlighted also in J.R. Maddicott, 'Edward I and the Lessons of Baronial Reform: Local Government, 1258-80', in Coss and Lloyd (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England I*, pp.17-8.

⁶⁹³ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.523-620, especially pp.523-4, 530, 566-8, 600-2, 612, 615.

feature in the programme of reform. Even then, the focus of the reformers was not fully aligned to previous complaints about the forest, and the impact of their actions is unclear. In the periods when Henry III was in the ascendant politically, he was able to continue with his approach towards the forest much as he had done previously. Nor, in the aftermath of his ultimate victory, is there any evidence that he sought to implement any of the reforms that had been called for before and during the reform movement. In particular, at no point were the boundaries of the forest revisited and its extent challenged. Given the view of historians that conflict between the crown and the political community over the royal forest was inevitable, it is worth examining why there is little evidence of this between 1258 and 1265.

The opportunities to pursue a reformist agenda certainly existed, particularly in June 1258 and October 1259. Given the experience of Hugh Bigod in attempting to address complaints about local administration, it is conceivable that the reform movement simply lacked the capacity and knowledge with which to pursue a programme of reform concerning the forest. That again suggests, however, that it simply was not a priority when compared with the more urgent needs of reforming central government and the shrieval system. The explanation for this may rest with re-examining the motivations and priorities of the various interest groups that united as part of the reform movement.

Earls, Barons and the Royal Forest

It is possible to construct a reasonable theoretical case why a particular earl, baron or senior lay landholder, based on self-interest, might wish to see reform of the royal forest. A lord with a substantial proportion of their estates within the boundaries of the royal forest was naturally constrained by the tight restrictions of forest law. This limited their scope, both for hunting and for maximising the agricultural potential of their estate. While there were potentially opportunities to secure some concessions from the rigid application of the law, these were by no means guaranteed and might involve payment. Even then, they and their tenants were often still exposed to the risk of abuse of office by local foresters and of prosecution for forest offences at the local courts and eyres. While the king may also at times make generous gifts of game and timber from his own forest resources, these also were not guaranteed.

It is not possible to assess with any reasonable confidence just how many senior lay landholders confronted this scenario. It is possible, however, to gauge the position of the leading reformers against these criteria and, in particular, the members of the Council of Fifteen which drove the implementation of the reform agenda between the summer of 1258 and the end of 1260. Appendix I sets out the details of the interactions of its members with the royal forest in the years until the end

of 1260.⁶⁹⁴ Five of the seventeen men had held or still held roles within the administration of the forest. The original Council of Fifteen included John de Plessy, earl of Warwick, who had custody of Chippenham Forest. He was joined at some point in 1260 by Robert Walerand, after the death of another of the original council members, William de Fortibus, earl of Aumale. Although he had been removed as chief justice South of the Trent in 1259, Walerand still had custody of New Forest, Forest of Dean and Clarendon Forest at the time when he joined the council.

Many of the council members had land within the forest and eleven were the beneficiaries of awards of a range of privileges, including hunting rights, approvals to assart and cultivate, and permissions to access woods and create parks. Others, such as Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk and Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester had most of their estates outside the forest boundaries and therefore no apparent need to advocate for reform of it.⁶⁹⁵ Additionally, all council members had received forest gifts from the king, ranging in number from one for the archbishop of Canterbury to sixty-four for the earl of Warwick.

There are records of at least ten of the councillors being prosecuted for various trespasses, which may have generated some lasting resentment towards the forest. However, of these, six received a pardon or at least a respite from the payment of amercements which, in some cases, were for quite small amounts. The earl of Gloucester received the largest amercement of £100, but this was pardoned in 1250. Roger de Mortimer was pardoned a 100m amercement in 1256. The earl of Norfolk received a respite concerning an amercement of 100m, but very shortly afterwards in 1243 paid the outstanding amount. Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, was also amerced 100m for forest offences, most of which was still outstanding at the end of Henry's reign. It is conceivable that these larger amercements generated a lingering hostility towards the royal forest, regardless of any subsequent pardon or respite. However, none of the men who were amerced these larger fines later supported Montfort during the civil war. The earl of Gloucester was reconciled to Henry III before his death in 1262. Both the earl of Hereford and Roger de Mortimer had joined the royalist camp before the start of civil war hostilities, while Norfolk avoided becoming closely associated with either party.⁶⁹⁶ The councillor with perhaps the greatest cause for complaint about the royal forest was

⁶⁹⁴ The appendix provides details of the original Council of Fifteen and also of Philip Basset and Robert Walerand who later replaced John Fitgeoffrey and William de Fortibus, earl of Aumale, respectively.

⁶⁹⁵ Morris, *Bigod Earls*, pp.31-7; Altschul, *The Clares*, pp.300-3.

⁶⁹⁶ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.237, 296; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.71, 104; Morris, *Bigod Earls*, pp.88-97; Altschul, *The Clares*, pp.80-93; N. Vincent, 'Bohun, Humphrey de, second earl of Hereford and seventh earl of Essex (d. 1275), magnate', *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 17 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2775>; J. Crump, 'Mortimer, Roger de, lord of Wigmore (1231-1282), magnate', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 18 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19352>. It is worth noting that Hereford's son joined the reformers.

Peter de Montfort who, between 1250 and 1256, was involved in a protracted dispute concerning his rights to woodland in Rutland Forest. This was eventually resolved in January 1256 when he and his heirs were awarded a yearly payment of £50 'in lieu of the release which he made of his right and claim in all woods in Rutland.' There are few records of payment of this fee which may, in turn, have been a contributory factor explaining Peter de Montfort's steadfast support for the baronial cause, ending with his death at the battle of Evesham.⁶⁹⁷

What is therefore striking from the analysis is that very few, if any, of the council members would reasonably be inclined to campaign for reform of the forest. Most were beneficiaries of the king's largesse, some had a vested interest in the preservation of the forest system and none seemingly carried a serious grievance against it. Even if the Council of Fifteen cannot be seen as representing the larger population of earls, barons and senior lords, it was still a microcosm of that stratum of society and, more significantly, the body responsible for implementing the programme of reform. Even if the broader magnate community were more hostile towards the forest, it lacked an obvious voice on the body that made the key decisions concerning the reform programme.

Other leading figures linked to the baronial movement also had connections with the royal forest which are likely to have diluted any commitment to its reform. The chief justiciar, Hugh Bigod, had agreed a fine of 500m in April 1255 to be appointed warden of Farndale Forest. This had been fully paid by the time of the 1259 pipe rolls.⁶⁹⁸ While the Lord Edward was closely linked to the reform movement in its early stages, as discussed in Chapter 2 the appanage that he had been granted in the preceding years included Peak Forest. Finally, as the analysis of forest appointments, gifts and privileges in the preceding chapters demonstrates, the beneficiaries were not restricted to any particular group at court and therefore the royal forest was not connected to the factional struggles that contributed to the emergence of the reform movement.

For all these reasons, it is likely that, for many earls, barons and senior lords, there were few compelling reasons in 1258 to seek wide-ranging reform of the forest. However, their reluctance to do so may also reflect a deeper bond with the crown that challenges the suggestion that their interests were diametrically opposed. Many of the nobles in this category had their own private

⁶⁹⁷ *CR 1247-51*, p.384; *CPR 1247-58*, pp.237, 242, 401; *CR 1251-53*, p.484; *CR 1253-54*, p.307; *CLR 1251-60*, p.267; D. Carpenter, 'Montfort, Peter de (c. 1205–1265), magnate', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 1 April 2025 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37845>.

⁶⁹⁸ *CR 1251-53*, p.368; *CR 1254-56*, p.84; *CChR 1226-57*, p.445; *CLR 1251-60*, p.212; *CFR 39/405* accessed online 10 December 2024 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 39 HENRY III \(28 October 1254–27 October 1255\)](#); *PR 1259*, p.407. At first glance, this appears a surprisingly large sum for what appears to have been a relatively minor forest (see Appendix D). The size of the fine was probably also a reflection of the fact that the forest was granted on a hereditary basis, included extensive powers to appoint and dismiss forest officials, and was accompanied by extensive hunting rights across Yorkshire.

hunting grounds in the form of chases, parks and warrens. These were valuable, both practically and as status symbols.⁶⁹⁹ Moreover, their numbers had grown during the period of Henry's personal rule.

Chases, which were effectively private forests within the estates of lay and ecclesiastical magnates, already existed in substantial numbers by the time that Henry III ended his minority. Although not part of the royal forest system, chases were subject to strict controls enforced by the officials of the relevant magnate. As Turner has observed, local inhabitants would have noticed little difference between the restrictions of forest law and those of local chase regulations, 'and it was only the machinery by which they were enforced that was altered.' Lords of chases also granted rights of access to them to local communities and awarded gifts from them, as the crown did on a much larger scale concerning the royal forest. For example, Birrell has highlighted the rights enjoyed by local communities in the earl of Derby's forest in Needwood, while the Marshal family regularly provided support to Tintern Abbey from its chases. Langton has also emphasised the similarities between the royal forest and private chases, and that the latter frequently passed to and from the crown. Rackham has estimated that there could have been over fifty chases by 1216. Henry III added to this number through, for example, his grant of the land between the Ribble and the Mersey to the earl of Chester in 1229 and through his awards of Dartmoor Forest to his brother Richard of Cornwall in 1239 and of various northern forests to his son Edmund in 1267. Overall, more than seventy chases appear in the official records of the thirteenth century, while Langton has identified 175 separate private forests and chases in the hundred and *Quo Warranto* rolls between 1254 and the reign of Edward III. Many of these co-existed alongside or near to royal forest areas, as demonstrated by Liddell concerning Cumberland and Jacques in relation to Staffordshire. Holders of private chases included members of the baronial reform movement such as the earl of Gloucester whose estate included Cranborne Chase.⁷⁰⁰

⁶⁹⁹ Crouch, *Aristocracy*, pp.305-10; Miles, *Parks*, pp.8, 29-35, 99-108, 180-2; Birrell, 'Procuring Venison', p.179.

⁷⁰⁰ Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.cix-cxiv; Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, p.179; Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.140, 154; Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.2; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.29-31; Crouch, *Aristocracy*, pp.306-7; Cantor, 'Forests, Chases, Parks and Warrens', pp.70-3; J. Bond, 'Forests, Chases, Warrens and Parks in Medieval Wessex', in M. Aston and C. Lewis (eds.), *The Medieval Landscape of Wessex* (Oxford, 1994), p.115; Birrell, 'Common Rights', p.28; D. Crouch (ed.), *The Acts and Letters of the Marshal Family: Marshals of England and Earls of Pembroke, 1145-1248* (London, 2015), pp.299-308, 385-91, 442-6; J. Langton, 'Royal and Non-Royal Forests and Chases in England and Wales', *Historical Research* 88 (2015), pp.381-401, especially pp.386-7 and 393-7; J. Langton, 'Medieval Forests and Chases: Another Realm?', in Langton and Jones (eds.), *Forests and Chases*, pp.14-35, especially pp.32-4; W.H. Liddell, 'The Private Forests of South West Cumberland', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 66 (1966), pp.106-30; D. Jacques, 'Early Staffordshire Forests, Chases, Hays and Parks', *Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society Transactions* 55 (2024), pp.16-27; R.B. Patterson (ed.), *Earldom of Gloucester Charters: The Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to AD 1217* (Oxford, 1973), pp.49, 52, 63-5; D. Hawkins, *Cranborne Chase*

There is no clarity on park numbers in the early thirteenth century, but the evidence suggests there was an increase during Henry's reign, particularly during the 1250s. Cantor estimated that there were at least 1,900 parks across England at various points during the Middle Ages, most of which were created in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Rackham subsequently calculated that the number might have been as many as 3,200 parks at their peak in the early fourteenth century. They were, moreover, present in large numbers in counties with substantial royal forests, including Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cumberland, Dorset, Hampshire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, Somerset, Staffordshire, Wiltshire and Yorkshire.⁷⁰¹ Consequently, Mileson has suggested that 'most of the approximately 200 members of the greater baronage in the thirteenth century had at least one park.' As with chases and warrens, parks were intended to be exclusive hunting grounds and, to that effect, also came to be protected in law.⁷⁰²

Awards of free warren, both within and outside the boundaries of the royal forest, were covered in Chapter 4. Crook has shown that almost 500 charters of free warren were issued during the period of Henry's personal rule. The key point to note for the purposes of this chapter is that warrens also were exclusive hunting grounds. No person was allowed to enter the relevant land to hunt without the licence and will of the lord who had received the charter of free warren. Any violation usually

(London, 1980), pp.28-33. See also [Forests and Chases of England and Wales](#) which describes the project led by Dr John Langton and Dr Graham Jones to examine the uses of the medieval forest and chases.

⁷⁰¹ Bond, 'Forests, Chases, Warrens and Parks', pp.133-44; J.M. Hatherly and L.M. Cantor, 'The Medieval Parks of Berkshire', *Berkshire Archaeological Journal* 70 (1979-80), pp.67-80; L.M. Cantor and J.M. Hatherly, 'The Medieval Parks of Buckinghamshire', *Records of Buckinghamshire* 20/3 (1977), pp.431-7; A.J.L. Winchester, 'Baronial and Manorial Parks in Medieval Cumbria', in Liddiard (ed.), *Medieval Park*, pp.165-4; L.M. Cantor and J.D. Wilson, 'The Mediaeval Deer-Parks of Dorset', *Proceedings of the Dorset Archaeological and Natural History Society* 83 (1961), pp.109-16; L.M. Cantor and J.D. Wilson, 'The Mediaeval Deer-Parks of Dorset', *Proceedings of the Dorset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 84 (1963), pp.145-53; L.M. Cantor and J.D. Wilson, 'The Mediaeval Deer-Parks of Dorset', *Proceedings of the Dorset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 85 (1963), pp.141-52; L.M. Cantor and J.D. Wilson, 'The Mediaeval Deer-Parks of Dorset', *Proceedings of the Dorset Archaeological and Natural History Society* 86 (1964), pp.164-78; J. M. Steane, 'The Medieval Parks of Northamptonshire', *Northamptonshire Past and Present* 5 (1975), pp.211-33; D. Crook, 'The Development of Private Parks in Medieval Nottinghamshire', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* 106 (2002), pp.73-80; L.M. Cantor, 'The Medieval Hunting Grounds of Rutland', *Rutland Record* 1 (1980), pp.13-8; L.M. Cantor, 'The Medieval Parks of South Staffordshire', *Transactions and Proceedings of the Birmingham Archaeological Society* 80 (1962), pp.1-9; L.M. Cantor, 'The Medieval Parks of North Staffordshire', *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies* 2 (1962), pp.72-7; L.M. Cantor, 'The Medieval Parks of North Staffordshire II', *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies* 4 (1964), pp.61-6; D. Jacques, 'Early Staffordshire Forests, Chases, Hays and Parks', *Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society Transactions* 55 (2024), pp.16-27; K. Watts, 'Wiltshire Deer Parks: An Introductory Survey', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 89 (1996), pp.88-98; S. Moorhouse, 'The Medieval Parks of Yorkshire: Function, Contents and Chronology', in Liddiard (ed.), *Medieval Park*, pp.99-127.

⁷⁰² Mileson, *Parks*, pp.3, 109, 128, 144; Cantor, 'Forests, Chases, Parks and Warrens', pp.73-81; Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, p.191; Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.cvx-cxxii; Crouch, *Aristocracy*, pp.308-10; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.27-9; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.45, 96-7.

resulted in cases in the king's court where the guilty trespasser was liable not only to pay damages to the landholder granted the right of free warren, but also potentially £10 to the crown.⁷⁰³

This is not to suggest there was an automatic harmonious alignment of interests between the crown and major landholders when it came to private hunting grounds and rights. It could be argued that magnates stood to gain from promoting disafforestations that allowed them, in turn, to claim exclusive hunting rights for themselves over the land in question. It is also the case that the award of charters of free warren could serve, as Crook and Mileson have both suggested, to divide local society. Matthew Paris described at length the disputes between his abbey of St Albans and local knights over the former's rights of free warren, something that Crook has explored further using court records. Mileson has also argued that park creations could also place a strain on local landed society.⁷⁰⁴

However, it is also arguable that grants by Henry III on the scale suggested by the above numbers served to create a common interest between the crown and the beneficiary over the preservation and protection of exclusive hunting rights and grounds whether they were within the royal forest or in the chases, parks and warrens of the nobility. Any challenge by magnates to the continued viability of the former therefore risked exposing them to an equivalent challenge concerning the continued validity of the latter.

Bishops

The position of many bishops and senior religious houses was broadly the same as that of the lay magnates. Probably to a greater extent than their lay counterparts, many senior bishops had lands that lay within the ambit of forest law, but they had proven themselves adept over many years at securing privileges that softened its impact. Others, such as the bishops of Durham, enjoyed a particular status regarding the administration of forest law within their lands.⁷⁰⁵ As demonstrated in earlier chapters, religious houses in particular also benefited from Henry's strong piety and generosity that meant that a disproportionately large share of his gifts from the forest and privileges within its boundaries were distributed to them. There were certainly unresolved complaints that a

⁷⁰³ Crook, 'Free Warren', p.35; Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.cxxiii-cxxiv; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.46, 97; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.31-2; Cantor, 'Forests, Chases, Parks and Warrens', pp.82-3.

⁷⁰⁴ *CM IV*, pp.50-4; *CM V*, pp.27-8, 234; *CM VI*, pp.233-4; H.T. Riley (ed.), *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani Volume I* (London, 1867), pp.315-9; Crook, 'Free Warren', pp.33-4, 39-40, 42-8; Mileson, *Parks*, pp.146-72; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.538, 541.

⁷⁰⁵ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.73-4, 187-90, 218-9 for examples of the privileges secured by the bishop of Winchester. For the administration of forest law in the Palatinate of Durham, see J.L. Drury, 'Durham Palatinate Forest Law and Administration, specially in Weardale up to 1400', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 6 (1978), pp.87-105.

number of bishops had about the exploitation of their parks and woods during periods of vacancies, but that in itself also demonstrated the commonality of interest with the crown in preserving private hunting spaces.

Knights and the Local Gentry

Those knights and members of the local gentry who held land within the boundaries of the royal forest had greater reason than the lay and clerical magnates to resent the presence of forest law. As Maddicott has persuasively argued, this was the group that particularly opposed the challenges to the 1225 perambulations and the reimposition, in some places, of the forest law.⁷⁰⁶ At the same time, however, they were also the beneficiaries of many aspects of Henry's management of the royal forest. As discussed previously, from the start of the 1250s in particular members of this social group increasingly benefited from the distribution of gifts from the forest and from the award of privileges that addressed their concerns, for example exemptions from office and from jury service. They had also borne witness to the fact that the king was prepared to act against local foresters who abused their positions.

As with the lay magnates and bishops, they also increasingly shared a common interest with the crown in preserving and protecting their own private hunting grounds. While Mileson has expressed caution about any suggestion of a rapid growth of park ownership on the part of the gentry, he has nevertheless concluded that perhaps between one fifth and potentially almost a half of the 'greater gentry' had a park by 1300.⁷⁰⁷ As Crook has demonstrated, local knights 'of lesser stature' increasingly benefited from the awards of charters of free warren during the peak period of their issue in the 1250s.⁷⁰⁸

This is not to deny that many middle ranking landholders had grievances against the forest system in 1258, but rather to emphasise that the gentry did not respond as one group and that, for some, reform of the royal forest was simply not a priority.

Peasantry

Peasants played an active role in the reform movement and the civil war. The most famous incident occurred shortly after the battle of Evesham when the villagers of Peatling Magna in Leicestershire assaulted the men of the royalist Peter de Neville, demonstrating both the capacity of peasants for acting independently of other social groups and the support, at least of some of them, for the

⁷⁰⁶ Maddicott, 'Magna Carta', pp.26-7, 36-40, 48-9, 64; Stacey, *Politics*, p.254.

⁷⁰⁷ Mileson, *Parks*, pp.108-9.

⁷⁰⁸ Crook, 'Free Warren', pp.37-8.

baronial cause.⁷⁰⁹ This section examines the extent to which the royal forest was a source and target of peasant grievances.

Jean Birrell has argued persuasively that forest law constituted 'a significant impediment' to those peasants living within the forest by restricting their activities, punishing them financially for breaches of the law and exposing them to the risks of abuse by local forest wardens.⁷¹⁰ However, there is nothing in the recorded actions of disaffected peasants between 1258 and 1267 to suggest that the royal forest was a major target of their anger. Although Peter de Neville was the warden of Rutland Forest, the complaints voiced by the Peatling Magna villagers made no reference to that, claiming instead that he and his men were guilty of treason and of acting 'against the welfare of the community of the realm.'⁷¹¹ Additionally, while the system of the *querelae* introduced for Hugh Bigod's special eyres was intended for local communities to express their concerns, there is no suggestion that they were used to raise issues about the royal forest. In Brill (Buckinghamshire), at the heart of Bernwood Forest, eighteen sokemen collectively brought seventeen complaints against the bailiffs running the royal manor in the village, but they raised no issues concerning the royal forest or the warden John Fitznigel whose administrative centre was nearby.⁷¹²

This is not to suggest that peasants living in or near the forest were content with the forest law system, but two arguments can be advanced for suggesting why there is little evidence of direct action against it during the years of baronial reform and civil war. It is firstly possible that, without support from other social groups, particularly local lords and knights, peasant discontent with the forest was not recognised as a priority. It could also be that, as with those other social groups, the net effect of Henry III's approach to the royal forest was to weaken hostility towards it to the extent that it was not viewed as a priority for reform. As noted in Chapter 4, local village communities were frequently the beneficiaries of confirmations and awards of privileges within the forest, serving to soften its worst features and reduce hostility towards it. This was arguably particularly the case on royal demesne lands. For example, in January 1230 the villagers of Mansfield secured confirmation of their rights within Sherwood Forest.⁷¹³

⁷⁰⁹ Carpenter, 'English Peasants', pp.3-42 explores these issues in detail. J.R. Maddicott, 'Politics and the People in Thirteenth Century England', in J. Burton, P. Schofield and B. Weiler (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England XIV* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp.1-13 also examines the level of political consciousness amongst the population at large and the importance of peasant opinion and allegiances.

⁷¹⁰ Birrell, 'Forest Law', pp.149-63.

⁷¹¹ Carpenter, 'English Peasants', p.3. It is interesting to note that Peter de Neville was accused of a wide range of forest abuses in his role as warden as part of the Rutland eyre of 1269 (Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.44-53).

⁷¹² Carpenter, 'English Peasants', p.26; Carpenter, *Henry III, 1258-72*, pp.126-33; Hershey, *Special Eyre*, pp.xxx-xxxi, 81-88. For Brill's position at the heart of Bernwood Forest, see Harvey, 'Bernwood', pp.7-14.

⁷¹³ *CR 1227-31*, pp.281-2; D. Crook, 'King and Lord: The Monarch and his Demesne Tenants in Central Nottinghamshire, 1163-1363', in Jobson (ed.), *English Government*, pp.125-39 and especially pp.129, 131 is a

Other Factors

Two other factors may help to explain why the forest never became a significant focus for the reform movement. Firstly, there were other interest groups for whom it was simply not an issue. In particular, London emerged as a political force in its own right during this period.⁷¹⁴ While there are records of amercements being raised at eyres against some of its citizens, for most Londoners the royal forest system was not something of concern.

Finally, the reform movement was borne out frustration and anger at a whole model of government that had developed under Henry III over the preceding twenty-five years, of which the royal forest was just one element. Concerns over the uneven distribution of patronage to favourites, the presence of aliens in senior government positions, widespread abuses by sheriffs, the overbearing demands of the magnates themselves on their tenants and the king's indulgence of them, and the expensive and increasingly perverse foreign ambitions of the crown all served in 1258 to crowd out the royal forest as a priority for reform.⁷¹⁵

Conclusions

This chapter of the thesis has argued that the royal forest was not regarded as a priority area for attention by the reformers in 1258. That was in sharp contrast to the focus it received as a toxic political issue in 1215. A number of explanations can be provided to explain the change in attitude of the respective reformers, but at the core were the actions and decisions taken by Henry's governments during his personal rule. The combined effect of many of the king's decisions, and in particular the concessions that he made, was to soften opposition to the forest, fragment any potential political alliance against it and consequently prevent it becoming a major political issue.

Generally, it is extremely unlikely that Henry and his governments framed their approach towards the royal forest in terms of a conscious 'policy'. One possible exception were the actions taken by Henry and Hubert de Burgh between 1227 and 1229 concerning the pressure for disafforestation when a careful balancing act of reassertion of royal authority and compromise resulted in what proved to be a remarkably resilient settlement. The other notable exception was the period

very helpful examination of relationships between the crown and its demesne tenants in an area subject to forest law. See also Birrell, 'Peasant Craftsmen', p.104 and Birrell, 'Forest Law', p.163 for the argument that peasants living in the royal forest also benefited from the protection and opportunities presented by the system.

⁷¹⁴ Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.19, 262, 289-90, 303-4, 385-90; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.23, 28, 90, 92, 93, 99, 103, 107, 109, 115, 122; J.A. McEwan, 'Civic Government in Troubled Times: London c.1263-1270', in Jobson (ed.), *Baronial Reform*, pp. 125-38.

⁷¹⁵ Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.1-14; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.675-99; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.1-2, 47-65.

between 1244 and 1250 when, under Robert Passelewe, there was a strong focus on revenue generation.

What these two examples demonstrate is that, to the extent that there was a 'policy' concerning the royal forest, it was different at different times in Henry's personal rule. There were, however, constant features in Henry's approach to the forest that echo the more general themes of his reign, in particular his piety and generosity. It is for these reasons that, while there was certainly resentment against the forest in 1258, it did not become an area of focus for reform.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

The Royal Forest: Existing Narratives

It is possible to construct, as many historians have implied, a narrative to suggest that Henry III's actions concerning the royal forest maintained or even exacerbated inherent hostility within the political community towards it. By overturning in 1227 many of the perambulations that he had previously accepted, the king was seen by some contemporaries as challenging at least the spirit of the Forest Charter. The re-establishment of the pre-1225 forest boundaries in many counties therefore resulted in simmering discontent against the king and the forest. That discontent was exacerbated by the frequent programmes of forest eyres initiated by Henry's governments, especially in the South of the country. Those in particular of the 1244-52 visitation have justifiably acquired notoriety for the harshness of their punishments. Additionally, the continued incidence of malpractice and abuse by local forest wardens fostered resentment.

There were opportunities for reform, for example in the period between 1236 and 1240, and especially following the eyres of Robert Passelewe and Geoffrey de Langley, when Henry's governments could have introduced widespread changes, both to the personnel and to the terms of appointment of local foresters. These opportunities had the potential to offer a win-win for both crown and local communities, simultaneously ensuring that a greater share of revenue collected locally was passed to the crown and removing incentives for local abuses. However, these opportunities were not taken as the crown's focus was on other more pressing matters.

This narrative suggests therefore that, by 1258, resentment towards the royal forest reflecting a failure to implement fully the spirit and the letter of the Forest Charter was set to explode. The problem with this narrative is that it is not supported by the subsequent actions of either reformers or the king. There is nothing in the actions of the reformers when they were in power that suggests they intended a fundamental challenge to the boundaries of the royal forest or to the management of it. Similarly, there is no evidence of any change in approach by the king during those periods between 1258 and 1265 when he was in the ascendant or in the years after the victory at Evesham. It is possible that the reform programme before the battle of Lewes was too ambitious and crowded to allow space for the royal forest, but that in itself raises questions about why it was not a greater priority for attention.

The research for this thesis enables an alternative narrative to be constructed that, while recognising the validity of much of the critique of Henry's personal rule, also helps to explain why the royal forest never surfaced as a significant political issue in and after 1258. This narrative gives greater

attention than hitherto to Henry III's concessionary acts in terms of the award of forest gifts and privileges, while also reassessing the role of revenue generation as a key function of the royal forest. It also considers the impact that, albeit limited, attempts at reform had upon attitudes towards the royal forest.

The Concessionary Royal Forest

Forest Privileges

Henry III's personal rule began with a royal challenge to the extensive disafforestations that had seemingly been secured two years earlier. However, what has sometimes been characterised as a strong restatement of royal authority that generated immediate and lasting political opposition was in reality more a compromise in which Henry's government conceded as much as it reasserted. Moreover, through the crown's readiness to grant further disafforestations in subsequent years, the compromise reached in 1227-29 proved to be a lasting one. While there was undeniably some lingering resentment resulting from Henry's actions in 1227, this was rarely vocalised, and to no great effect, when the opportunity arose thirty years later.

While disafforestations were the most significant concessions granted by Henry's governments, they were by no means the only ones. Throughout his personal rule, the king was prepared to grant a wide range of privileges that ameliorated for the beneficiary some aspect of forest law. As with the granting of forest gifts, some of these privileges were clearly awarded as acts of patronage at times of political crisis with the aim of winning or maintaining support. In common again with the award of forest gifts, others were given as an inducement to participation in a military campaign, as rewards for doing so or in recognition of providing good service during one.

Other awards of forest privileges suggest that the crown was responding to external pressures. In particular, there was a readiness to recognise the social and economic pressure for greater assarting within the royal forest. The crown also responded to social pressure for the expansion of private hunting facilities, whether in the form of chases, rights to warren or the creation of deer parks. Of course, to some extent it was driven by the opportunity to generate additional revenue in the form of fines when responding to these pressures, but the evidence of this research is that this was just one of a number of royal motivations and in some cases played only a small part.

Henry's governments also responded to the results of the forest eyres, particularly those undertaken during the 1244-52 visitation, by awarding privileges to individuals and communities who were seemingly seeking to reduce the risk of future amercedments for trespasses. There was therefore, to some extent, an association between the policies of enforcement and concession, and it is arguable

that the number of awards of privileges would not have been so great had the crown not also implemented some of its eyres as harshly as it did. Nevertheless, the large number of awards granted in the aftermath of these eyres was a tacit recognition on the part of the crown of their particular harshness and unpopularity, and a demonstration of its sensitivity to this issue.

The political impact of these awards is likely to have been complex. It could be argued that the mere process for a beneficiary of securing recognition of a privilege which they may have viewed as a right would have generated opposition to the system of forest law, and particularly if that recognition also had to be secured by the payment of a fine. On the other hand, the frequency with which awards in many different forms were granted, often with no accompanying fine, arguably softened the impact across a broad range of the political community of some of the features of the forest system, divided any opposition to it and de-escalated it as a political issue. This argument is strengthened by the frequency with which Henry's governments confirmed the historic privileges of local communities living within the forest and additionally was able to argue that, in doing so, the king was complying with the terms of the Forest Charter.

The awards of forest privileges may therefore have served to soften hostility towards the institution of the royal forest. However, they also contributed to some of the features of Henry's reign that did generate political opposition. There is evidence in the awards of some of the favouritism, particularly towards 'aliens' that was such a controversial feature of Henry's reign, as well as the control over patronage that was exercised in the early years of the personal rule by Hubert de Burgh and the leniency that the king demonstrated at times towards his magnates. While generally the process of awarding privileges sought to secure the sustainability of the forest environment, it is arguable that the scale of authorised assarting undermined the crown's long-term interests for relatively little short-term financial gain.

Forest Gifts

From the moment that he ended his minority in January 1227, Henry also regularly awarded gifts from the royal forest, expanding the practice that his government had commenced during the minority. The purpose of many of these gifts was clearly political or military, placing them firmly in the 'Germanic' model. They were particularly given during periods of political crisis such as the Marshal revolt and the period of baronial reform and revolution, either to secure support, including from political opponents, or as a reward for loyalty. They were also occasionally granted as acts of reconciliation with erstwhile political and military opponents. There is also evidence that they were occasionally used in an effort to win support in parliament. Conversely, the number of gifts tended to fall during periods of political stability. Gifts were also given in large numbers in the periods both

preceding and following domestic and overseas military campaigns, both to encourage active participation and to reward good service. Numbers also rose during the rare periods when Henry travelled outside Westminster and away from his usual destinations of his favoured royal palaces. These were both opportunities to address specific political priorities but also to demonstrate royal largesse in parts of the country otherwise visited infrequently by the king.

Over time, Henry's forest gifts were also distributed more widely across social groups, with an increasing share being given particularly to lesser lords, local knights and royal officials. There were two main drivers for this. Firstly, it appears they were increasingly given as substitutes for other forms of patronage and reward, especially as the crown's ability to offer awards of cash or land became more and more constrained in the later years of Henry's personal rule. Additionally, the number of gifts rose during the 1250s in particular because of the crown's need to secure broader political support for Henry's expensive and controversial foreign ambitions, including the crusade and the Sicilian Business.

The attention of historians has to date been largely drawn to the glittering gifts of gold and jewels both given and received by the king to the extent that the more quotidian awards of venison and timber have been largely overlooked. But these were still gifts of value that emphasised royal favour and the social standing of the beneficiary. They were clearly both welcomed and sought by the recipient. Additionally, it can reasonably be argued that, by sharing generously and widely across the political community the proceeds of an institution that had previously been the subject of fierce political opposition, Henry's gifts helped to defuse hostility towards the royal forest more generally.

There are some important caveats to this interpretation. The first emphasises the importance of farming practices as a determinant of the timing of Henry's forest gifts and therefore a reminder that they cannot be interpreted solely in terms of political or military priorities. Secondly, as a number of individual case studies demonstrate, their award was no guarantee of subsequent political loyalty or military support for the king. It is also possible to discern in the award of forest gifts some of the royal behaviours that ultimately led to active opposition against Henry. At times, the king used forest gifts disproportionately to award favourites, including his unpopular foreign relatives. There is also evidence that his generosity occasionally lapsed into a prodigality imperilling the long-term sustainability of the forest and harming the reputation of the crown. On those occasions, temporary bans had to be introduced to prevent further damage to the royal forest. While the award of forest gifts was never directly an object of political hostility in itself, it did therefore at times contribute to aspects of Henry's personal rule that did generate opposition.

The Royal Forest and Royal Piety

The evidence of the awards of forest gifts and privileges emphasises the important role that the royal forest played as an instrument of the king's patronage. This, however, only goes so far towards explaining the volumes and patterns of Henry's gift-giving and awards. Religious houses and charitable hospitals were by far the largest group of beneficiaries of the awards of forest privileges that Henry granted during his personal rule. Overall, they accounted for 37% of all awards, while also paying less frequently (11% of cases) for their privileges than other categories of recipient. In particular, they benefited from confirmations of existing awards through the *quo warranto* proceedings, grants of new disafforestations, awards of access to the forest, free passage through the forest, approval of assarts and purprestures, and exemptions from attending forest eyres. The position of religious houses and charitable hospitals as primary beneficiaries of these awards is a reflection not only of the fact that many had lands within the royal forest, but also of how the king's piety influenced his decision-making.

This group also accounted for approximately 22% of all the forest gifts that Henry awarded, with a particular bias towards those religious and charitable houses who had the good fortune to be on or close to the routes that he travelled along when away from Westminster. Other key beneficiaries were the Franciscan and Dominican religious orders who expanded rapidly across the country during Henry's reign. While some of these gifts were expressions of gratitude for hospitality or in response to financial or political support, the vast majority accorded with the 'classical' interpretation of the gift in which reciprocity was not expected.

Taking both gifts and the awards of forest privileges together, religious houses and charitable hospitals accounted for 25% of all grants, significantly more than any other category of beneficiary. There was inevitably some indirect political motivation behind this level of generosity, particularly in projecting a positive image of a devout monarch conforming to expectations of his role. But Henry's generosity seems to have gone beyond these considerations and reflected an unusually deep personal piety. His approach towards the royal forest was therefore integral towards his being recognised as a *rex christianissimus*.

The Royal Forest and Royal Revenue

There is plenty of evidence from the period of Henry's personal rule to support the frequent assumption amongst historians that revenue generation for the crown was an important function of the royal forest. Apart from the regular recurring income that it was due to receive from its forest officials, Henry's governments occasionally launched initiatives to sell wood, sometimes at the risk of

causing severe damage to the sustainability of the forest. Alongside that, the crown sold forest privileges in large numbers and undertook programmes of forest eyres at generally regular frequency that occasionally, as in the 1244-52 visitation, generated exceptionally high levels of amercements. Across all three categories of revenue, there are many cases when Henry's governments were prepared to pursue long-outstanding debts, including those that passed between generations of the original debtor's family, to secure the sums owing to it.

It is, however, arguable that the crown could have done more administratively to maximise its revenue from the royal forest. The eyres were uneven in their frequency across the country, while some debts were recorded as outstanding for many years after they became due, creating the impression of an administrative machine that was not always clear of the situation or of its own intentions.

Perhaps more fundamental than the issue of bureaucratic efficiency is the evidence that challenges the assumption that revenue maximisation was a primary focus of the crown. The analysis of the pardons granted by the king suggests that other priorities, both political and personal, worked counter to any unrelenting focus on revenue optimisation. The apparent leniency with which Henry's governments responded to the failure of some forest officials to present financial accounts also suggests that, at times, patronage and political priorities were of greater importance than receiving revenue. Additionally, when the crown had the opportunity to reform the management of the forests in 1237 and 1250 to generate additional income, it chose not to do so. Similarly, the examination of the awards of privileges highlights that many were granted without any expectation of a fine being paid.

Finally, it is possible that Henry's governments took the view ultimately that generating revenue from the forest was simply too much effort for a relatively limited return. While the evidence suggests that the role of the forest as a revenue generator was quantitatively greater than previously identified by historians, it was not as important as suggested by some. As a share of overall crown revenues, the forest was generally relatively minor, while other sources generated much higher levels of income. Henry's governments would also have been conscious of the political backlash that resulted from John's efforts to raise revenue from the forest. In particular, the forest eyres had the potential to generate the kind of hostility expressed by Matthew Paris and may have shown, through the declining collection rates after the 1244-52 visitation, that there were limits to what the country was prepared and able to pay.

While theoretically, the crown could have generated more revenue through greater administrative efficiency and more attention to the collection of debts, the steadily declining rate of collection of

amercements in particular suggests that there was a limit to what could have been achieved. More importantly, the evidence suggest that revenue maximisation was not the sole objective in the government's approach to the royal forest. Securing political capital, exercising patronage and demonstrating the piety that was a hallmark of Henry's personal rule all impacted upon the management of the royal forest and were occasionally prioritised over the generation of revenue.

Forest Administration and Reform

There were seemingly good reasons why Henry's governments from 1227 onwards might have pursued a programme of reforming the management of the royal forest. The single chief justice role was arguably no longer adequate for delivering the programme of eyres that Henry's governments wished to pursue. Additionally, with approximately 60% of its local management in the hands of hereditary wardens, the royal forest administration was exposed to the benefits and the challenges associated with a system rooted in feudal traditions and practices. On the one hand, the crown benefited from a generally stable set of local arrangements with regular farm payments. It also benefited financially from inheritance fees and the recourse to wardships when there were no eligible heirs to succeed to vacancies. On the other hand, farm payments could become rigidly set, with the crown missing out on revenue that was retained by local forest wardens. Additionally, the security of tenure of those wardens created ample opportunities for local abuses and, in turn, resentment towards the forest system as a whole.

Throughout his personal rule, however, Henry's governments showed little interest in reforming the administration of the forest. Between 1227 and 1244, it received very little attention. The only major change of note was the permanent division in 1236 of the chief justice role into two separate, geographically distinct posts. This was probably driven by a desire to create greater capacity for the delivery of the forest eyres and therefore higher revenues for the crown. However, the application of the traditional boundary of the river Trent to divide the two regions resulted in a significantly uneven allocation of responsibilities, with the main burden for managing the royal forest falling upon the chief Justice South of the Trent. This in turn, heavily influenced the type of person appointed to the respective roles. The drive for more frequent eyres and higher revenues from them resulted increasingly in the appointment in this region of men from a professional, administrative background with little personal financial interest in the royal forest. In part therefore, the evolution of the role in the region reflected elements of the 'decline of the curial sheriff'. North of the Trent, however, the story was different. For much of the period, the men appointed to the role there were local barons with power bases and status within the region. Their appointment therefore

emphasises a different aspect of the role, namely as a visible reminder of royal authority more generally in a region that was visited infrequently by Henry III.

The low priority given initially to local forest administration was clear in 1236 when Henry's government embarked upon an ambitious reform of the management of the shires and the royal demesne but excluded from it any direct reform of the running of the forests locally. It was only in 1244, when the king was heavily indebted following the unsuccessful Poitevin campaign, that there were attempts to reform local administrative arrangements. One part of this drive involved resetting the rents due from select non-hereditary forest wardenships. The other key element, driven through the forest eyres by Robert Passelewe, was the systematic dismissal of serving forest wardens and hereditary sub-foresters. It is possible that Passelewe envisaged a new form of local administration to replace existing arrangements, with professional men appointed at the king's pleasure to run larger 'super-forests' as custodians. However, if there were any such plans, they never came to fruition. Over time, and echoing the changes previously introduced to the shrieval system, many of the wardens who were dismissed between 1244 and 1252 returned to their positions on the same terms that had existed previously. The primary effect of the purge resulting from the eyres, and perhaps its intention from the start, was a one-off redirection of funds through the application of amercements away from the local forest wardens and into the royal treasury. Under the guise of alleged or real forest trespasses by the wardens, this may have been a correction to reflect the revenue the crown had lost through the rigidity of the farms, but it involved no lasting adjustment to many of the latter.

There were few significant later reforms to the administration of the forest. During the 1250s, it gradually became common practice for chief justices to receive a fee payment, but the main driver for this was probably the introduction more generally of salaries for professional justices and a desire to reduce the incentives for officials to abuse their positions, rather than as part of a broader package of reforms to the running of the forest. During the period of baronial reform and civil war, the focus of both sides was less on reform of the system than on making sure they had chief justices in post who were sympathetic to their cause. These concerns also influenced the appointment of wardens whose forests were linked to key castles. After the end of the civil war, positions across the administrative system were increasingly used by the king as means of rewarding those who had been loyal to him and for the patronage of those whose support was important.

There was therefore no concerted effort on the part of Henry's government to reform the administration of the forest. Nor was the absence of reform the cause of political unrest in the same way that it was with the position of the sheriffs. The main reason for this was probably because, in

the form of the forest eyres, the crown had a powerful tool allowing it simultaneously to dismiss wardens who generated local hostility through abuse of their position and to raise revenue through punishing them with amercements. Indeed, it is arguable that it was both the continuing threat and use of this mechanism that helped to ensure that complaints about forest administration did not feature in the baronial reform programme. As far as the chief justices were concerned, the crown showed occasionally the same sensitivity towards political unease by removing unpopular postholders such as Geoffrey de Langley in 1252.

The Royal Forest 1227-72: A Revised Narrative

The themes explored through this research therefore enable the construction of a revised narrative for the royal forest during Henry III's personal rule. In doing so, it is important to stress that there are many elements of existing narratives that remain valid. In 1227, Henry was determined to assert his authority through challenging the threat to the royal forest posed by the perambulations of 1225. The frequency with which the crown subsequently embarked upon forest eyre visitations is a reflection not only of its desire to raise revenue, but also of its commitment to preserving the forest as a legal institution and private royal hunting ground. To that extent, historians have been right to highlight enforcement as a key theme of Henry's reign.

Alongside that, however, Henry's governments repeatedly demonstrated a high degree of responsiveness that ensured the royal forest never became a serious political issue. That responsiveness was apparent firstly in how it recognised the political hostility that the royal forest had the potential to generate and the actions that it took to avert that. The result of the royal challenge in 1227 to the threat of extensive disafforestation was therefore ultimately a compromise that stood the test of time. A similar degree of political sensitivity is apparent in the large number of pardons and privileges that it granted in the wake of the harsh eyres of 1244-52. By taking widespread action against incumbent forest wardens, Henry's government could also point to the same eyres as an indication of its responsiveness to the concerns of local communities about forester abuses. Its political sensitivity is apparent also in the actions that it took on occasions to remove unpopular chief justices, such as Geoffrey de Langley, from office. Finally, the confirmation of existing privileges within the forest gave substance to Henry's repeated claims that he was content to comply with the Forest Charter.

Henry's governments also responded positively to social and economic pressures that otherwise potentially threatened the future existence of the forest as a legal institution. In particular, the crown was prepared to grant widespread new assarting and hunting rights within the royal forest. In doing so, its motives were partly financial, but not exclusively so as royal patronage and piety also

played their parts. By responding positively to pressure for the award of hunting rights, Henry's governments also helped to forge a common interest amongst landholders more generally in the preservation of exclusive hunting grounds that weakened opposition to the royal forest as an institution.

The king's frequent use of gifts and privileges more generally as a source of patronage also helped to defuse opposition to the royal forest. Even if the increasing recourse to these during the 1250s in particular was a reflection of the paucity of other options available to the king, Henry's readiness to use them to show favour meant that a broad range of recipients benefited from royal generosity from a source that had previously generated considerable political hostility.

Henry's generosity when it came to distributing the proceeds of the forest and privileges within its boundaries finally reflected two other drivers. Firstly, despite frequent financial pressures, the king could often more easily resort to other sources of revenue rather than become dependent on income from the forest. Secondly, his deep personal piety, when combined with his instinct for generosity, was a powerful force that meant many gifts and privileges were awarded to religious houses. In this way, the royal forest indirectly reinforced Henry's status as a *rex christianissimus*.

Chronologically, these themes can be observed in four distinct periods of Henry's personal rule. Following the settlement of the forest boundaries during 1227-9, the royal forest was not an area for royal attention again until 1244. The period between then and 1252 can be characterised as one during which a focus on enforcement to improve royal revenues was most pronounced. From 1252 onwards, however, a much more concessionary approach dominated Henry's approach towards the royal forest, driven by the impact of the eyres and the increasing use of the forest both as a source of patronage and as a means of building political support for a range of crown initiatives. The final phase coincides with the period of baronial reform, civil war and subsequent settlement when both the crown and reformers saw the royal forest both as a source of patronage and as a means of asserting their authority. While the royal forest therefore was influenced by many of the same factors that impacted generally upon Henry's rule, it largely operated to a slightly different chronological framework than the one set out in Chapter 1.

The combination of measures taken by Henry's governments over the years should probably not be viewed in terms of a coherent 'policy', much less the carefully considered actions of a king who was widely known as a *vir simplex*. Instead, they appear to have been actions taken within the principles of caution, compromise and concession that together served to ensure that the royal forest was less of a political issue in 1272 than it had been in 1227.

The Royal Forest During the Reign of Henry III, 1227-72

PhD Thesis – Appendices

Department of History

Andy Ford

September 2025

Index

Appendix A: Glossary	266
Appendix B: Use of Databases	269
Appendix C: Chief Justices of the Forest	272
Appendix D: Forest Wardens	283
Appendix E: The Forest Debts of William de Beauchamp of Elmley	449
Appendix F: Shire Accounts Examined 1227-72	452
Appendix G: Forest and Crown Revenue 1227-72	453
Appendix H: Actions by Local Forest Officials 1227-72	455
Appendix I: Council of Fifteen Forest Interactions	460
Appendix J: Rebel Forest Wardens 1258-72	465
Bibliography	469

Appendix A

Glossary

The following glossary has been compiled from a number of existing published glossaries, supplemented by reference to a range of secondary sources.⁷¹⁶

Term	Description
Afforest	To place land within the scope of the forest law.
Agister	The officer responsible for supervising the pasturing of animals in the forest and for collecting pasture and pannage dues.
Agistment	The grazing of livestock within the royal forest. The term also refers to the revenue raised from charging for this practice.
Amercement	A sum of money raised from someone found guilty of committing an offence against forest law.
Assart	To clear land, often woodland within the royal forest, for cultivation. The term also refers to land cleared in this way.
Cablish	Trees uprooted by the wind. Cablish was often a perquisite of forest office but could also be sold by the crown.
Bailiwick	An area within the royal forest below the level of an individual forest area. Bailiwicks were frequently administered by hereditary sub-foresters who reported to the warden of a forest area.
Cheminage	A customary tax on the transport of forest produce through the forest for sale. More generally, a charge on carts and pack animals passing through the forest.
Covert	The wooded heart of a forest.
Deer leap	A section of a park enclosure within the forest constructed in such a way to allow deer to jump one way but not the other.
Demesne	Land held by the king or a lord for his own use.
Disafforest	To remove land from the jurisdiction of forest law.
Essoin	To present an excuse for non-appearance in court.
Estover(s)	Customary right(s) to take timber or wood and/or pasture livestock.

⁷¹⁶ Particularly useful glossaries can be found in Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.133-53; Stagg, *New Forest*, pp.243-5; Birrell, *Cannock and Kinver*, pp.18-20; Birrell, *Feckenham*, pp.172-3.

Fence month	The fortnight either side of midsummer, when does were fawning and restrictions were generally imposed on hunting within the royal forest.
Fine	To make a payment in final settlement, often for the award of a privilege within the royal forest. The term also refers to such a payment.
Haybote	The right to take wood from the forest for fencing.
Husbote	The right to take wood from the forest for building purposes.
Lawing of dogs (also termed 'expediation')	The laming of large dogs (by removing the toes of one foot) so as to make them incapable of hunting deer. Expediation also refers to the payment made in lieu of lawing dogs.
Mast	The crop of oak and beech trees.
Mercy, in	To be subject to an amercement.
Pannage	A customary payment for pasturing pigs in the forest, on acorns or beech mast. The term also refers to feeding pigs in this way.
Purpresture	An encroachment on the forest, often involving a building.
Puture	Payments in kind, or hospitality, customarily demanded from forest residents by forest officials for themselves, their men and, sometimes, their dogs and horses.
Regard	A periodic 'view' or inspection of the forest.
Regarder	The officer responsible for making the regard.
Swanimote	A lesser forest court concerned primarily with the pasturing and pannaging of animals in the forest.
Turbary	The cutting of turf and peat. The term also refers to the payment for such a privilege.
Vaccary	A place within the forest for grazing cows.
Venison	The term used for the 'beasts of the forest', namely the red, roe and fallow deer but also, at times, wild boar. These were the beasts protected by forest law.
Verderer	Officers who were elected in the county court and who performed a range of judicial roles, in particular attending local forest courts.
Vert	The trees, undergrowth and vegetation of a forest.
Warden	The forest official with primary responsibility for managing a discrete area of the royal forest. These were either hereditary or were appointed by the king, usually at pleasure or for a defined period of time.

Warren	An area in which a local landholder alone could hunt lesser beasts such as rabbits, hares, pheasants and partridges, as opposed to the 'beasts of the forest'.
Waste	Destruction of the forest cover by exploitation in excess of what was customary or deemed advisable. The term was also used more generally for uncultivated land.

Appendix B

Use of Databases

Where possible, I have included specific references to sources in the footnotes to the text. However, some of my findings, such as those concerning the identification of beneficiaries of gifts and awards and the calculation of forest revenue from thousands of individual pipe roll entries, cannot be referenced in the same way. This appendix is therefore intended to provide a brief introduction to the information stored in the three databases created during my research and the various ways in which these allowed me to analyse my data. As it was anticipated at the outset of the research that the data collected would be used primarily for quantitative analysis, the programme used was Microsoft Excel.

Management Database

This consists of approximately 4,800 entries recording transactions concerning the management of the royal forest. The aim was to compile a comprehensive record of royal decisions concerning the operation of the forest. The transactions mainly relate to decisions around the appointment and dismissal of forest officials, instructions to justices and wardens, the awards of privileges within the forest and royal interventions concerning forest eyres, including respites and pardons of amerancements. The main sources used for compiling the database were the charter rolls, fine rolls, close rolls, patent rolls and liberate rolls. Additional information was obtained from other published sources including the hundred rolls, inquisitions *post mortem* and the records of a number of eyres that have been published by county record societies.

The database was constructed to capture the following core information for each transaction:

- 1) Date
- 2) Name of individual or body affected by the royal decision
- 3) The relevant category to which the individual or body has been assigned
- 4) The name of the forest or forests to which the transaction relates
- 5) The primary category of the transaction, namely whether it relates to Management of the forest, the Award of a privilege or an Eyre
- 6) The secondary category of the transaction. For example, within the Privilege category, which of the eight main privileges that are discussed in Chapter 4 of the thesis
- 7) The details of any financial element of the transaction
- 8) Notes from the source or other relevant primary and secondary sources.

Revenue Database

This spreadsheet consists of approximately 6,700 entries recording transactions concerning the crown's revenue from the royal forest. The aim was to compile a comprehensive record of sums due to the crown and details of their payment. The main sources used for compiling the database were the pipe rolls, whether published or in manuscript form. These were supplemented by information in the published wardrobe accounts and in the fine rolls, close rolls and liberate rolls.

The database was constructed to capture the following core information for each transaction:

- 1) Date
- 2) Name of the debtor
- 3) The reason for the debt. Each debt was identified as primarily concerning the day-to-day Management of the forest, the Award of a privilege, or an amercement arising from an Eyre
- 4) A secondary set of classifications for the type of debt. For example, in relation to the Privilege category, which of the eight main privileges that are discussed in Chapter 4 of the thesis
- 5) The name of the county in which the debt is recorded in the pipe rolls
- 6) The name of the forest or forests to which the debt refers
- 7) The outstanding sum brought forward
- 8) Details of any adjustments to the debt, including payments and pardons
- 9) The outstanding sum carried forward
- 10) Notes from the source or other relevant primary and secondary sources.

Gifts Database

This consists of 7,335 entries recording transactions concerning royal gifts from the forest. Given the number of transactions and that most of the records follow a distinctive, formulaic pattern, it was decided to record these as a separate database. The main sources used for compiling the database were the close rolls. These were supplemented by information in the published patent rolls, liberate rolls and various records published by relevant county record societies. The database was constructed to capture the following core information for each transaction:

- 1) Date
- 2) Name of the forest official receiving the mandate. This proved to be extremely useful in helping to identify the tenure of various forest wardens
- 3) The name of the gift recipient
- 4) The category of gift recipient

- 5) The type of gift and its purpose
- 6) The source of the gift
- 7) The number of units gifted
- 8) The location of Henry III when the gift was granted
- 9) Notes from the source or other relevant primary and secondary sources.

Appendix C

Chief Justices of the Forest

The table below provides details of the appointments made to the chief justice role. It initially records appointments to a single chief justice role for the whole country. It then lists separately the appointments to the roles of chief justice South of the Trent and chief justice North of the Trent. The details provided are largely confined to the period of office, the terms on which the postholders were appointed (where this is known) and reference to any other positions they held within the forest administration.⁷¹⁷

Chief Justice	Term of Office	Other Forest Appointments/Remuneration Details
Hugh de Neville	1224 – October 1229	Hugh de Neville was originally appointed chief justice in 1198. He was dismissed from office in 1216 as a result of his support for the barons against John but was reappointed in 1224. At various times, he was also warden of Feckenham, Gillingham and Shotover Forests. He also had custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford. ⁷¹⁸
Peter de Rivallis	July 1232 – April 1234	Peter de Rivallis was appointed chief justice for life in July 1232. He had custody of Dartmoor, Clarendon, Dean, Gillingham and probably Feckenham forests at the same time that he was chief justice. ⁷¹⁹

⁷¹⁷ There is a helpful list of chief justices South of the Trent compiled by Turner, 'Justices', pp.112-6.

⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁸ D. Crook, 'Neville, Hugh de (d. 1234), royal forester', *ODNB* (2016) accessed online 4 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19942>; Young, *Neville Family*, pp.26-33; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.49-51; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.90-1; Carpenter, *Minority*, pp.384-5; Appendix D, 'Feckenham', 'Forest Between Oxford and Stamford', 'Gillingham', 'Shotover'.

⁷¹⁹ *CPR 1225-32*, pp.487, 489; N. Vincent, 'Rivallis [Rivaux], Peter de (d. 1262), courtier and administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 4 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23688>; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.318-9; Appendix D, 'Clarendon', 'Dean', 'Feckenham', 'Gillingham'.

John de Neville	October 1235 – November 1236	John de Neville was appointed at the king’s pleasure in October 1235. In July 1234, he had inherited custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford from his father. ⁷²⁰
Chief Justice South of the Trent	Term of Office	Other Forest Appointments/Remuneration Details
John of Monmouth	October 1229 – July 1232	In October 1229, John of Monmouth was appointed at the king’s pleasure as chief justice to fourteen counties in the midlands, west, south west and south east. He was also the hereditary warden of Clarendon and New Forests. He also had custody of Feckenham and Gillingham Forests during the period when he was chief justice. Although he was not officially called chief justice South of the Trent, the geographic scope of Monmouth’s responsibilities had some similarities with those of later justices appointed to the role. ⁷²¹
Richard de Mountfitchet	November 1236 – May 1238	In November 1236, Richard de Mountfitchet was appointed at the king’s pleasure as chief justice for nineteen counties, most of which were in the south. While there were some similarities, the overall composition was different from the temporary arrangement that operated under John of Monmouth and proved to be a permanent change. Mountfitchet was also hereditary warden of Essex Forest. ⁷²²

⁷²⁰ *CPR 1232-47*, p.121; Young, *Neville Family*, pp.33, 36; Appendix D, ‘Forest Between Oxford and Stamford’.

⁷²¹ *CPR 1225-32*, p.273. John of Monmouth was appointed to the forests in Staffordshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire and Surrey, and to the bailiwick of Thomas de Langley in Oxfordshire; A. Pollard and R. Davies, ‘Monmouth, John of (c. 1182–1248), baron’, *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 5 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18959>; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.51, 74; Appendix D, ‘Clarendon’, ‘Feckenham’, ‘Gillingham’, ‘New’.

⁷²² *CPR 1232-47*, p.167. The entry is almost certainly incorrect in including Northumberland within the region to be administered by Richard de Mountfitchet, particularly as it is also included within the responsibilities of Robert de Ros who was appointed as chief justice North of the Trent (see below). This appears to be an original clerical error

John Biset	May 1238 – August 1241	John Biset was appointed chief justice at the king’s pleasure in May 1238. He came from a minor baronial family that held land in Wiltshire, Worcestershire and Hampshire, and that also had a strong track record of loyal service to the crown. He held no other forest roles. ⁷²³
John Fitzgeoffrey	October 1241 – April 1242	John Fitzgeoffrey was appointed chief justice at the king’s pleasure in October 1241. Between 1234 and 1236, he had custody of the royal forests of Galtres and Pickering. ⁷²⁴
Reginald de Mohun	April – May 1242	Reginald de Mohun was appointed at the king’s pleasure for a brief period in April 1242. He held no other forest roles. ⁷²⁵

rather than a transcription mistake as the entry in the manuscript at the National Archives (C66/47) also refers to Northumberland. The county that should be referred to within Mountfitchet’s responsibilities is Northamptonshire rather than Northumberland. The titles Forest South of the Trent and Forest North of the Trent were not applied immediately in contemporary documents, which may explain why both Turner, *Select Pleas*, p.xiv and Young, *Royal Forests*, p.74 attribute the formal changes to later dates. Separately, however, Turner does recognise Mountfitchet as a justice of the Forest South of the Trent (Turner, ‘Justices of the Forest’, p.114) and Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.88 also states that the changes took place in 1236. Extant records clearly indicate that the new arrangements were effective from 1236, even if the formal titles were only used later. N. Vincent, ‘Montfichet, Richard de (b. after 1190, d. 1267), baron and forest administrator’, *ODNB* (2005) accessed online 19 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19044>; Appendix D, ‘Essex’.

⁷²³ *CPR 1232-47*, p.221; Sanders, *Baronies*, p.5; *VCH Worcestershire Vol. 3* accessed online 5 October 2023 [Kidderminster: Introduction, borough and manors | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 3* accessed online 5 October 2023 [Houses of Augustinian canons: Priory of Maiden Bradley | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Hampshire Vol. 3* accessed online 5 October 2023 [Parishes: South Stoneham | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#).

⁷²⁴ *CPR 1232-47*, p.261; *CR 1237-42*, pp.364-5. The list of named counties is shorter than that included in Richard de Mountfitchet’s areas of responsibility, excluding Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Buckinghamshire, Surrey, Devon and Worcestershire. In practice, these almost certainly fell within Fitzgeoffrey’s jurisdiction and their omission is most likely to have been due to a clerical oversight. Interestingly, the list also includes Hertfordshire which is not included amongst the counties within Mountfitchet’s responsibility and again is almost certainly an error as no part of the county fell within forest law at this time. D. Carpenter, ‘John fitz Geoffrey (c. 1206–1258), justiciar of Ireland and baronial leader’, *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/38271>; Appendix D, ‘Galtres’, ‘Pickering’.

⁷²⁵ *CR 1237-42*, p.437; *CPR 1232-47*, p.279. While the close rolls entry lists just five counties under Mohun’s jurisdiction, the entry in the patent rolls is inclusive, stating that he is appointed ‘chief justice of the forest in all counties wherein the king has forest, chace or parks on this side Trent.’ W. Hunt and H. Ridgeway, ‘Mohun, Sir Reginald de (c. 1206–1258), baron’, *ODNB* (2005) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18886>.

Gilbert of Seagrave	May 1242 – No later than February 1246	Gilbert of Seagrave was appointed at the king’s pleasure in May 1242. He held no other forest roles. ⁷²⁶
Robert Passelewe	No later than February 1246 – March 1250	It is not clear from the records precisely when Passelewe replaced Seagrave as chief justice, but the evidence of the mandates for providing gifts suggests it was probably either January or February 1246. In February of the same year, Passelewe was also awarded the custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford. ⁷²⁷
Geoffrey de Langley	March 1250 – October 1252	In March 1250, Geoffrey de Langley was simultaneously appointed at the king’s pleasure as both chief justice South of the Trent and chief justice North of the Trent. In April 1250, he was also awarded custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford. Langley was the first chief justice to be granted a money fee. The overall sum was 200m per annum, representing 100m for each separate chief justice role. The fee was to be taken ‘by his own hand out of the issues of the forest.’ He received no payment until he was paid the 500m that were due to him in October 1252 for his two-and-a-half year period in the office. ⁷²⁸

⁷²⁶ *CPR 1232-47*, p.288; J. Todd, ‘Seagrave [Segrave], Sir Gilbert of (d. 1254), administrator and justice’, *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25034>.

⁷²⁷ The final mandate to Seagrave to provide a forest gift was issued on 24 December 1245 (*CR 1242-47*, p.379), while the first mandate to Passelewe to do the same was issued on 22 February 1246 (*CR 1242-47*, p.396). R. Stacey, ‘Passelewe, Robert (d. 1252), administrator’, *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21507>; Appendix D, ‘Forest Between Oxford and Stamford’.

⁷²⁸ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.61, 162; P. Coss, ‘Langley, Sir Geoffrey (c. 1200–1274), administrator and landowner’, *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37651>; Appendix D, ‘Forest Between Oxford and Stamford’.

Reginald de Mohun	October 1252 – February 1253	Reginald de Mohun was appointed for a second term as chief justice South of the Trent at the king's pleasure in October 1252. He was granted 100m annually for his maintenance out of the proceeds of the forest. He held no other forest appointments. ⁷²⁹
Arnold du Bois	February 1253 – February 1255	Arnold du Bois was appointed chief justice at the king's pleasure in February 1253. He was granted 100m per annum for his maintenance out of the issues and amercements of the forest. He was also appointed warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford, and in January 1254 was awarded custody of a bailiwick in Savernake Forest. He died in February 1255. ⁷³⁰
Robert Walerand	September 1256 – September 1259	Robert Walerand was appointed chief justice at the king's pleasure in September 1256. He was granted 100m per annum to maintain himself out of the issues of the forest. He was also warden of New, Dean and Clarendon Forests, as well as the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford. ⁷³¹
Thomas Gresley	September 1259 – June 1261	Thomas Gresley was appointed chief justice at the king's pleasure in September 1259 'by the counsel of the magnates of the Council.' In May 1260 He was granted 200m per annum from the issues of the forest for the role. He was also warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford and was granted the wardship of the heir of Wychwood Forest who was a minor. In March

⁷²⁹ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.154-5.

⁷³⁰ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.178, 191, 363; R. Dace, 'Bois, du, family (per. c. 1071–1313), barons', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/54500>; Appendix D, 'Forest Between Oxford and Stamford'.

⁷³¹ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.497, 501; A. Harding, 'Walerand, Robert (d. 1273), administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28455>; Appendix D, 'Clarendon', 'Dean', 'Forest Between Oxford and Stamford', 'New'.

		1262, after his death, his executors were granted free administration of all his goods and chattels 'for rendering the debts to the king that the same Thomas owed him on the day he died and for answering for the issues of the bailiwick of the king's forest on this side of the Trent for all of the time that he had that bailiwick.' ⁷³²
Alan la Zouche	June 1261 – April 1265	Alan la Zouche was appointed chief justice at the king's pleasure in June 1261. He was to render at the exchequer yearly as much as Thomas Gresley, although that sum was not specified. He was also awarded £100 annually for the role. He was also appointed warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford. ⁷³³
Matthew de Columbariis	April – August 1265	In April 1265, Matthew de Columbariis was appointed chief justice during pleasure by the counsel of the magnates of the Council. He was already the hereditary warden of Chute Forest and was also appointed as warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford. ⁷³⁴
Roger de Clifford	August 1265 – August 1270	Roger de Clifford was appointed chief justice during pleasure in August 1265. He was granted £100 annually in relation to the role. He was also appointed warden of Feckenham. ⁷³⁵

⁷³² *CPR 1258-66*, pp.43, 58, 60, 69, 92; *CFR 46/211* accessed online 9 April 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 46 HENRY III \(28 October 1261–27 October 1262\)](#); Sanders, *Baronies*, pp.130-1; Jobson, *English Revolution*, p.41; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.152; Appendix D, 'Forest Between Oxford and Stamford', 'Wychwood'.

⁷³³ *CPR 1258-66*, p.158; *CLR 1260-67*, pp.49, 84, 113; T. Tout and R. Davies, 'Zouche [Zouch], Alan de la (d. 1270), administrator and soldier', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30300>; Appendix D, 'Forest Between Oxford and Stamford'.

⁷³⁴ *CPR 1258-66*, p.418; Appendix D, 'Chute'.

⁷³⁵ *CPR 1258-66*, p.435; *CLR 1267-72*, pp.103, 108; K. Faulkner, 'Clifford, Sir Roger de (b. c. 1221, d. in or before 1286), baron and soldier', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5659>; Appendix D, 'Feckenham'.

Roger de Clifford junior	August 1270 onwards	Roger de Clifford junior was appointed to replace his father as chief justice in August 1270 ‘for as long as it pleases the king so that he is to answer to the king for the issues proceeding therefrom at his exchequer’. He was granted £100 annually in relation to the role. ⁷³⁶
Chief Justice North of the Trent	Term of Office	Other Forest Appointments/Remuneration Details
Brian de Lisle	October 1229 – July 1232	In October 1229, Brian de Lisle was appointed at the king’s pleasure as chief justice for fifteen counties in the north, midlands, south and east. Although he was not officially called chief justice North of the Trent, the geographic scope of Brian de Lisle’s responsibilities had some similarities with those of later justices appointed to the role. He was also warden of Galtres and Peak Forests and later also Pickering Forest. ⁷³⁷
Robert de Ros	November 1236 – May 1249	Robert de Ros was appointed at the king’s pleasure as chief justice North of the Trent in November 1236. At some unspecified date, he was also granted or obtained Galtres and

⁷³⁶ *CFR 54/1134* accessed online 26 September 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_067.html; *CLR 1267-72*, pp.147, 192, 193, 198, 228, 239. The entry for Roger de Clifford senior in the *ODNB* states that he held the position of chief justice of the Forest South of the Trent for sixteen years from 1265, but the documentary evidence from the fine rolls, close rolls and liberate rolls makes clear that there was a transfer to his son in the summer of 1270.

⁷³⁷ *CPR 1225-32*, p.273. Brian de Lisle was awarded custody of the forests in the counties of Northumberland, Cumbria, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Oxfordshire with the exception of Thomas de Langley’s bailiwick in Wychwood Forest. S. Church, ‘Lisle [Insula], Sir Brian de (d. 1234), soldier and administrator’, *ODNB* (2007) accessed online 5 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47250>; Appendix D, ‘Galtres’, ‘Peak’, ‘Pickering’.

		Northumberland Forests. The precise date of his departure from the position as chief justice is unclear. ⁷³⁸
Geoffrey de Langley	March 1250 – October 1252	In March 1250, Geoffrey de Langley was simultaneously appointed at the king's pleasure as both chief justice South of the Trent and chief justice North of the Trent. In April 1250, he was also awarded custody of the Forest between Oxford and Stamford. Langley was the first chief justice to be granted a money fee. The overall sum was 200m per annum, representing 100m for each separate chief justice role. The fee was to be taken 'by his own hand out of the issues of the forest.' He received no payment until he was paid the 500m that were due to him in October 1252 for his two-and-a-half year period in the office. ⁷³⁹
John of Lexinton	November 1252 – June 1255	John of Lexinton was appointed chief justice at the king's pleasure in November 1252. He was granted 100m per annum 'by his own hand out of the issues of the said forests to maintain himself'. He also had custody of Pickering Forest. The 1255 pipe rolls include an account by Lexinton for his tenure as chief justice. ⁷⁴⁰
William Heron	June 1255 – April 1257	William Heron was appointed chief justice at the king's pleasure in June 1255. Rather than receive a money fee to sustain him in office, Heron was instead required to render 50m per

⁷³⁸ *CPR 1232-47*, pp.167, 169; N. Vincent, 'Ros, Robert de (d. c. 1270), baron and royal councillor', *ODNB* (2006) accessed online 6 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24078>; Appendix D, 'Galtres', 'Northumberland'.

⁷³⁹ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.61, 162; P. Coss, 'Langley, Sir Geoffrey (c. 1200–1274), administrator and landowner', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37651>; Appendix D, 'Forest Between Oxford and Stamford'.

⁷⁴⁰ *CPR 1247-58*, p.165; *CLR 1251-60*, p.289; *CFR 37/110* accessed online 9 April 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 37 HENRY III \(28 October 1252–27 October 1253\)](#); TNA, E 372/99, rot. 15d, m. 1 accessed online 9 April 2025 [AALT Page](#); R. Stacey, 'Lexinton [Laxton], John of (d. 1257), administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 6 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16615>.

		annum for the chief justice role and account for the issues of the forest. There is no record of any account or payment by Heron in relation to the chief justice role. ⁷⁴¹
John d’Eyville	April 1257 – June 1261	<p>John d’Eyville was appointed to the chief justice role for three years in April 1257. He was to hold the position ‘from Easter in the forty-first year through three years, so that he is to answer for the issues of the same with appurtenances at the exchequer and is to render per annum at the same exchequer for that custody as much as William Heron rendered for the same whilst he had the same and 10 m. of increment, namely one moiety at the exchequer of Michaelmas and the other moiety at the exchequer of Easter. And for the aforesaid bailiwick the same John has made fine with the king by two marks of gold to be paid in the king’s wardrobe.’</p> <p>In May 1260, he was reappointed on the same terms but in August 1260 was granted 60m annually from the issues of the forest, answering for the residue of the issues at the exchequer. The pipe rolls for 1261 include his account for the period of his custody from Easter 1257.⁷⁴²</p>
Robert de Neville	June 1261 – July 1263	Robert de Neville was appointed chief justice at the king’s pleasure in June 1261. He was to render as much yearly at the exchequer as John d’Eyville. However, in June 1262 that arrangement was changed so that he was thereafter in receipt of an annual fee of 100m. Neville

⁷⁴¹ *CPR 1247-58*, p.413; R. Cassidy, ‘Heron, William (d. 1257/8), administrator’, *ODNB* (2013) accessed online 25 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/105369>; Cassidy, ‘William Heron’, pp.9-19.

⁷⁴² *CPR 1247-58*, p.550; *CPR 1258-66*, pp.71, 85-6; *CFR 41/566*, *CFR 41/567* accessed online 27 March 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_054.html; TNA, E 372/105, rot. 20d, m. 1 accessed online 9 April 2025 [AALT Page](#); O. Ville, ‘Deyville [Daiville], Sir John de (c. 1234–1290/91), rebel’, *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 6 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/50769>; O. De Ville, ‘John Deyville: A Neglected Rebel’, *Northern History* 34 (1998), pp.17-40; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.114-5.

		was also awarded Melksham Forest in May 1263 as a result of being appointed constable of Devizes castle. There is no record of any account or payment made by him in relation to the chief justice role. ⁷⁴³
John d’Eyville	July 1263 – September 1265	In July 1263, John d’Eyville was reappointed to the chief justice role ‘by the counsel of the magnates’. He was granted 60m per annum from the issues of the forest on condition that he account for the residue. However, in direct competition with d’Eyville, Robert de Neville was reappointed chief justice during the king’s pleasure in April 1264. ⁷⁴⁴
Roger of Leybourne	September 1265 – October 1270	Roger of Leybourne was appointed chief justice at the king’s pleasure in September 1265. At the same time as his appointment as chief justice, he was granted custody of Inglewood Forest, a position he held for the rest of the reign. In practice, it seems that these duties were beyond Leybourne’s capacity and in October 1265 Roger of Lancaster was formally appointed as his deputy with the title of ‘steward’, alongside the role he was granted in the previous month to keep the forest in Lancashire. ⁷⁴⁵

⁷⁴³ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.159, 215, 257; *CLR 1260-67*, p.101; A. Harding, ‘Walerand, Robert (d. 1273), administrator’, *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28455>; Young, *Neville Family*, pp.82-6.

⁷⁴⁴ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.272, 313, 344.

⁷⁴⁵ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.470, 471; K. Faulkner, ‘Leybourne [Leyburn], Sir Roger of (c. 1215–1271), soldier and landowner’, *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 26 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16624>; Appendix D, ‘Inglewood’, ‘Lancashire’.

Geoffrey de Neville	October 1270 onwards	Neville was appointed chief justice at the king's pleasure in August 1270. He was awarded 100m per annum. ⁷⁴⁶
---------------------	----------------------	--

⁷⁴⁶ *CFR 54/1120, 54/1121* accessed online 27 March 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_067.html; *CPR 1266-72*, p.470; *CLR 1267-72*, pp.176, 179, 183, 212, 233; A. Pollard and S. Church, 'Neville, Geoffrey de (d. 1225), baron', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 6 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19932>; Young, *Neville Family*, pp.57, 86, 93, 95-6, 99.

Appendix D

Forest Wardens

This appendix provides details of the wardens of each of the major individual royal forests during Henry III's reign. The two most helpful lists of royal forest areas for this period are to be found in the studies by Bazeley and Young.⁷⁴⁷ There are other lists of forest areas, but these cover a broader chronological period and therefore include areas that were not subject to forest law during the reign of Henry III. These lists also occasionally include smaller bailiwicks within individual forest areas that are not the primary focus of this study or areas of private forest that were not subject to forest law.⁷⁴⁸

Bazeley's list consists of royal forests in the middle of the thirteenth century and is ordered by county. This results in some duplication where individual forests straddled county boundaries, such as Savernake which was partly in Berkshire and partly in Wiltshire. Young built upon this work to construct a list of seventy individual forest areas from the thirteenth century, although he excluded Bolsover which appears in Bazeley's list. This appendix provides details of the management arrangements for each of the forests included in the lists compiled by Bazeley and Young, with the exceptions that are recorded in the table below.

⁷⁴⁷ Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.160-2; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.62-3.

⁷⁴⁸ Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.221-9 provides an extensive list of forests as an appendix. This includes areas such as Wyresdale in Lancashire that were disafforested before Henry III's reign. It also includes some of the smaller bailiwicks such as Panshill that formed part of larger individual forest areas (in the case of Panshill, this was Bernwood) and that are not examined separately in this study. Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.448-50 also provides a list of the main forests as an appendix to her thesis. As the thesis covers the period of forest eyes between 1154 and 1368, it includes counties such as Sussex that were not subject to forest law during the reign of Henry III. The list in Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, pp.178-9 also covers a much wider period than Henry III's reign and includes private chases such as Weardale in Durham that were not subject to forest law. Although Cox (*Royal Forests*, pp.87-348) did not provide a list of forest areas as part of his pioneering work, his study is largely structured around the main forests. His scope is chronologically very broad and accordingly he includes areas such as Duffield Frith (Chapter XV) that were not part of the forest system during Henry III's reign. Finally, John Langton and Graham Jones have compiled an extensive database of forests in both royal and private hands covering a broad chronological period to accompany their two-volume study of the forests and chases of England and Wales between 1000 and 1850. I am grateful to Dr John Langton for sharing with me a copy of the database which has been very helpful in checking some of the names of the forests that appear in the records of Henry III's reign. Further details of their research project can be found at [Forests and Chases of England and Wales \(ox.ac.uk\)](http://ox.ac.uk).

Forest area excluded from the study	Reason for exclusion
Allerdale	Allerdale (Cumberland) is included in both of the lists compiled by Bazeley and Young, although there are no further references to it in the latter. Bazeley notes that the term 'Inglewood Forest' was applied to the Allerdale district during the reign of Edward I. There are very few references to Allerdale Forest in the records of Henry III's reign and no references to it being used as a source of venison or timber either for gifts or for royal consumption. The records of the 1285 forest eyre of Cumberland include a regard of Allerdale wood. Cox notes that, at that time, Inglewood Forest was divided into three bailiwicks, each with its own regards. He also notes separately that Allerdale wood lay within the bounds of Inglewood. The most likely explanation therefore is that Allerdale was a bailiwick of the much larger Inglewood Forest, a conclusion reached also by Grant. ⁷⁴⁹
Bagshot	Bagshot is identified as a separate forest by Young but was recorded by Bazeley as a bailiwick of Windsor Forest within Hampshire. The few references to the forest in Bagshot during the reign of Henry III make it clear that it was a bailiwick of the larger Windsor Forest. ⁷⁵⁰
Bolsover	Bolsover is included in the list of royal forests compiled by Bazeley, but not in that drawn up by Young. Grant includes it in his list of forests, citing Bazeley as the source, but neither Cox nor Young refers to it. There are very

⁷⁴⁹ Winters, 'Forest Eyre, p.322; Cox, *Medieval Forests*, p.92; Grant, *Medieval Forests*, p.221.

⁷⁵⁰ *CR 1234-37*, p.392; *CR 1242-47*, p.509.

	few references to Bolsover Forest in the records of Henry III's reign and certainly not sufficient to determine its management arrangements with any confidence. ⁷⁵¹
Chepstow	Young includes the liberty of Chepstow in his list of royal forests. However, Bazeley notes that the area in question was taken out of forest jurisdiction by the earl Marshal during Henry III's minority and was not brought back under royal authority until the reign of Edward I. It was therefore not part of the royal forest during the period covered by this study. ⁷⁵²
Farndale	Both Bazeley and Young include Farndale Forest in their lists of royal forests. There are very few references to it in the records of Henry III's reign and no records of it being used as a source of venison or timber for royal gifts or royal consumption. It is not included in Butlin's list of nine forests in the North Riding of Yorkshire ⁷⁵³ . In 1229, Farndale was confirmed as an ancient royal forest. In June 1253, custody of the forest was granted to Hugh Bigod. He replaced the Abbey of St Mary's York which lost custody following a court case. In May 1255, Bigod agreed a fine of 500m to have the wardenship of Farndale for him and his heirs, as well as hunting rights across pYorkshire. This fine was paid in instalments, with the final payment being recorded in the 1259 pipe rolls. Apart from these transactions, there is very little detail in the sources concerning the forest. ⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵¹ *RLC II*, p.196 includes the only reference during the period of Henry's majority to a gift from Bolsover Forest. The only other notable references in the primary sources relate to the sale of wood from the king's forest and park at Bolsover in 1252 (*CR 1251-53*, pp.71, 227); Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.222.

⁷⁵² Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.145, 155.

⁷⁵³ Bazeley, 'Extent', p.162; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.63; R.A. Butlin (ed.), *Historical Atlas of North Yorkshire* (Otley, 2003), pp.79, 81.

⁷⁵⁴ *CR 1227-31*, p.225; *CR 1251-53*, pp.368-9; *CR 1254-56*, p.84; *CChR 1226-57*, pp.445-6; *CLR 1251-60*, p.212; *CFR /509* accessed online 20 January 2024

https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_047.html#it509_007; *CFR 39/405* accessed online 20 January 2024

https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_052.html#it405_009; *PR 1259*, p.407; Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.125; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.143.

Guildford	While subject to forest law, the royal park at Guildford was administered by the bailiff responsible for the manor there and, at times, the castle. A parker was also employed at the rate of 2d per day. As a small part of the overall royal forest, it has not been examined further in this study. ⁷⁵⁵
Haughmond	Both Bazeley and Young include Haughmond (Shropshire) in their lists of royal forests. There are very few references to it in the records of Henry III's reign and no records of it being used as a source of venison or timber for royal gifts or royal consumption. There are references to regards of Haughmond Forest in the Shropshire forest eyres of 1262 and 1271, when it is linked with Wombridge and Wrekin Forests. Bazeley also notes that it was 'connected' with Wrekin Forest. Silvester goes further and argues that the forest around Haughmond was simply a detached portion of Wrekin Forest, while the <i>VCH Shropshire</i> states that it was one of two sub-jurisdictions within Wrekin Forest. It is therefore considered as part of the latter for the purposes of this study. ⁷⁵⁶
Irchenfield/Archenfield	Irchenfield (also known as 'Archenfield') is included in both lists compiled by Bazeley and Young. It may have been one of the forests in Herefordshire that was farmed as early as 1086. It is possible that it formed part of the hereditary stewardship of Hugh de Kilpeck who was warden of the Hay of Hereford until his death in 1244 (Appendix D, 'Hereford Hay'). However, there are very few references to it in the records of Henry III's reign that allow its management arrangements to be described with any confidence. It is not studied by either Cox or

⁷⁵⁵ *VCH Surrey Vol. 2*, pp.563-5; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.28.

⁷⁵⁶ Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.242, 279; Bazeley, 'Extent', p.161; R. Silvester, 'Historical Concept to Physical Reality: Forests in the Landscape of the Welsh Borderlands', in Langton and Jones (eds.), *Forests and Chases*, p.149; *VCH Shropshire Vol. 1*, p.486.

	Young and there are no references to it as a source of venison or timber for royal gifts or consumption. In addition, it was disafforested in 1251. It is therefore excluded from the scope of this study. ⁷⁵⁷
Keynsham/Kingswood	Keynsham (also known as 'Kingswood') was partly situated in Gloucestershire and partly in Somerset. It is included in both lists compiled by Bazeley and Young. Wood from the forest was used for works at Bristol castle in 1251 and 1252. In addition, it was the source of six royal gifts between 1234 and 1252. However, there are few other records of the forest during Henry III's reign to enable the management arrangements to be described with any confidence. From the few references that do exist, it is possible that the warden of the royal forest in Somerset had responsibility for the part of Kingswood that fell within that county, while the constable of Bristol castle may have been responsible for the part of the forest that was within Gloucestershire. However, Bazeley has questioned whether Keynsham/Kingswood was ever fully integrated within the royal forest system during Henry III's reign after it was seized for the crown by his father, while Bond has stated that it was disafforested in 1228. It is therefore not considered further in this study. ⁷⁵⁸
Ramsey	Young includes the liberty of Ramsey in his list of royal forests. However, it appears that the area in question relates to the private woods of Ramsey Abbey within the royal forest in Huntingdonshire. There was some ambiguity over the extent to which forest law applied to these private woods and the privileges enjoyed by the abbot and his tenants, but they should not be considered as a separate administrative unit within the royal forest structure. They are not included in the list of forests compiled by Grant or Winters, while Cox makes no reference to them. ⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁷ CChR 1226-57, p.369; CR 1251-53, p.130; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.11.

⁷⁵⁸ CR 1231-34, p.487; CR 1237-42, pp.1, 274; CR 1247-51, pp.317, 489, 498; CR 1251-53, pp.142, 167; Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.142-3; Bond, 'Forests, Chases, Warrens and Parks', p.132.

⁷⁵⁹ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.10, 44-5; Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.170-1.

Somersham	Young includes the liberty of Somersham in his list of royal forests. However, the area in question relates to the private woods of Ely Abbey within the royal forest in Huntingdonshire rather than a separate forest in itself or an administrative unit of it. This was another area over which the application of forest law was contested, resulting in an investigation as part of the Huntingdonshire forest eyre of 1286. Somersham is not included in the lists of forests compiled by Grant or Winters. It was still part of the estates of the bishop of Ely at the end of the fourteenth century. ⁷⁶⁰
Woodstock	Similar to Guildford, Woodstock was a park within the royal forest. Responsibility for it usually rested with the bailiff of the royal houses there. As a relatively small part of the overall royal forest, its custody arrangements have not been examined further in this study. ⁷⁶¹

The management arrangements for each of the remaining individual forest areas are set out in the tables below. The forests are ordered alphabetically and combined where they were subject to shared management arrangements. For each forest, the sequence of wardens is recorded in the first column of each table. The period of office is then recorded for each warden, with varying degrees of precision depending on the extant source material. The third column provides further details about the warden's period of office as well as the nature of their tenure wherever this is possible. For each forest, the nature of the warden's tenure is also identified using one of three categories. The categories distinguish between forests held on a hereditary basis, those linked to castles and those held in other ways.

⁷⁶⁰ Bazeley, 'Extent', p.154; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.334-5; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.144-5; Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, p.151.

⁷⁶¹ Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.143, 161; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.27, 28; Schumer, *Oxfordshire Forests*, pp.ix-x.

Aliceholt and Wolmer (Hampshire) - Hereditary

Although separated by a small strip of non-forest land, Aliceholt and Wolmer Forests were normally treated as one and were usually under the same administrative arrangement. Wolmer was mentioned in the Domesday Book. There was some reforestation of woods near Aliceholt by Henry's government in 1228.⁷⁶²

Warden of Aliceholt and Wolmer	Term of Office	Details
John de Venuz	Pre-1227 - At least October 1245	<p>John de Venuz held the bailiwick of Aliceholt in fee of the crown. In the last pipe rolls of Henry's minority in 1226, he owed £82 11s 7d relating to the farm of Aliceholt. This was a debt that had accumulated over a significant period of time and partly related to the period of his father's custody of the forest. Venuz was required to pay 20m each year to clear the debt, which he did in 1233. There is no record of subsequent annual farm payments in the pipe rolls.</p> <p>Venuz lost the bailiwick of Aliceholt following the Hampshire forest eyre of December 1244 led by Robert Passelewe. The reason for the seizure is not disclosed but may have been associated with the sums that he owed for pannage, as discussed below. The precise date of his removal is not clear, but it must have been during or after October 1245 as he was still receiving mandates to provide forest gifts before then.</p>

⁷⁶² Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.309-10; Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, pp.177-8; Bazeley, 'Extent', p.153.

		Venuz also held the bailiwick of Lindwood in New Forest, for which he was required to pay an annual fee of 1m. These payments were irregular, but Venuz was rarely more than three years in arrears. The pipe rolls for 1260, the year of his death, record that he owed three marks. ⁷⁶³
Henry de Farley	January 1246 – November 1248	Henry de Farley was appointed during pleasure as warden of Aliceholt along with other forests in Hampshire in January 1246. ⁷⁶⁴ There is no record of any payment by him for custody of the forest.
John de Venuz	November 1248 – March 1257	Aliceholt was restored to John de Venuz in November 1248. There is no record of any payment by Venuz for recovery of the custody. At the time, he still owed £18 3s 6d for pannage from the Hampshire eyre of 1244. This was partly transferred to another official (Nigel Beck) in 1253, but was only confirmed as paid in the pipe rolls of 1259. In March 1257 Henry III confirmed a grant of the bailiwick of Aliceholt and Wolmer by John de Venuz to his son-in-law Adam Gurdon. Venuz died in June 1260. ⁷⁶⁵
Adam Gurdon	March 1257 onwards	Adam Gurdon paid a 15m fine into the wardrobe in March 1257 to obtain custody of Aliceholt and Wolmer from John de Venuz. There is no evidence that any subsequent annual farm

⁷⁶³ *CPR 1247-58*, p.547; *CFR 41/520* accessed online 10 October 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_054.html; *CR 1247-51*, p.129; *PR 1218*, p.13; *PR 1219*, pp.25-6; *PR 1220*, p.122; *PR 1221*, p.17; *PR 1222*, pp.89, 90; *PR 1224*, pp.4, 13, 14, 19; *PR 1226*, p.81; TNA, E 372/77, rot. 7d, m. 1 accessed online 4 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/104, rot. 3, m. 1 accessed online 14 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *CR 1242-47*, p.343; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.182-3.

⁷⁶⁴ *CPR 1232-47*, p.471.

⁷⁶⁵ *CR 1247-51*, p.129; *CPR 1247-58*, p.547; *CFR 44/364* accessed online 10 October 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_057.html; *CPR 1258-66*, p.82; *CR 1259-61*, p.90; *CIPM Vol. I*, pp.126-7; TNA, E 372/90, rot. 12d, m. 1 accessed online 2 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/97, rot. 15d, m. 1 accessed online 2 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *PR 1259*, p.48.

		<p>payments were required or made. Gurdon acquired estates in Hampshire, Dorset and probably Gloucestershire through his marriage to John de Venuz's daughter and heir in 1255. He lost the forest of Wolmer to Alan de Plugenet in February 1266 due to his participation in the civil war against Henry III but appears to have retained Aliceholt. He was subsequently reconciled to Henry III and received gifts in 1271-2. At some point he recovered Wolmer Forest as he received a writ in June 1270 to provide a forest gift from it. Gurdon died in 1305.⁷⁶⁶</p>
--	--	--

Bere Ashley (Hampshire) - Hereditary

Bere Ashley was one of a cluster of forests in Hampshire, but was separate from that of Bere Portchester (see below). It is also to be distinguished from the forest of Bere in Dorset. Custody of the forest was linked to custody of the manor of Ashley, near Winchester. From at least the middle of the twelfth century, the Brewer family held the hereditary wardenship of the forest. William Brewer (died 1226) began as forester of Bere Ashley before enjoying a highly successful and lucrative career as a loyal administrator and justice under John.⁷⁶⁷

Warden of Bere Ashley	Term of Office	Details
William Brewer	1226 – Late 1232	William Brewer was the younger son of William Brewer senior who had supported John as an administrator and justice and who had died in 1226. He inherited the bailiwick of Ashley within

⁷⁶⁶ *CFR 41/520* accessed online 10 October 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_054.html; *CPR 1247-58*, p.547; H. Summerson, 'Gurdon [Gurdon], Sir Adam (c. 1220–1305), soldier and rebel', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 10 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11754>; *CPR 1258-66*, pp.557-8; *CR 1268-72*, pp.196-7, 328, 478.

⁷⁶⁷ Young, *Royal Forests*, p.62; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.5; *VCH Hampshire Vol. 4* accessed online 31 January 2024 [Parishes: Ashley | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/parishes/ashley); S. Church, 'Brewer [Briwerre], William (d. 1226), administrator and justice', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 31 January 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3369>.

		<p>Bere Forest and occasionally received royal mandates directly to provide timber or to sell underwood. Like his father, he enjoyed a career as a royal administrator and was a forest justice in 1219. He died childless late in 1232.</p> <p>There are no records of any payments by Brewer for his custody of Bere Ashley. However, the New Forest accounts for the years 1226 - 1229 inclusive all record a payment of 40s to him from the proceeds of New Forest, in line with a gift from Richard I. There are no complete New Forest accounts for the later years when Brewer had custody of the forest.⁷⁶⁸</p>
William de Percy	June 1233 – No later than May 1234	<p>After Brewer’s death, his wife Joan briefly had custody of Ashley manor. In June 1233, William de Percy made fine with the king by 500m for having the custody of the five daughters of William Brewer until they came of age, one of whom (Joan) was his wife. He was granted the manor of Ashley with appurtenances. He received a mandate in January 1234 to provide a gift from Bere. There are no records of any payments by him in the pipe rolls in relation to the custody of the forest.⁷⁶⁹</p>

⁷⁶⁸ S. Church, ‘Brewer [Briwerre], William (d. 1226), administrator and justice’, *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 31 January 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3369>; *CLR 1226-40*, pp.136, 169; *CPR 1225-32*, p.480; *CR 1227-31*, pp.167, 463; *CR 1231-34*, pp.16, 22, 70; *CFR 17/7* accessed online 31 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_032.html; *CFR 17/129, 17/130* accessed online 31 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_032.html#it130_007; *PR 1226*, p.83; TNA, E 372/71, rot. 13d, m. 1 accessed online 31 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/72, rot. 7d, m. 1 accessed online 31 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/73, rot. 2d, m. 1 accessed online 31 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

⁷⁶⁹ *CFR 17/217* accessed online 31 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_032.html#it130_007; *CR 1231-34*, pp.198, 227, 229, 371; H. Thomas, ‘Percy, William de (1191x3–1245), baron’, *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 31 January 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21961>; *VCH Hampshire Vol. 4* accessed online 31 January 2024 [Parishes: Ashley | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#).

Henry de Farlington	May 1234 – March 1238	One of William de Percy’s daughters, Joan, married Henry de Farlington. It is probably through this marriage that Farlington acquired custody of Ashley manor and Bere Forest as a grant from William de Percy. Farlington is first recorded as the warden of Bere in May 1234. He received mandates as warden in 1237 but was dead by March 1238. There is no reference to Henry de Farlington in the pipe rolls for Hampshire between 1234 and 1238. ⁷⁷⁰
Ingram de Pratellis/Preaux	No later than January 1241 – January/May 1246	In December 1238, Joan’s lands were taken into royal custody because she refused to respond to an order to come before the king. At some point, she remarried. Her second husband was Ingram de Pratellis who was then identified as the warden of Bere Ashley Forest. He received his first mandate to provide a gift from the forest in January 1241. He received further mandates in 1242. The final recorded mandate is dated May 1246. In 1245, he was amerced 20m at the Hampshire forest eyre, a sum that he paid shortly afterwards. ⁷⁷¹
Henry de Farley	January 1246 – No later than May 1250	In January 1246, Henry de Farley was granted custody of Ashley. This was part of the broader appointment of Farley to forests across Hampshire. In September 1247, he was mandated to provide a gift from the forest. The extant records therefore suggest an overlap in the custodies of Farley and Pratellis. Farley was granted custody of Bere Ashley in January 1246, but Pratellis was still receiving a mandate

⁷⁷⁰ CR 1231-34, p.433; CR 1234-37, pp.409, 443; CR 1237-42, p.31; VCH Hampshire Vol. 4 accessed online 31 January 2024 [Parishes: Ashley | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#).

⁷⁷¹ CFR 23/32 accessed online 31 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_036.html#it032_010; CR 1237-42, pp.269, 411, 514; CR 1242-47, pp.287, 424; CLR 1240-45, p.289; TNA, E 372/89, rot. 12d, m. 2 accessed online 31 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.182-3.

		<p>concerning it in May of that year. There may have therefore be some administrative confusion for a period of time in 1246 about respective responsibilities. What is clear is that Pratellis lost custody at some point around 1245/6 and that was most likely as a result of the recent forest eyre. There are no further records of him as warden of the forest and the last reference to him in the sources is in June 1248 when he was granted a quittance from appearing at an eyre. He may therefore have died soon afterwards.</p> <p>There are also no further records relating to Farley’s custody of Bere Ashley after September 1247. Elsewhere in Hampshire, his period of custody ended in 1250 and the evidence suggests this may have been the same in the case of Bere Ashley.⁷⁷²</p>
John Mansel	May 1250 – No later than September 1265	<p>The bailiwick of Ashley is first recorded as being in the hands of John Mansel in May 1250. In June 1254 John Mansell’s bailiff of Bere Ashley was mandated to assist in the sale of underwood from the forest. After 1254, there are few references to Bere Ashley and none to Mansel’s custody of it. If he continued to be warden, Bere Ashley would have been just one of many offices that he held during this period. It is possible that he had custody of the forest until his death in 1265. There are no records of any payments by John Mansel in relation to Bere Ashley in the Hampshire pipe rolls.⁷⁷³</p>

⁷⁷² CPR 1232-47, p.471; CLR 1245-51, pp.21-2; CR 1242-47, p.534; CR 1247-51, p.115.

⁷⁷³ CR 1247-51, p.287; CPR 1247-58, p.434; R. Stacey, ‘Mansel, John (d. 1265), administrator and royal councillor’, *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 31 January 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17989>.

Robert Walerand	September 1265 onwards	<p>If Mansel had custody of the forest until 1265, his death and the subsequent end of the civil war seem to have prompted a review of arrangements for the custody of Bere Ashley. In September 1265, it was concluded that Joan de Pratellis was not of sound mind and that, because her heir was a minor, Robert Walerand was given custody of her 'land and goods...with the bailiwick of the forest of Bere which belongs to her, to keep to her use during her life, so that she be fittingly maintained.' Walerand was probably chosen because of his considerable experience of forest administration, particularly in Hampshire. He appears to have held this position until the end of the reign as he was mandated to provide a gift from Bere in June 1272. There are no records of any payments by Robert Walerand in relation to Bere Ashley in the Hampshire pipe rolls.⁷⁷⁴</p>
-----------------	------------------------	---

Bere Regis (Dorset) - Other

The manor of Bere Regis was a royal demesne in Saxon times. It is likely that the area was afforested during Henry II's reign. In 1227-8, Henry III reversed previous decisions to disafforest the area. In 1259 the manor was granted by Henry III to Simon de Montfort and ceased to be a royal forest.⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷⁴ *CPR 1258-66*, p.458; *CPR 1266-72*, pp.109, 110; *CR 1268-72*, p.485; A. Harding, 'Walerand, Robert (d. 1273), administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28455>.

⁷⁷⁵ *VCH Dorset Vol. 2*, p.292; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.143; Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.147, 149-50; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.46, 321 n.156.

Warden of Bere Regis	Term of Office	Details
Possibly sheriff of Dorset and Somerset	1227 – June 1233	There are very few references to Bere Regis in the period before 1233. The pipe rolls record that the sheriff farmed the manor and it is therefore likely that the forest at this time was in his custody. ⁷⁷⁶
Robert of Lexinton (and possibly Roger le Bret and Richard de Wrotham)	June 1233 - May 1250	<p>In June 1233, Henry granted Robert of Lexinton a moiety of the manor of Bere, rendering £12 each year, so long as he held the prebend of Bere. In December, he made fine with the king by 40s for having quittance from the tallage of Bere which he had in his custody for life. While neither of these awards make specific reference to Bere Regis Forest, it is reasonable to assume that it was a part of the overall award. Certainly, after April 1235 Lexinton received mandates to provide timber from Bere, either for royal use or as gifts.</p> <p>Lexinton still had custody of the manor and the hundred of Bere when he died in June 1250. However, it is possible that custody of Bere Regis forest was transferred elsewhere before his death. For example, in February 1247, a mandate to provide a gift from the forest was issued to Roger le Bret, while in October 1248 a similar mandate was sent to Richard de Wrotham. Wrotham's heir was also later prosecuted at the Dorset forest eyre of 1257 for an alleged offence by Wrotham when felling trees in Bere Regis Forest for works at Corfe castle, again implying that he had custody for a period of time.</p>

⁷⁷⁶ TNA, E 372/71, rot. 7, m. 1 accessed online 8 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

		<p>Although Lexinton came from a family with a long record of service concerning the royal forest, his primary focus was upon his estates in the midlands. He also had extensive responsibilities as a justice.</p> <p>Lexinton's first payment of the farm is recorded in the 1234 pipe rolls. Thereafter, he made regular payments of the sums due until just before his death. Shortly after his death, the 1250 pipe roll recorded two years' farm of £24 outstanding.⁷⁷⁷</p>
Henry of Earley	June 1250 – October 1251	<p>In June 1250, Henry committed the manor of Bere Regis to Henry of Earley at the king's pleasure. He was to render £26 each year. The pipe rolls record just one year's payment due from Earley. This does not appear to have been paid. On at least three occasions between 1234 and 1240 Earley was convicted of forest offences. He was also sheriff of Dorset and Somerset in 1250 which might suggest a revival of earlier arrangements whereby the manor and forest were held simultaneously by the sheriff.⁷⁷⁸</p>

⁷⁷⁷ CFR 17/211 accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_032.html; CFR 18/127 accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_033.html; CR 1227-31, p.168; CR 1234-37, pp.81, 472; CR 1242-47, p.500; CR 1247-51, pp.123, 192, 305; CIPM Vol. 1, p.44; VCH Dorset Vol. 2, p.289; TNA, E 372/78, rot. 13, m. 1 accessed online 8 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/94, rot. 2m m. 2 accessed online 8 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); D. Crook, 'Lexinton, Robert of (d. 1250), justice and administrator', ODNB (2008) accessed online 6 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16616>.

⁷⁷⁸ CFR 34/463 accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_047.html#it463_007; CFR 18/374 accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_033.html; CFR 19/361 accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_034.html; TNA, E 372/89, rot. 5, m. 1 accessed online 8 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/96, rot. 9d, m. 2 accessed online 8 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 18d, m. 1 accessed online 8 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); CR 1247-51, p.314; *List of Sheriffs*, p.122.

Elias de Rabayne	October 1251 – No later than November 1256	<p>In October 1251, Henry III committed Bere Regis, alongside the counties of Somerset and Dorset, and the castles of Corfe and Sherborne, to Elias de Rabayne who was to render £26 per annum for the profits of the manor. Henry de Earley was instructed to deliver the manor to him. Custody of the forest therefore continued to be linked to the shrieval appointment.</p> <p>In April 1252, Rabayne was awarded custody of Bere manor but not the forest. He was to render £18 per annum for the manor, which implies the forest was valued at £8. In November 1252, that custody was extended to include the forest. Rabayne was later pardoned debts of £28 owing from the time that he farmed Bere. He was still farming Bere manor in October 1255 as he received a mandate at that time.</p> <p>In August 1255, Rabayne agreed a payment arrangement with Henry III concerning a 10m amercement arising from a forest trespass.⁷⁷⁹</p>
Tarrant Abbey	November 1256 – May 1259	<p>In November 1256, Henry committed to the abbess of Tarrant the manor of Bere with appurtenances for seven years. For this, she was to render £26 annually, which implies custody of the forest was included. The farm is first recorded in the pipe rolls in 1257. No payments</p>

⁷⁷⁹ CFR 35/1200 accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_048.html; CFR 36/433 accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_049.html; CFR 39/772 accessed online 8 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_052.html; CFR 48/84 accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_061.html; CPR 1247-58, pp.134, 164, 434; CLR 1251-60, p.244; CR 1247-51, p.177; CR 1251-53, p.271; CR 1268-72, p.504.

		were subsequently made, resulting in an outstanding balance of £78 by 1259. This was partly paid in the following year. ⁷⁸⁰
Alienation	May 1259 onwards	In October 1259, a number of royal properties, including Bere manor, were awarded to Simon de Montfort. This was the initiative of the baronial council and was in lieu of the 500m that Montfort believed he was owed by Henry III. It is not clear if the forest accompanied this award but, given the precedence of assigning it alongside the manor, it is reasonable to conclude that it did. It seems that Monfort still had custody in March 1265. From 1259, Bere Regis was therefore effectively outside the royal forest. This continued to be the case after October 1265 when, as part of as part of a broader settlement concerning the lands of Simon de Montfort, Bere and other manors were reallocated to the king's son and heir, the Lord Edward. It was later granted to Henry's younger son, Edmund. The last mandate to a keeper to provide wood from the forest was dated August 1256. ⁷⁸¹

⁷⁸⁰ *CFR 41/134* accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_054.html; TNA, E 372/101, rot. 8d, m. 2 accessed online 8 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *PR 1259*, pp.229-30; TNA, E 372/104, rot. 19, m. 2 accessed online 10 March 2025 [AALT Page](#); *CR 1234-37*, p.439; *CR 1251-53*, p.122.

⁷⁸¹ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.46, 52, 98, 424; *CPR 1266-72*, p.498; *CChR 1257-1300*, pp.20, 227, 228; *CR 1254-56*, p.348; *CR 1264-68*, pp.59, 109; *CR 1268-72*, p.162; Bazeley 'Extent', pp.141-2, 154; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.46, 321 n.156; Bond, 'Forests, Chases, Warrens and Parks', p.132.

Bernwood (Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire) – Hereditary

Straddling the Buckinghamshire-Oxfordshire boundary, Bernwood Forest had a long history as a royal hunting ground before the Norman Conquest and was designated as part of the royal forest after 1066. Its boundaries were probably at their widest extent under Richard I. It was administered as a separate bailiwick under the overall authority of the warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford (see below). The bailiwick of Bernwood Forest was held by a hereditary forester-in-fee, which also included within it the forest areas of Brill and Panshill. Throughout the thirteenth century, the local Fitznigel family held the position of hereditary warden.⁷⁸²

Warden of Bernwood	Term of Office	Details
John Fitznigel senior	Until 1230	There are few details about the tenure of John Fitznigel senior. An inquisition held in 1230, following his death, stated that he held one hide of land within the forest and that he owed 10s per annum to the crown for this and a further 40s annually for the bailiwick of the forest. There are no records in the pipe rolls of any payments by, or debts of, John Fitznigel during this period. ⁷⁸³
Crown custody	1230 – 1234	At the time of the death of John Fitznigel senior, his son and heir, also called John, was a minor. The pipe rolls for Michaelmas 1230 record that William de Horton owed 10m to the crown for the custody of John and the land and bailiwick of his father. There are no other records in the pipe rolls for this period relating to payments for custody of Bernwood Forest.

⁷⁸² Harvey, 'Bernwood', in Broad and Hoyle (eds.), *Bernwood*, pp.1-2, 8; *VCH Buckinghamshire Vol. 2*, pp.131-2; M. Reed, *A History of Buckinghamshire* (Chichester, 1993), p.45; M. Farley, *An Illustrated History of Early Buckinghamshire* (Aylesbury, 2010), pp.143, 152.

⁷⁸³ H.E. Salter (ed.), *The Boarstall Cartulary* (Oxford, 1930), pp.168-9.

		<p>During the period of Fitznigel's minority, the vast majority of royal writs concerning Bernwood were addressed to Hugh de Neville in his capacity as warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford. The last of these was dated May 1234.⁷⁸⁴</p>
John Fitznigel junior	1234 onwards	<p>John Fitznigel was probably of age and in possession of his office as warden by 1234. He was certainly in office by November 1239 when he received a mandate to provide twenty-six oak trees for royal works at Oxford. Thereafter he received a regular flow of royal mandates in relation to his office as forester-in-fee for the remainder of Henry's reign. He continued as forester-in-fee under Edward I and died in 1289. The inquisition held after his death stated that he held 'the bailiwick of the forest of Bernwood held of the king of chief, for which 40s are due at the exchequer.'</p> <p>Other documents reiterate the requirement for Fitznigel to pay 40s annually for the office of warden of Bernwood Forest, for example an inquisition held in 1266 and the Book of Fees which, while dating from the early fourteenth century, drew upon thirteenth century sources. The hundred rolls of 1255 set out the privileges he enjoyed within Bernwood Forest. There is no record in the pipe rolls of the requirement to pay 40s annually. It is possible that payment was made to the warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford.</p> <p>In January 1246, he received royal support in relation to a demand from the exchequer for a payment of 42s 6d concerning an assart in the forest. However, as a result of the Oxfordshire</p>

⁷⁸⁴ PR 1230, p.134; CR 1231-34, p.414.

		<p>forest eyre of 1245, Fitznigel was amerced £13 10s, a sum that first appears in the pipe rolls in 1247. He paid this in irregular instalments of usually 20s per year, with the final payment being recorded in 1262. There is no evidence to indicate that he lost custody of the forest as a result of the amercement.</p> <p>It appears that Fitznigel sided with the reformers during the civil war. Possibly as a result of this, in 1266, an inquiry was held into his right to hold the position as forester-in-fee of Bernwood, which was confirmed as a result. In March 1272, he received a royal pardon ‘for good service to the king, of all trespasses, excesses and forfeitures done by him in the forest of Bernwood’, but no further details about what those might be are forthcoming.⁷⁸⁵</p>
--	--	--

Blackmore (Dorset) - Other

There is a lack of consensus amongst historians concerning the origins and history of Blackmore Forest. Cox argued that the area had been forest since shortly after the Norman Conquest but that much of it had been disafforested under Henry II. In contrast, Bazeley has highlighted the views of the jurors who, in 1279, considered the case for disafforestation and argued that the area had only come under forest law during the reign of Henry II and had been extended by John. It appears to have been the largest of the forests in Dorset during the reign of Henry III.⁷⁸⁶

⁷⁸⁵ Salter, *Boarstall*, pp.66, 170; *CR 1231-34*, p.392; *CR 1237-42*, p.151; *CR 1242-47*, p.386; *CIM Vol. I*, pp.104-5; *Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees, Part II*, pp.1358, 1373; *Rotuli Hundredorum Temp. Hen. III et Edw. I In Turr. London Vol. 1* (1812), pp.22, 26; *CIPM Vol. II*, p.438; TNA, E 372/91, rot. 11d, m. 2 accessed online 25 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/106, rot. 17, m. 1 accessed online 25 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *CPR 1266-72*, p.636; Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.183-4; *VCH Buckinghamshire Vol. 2*, p.135; A.L. Jobson, ‘The Oxfordshire Eyre Roll of 1261’ (Unpublished PhD Thesis, King’s College, London, 2006), pp.178, 195, 199, 200.

⁷⁸⁶ Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.331; Bazeley, ‘Extent’, pp.142, 147, 157.

Warden of Blackmore	Term of Office	Details
Uncertain	1227 – August 1235	Until 1235, it is difficult to identify the warden of Blackmore Forest with any confidence. While there is no record describing Philip de Pyrye as the warden of Blackmore, he received three mandates to provide gifts from the forest. The first was dated August 1228 and the last dated June 1232. There is also a solitary mandate to Gilbert de Manneby from June 1229 to provide a forest gift from Blackmore. ⁷⁸⁷
Richard de Wrotham	August 1235 – November 1250	In August 1235, Henry III awarded Richard de Wrotham custody of Blackmore Forest at the king's pleasure. Wrotham subsequently received a regular flow of mandates to admit royal hunters and to provide gifts from Blackmore Forest, the last dated August 1250, shortly before his death. Wrotham was simultaneously warden of the Somerset Forests (see below), although there is no evidence to support the assertion in the <i>VCH</i> for Dorset that he held both forests in fee on a hereditary basis. There is no evidence that any payment was required from Wrotham for custody of Blackmore and no evidence in the pipe rolls that any payments were made. ⁷⁸⁸
Uncertain	November 1250 – November 1265	After Wrotham's death, it again becomes difficult to identify the wardens of Blackmore with any confidence. While there were regular mandates to provide gifts from the forest, these were issued either to an unnamed warden or to the chief justice of the Forest South of the Trent. After Wrotham's death, William de Plessy inherited custody of the Somerset Forests (see below), but it is not clear whether he also acquired Blackmore. The fine roll entry that records

⁷⁸⁷ *CR 1227-31*, pp.73, 188, 571; *CR 1231-34*, p.67.

⁷⁸⁸ *CPR 1232-47*, p.115; *CR 1247-51*, p.315; *VCH Dorset Vol. 2*, p.288.

		<p>the initial award to him of the Somerset Forests states that he was granted the ‘bailiwick of the forest in the counties of Somerset and Dorset that Richard held from the king in chief’.</p> <p>However, the fine roll entry in the following year concerning the challenge to Plessy’s inheritance refers to a ‘dispute between the heirs of Richard of Wrotham concerning the bailiwick of the forest of Somerset and Devon.’</p> <p>At some point, Alan de Plugenet had custody of the forest as in November 1265 he was ordered to deliver it to John de la Lynde.⁷⁸⁹</p>
John de la Lynde	November 1265 – December 1272	<p>In November 1265 Henry III granted the forests of Gillingham, Blackmore and Powerstock at his pleasure to John de la Lynde. Alan de Plugenet was ordered to deliver the forests to him. Lynde then held the forest until his death in December 1272. At that time, the bailiwick of Blackmore Forest was valued at 100s per annum.</p> <p>There are no pipe roll accounts for Dorset after Lynde was granted Blackmore until 1268. While the entry then identifies his responsibility to account for Gillingham, Blackmore and Powerstock, no amount is stated and no payment or debt are recorded. This is the case for subsequent annual accounts up to and including the last of Henry’s reign in 1272.⁷⁹⁰</p>

⁷⁸⁹ *CFR 35/601* accessed online 17 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_048.html; *CFR 36/560* accessed online 17 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_049.html; *CPR 1258-66*, p.498.

⁷⁹⁰ *CPR 1258-66*, p.498; *CIPM Vol. II*, p.1; TNA, E 372/112, rot. 11d, m. 1 accessed online 17 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 6, m. 2 accessed online 17 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *CR 1259-61*, pp.406, 407; *CR 1261-64*, p.316; *CR 1264-68*, pp.176, 182, 203-4; *CR 1268-72*, pp.367, 481, 482.

		<p>Although members of the le Bret family do not appear to have been wardens of Blackmore Forest, they held a moiety of the bailiwick. In July 1234, Henry III took homage of Moysy le Bret concerning this moiety which pertained to him by hereditary right. When William le Bret died in June 1270, the moiety rendered 4s yearly to the crown. At that point, John de le Lynde claimed an inquisition by the justices of the forest had found that Ralph le Bret, William's father, only held the bailiwick at the king's will. Lynde agreed a fine of 10m to have custody of the moiety. At the same time, William's heir remised and quit-claimed to the king the bailiwick for the use of John de la Lynde.⁷⁹¹</p>
--	--	--

Braden (Wiltshire) - Hereditary

The 'wood of Braydon' in Wiltshire is mentioned in a number of Saxon charters. It had become a royal forest by 1135 and by the beginning of the thirteenth century was administered by a hereditary warden. The warden was lord of the hundred of Staple and held the manor of Chelworth by the serjeanty of keeping the forest and providing an esquire for the king's army. He enjoyed a number of privileges within the forest, including pannage and hunting rights. A helpful list of wardens of Braden Forest is provided in the *VCH* for Wiltshire.⁷⁹²

Warden of Braden	Term of Office	Details
Hugh de Sandford	At least December 1222 – Possibly March 1231	Thomas de Sandford held the office of warden of Braden Forest during John's reign. His son Hugh had inherited the office by December 1222. At some point in 1231, it appears that

⁷⁹¹ *CR 1231-34*, p.482; *CIPM Vol. 1*, p.232; *CFR 54/1037* accessed online 17 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_067.html.

⁷⁹² *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests) and [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests/appendices); Crowley, *Braydon*, pp.1-16.

		Sandford was succeeded by his brother and heir Thomas, as the last mandate to him was dated in March of that year (although as noted below, the inheritance could have been as early as November 1229). There is another mandate to him dated June 1235, but that is almost certainly the result of a clerical error. ⁷⁹³
Thomas de Sandford	Possibly March 1231 – No later than October 1241	It is not clear when Thomas de Sandford succeeded his brother as warden of Braden. He inherited Hugh de Sandford’s lands in November 1229 and the first mandate addressed to him as warden of Braden Forest was dated April 1230. However, as noted above, Hugh de Sandford received a royal mandate as late as March 1231. It was only after that date that there was a regular flow of mandates addressed to Thomas. ⁷⁹⁴ No record has been found of a payment of a fine by Sandford for custody of the forest.
Adam de Purton	At least October 1241 – January 1250	Thomas de Sandford was dead by October 1241 when his nephew Adam de Purton inherited Braden Forest from him. However, Purton may have assumed the duties of warden of the forest earlier than this as there is a mandate from January 1241 addressed to him in that role. Purton paid a fine of 10m for custody of the forest and held office until January 1250. At some point he was temporarily deprived of the custody of the forest for some unspecified reason, but this was restored to him in August 1244. He was, however, replaced by Hugh Passelewe in January 1250. Later records make it clear that this was because of a trespass that Purton

⁷⁹³ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests) and [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests/appendices); *CR 1227-31*, p.482; *CR 1234-37*, p.110.

⁷⁹⁴ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests) and [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests/appendices); *CR 1227-31*, pp.258, 344, 487.

		committed in the forest. While the decision was reached by the king's court, it is possible that the case may have had its origin in the eyre conducted in Wiltshire by Robert Passelewe in 1246. ⁷⁹⁵
Hugh Passelewe	January 1250 – April/June 1250	There are no records of any mandates to Hugh Passelewe who was seemingly replaced in the position by no later than June 1250 by John Vernon. ⁷⁹⁶
John Vernon	April/June 1250 – December 1250	John Vernon was first described in records in April 1250 as the steward of the royal forest in Wiltshire and then in June as the warden of Braden. There are no other records relating to his period of tenure which ended in December 1250 when Adam de Purton recovered the forest. ⁷⁹⁷
Adam de Purton	December 1250 – February 1266	In December 1250, Adam de Purton made fine with the king by 200m for recovering Braden Forest for himself and his heirs. This sum was paid in instalments, with the final payment being recorded on the pipe rolls for 1255. Purton held the forest until his death some time early in 1266. ⁷⁹⁸

⁷⁹⁵ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests) and [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests/appendices); *CLR 1240-45*, p.24; *CFR 25/749* accessed online 12 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_037.html#it749_001; *CR 1237-42*, p.340; *CR 1242-47*, p.224; *CPR 1247-58*, p.58; TNA, E 372/85, rot. 8d, m. 2 accessed online 12 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://aalt.uh.edu); Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.187-8.

⁷⁹⁶ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests) and [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests/appendices); *CR 1247-51*, pp.278, 294.

⁷⁹⁷ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests) and [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests/appendices); *CR 1247-51*, pp.278, 294; *CFR 35/103* accessed online 12 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_048.html.

⁷⁹⁸ *CFR 35/103* accessed online 12 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_048.html; *CChR 1226-57*, p.351; TNA, E 372/95, rot. 2d, m.1 accessed online 12 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://aalt.uh.edu); TNA, E 372/99, rot. 8, m. 2 accessed online 12 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://aalt.uh.edu).

Robert de Keynes	February 1266 onwards	Robert de Keynes, grandson and co-heir of Adam de Purton, succeeded him as warden of the forest in 1266 and appears to have remained in post until his death in 1281. ⁷⁹⁹ There is no record of a payment by Keynes for custody of the forest.

Cannock (Staffordshire) - Hereditary

Cannock Forest was in existence by the reign of William I, but the earliest known reference to it by name is in the 1140s. William I appointed Richard Chenven as warden and thereafter the role remained with his descendants who paid 10m annually for custody of the forest and its appurtenances. By the thirteenth century, at least, the warden recouped this payment from the sub-foresters beneath him. There were seven such bailiwicks during Henry III's reign.⁸⁰⁰

Warden of Cannock	Term of Office	Details
Hugh de Loges	November 1221 – July 1240	In November 1221, Hugh de Loges made fine with the king by 5m for having custody of the forest of Cannock, which fell to him by hereditary right as a direct descendant of the first warden to hold office under William I. The last mandate to him specifically in relation to his custody of Cannock Forest was dated September 1238.

⁷⁹⁹ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests) and [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests/appendices); *CFR 50/442* accessed online 12 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_063.html.

⁸⁰⁰ *VCH Staffordshire Vol. 2*, pp.335, 338-9; Birrell, *Cannock and Kinver*, p.3; Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, pp.115-7; G. Wrottesley, 'Forest Tenures of Staffordshire', *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, William Salt Archaeological Society 10 (1907), p.213.

		<p>He was seemingly convicted of an unspecified trespass at the 1231 Staffordshire forest eyre and temporarily lost custody of the forest. He was required to pay 100s for its recovery, a sum which was recorded as paid in the pipe roll for 1232.</p> <p>In July 1240, he made fine by £100 for a trespass, simultaneously losing custody of the forest. This was the result of the Staffordshire eyre of 1240 and may have been a prosecution for poaching. Loges accounted for the fine in the Warwickshire and Leicestershire account of the pipe roll and had paid £80 by 1241. A further payment of 13m was recorded in 1243 and the balance finally paid in 1259.</p> <p>In the forest pleas of 1286, it was reported that Loges had harassed the bishop of Lichfield and Coventry and his men, frequently attaching them for alleged offences in the forest. In retaliation, the bishop had excommunicated him. At a later inquisition during the reign of Edward I, it was also stated that Loges had alienated land within the forest without a licence.</p> <p>Loges paid the traditional annual custody fee of 10m on a reasonably regular basis. His last payment was in 1239, the year before he lost custody of the forest. After that, the pipe rolls continued to record his liability for the annual fee, with the outstanding sum rising to 80m by 1247. In that year, the pipe rolls were amended to acknowledge that Loges was not responsible for the debt. After that, the pipe rolls routinely record that a payment was due in relation to the forest, without identifying either the amount or the debtor. By the time of the last Staffordshire pipe roll account of the reign in 1269, there had been</p>
--	--	---

		no fee payment for twenty-two years. Loges was subsequently deemed mentally unfit for the office of forest warden. He died in 1267. ⁸⁰¹
Crown custody	July 1240 – No later than May 1246	After the forest was taken into the crown’s custody in July 1240, royal mandates concerning Cannock were sent either to the relevant chief justice or to an unnamed warden of the forest. It is not possible to identify an individual warden until 1246.
Geoffrey Fitzwarin	No later than May 1246 – At least November 1251	It is only in May 1246 when a mandate was sent to Geoffrey Fitzwarin that it is possible to identify the warden with any confidence. Further mandates were then issued to Fitzwarin as warden of Cannock Forest, with the last being dated November 1251. Fitzwarin was also simultaneously the warden of all the forests of Staffordshire (except Kinver), Shropshire and Worcestershire. ⁸⁰²
Crown custody	No earlier than November 1251 – No later than January 1256	After November 1251, there is another gap in the records when it is not possible to identify the warden with any confidence. In May 1255, a mandate was sent to the royal steward Ralph de Coven as warden of the forest, followed by others in July. ⁸⁰³

⁸⁰¹ *VCH Staffordshire Vol. 2*, p.338; Wrottesley, ‘Forest Tenures’, pp.196-200; *CFR 6/18* accessed online 15 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_016.html; *CFR 24/164, 24/213, 24/214* accessed online 15 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_007E.html; *CR 1237-42*, p.106; *CR 1242-47*, p.511; *CIM Vol. I*, pp.74, 493-4; *CIPM Vol. I*, p.202; TNA, E 372/75, rot. 9d, m. 2 accessed online 15 January 2024 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/76, rot. 15d, m. 2 accessed online 15 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/83, rot. 12, m. 2 accessed online 15 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/85, rot. 14d, m. 2 accessed online 15 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/87, rot. 5d, m. 1 accessed online [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/91, rot. 5d, m. 2 accessed online 15 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *PR 1259*, p.70; TNA, E 372/113, rot. 18, m. 1 accessed online 15 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Winters, ‘Forest Eyres’, pp.170, 176-7; Birrell, *Cannock and Kinver*, pp.21-2, 137.

⁸⁰² *CR 1242-47*, p.427; *CR 1251-53*, p.13; *VCH Staffordshire Vol. 2*, p.338.

⁸⁰³ *CR 1254-56*, pp.86, 113, 119; *VCH Staffordshire Vol. 2*, p.338.

Thomas de Weseham	January 1256 onwards	<p>In January 1256, custody of Cannock Forest was granted for life to the king's surgeon, Thomas de Weseham. The award seems to have precipitated an enquiry into the rights of the forester which were documented in July 1256. Thereafter, Weseham received a number of royal mandates. For at least some of this time, he combined the forest role with his function as the king's surgeon. In September 1265 Henry III regranted custody of the forest to Weseham, but this time including for life and for his heirs. The decision to re-grant the forest to Weseham on a hereditary basis may have been linked with the actions during the civil war of Hugh des Loges's son and heir Richard. The latter may have retained some aspiration of recovering custody of the forest, but this was undermined by his support for the rebels during the civil war. Rather than recovering land, Loges's actions resulted in further confiscations by the crown.</p> <p>Weseham was criticised for lax management of the forest at the 1262 Staffordshire forest eyre. At the 1271 forest eyre, he was convicted of trespass in Cannock Forest, receiving a pardon from the king in January 1272. In July 1272, Weseham was further charged with causing waste and was removed from office. He was reinstated temporarily a month later and in 1273 was reappointed until Edward I's return from abroad. He remained in office until 1284.</p> <p>There is no record of a payment by Weseham to secure custody of the forest. As noted above, there is also no record of any payment of the annual fee.⁸⁰⁴</p>
-------------------	----------------------	--

⁸⁰⁴ CPR 1247-58, p.457; CIM Vol. I, p.74; CPR 1258-66, p.450; CPR 1266-72, p.614; CR 1251-53, p.361; CR 1256-59, pp.24, 166; CR 1259-61, p.276; CR 1264-68, pp.128, 315; CR 1268-72, pp.492, 503; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.96; Fernandes, 'Midlands Knights', pp.271, 277-8, 290-2, 305-6, 317-8; VCH Staffordshire Vol. 2, p.338; Birrell, *Cannock and Kinver*, pp.25, 47, 59, 104, 109; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.238-40, 274-8; G. Wrottesley, 'Pleas of the Forest, Staffordshire', *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, William Salt Archaeological Society 5 (1984), p.145; Wrottesley, 'Forest Tenures', pp.200-2.

Cheshire (including Delamere, Macclesfield and Wirral) - Other

The forests of Delamere (including also Mondrem), Macclesfield and Wirral became part of the royal estate upon the annexation by the crown of the lands of the earldom of Cheshire in 1237, a process that was complete by 1241. Prior to that period, they had been a private forest with internal management arrangements that were similar to those of the royal forest. After annexation by the crown, the forests were administered by the justice of Chester until 1249 when a separate responsibility for managing them along with escheats was created. In 1254, the royal lands in Cheshire, including the forests, formed part of the appanage of the Lord Edward and therefore fell outside the day-to-day control of Henry's government and were no longer accounted for at the exchequer.⁸⁰⁵

Warden of Cheshire	Term of Office	Details
John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln	1237 – 1240	In 1237, John de Lacy was granted custody of the earldom of Chester. Although there are no mandates to him that indicate he had custody of the forests within the county, he did account for them at the exchequer between 1238 and 1240. He was also sheriff of Cheshire between 1237 and 1239. Lacy died in July 1240, although it is possible he was relieved of some of his appointments before then due to ill-health. ⁸⁰⁶
John of Lexinton	February 1240 – December 1240	From February 1240, there are records of John of Lexinton as justice of Chester. He received mandates concerning the royal forest in the county in June and August 1240. He surrendered custody of the county

⁸⁰⁵ Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.233-4; Bazeley, 'Extent', p.160; Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.133, 136; *VCH Cheshire Vol. 2*, pp.167-9; R. Stewart-Brown, 'The End of the Norman Earldom of Chester', *English Historical Review* 35 (1920), pp.26-54; R. Eales, 'Henry III and the End of the Norman Earldom of Chester', in P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England I* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp.100-13; J.R. Studd, 'The Lord Edward's Lordship of Chester', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 128 (1979), pp.1-25; Mills, *Cheshire*, pp.ix-xi.

⁸⁰⁶ N. Vincent, 'Lacy, John de, third earl of Lincoln (c. 1192–1240), magnate', *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 12 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15855>; TNA, E 372/82, rot. 4, m. 2 accessed online 12 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/83, rot. 9, m. 1 accessed online 12 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/84, rot. 2, m. 1 accessed online 12 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Mills, *Cheshire*, pp.33-62; *List of Sheriffs*, p.17A.

		to John Lestrangle in December 1240, before travelling to Rome on the king's business. He was later chief justice of the Forest North of the Trent (see elsewhere in this appendix). Lexinton did not account at the exchequer for his custody of the forests as Lacy accounted in 1240 and Lestrangle in 1241. ⁸⁰⁷
John Lestrangle	December 1240 – No later than November 1245	John Lestrangle replaced Lexinton as justice of Chester in December 1240. He received a number of mandates relating to the forests of Cheshire, the last dated December 1244. He accounted for the issues and forest pleas from Cheshire in the pipe rolls of 1241, 1242 and 1245. He was also sheriff of Cheshire from December 1240 until 1243. He was replaced by John de Grey as justice of Chester in or before November 1245. ⁸⁰⁸
John de Grey	At least November 1245 – April 1249	John de Grey was justice of Chester from at least November 1245 until he was replaced by Fulk de Orreby in April 1249. He accounted for the forests in the pipe rolls of 1247 and 1250. ⁸⁰⁹
Fulk de Orreby	April 1249 – February 1254	In April 1249, responsibility for the forests of Cheshire was separated from the role of the justice of the County and, combined with responsibility for escheats, was given to Fulk de Orreby. This appointment was confirmed in July 1250. Orreby still had responsibility for the forests at the time that they were

⁸⁰⁷ *CR 1237-42*, p.200; *CLR 1226-40*, pp.404, 451, 486; *CPR 1232-47*, pp.240, 244; R. Stacey, 'Lexinton [Laxton], John of (d. 1257), administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 6 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16615>.

⁸⁰⁸ *CPR 1232-47*, pp.240, 465; *CR 1242-47*, pp.275, 371; TNA, E 372/85, rot. 3d, m. 1 accessed online 12 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/86, rot. 5, m. 1 accessed online 12 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/89, rot. 13, m. 1 accessed online 12 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Mills, *Cheshire*, pp.64-86; J. Mason, 'Lestrangle [Le Strange], John (c. 1194–1269), marcher lord', *ODNB* (2005) accessed online 12 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16510>; *List of Sheriffs*, p.17A.

⁸⁰⁹ *CPR 1232-47*, p.465; *CR 1242-47*, p.371; *CPR 1247-58*, pp. 35, 40, 41; TNA, E 372/91, rot. 14, m. 1 accessed online 12 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/94, rot. 18, m. 2 accessed online 12 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Mills, *Cheshire*, pp.86-96; N. Vincent, 'Grey [Gray], Sir John de (d. 1266), royal councillor', *ODNB* (2006) accessed online 12 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11542>.

		granted to the Lord Edward as part of his appanage in February 1254. The last mandate to him to provide a gift from the royal forest in Cheshire was dated December 1253. ⁸¹⁰
--	--	--

Chippenham and Melksham (Wiltshire) – Castle

While there were subordinate officers responsible for the two forests of Chippenham and Melksham, they were usually administered as one unit by a single warden who was usually also the constable of Devizes castle. At times, the constable farmed certain of the forest revenues, although the amounts frequently varied. A helpful list of wardens of Chippenham and Melksham Forests and summary details of the various constables of the castle are provided in the *VCH* for Wiltshire.⁸¹¹

Warden of Chippenham and Melksham	Term of Office	Details
Richard Poore, bishop of Salisbury	October 1225 – July 1228	In October 1225, Richard Poore, bishop of Salisbury was granted custody of Chippenham and Melksham Forests at the king's pleasure. Poore was required to pay 60s per annum for custody of the forest, of which 48s was to be paid to the exchequer and the balance as a tithe to the

⁸¹⁰ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.40, 41, 70; *CR 1253-54*, p.203; Studd, 'Lord Edward', p.9.

⁸¹¹ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire. Vol. 10* accessed online 11 January 2024 [The borough of Devizes: Town, castle and estates | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.322-3; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.100.

		canons of Salisbury. By the time of his last account for custody of the forest in 1229, he owed 132s to the exchequer. ⁸¹²
Richard de Grey	July 1228 – December 1229	<p>In July 1228, Richard de Grey was awarded custody of Devizes castle at the king's pleasure. While there was no explicit reference in the award letters to the forests, the implication is that these were also granted to Grey. He certainly received a number of mandates during 1229 in relation to the forests.</p> <p>While there are no details about the payment expected from Grey specifically in relation to the forest, he farmed the Devizes estate as a whole for £30 and deducted from that a fee of £20 that he had been granted for custody of the castle. The pipe rolls that are contemporaneous with his custody of the castle include no reference to a farm payment concerning the forest. However, the 1265 pipe roll for Essex states that he owed 67s 6d in relation to his custody of Chippenham Forest. It is not clear why this debt should have appeared in the accounts at this time. This sum was outstanding at the end of the reign.⁸¹³</p>

⁸¹² *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CPR 1216-25*, p.555; TNA, E 372/73, rot. 6, m. 2 accessed online 12 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

⁸¹³ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 10* accessed online 11 January 2024 [The borough of Devizes: Town, castle and estates | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CPR 1225-32*, p.198; *CLR 1226-40*, p.129; *CR 1227-31*, pp.73, 187, 189; TNA, E 372/109, rot. 1d, m. 2 accessed online 11 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 4d, m. 1 accessed online 10 March 2025 [AALT Page](#); R. Stacey, 'Grey, Richard de (d. before 1272), baron and member of Henry III's military household', *ODNB* (2005) accessed online 11 January 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11554>; Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.323.

Gilbert Basset	December 1229 – No later than July 1232	<p>In December 1229, Grey was ordered to hand Devizes castle, along with the forests of Chippenham and Melksham, to Gilbert Basset, who was appointed to them at the king's pleasure. There are no details about any farm payment expected from Basset in relation to the forest and no records of any such payment in the pipe rolls for this period. He received an annual fee of £20 for custody of the castle.</p> <p>The last mandate to Basset concerning the forests was dated May 1232. Although he remained constable of the castle until July 1233, it is possible that responsibility for Chippenham Forest transferred to Peter de Rivallis in the summer of 1232 as part of the more general award to him of custody of a number of forests. There is a mandate to Rivallis in relation to Chippenham dated August 1232.⁸¹⁴</p>
Peter de Rivallis/Ralph de Wilton/Peter de Maulay	No earlier than July 1232 – No later than May 1234	<p>Peter de Rivallis was given custody of many royal forests in July 1232. It is not entirely clear how this impacted in all cases on local management of individual forests. In the case of Chippenham, Rivallis also had custody of Devizes castle for an unspecified period during the second half of 1233. It is therefore reasonable to assume that, at the minimum, he held Chippenham Forest for a period during 1233, although his custody may have begun as early as July 1232. The terms of his appointment are not clear and there are no records of any farm payments specifically in relation to his custody of the forest.</p>

⁸¹⁴ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 10* accessed online 11 January 2024 [The borough of Devizes: Town, castle and estates | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CPR 1225-32*, pp.317, 489; *CR 1231-34*, pp.62, 96; N. Vincent, 'Basset, Gilbert (d. 1241), knight and rebel', *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 27 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1639>.

		<p>In July 1233, Ralph de Wilton was awarded custody of the castle and town of Devizes at the king's pleasure. It is not clear if this appointment included responsibility for the forest, but he was required to pay the same £30 annual farm as Grey so it is reasonable to assume that it was. He was replaced at some point later in the year as constable by Peter de Rivallis, possibly following the escape of Hubert de Burgh from the castle.</p> <p>At some point in the spring of 1234, Rivallis lost custody of the forests as part of the general collapse of Peter des Roches's regime. The last mandate to him concerning the forests is dated from late March. There may have been some overlapping responsibility during the early part of 1234 with Peter de Maulay who, in January, had been given custody of Devizes castle at the king's pleasure and who also received a mandate concerning Chippenham Forest in the following month.⁸¹⁵</p>
John de Plessy, earl of Warwick	May 1234 – Probably March 1246	In May 1234 John de Plessy was appointed at the king's pleasure for ten years to the castle with its appurtenances, including the forest of Chippenham. He was to render £25 each year for the manor of Devizes and 50s for the forest. This was confirmed in January 1235.

⁸¹⁵ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 10* accessed online 11 January 2024 [The borough of Devizes: Town, castle and estates | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CPR 1225-32*, p.489; *CPR 1232-47*, p.20; *CR 1231-34*, pp.361, 382, 398; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.144-5.

		<p>Plessy's tenure appears to have been disrupted by action taken by Henry's government in relation to the bailiff Ralph de Wilton, who was removed from his post in 1237 because of trespasses in the forest and other crimes. The outcome was that from October 1237 until at least September 1238, the forest appears to have been administered to all intents and purposes by a number of Government officials, especially Walter de Burgh, who received mandates in relation to the forests. In 1239, a writ was issued to reimburse Burgh the amount of £12 which he had expended over two years on the stipend of the serjeant of Melksham, Devizes, Rowde, Cosham and the forest of Chippenham.</p> <p>This may also explain the restatement of Plessy's position concerning the custody in September 1238. Certainly after that date until the late 1240s, Plessy was the sole recipient of mandates to provide gifts from the forests, the last of which was dated March 1246. It is possible that, soon afterwards, Plessy once again lost custody of the forest, probably due to the Wiltshire eyre of 1246. At the eyre, he was amerced £56 17s 3.5d in relation to pannage and other proceeds of the forest, an element of which remained outstanding at the end of the reign.</p> <p>Plessy's obligation to pay the annual farm of 50s is first recorded in the pipe rolls of 1235. However, it appears that no payment was made. By 1238, his outstanding debts concerning custody of the forest had been absorbed into a larger sum of just over £22 relating to his custody of the castle and appurtenances. This debt was subsequently transferred from the Wiltshire account to the Warwickshire account.</p>
--	--	---

		<p>From 1239 onwards, the pipe rolls simply have a blank entry for the farm of Chippenham Forest, with no accumulated debt recorded. This practice continued after Plessy had ceased to have custody of the forest. In the final pipe roll of Henry's reign in 1272, there is a blank entry and the observation that this has been the case for the preceding thirty-two years. A possible explanation is that, from 1239 onwards, the farm payment for the forest was absorbed within the farm payment due for the overall Devizes estate, including the castle, town and manor of Rowde. However, this is only explicitly stated for a period from 1251. Although Plessy made a number of payments after that in relation to the custody of Devizes and Rowde, the amount due specifically in relation to the forest is not stated.⁸¹⁶</p>
John Vernon	March 1246 – May 1250	<p>Plessy disappears from records in relation to Chippenham and Melksham between March 1246 and May 1250. It is likely that, during this period, a number of officials administered the forests on behalf of Henry's government following the forest eyre in Wiltshire in 1246. Prominent amongst those was John Vernon, although the extent of his remit is not clear. He did not combine the role with that of constable of Devizes castle for, in July 1251, both were mandated to investigate poaching in Chippenham Forest.⁸¹⁷</p>

⁸¹⁶ N. Vincent, 'Plessis, John de, seventh earl of Warwick (d. 1263), royal councillor', *ODNB* (2006) accessed online 24 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22379>; *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 10* accessed online 11 January 2024 [The borough of Devizes: Town, castle and estates | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CPR 1232-47*, pp.51, 90, 234; *CFR 19/113* accessed online 12 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_034.html; *CR 1242-47*, p.401; *CLR 1226-40*, p.386; TNA, E 372/79, rot. 3d, m. 1 accessed online 12 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/83, rot. 4d, m. 2 accessed online 12 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/90, rot. 5d, m. 1 accessed online 11 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/92, rot. 6d, m.2 accessed online 11 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/93, rot. 14, m. 2 accessed online 11 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 18d, m. 1 accessed online 12 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.187-8.

⁸¹⁷ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CPR 1247-58*, p.116; *CR 1247-51*, pp.278, 306, 339; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.187-8.

<p>John de Plessy, earl of Warwick</p>	<p>May 1250 – February 1263</p>	<p>Plessy regained custody of the castle of Devizes, the manors pertaining to it and the forests of Chippenham and Melksham in May 1250. Under this new arrangement, he was due to pay £80 per annum, including an unspecified element for the forests. He was allowed to allocate against this payment the annual sum of £20 that he had been granted for keeping the Tower of London. Plessy made a number of payments during the 1250s but it is not possible to identify the share of these that related to the forest.</p> <p>There are few records concerning Plessy in relation to the forests after May 1250 until September 1260 when he received a mandate to provide gifts from Chippenham Forest. Most of the gift mandates during this period were instead addressed to the chief justice of the Forest South of the Trent. It is possible that, for a period during the late 1250s, Plessy was responsible solely for the castle, with its appurtenances being farmed by the sheriff. Plessy died in February 1263.</p> <p>Plessy was amerced to the sum of 114s 10d at the Wiltshire forest eyre of 1257 in relation to proceeds of Chippenham Forest. The 1260 pipe rolls record a payment of 100s, but the amount outstanding that was recorded in 1261 was 45s 10, at which point the debt was transferred to the Norfolk account.</p> <p>Plessy was further convicted at the forest eyre of 1263, this time to the sum of £22 13s 7.5d in relation to a range of offences. This amount first appears in the pipe rolls in 1264, the year after</p>
--	---------------------------------	---

		his death. In 1265, the debt was transferred to the Oxfordshire account and remained outstanding at the end of the reign. ⁸¹⁸
Robert de Neville	May – June 1263	Robert de Neville was appointed at the king's pleasure in May 1263. However, within one month of his appointment, Neville was ordered to surrender Devizes castle, Rowde manor and the forests of Chippenham and Melksham to Philip Basset. ⁸¹⁹
Philip Basset	June 1263 – July 1264	In June 1263, Philip Basset replaced Neville as constable of Devizes and warden of the manors and forests at the king's pleasure. These were initially to be held on the same terms as John de Plessy, but he was later awarded all the issues and profits of the manors and forests for the keeping and munition of the castle. ⁸²⁰

⁸¹⁸ This second period of tenure is not noted in the list of wardens included in *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CFR 34/348* accessed online 12 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_047.html#it348_010; *CR 1259-61*, p.117; *CLR 1245-51*, p.377; *CLR 1251-60*, pp.113, 154, 203; TNA, E 372/104, rot. 12, m. 1 accessed online 11 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/105, rot. 7, m. 1 accessed online 11 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/108, rot. 11d, m. 2 accessed online 11 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/109, rot. 9, m. 2 accessed online 11 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 15, m. 2 accessed online 10 March 2025 [AALT Page](#); Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.231-5, 249-52; N. Vincent, 'Plessis, John de, seventh earl of Warwick (d. 1263), royal councillor', *ODNB* (2006) accessed online 24 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22379>.

⁸¹⁹ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 10* accessed online 11 January 2024 [The borough of Devizes: Town, castle and estates | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CPR 1258-66*, p.257; *CFR 47/653, 47/654* accessed online 12 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_060.html.

⁸²⁰ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 10* accessed online 11 January 2024 [The borough of Devizes: Town, castle and estates | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CFR 47/655, 47/656* accessed online 12 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_060.html; *CPR 1258-66*, pp.264, 279, 299.

Hugh le Despenser	July 1264 - August 1265	Following the battle of Lewes, Philip Basset was replaced ‘by the counsel of the king’s barons’ by Hugh le Despenser at the king’s pleasure. Despenser was killed at the battle of Evesham in August 1265. ⁸²¹
Philip Basset	March 1266 – November 1271	Philip Basset regained custody after the battle of Evesham and held it until November 1271 at the king’s pleasure. The earliest record of a mandate to him to provide a gift from Melksham Forest is dated June 1267, while the last is date May 1271. ⁸²²
Elias de Rabayne	November 1271 – June 1272	In November 1271, Elias de Rabayne was granted custody of the royal ‘demesnes and forests of Chippenham and Melksham with all their appurtenances for as long as it pleases the king, rendering therefore per annum at the exchequer so much as other king's wardens of the same were accustomed to render.’ It appears that no payment was made by Rabayne for this short period in office. ⁸²³

⁸²¹ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 10* accessed online 11 January 2024 [The borough of Devizes: Town, castle and estates | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CPR 1258-66*, p.335; C. Knowles, ‘Despenser, Sir Hugh (c. 1223–1265), justiciar’, *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 12 December 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7552>.

⁸²² *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 10* accessed online 11 January 2024 [The borough of Devizes: Town, castle and estates | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CPR 1258-66*, p.574; *CR 1264-68*, pp.312; *CR 1268-72*, p.341.

⁸²³ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 10* accessed online 11 January 2024 [The borough of Devizes: Town, castle and estates | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CPR 1266-72*, p.646; *CFR 56/43* accessed online 12 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_069.html.

John of Havering	June 1272 onwards	The final appointment of the reign was made in June 1272 when John of Havering was awarded Devizes castle, the accompanying manors and the forests of Chippenham and Melksham at the king's pleasure. ⁸²⁴
------------------	-------------------	--

Chute (Wiltshire and Hampshire) - Hereditary

Chute Forest lay partly in Hampshire and partly in Wiltshire. It is first mentioned in extent documentation in 1156. It was referred to as Chute Forest in 1215, but during Henry III's reign the pipe rolls described it as 'Andover Thicket'. The Croke family were the hereditary wardens of the forest but, with the death of Ellis Croke in 1215, custody passed to Michael de Columbariis, the husband of Croke's daughter Avice. A helpful list of wardens of Chute Forest is provided in the *VCH* for Wiltshire. The custody of Avice de Columbariis has been previously examined by Louise Wilkinson.⁸²⁵

Warden of Chute	Term of Office	Details
Michael de Columbariis	October 1215 – April 1235	In 1215 Michael de Columbariis paid King John 100m for custody in fee of Chute Forest. Columbariis received a regular flow of royal writs in his capacity as warden during the early years of Henry's personal rule, the last dated December 1234. Columbariis farmed the forest for a fee of 60s per year. At the time of his death early in 1235, he owed two years' payments, totalling £6. ⁸²⁶

⁸²⁴ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 10* accessed online 11 January 2024 [The borough of Devizes: Town, castle and estates | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CPR 1266-72*, pp.646, 659-60.

⁸²⁵ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); Wilkinson, 'Women in English Local Government', pp.223-6.

⁸²⁶ Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.96; *CR 1227-31, passim*; *CR 1231-34, passim*; *CR 1234-37*, pp.29, 73-4; TNA, E 372/79, rot. 3d, m. 1 accessed online 11 December 2023 http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/H3/E_372no79/bE_372no79dorses/IMG_4276.htm.

Avice de Columbariis	April 1235 – September 1259	<p>Avice de Columbariis inherited custody of Chute from her late husband Michael in April 1235. She was responsible for paying a fee of 60s per year, although the pipe rolls continued to record her husband as liable until 1247.</p> <p>In 1242-3, she had to defend herself against a charge of malpractice. As part of the Hampshire forest eyre of 1244 led by Robert Passelewe, Avice de Columbariis was amerced 400m for a trespass of the forest. This was paid by June 1245. Whether it was resulting from the same trespass or a separate one, Columbariis also gave to the king part of the manor of Collingbourne which, in 1253, was in turn gifted by Henry III to William de Valence. As a result of that, the annual fee Avice de Columbariis was due to pay for custody of Chute was reduced from 60s to 10s per annum. There were subsequent irregular payments of this amount and of the debts inherited from her husband. At the time of her death in 1259, the amount outstanding was 30s. In addition, as part of the Hampshire forest eyre of 1257, Columbariis was amerced 17s, an amount that was outstanding at the end of Henry's reign. Columbariis died in September 1259, with her son Matthew aged forty as her heir.⁸²⁷</p>
Matthew de Columbariis	October 1259 onwards	Matthew de Columbariis inherited custody of Chute from his mother Avice in October 1259. He was still in office at the end of Henry III's reign as the last recorded mandate to him to provide a

⁸²⁷ *CPR 1232-47*, p.100; *CChR 1226-57*, p.416; *CLR 1251-60*, p.109; *CRR Vol. XVIII*, pp.44-5; *CR 1242-47*, p.314; *CR 1251-53*, p.306; *CIPM Vol. I*, p.120; *CFR 37/315* accessed online 11 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_050.html; *CFR 43/790 – CFR 43/792* accessed online 11 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_056.html; TNA, E 372/89, rot. 12d, m. 2 accessed online 11 December 2023 http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/H3/E_372no89/bE_372no89dorses/IMG_5467.htm; TNA, E 372/101, rot. 9d, m. 2 accessed online 11 December 2023 http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/H3/E_372no101/bE_372no101dorses/IMG_1444.htm; TNA, E 372/116, rot. 13, m. 2 accessed online 11 December 2023 http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/H3/E_372no116/aE_372no116fronts/IMG_2474.htm; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.182-3, 225-7.

		<p>gift from Chute Forest was dated August 1272. Columbariis was also a chief justice of the Forest South of the Trent for a period in 1265 (see Appendix C). It is possible that he was aligned to the reform movement during the period of baronial reform and rebellion (see Appendix J).</p> <p>As part of the Hampshire forest eyre of 1244, Matthew de Columbariis agreed a fine for 100m for an illegal assart and other trespasses. The pipe roll of 1246 records payment in full of this amount. He inherited the responsibility to pay an annual fee of 10s as well as his mother's outstanding debts. He made irregular payments, resulting in an outstanding balance of 50s in 1272.⁸²⁸</p>
--	--	--

Clarendon including Grovely, Melchet and Buckholt (Wiltshire and Hampshire) - Other

By the time of Henry III's reign, the warden of Clarendon was responsible for a group of forests covering part of Wiltshire and Hampshire. These were the forests of Clarendon and Melchet in Wiltshire, and Buckholt in Hampshire. Within the forest bounds were the royal parks of Clarendon and Melchet. Collectively, these were referred to as the 'Forest of Clarendon'. While originally a separate forest, by 1236 at the latest Grovely was also administered by the warden of Clarendon. Amanda Richardson has undertaken a detailed study of the royal forest, park and palace at Clarendon and a later examination of gift-giving from Clarendon and Grovely Forests in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Both studies include a discussion of the administrative

⁸²⁸ *CIPM Vol. I*, p.120; *CFR 43/796* accessed online 11 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_056.html; *CR 1268-72*, p.482; *CChR 1226-57*, p.282; TNA, E 372/89, rot. 12d, m. 2 accessed online 11 December 2023 http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/H3/E 372no89/bE 372no89dorses/IMG_5467.htm; TNA, E 372/90, rot. 12d, m. 2 accessed online 11 December 2023 http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/H3/E 372no90/bE 372no90dorses/IMG_5582.htm; TNA, E 372/116, rot. 18d, m. 2 accessed online 11 December 2023 http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/H3/E 372no116/bE 372no116dorses/IMG_2602.htm; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.182-3.

arrangements. On gaining his majority in 1227, Henry III abolished the hereditary wardenship of Clarendon Forest so that subsequent wardens were royal appointments. There were also a number of hereditary foresters-in-fee below the warden in the administrative structure of the forest.⁸²⁹

Warden of Clarendon	Term of Office	Details
John of Monmouth	January 1223 – July 1232	<p>John of Monmouth received seisin in right of his wife in January 1223. In September 1228, his custody was confirmed by Henry III following an inquiry into the basis of Monmouth’s tenure. The last royal mandate to him in the role was dated June 1232. Monmouth was also chief justice of the Forest South of the Trent during this period (see Appendix C). Between 1228 and 1231 he was also sheriff of Wiltshire.</p> <p>Monmouth was the last hereditary warden of Clarendon, having married into the Walerand family who had been hereditary wardens since the Norman Conquest. Monmouth was also warden of Grovely Forest. There are no records of any farm payment by him and seemingly no expectation of any such payment.⁸³⁰</p>
Peter de Rivallis	July 1232 – January 1234	<p>In July 1232, Monmouth was replaced by Peter de Rivallis who was granted custody for life of the king’s houses and the forest at Clarendon alongside other appointments. <i>VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4</i> implies that Rivallis had custody of Clarendon until April 1236, but it is more likely that it was</p>

⁸²⁹ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests); A. Richardson, *The Forest, Park and Palace of Clarendon, c.1200-c.1650: Reconstructing an Actual, Conceptual and Documented Wiltshire Landscape* (Oxford, 2005), pp.11-2, 134-7, 146; Richardson, ‘Wessex Forests’, pp.125-40. There is a list of officers of Clarendon Forest in the *VCH* for Wiltshire, but it is incomplete as it appears relatively little use was made in its compilation of the material in the fine rolls (*VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests/appendices)).

⁸³⁰ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests/appendices); *CR 1227-31*, p.79; *CR 1231-34*, p.75; *List of Sheriffs*, p.152; Richardson, *Clarendon*, p.11; Richardson, ‘Wessex Forests’, pp.128-9.

		<p>taken from him some time in 1234 with the collapse of the regime of Peter des Roches. The last mandate to Rivallis concerning Clarendon was dated January 1234.</p> <p>There are two mandates to Roger Wascelin to provide gifts from the forest dated January and May 1234. Although Wascelin had been appointed Constable of Portchester and Winchester castles in 1233 (see later), it is not clear that he was given custody also of Clarendon Forest. As a long-serving steward and member of the household of Peter des Roches, it is possible that he was deputising for Rivallis in Clarendon during this period.⁸³¹</p>
Henry Fitznicholas	No later than December 1234 – April 1236	<p>Henry Fitznicholas does not appear in the list of wardens in the appendix to the <i>VCH</i> volume covering the royal forests. It is not clear when he was granted custody of Clarendon or of the terms of his appointment, but it was almost certainly at some point during 1234, following the collapse of the Des Roches/de Rivallis regime. Fitznicholas was the brother of Henry III's steward, Ralph Fitznicholas. The first record of his possible custody is of a mandate to him dated December 1234. In April 1236 he was instructed to surrender the forest to Walter de Langford. Fitznicholas provided an account of the period of his custody as part of the Hampshire pipe rolls of 1236. Fitznicholas was also sheriff of Hampshire for some of the period when he had custody of Clarendon Forest.</p>

⁸³¹ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); N. Vincent, 'Rivallis [Rivaux], Peter de (d. 1262), courtier and administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 4 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23688>; *CPR 1225-32*, p.491; *CR 1231-34*, pp.370, 373, 414; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.36, 38, 235, 359-60, 394.

		Richardson has suggested that Fitznicholas may have acted as Rivallis's deputy rather than his replacement. This is unlikely given that his brother had been so closely associated with the government of Hubert de Burgh, the rival of Peter des Roches. ⁸³²
Walter de Langford	April 1236 – May 1236	In April 1236 Walter de Langford was awarded custody at the king's pleasure of the royal house at Clarendon and of the forests of Clarendon and Grovely. However, this was just a short-term appointment as he was replaced in the following month by Henry de Dun. ⁸³³
Henry de Dun/Down	May 1236 – October 1238	<p>In May 1236, Henry de Dun replaced Walter de Langford. Dun was appointed for three years to the forests of Clarendon and Grovely and was required to render £20 each year from the pannage and issues of the two forests. He was also allowed 60s 10d each year for the custody of the king's houses at Clarendon.</p> <p>In October 1238, Dun made fine with the king by 5m for a trespass of the forest of Clarendon, which was recorded as being paid in the pipe rolls of 1241. As a result of the trespass, he surrendered the bailiwick of the forest.</p> <p>Dun first accounted for his custody of the forest in the Hampshire section of the 1236 pipe rolls. His debts were subsequently transferred to the Wiltshire section of the rolls. These debts were</p>

⁸³² *CR 1227-31*, p.348; *CR 1234-37*, pp.28, 259; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.291, 299, 310, 347; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.60, 61, 123, 125, 169, 188, 191; TNA, E 372/80, rot. 9d, m. 2 accessed online 12 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *List of Sheriffs*, p.54; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.162-3.

⁸³³ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CPR 1232-47*, p.142; *CR 1234-37*, p.259.

		recalculated in 1242, resulting in an outstanding balance of just under £5 that remained unpaid in 1247. ⁸³⁴
Adam Cook/Cock	November 1238 – No later than December 1247.	<p>In November 1238, Dun was ordered to surrender the bailiwick to Adam Cook who was granted custody of the Clarendon houses and forests at the king's pleasure, answering for all the issues and profits at the exchequer.</p> <p>The last mandate to Cook was dated December 1246. The first reference to his replacement William de Horsenden is in 1247. The reasons for the replacement are not clear, but it is possible that Cook was a casualty of the forest eyre for Wiltshire led by Robert Passelewe that was seemingly completed by October 1246.</p> <p>It is possible that Cook was removed as a result of a failure to account for the proceeds of his custody. The only account in the pipe rolls is from 1246 and therefore may have coincided with the forest eyre. That identified a total amount due from Clarendon Forest of over £65, of which more than £36 remained outstanding. In 1252 and 1254, the balance was combined with other debts relating to the custody of the forest. The outstanding balance was recorded as paid in full in the 1256 pipe rolls.</p>

⁸³⁴ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests/appendices); Richardson, *Clarendon*, p.11; *CPR 1232-47*, p.146; *CFR 20/291* accessed online 13 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_035.html; *CFR 23/3* accessed online 13 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_036.html; TNA, E 372/80, rot. 9d, m. 2 accessed online 13 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.aalt.uh.edu/); TNA, E 372/85, rot. 8d, m. 2 accessed online 13 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.aalt.uh.edu/); *PR 1242*, pp.171, 175, 265; TNA, E 372/91, rot. 9d, m. 1 accessed online 13 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.aalt.uh.edu/); *CR 1234-37*, p.301.

		It should also be noted that Buckholt, which was within Hampshire, seems to have been removed from Cook's custody following the forest eyre in that county in 1244. There are two mandates in relation to Buckholt that are addressed to Henry de Farley and are dated February and March 1246. ⁸³⁵
William de Horsenden	No later than December 1247 – April 1249	There is no formal record of the appointment of William de Horsenden. The first entry concerning his tenure dates from December 1247 and relates to Grovely. As custody of this was usually aligned to that of Clarendon, it is reasonable to assume that he was warden of the latter by this date. The final mandate to him was dated February 1249 which is consistent with his replacement shortly afterwards by Robert de Stopham. ⁸³⁶
Robert de Stopham	April 1249 – June 1259	In April 1249, Robert de Stopham was given custody of Clarendon manor and forest, with a payment to him of £20 per year. He held the position for just over ten years until he was replaced by Robert Walerand. The terms of Stopham's appointment indicate that he was not responsible in the same way as his predecessors for accounting for the proceeds of the forest. It is from this date that the pipe

⁸³⁵ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); Richardson, *Clarendon*, p.11; *CFR 23/15* accessed online 13 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_036.html; https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_036.html; *CR 1242-47*, pp.397, 398, 492; *CR 1247-51*, p.247; TNA, E 372/90, rot. 9d, m. 2 accessed online 13 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/96, rot. 16d, m. 2 accessed online 13 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/97, rot. 16d, m. 2 accessed online 13 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/100, rot. 11, m. 2 accessed online 13 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.187-8.

⁸³⁶ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CR 1247-51*, pp.20, 144.

		rolls and other records begin to record direct payments to the exchequer and wardrobe of pannage fees by the agistors of the various woods within Clarendon Forest, a practice that was to continue for the rest of the reign. In 1251, he was amerced 5m in relation to forest offences in Hampshire. ⁸³⁷
Robert Walerand	June 1259 – August 1263	In June 1259 Robert Walerand was appointed, ‘with the counsel of the nobles of the council’ to keep the houses and forest of Clarendon, along with Salisbury castle. He was to take £20 yearly for his own use from the issues of the forest. The appointment was confirmed in the following year. ⁸³⁸
Walter de Burgh	August 1263 – May 1266	Walerand was replaced as warden of Clarendon manor and forest on the same terms in August 1263 by Walter de Burgh, seemingly at the instigation of the baronial council. It is not clear if Burgh retained custody throughout the period of the subsequent civil war. ⁸³⁹
Robert of Glastonbury	May 1266 – March 1268	In May 1266, Burgh was replaced by Robert of Glastonbury who was appointed to Salisbury castle and Clarendon Forest. In the following month, it was clarified that he was appointed at the king’s pleasure and should receive as much yearly as his predecessors. Glastonbury’s son

⁸³⁷ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests/appendices); Richardson, *Clarendon*, p.11; *CPR 1247-58*, p.40; *CFR 33/186* accessed online 13 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_046.html#it186_008; *CFR 33/552* accessed online 13 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_046.html#it186_008; *CLR 1245-51*, p.269; *CLR 1267-72*, p.57; *CR 1237-42*, p.103; *CR 1242-47*, p.384; *CR 1259-61*, p.399; TNA, E 372/95, rot. 19d, m. 2 accessed online 13 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.uh.edu/aalt).

⁸³⁸ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests/appendices); Richardson, *Clarendon*, pp.11, 134-5, 146; *CPR 1258-66*, pp.28, 70.

⁸³⁹ *CFR 47/707* accessed online 13 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_060.html.

		and heir, Henry, later surrendered keeping of the manor and forest in return for a fee of £20 each year from the proceeds of Andover. ⁸⁴⁰
William de Dun	March 1268 – May 1269	In March 1268 William de Dun was awarded custody of the manor and forest of Clarendon with appurtenances at the king's pleasure, following their surrender by Glastonbury. Dun was to answer at the exchequer for the issues from the manor and forest. ⁸⁴¹
Stephen de Edworth	May 1269 onwards	In May 1269, Stephen de Edworth was granted custody of the manor and forest of Clarendon to keep during the king's pleasure. He was to answer for the issues at the exchequer, taking from them as much as his predecessors. The last record of a mandate to Edworth is dated August 1271, so it is likely that he had custody of the forest for the rest of Henry's reign. ⁸⁴²

⁸⁴⁰ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://royalforests.org.uk/appendices/); Richardson, *Clarendon*, pp.11, 135; *CPR 1258-66*, pp.598, 603; *CPR 1266-72*, pp.69, 209; *CR 1254-56*, pp.97, 352.

⁸⁴¹ *CFR 52/293* accessed online 13 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_065.html; *CR 1264-68*, p.406; Richardson, *Clarendon*, p.135.

⁸⁴² *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://royalforests.org.uk/appendices/); *CPR 1266-72*, p.336; *CR 1264-68*, p.321; *CR 1268-72*, pp.373, 445; Richardson, *Clarendon*, pp.11, 135.

Dean (Gloucestershire) - Castle

The history of the Forest of Dean has been extensively covered in works by Cyril Hart and Margaret Bazeley. During Henry III's reign, the warden of Forest of Dean was invariably also the constable of St Briavels castle. Bazeley has compiled a list of constables and there is an identical list in Volume 5 of the *VCH* for Gloucestershire. The details below are mainly taken from those two lists, with additional information provided.⁸⁴³

Warden of Forest of Dean	Term of Office	Details
Roger de Clifford	March 1224 – November 1231	Roger de Clifford was appointed constable and warden in 1224. He died in office in 1231. At that point the sheriff of Gloucestershire was ordered to take the forest and castle into the king's hands. Gilbert Basset was appointed in November of the same year. Clifford was required to pay an annual fee of £10 for the farm of the forest. The final account submitted to the exchequer before his death was from 1229 and shows that, at that time, there were no outstanding debts concerning the farm. ⁸⁴⁴
Gilbert Basset	November 1231 – October 1232	In November 1231, Gilbert Basset was appointed at the king's pleasure to the castle and town of St Briavels, with the Forest of Dean. He was to render £20 per annum, although the entry in

⁸⁴³ Bazeley, 'Forest of Dean', pp.153-286. The section examining the wardens during the thirteenth century, pp.176 – 84, is especially helpful; *VCH Gloucestershire Vol. 5*, pp.413-5. The following of Cyril Hart's many publications on the Forest of Dean are particularly useful: C.E. Hart, *Royal Forest: A History of Dean's Wood as Producers of Timber* (Oxford, 1966); C. Hart, *The Industrial History of Dean* (Newton Abbot, 1971); C. Hart, *The Verderers and Forest Laws of Dean* (Newton Abbot, 1971).

⁸⁴⁴ *CPR 1216-25* accessed online 3 February 2024 [1224, membranes 11,10, 9, 8, 7 | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cpr/1216-25); TNA, E 372/73, rot. 4d, m.1 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.aalt.uh.edu/); K. Faulkner, 'Clifford, Sir Roger de (b. c. 1221, d. in or before 1286), baron and soldier', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5659>; Bazeley, 'Forest of Dean', p.229.

		the fine rolls states £10. In practice, he had the custody for less than a year. Basset did not present an account for his time in office. ⁸⁴⁵
Peter de Rivallis	October 1232 – June 1234	<p>In October 1232, Peter de Rivallis was appointed for life as constable of St Briavels and warden of the Forest of Dean, rendering £20 per year. This was part of a remarkable concentration of power and responsibility concerning the royal forest more generally. However, Rivallis lost the custody of both as part of the upheaval of 1234.</p> <p>Although Rivallis had custody of the Forest of Dean for less than two years, the pipe rolls record that he was obliged to account for the £20 farm in relation to it and St Briavels for five years. Accordingly a debt of £100 is recorded in the pipe rolls for 1236. This sum was outstanding in 1250 when it was written off, possibly as a result of Rivallis’s return to royal favour in the same year. Rivallis did not present an account for this time as keeper of the forest.⁸⁴⁶</p>
Amaury de St Amand	June 1234 – June 1241	Amaury de St Amand was appointed at the outset for one year and continued in office afterwards. He was due to render £40 per year for the castle and the forest, although the pipe

⁸⁴⁵ CPR 1225-32 accessed online 3 February 2024 [1231, membrane 10 | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/cpr/1225-32/membranes/9); CPR 1225-32 accessed online 3 February 2024 [1232, membranes 9, 8, 7, 6, 5 | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/cpr/1225-32/membranes/9); CFR 16/136 accessed online 3 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_031.html#it136_005; N. Vincent, ‘Basset, Gilbert (d. 1241), knight and rebel’, ODNB (2010) accessed online 15 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1639>; CR 1237-42, p.311; Bazeley, ‘Forest of Dean’, p.229.

⁸⁴⁶ CChR 1226-57, p.169; CFR 16/290 accessed online 3 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_031.html#it290_002; CPR 1225-32, p.489; ODNB accessed online 3 February 2024 [Rivallis \[Rivaux\], Peter de \(d. 1262\), courtier and administrator | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography \(oxforddnb.com\)](https://oxforddnb.com/entry/rivallis-peter-de); TNA, E 372/80, rot. 6, m.1 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://aalt.uh.edu/); TNA, E 372/94, rot. 5d, m. 2 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://aalt.uh.edu/); Bazeley, ‘Forest of Dean’, p.229.

		rolls record an annual payment of £50. Although St Amand replaced Rivallis in 1234, he only assumed responsibility for payment of the annual fee in 1237. Although he made some payments, by the time of his death in 1241, there was an accumulated debt of over £137 (recorded in the Oxfordshire section of the pipe rolls). This was seemingly paid by his heirs by the time of the preparation of the pipe rolls in 1246. His period of custody ended when he died on crusade. ⁸⁴⁷
Emery de Cancellis	June 1241 – May 1247	In June 1241 Emery de Cancellis was granted ‘custody of the castle of St Briavels and of the forest [of Dene] with all issues thereof which Amaury de Sancto Amando used to receive, for one year from Michaelmas last, rendering at the exchequer £60.’ Cancellis made a part payment of the annual fee in 1242, but nothing after that. He was seemingly amerced in relation to the arrears at the Gloucestershire forest eyre of 1244, when he was required to pay £207. This sum was transferred to the Herefordshire section of the pipe rolls in 1253 where most of it was pardoned or written off. ⁸⁴⁸

⁸⁴⁷ *CPR 1232-47*, pp.48, 55; *CFR 18/223* accessed online 3 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_033.html#it223_007; *CFR 19/19* accessed online 3 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_034.html#it019_016; *CR 1227-31*, p.311; TNA, E 372/81, rot. 13d, m. 1 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/85, rot. 7d, m. 1 accessed online [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/90, rot. 2, m. 1 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); S. Lloyd, ‘St Amand, Sir Amaury de (d. 1240/41), soldier and administrator’, *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 24 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24475>; Bazeley, ‘Forest of Dean’, p.229.

⁸⁴⁸ *CPR 1232-47*, p.252; *PR 1242*, p.256; TNA, E 372/92, rot. 2d, m. 2 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/97, rot. 5d, m. 2 accessed online [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Bazeley, ‘Forest of Dean’, p.229; Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.180-1.

Richard de Clifford	May 1247 – December 1247	Richard de Clifford held office for a year before he received a grant of the forest at farm in 1247. He died in office, probably some time around December 1247. ⁸⁴⁹
Peter Chaceporc	May 1248 – December 1254	In May 1248 Peter Chaceporc was granted ‘the castle of St Briavels and the forest of Dene with all the issues, saving to the king fines, wards, reliefs and marriages of the foresters and serjeants of fee, for 170l. to be rendered yearly at the exchequer.’ Chaceporc rendered accounts at the exchequer every year between 1249 and 1252. At the end of that period, there were no debts outstanding. However, no payments were made after that so that, by the time of his death in December 1254, a sum of £340 was outstanding. This was then written off. ⁸⁵⁰
James Fresel	January 1255 – November 1255	In January 1255, James Fresel was appointed to replace Peter Chaceporc. His tenure was short as he was replaced in November 1255 by Robert Walerand. While the pipe rolls of 1256 show that he had not rendered an account for his tenure, he is recorded as paying £40 into the wardrobe in July 1255. ⁸⁵¹

⁸⁴⁹ Bazeley, ‘Forest of Dean’, p.177; *CR 1247-51*, p.12.

⁸⁵⁰ *CPR 1247-58*, p.13; *CR 1247-51*, p.43; *CR 1251-53*, p.408; TNA, E 372/93, rot. 1, m. 1 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/94, rot. 18, m. 1 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/95, rot. 6, m. 2 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/96, rot. 5, m. 2 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/98, rot. 1d, m. 2 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); R. Stacey, ‘Chaceporc, Peter (d. 1254), administrator’, *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 25 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5009>; Bazeley, ‘Forest of Dean’, p.229.

⁸⁵¹ *CFR 39/80* accessed online 3 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_052.html#it080_013; *CLR 1251-60*, p.232; TNA, E 372/100, rot. 19, m. 2 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

Robert Walerand	November 1255 – August 1263	<p>In November 1255, Robert Walerand replaced James Fresel on terms that are set out in detail in the fine rolls:</p> <p>‘The king has committed to Robert Walerand custody of the castle and manor of St Briavels and the forest of Dean with appurtenances from Michaelmas in the thirty-ninth year until the end of five years next following, so that in the meantime he is to have all the issues and proceeds of the king’s demesnes, annual rents and the king’s weirs of the same manor and also of foreign lands and of the great mines, external forges of the aforesaid forest and customs of pit-coal which is led beyond the right of way of the [river] Severn through the aforesaid forest to Gloucester, [and also of] pasturage, wind-fallen wood, covet thrown down by the wind, pannage, ashes, nuts, and chestnut-trees of the same forest together with the perquisites of the same forest and hallmoot of St Briavels, and of the cordwainers and sieve makers of the aforesaid forest. And he is to render in respect thereof per annum at the exchequer £160 namely one moiety at the exchequer of Easter and the other moiety at the exchequer of Michaelmas. He is to keep the aforesaid castle and aforesaid forest at his own cost. And the king’s great forge of the same forest shall remain to the king to dispose of according to his will.’</p> <p>The pipe rolls show that Walerand accounted regularly from 1257 for the sums due from him, although he was always in debt at the exchequer. By 1265, the total of those debts was £294, although this sum appears to have been fully paid during the following year. In 1270, he was amerced at the Gloucestershire forest eyre to the amount of £300 in relation to waste caused</p>
-----------------	--------------------------------	---

		<p>while he was warden of the forest. In March, he received a respite concerning payment of that debt.</p> <p>Walerand was also chief justice during three years of his tenure of the forest.⁸⁵²</p>
John Giffard	August 1263 – April 1265	<p>In August 1263, John Giffard was appointed ‘by the counsel of the nobles of the council’, to the castle of St Briavels, and the Forest of Dean, answering for the issues at the exchequer.</p> <p>As late as 1272, the pipe rolls record blank entries for the accounts of John Giffard in relation to the Forest of Dean and it appears that he did not account for his time in office. In October 1265, he was granted a remission and pardon in relation to his debts as the warden of the forest.</p> <p>However, he was amerced to the sum of £318 at the Gloucestershire eyre of 1270 in relation to failings as warden of the forest. He had previously been amerced 5m at the Wiltshire forest eyre of 1263.⁸⁵³</p>
Thomas de Clare	April 1265 – January 1272	<p>The only gap in the list of wardens is between Thomas de Clare and William de Beauchamp. In April 1265, the Council appointed Thomas de Clare during pleasure to St Briavels castle ‘so that he answer for the issues at the exchequer.’ The custody of the former may have ended before</p>

⁸⁵² *CFR 40/83* accessed online 3 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_053.html#it083_021; *CPR 1247-58*, p.450; *CPR 1258-66*, p.87; TNA, E 372/101, rot. 19d, m. 2 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/109, rot. 10, m. 2 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/115, rot. 2d, m. 1 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *CR 1268-72*, p.329-30; A. Harding, ‘Walerand, Robert (d. 1273), administrator’, *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28455>; Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.270-2.

⁸⁵³ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.273, 472-3; TNA, E 372/108, rot. 11d, m. 2 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 24d, m. 2 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#), [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); D. Crouch, ‘Giffard, John, first Lord Giffard (1232–1299), baron’, *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 3 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10651>; Bazeley, ‘Forest of Dean’, p.229; Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.249-52, 270-2.

		the 1270 eyre when he went on crusade. It is possible that the latter may have held the forest before the formal award of a grant. There is no account in the pipe rolls relating to the period of de Clare's tenure. At the Gloucestershire eyre of 1270, he was amerced £129 in relation his failings as warden of the forest. ⁸⁵⁴
William de Beauchamp	January 1272 onwards	Beauchamp was one of a number of wardens of the forest who held lands bordering it. He had custody of the forest until 1276. He did not submit an account before the end of Henry III's reign. ⁸⁵⁵

Essex - Hereditary

By the end of the reign of Henry I, the whole of the county of Essex was subject to forest law. At the same time, the family of Mountfitchet had acquired the estate and office of warden of Essex Forest. In 1204 the men of Essex paid 500m to King John for disafforestation of the county north of Stanestreet, while in 1228 the Tendring Hundred was disafforested. Nevertheless, for the duration of Henry III's reign, most of the county remained subject to forest law.⁸⁵⁶

⁸⁵⁴ *CPR 1258-66*, p.419; TNA, E 372/116, rot. 24d, m. 2 accessed online 3 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.uh.edu/~ahalt/AALT_Page); R. Frame, 'Clare, Thomas de (1244x7-1287), magnate and administrator', *ODNB* (2005) accessed online 3 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/50023>; Bazeley, 'Forest of Dean', p.229; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.270-2.

⁸⁵⁵ P. Coss, 'Beauchamp, William de, ninth earl of Warwick (c. 1238-1298), magnate', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 3 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47242>; Bazeley, 'Forest of Dean', pp.177, 229.

⁸⁵⁶ *VCH Essex Vol. 2*, p.615; Fisher, *Essex*, pp.114-5; Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.147, 148, 150, 152; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.13, 136; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.5, 21; W. Liddell, 'The Bounds of the Forest of Essex: "Man is preceded by forest, succeeded by desert"', in K. Neale (ed.), *An Essex Tribute: Essays presented to Frederick G. Emmison as a tribute to his life and work for Essex history and archives* (London, 1987), pp.109-13.

Warden of Essex	Term of Office	Details
Richard de Mountfitchet	1215 – Late 1266/early 1267	<p>Richard de Mountfitchet was a descendant of William de Mountfitchet (died before 1156), from whom he inherited a claim to the custody of the royal forests in Essex as well as the barony of Stansted Mountfitchet which comprised nearly fifty knights' fees. He had come of age by 1214 and was awarded custody of the forests of Essex in the following year. Although he sided with the barons against King John in the civil war and accordingly briefly lost custody of the forests, these were restored to him in 1217.</p> <p>Mountfitchet held office as keeper of Essex for much of the period of Henry III's personal rule, receiving over 300 mandates directed to him to provide gifts from the forest. He was also the recipient of forest gifts himself on two occasions. Between November 1236 and May 1238, he was also chief justice of the Forest South of the Trent. He was admitted to sit as a baron of the exchequer in 1234, and in 1237 was a witness to a further confirmation of Magna Carta. Between 1242 and 1246 he also served as sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire.</p> <p>At some point during the winter of 1249/50, Mountfitchet lost custody of the forest, possibly following the 1246 Essex forest eyre undertaken by Robert Passelewe. He recovered it in October 1252 on payment of a fine of 100m. The fine roll record of this transaction states that 20m had already been paid into the wardrobe and set out an arrangement for the payment of the balance. There are no extant wardrobe accounts for the period between October 1252 and January 1255, so it is not possible to establish whether Mountfitchet paid the full amount due.</p>

		<p>There are no records to suggest that Mountfitchet was required to pay an annual fee or evidence of any such payments in the pipe rolls.</p> <p>Mountfitchet held land in the forest and, in 1253, gave the king 20s of gold so that he could enclose his wood of Theydon Bois, and for permission to hold a market and fair at West Ham. In 1237, he had paid 20s in relation to another grant to enclose within the forest. The grant of 1252 also empowered him to appoint and remove all foresters and bailiffs of the forest as his ancestors had been able to do.</p> <p>In September 1266, Mountfitchet's relative Thomas de Clare helped him secure a pardon all 'debts, accounts, reckonings, and arrears wherein he is bound to the king by reason of his stewardship of the forest of Essex of the whole time wherein he had such stewardship and also of all receipts for the said time.' At about the same time, Mountfitchet quit-claimed to de Clare and his heirs the bailiwick of the whole forest of Essex, with the custody of the houses and park of Havering and all things pertaining to the bailiwick, including the power to appoint and remove all foresters and bailiffs of the forest. This grant was subsequently entered on the charter rolls in May 1267. The last mandate to Mountfitchet regarding a gift from the forest was also dated September 1266. At some time between then and February 1267, responsibility for the forest was transferred by Mountfitchet to de Clare. Mountfitchet died later in 1267.⁸⁵⁷</p>
--	--	---

⁸⁵⁷ *CPR 1247-58*, p.58; *CPR 1258-66*, p.639; *CChR 1257-1300*, p.75; *CR 1231-34*, p.34; *CR 1242-47*, p.321; *CR 1264-68*, p.211; *CFR 36/1299* accessed online 1 December 2023 [https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/search/page\(1\)](https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/search/page(1)); *CFR 37/813* accessed online 20 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_050.html; N. Vincent, 'Montfichet, Richard de (b. after 1190, d. 1267), baron and forest administrator', *ODNB* (2005) accessed online 19 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19044>; Fisher, *Essex*, pp.114-6; Winters; 'Forest Eyre', p.186; Wild, *Wardrobe Accounts*, p.xiv; TNA, E 372/81, rot. 3d, m. 1 accessed

Thomas de Clare	Late 1266/early 1267 onwards	<p>The first mandate to Thomas de Clare as warden of Essex Forest was dated February 1267. The last one of Henry's reign was dated October 1272.</p> <p>The son of Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and the younger brother of Gilbert de Clare, Thomas de Clare became closely associated with the Lord Edward during the later stages of the civil war. He took the cross in 1267, went with the Lord Edward to Paris in August 1269 to make arrangements for the crusade and was on crusade from summer 1270 until his return to England early in 1272. He was therefore rarely in England during the period of his tenure of the forest. From 1265 he also held constablerships of a number of castles and served as a judicial commissioner. It is almost certain, in the circumstances, that much of the business of Essex Forest would have been delegated by de Clare to a deputy.</p> <p>There is no record of any payments by de Clare upon inheriting the forest nor of any annual fee.⁸⁵⁸</p>
-----------------	------------------------------	--

online 20 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Moore, 'Government and Locality', pp.32, 39, 131, 180-1, 207, 271; Miss Fry, 'Some Account of Robert Gernon and His Successors, The Barons Montfichet', *Transactions of Essex Archaeological Society* 5, 1873, pp.191-205. The vast majority of the mandates to Mountfichet to provide royal gifts from the forest are to be found in the close rolls.

⁸⁵⁸ *CR 1264-68*, pp.292, 343-4, 408; *CR 1268-72*, pp.476, 529; R. Frame, 'Clare, Thomas de (1244x7-1287), magnate and administrator', *ODNB* (2005) accessed online 3 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/50023>; Altschul, *The Clares*, pp.34, 108, 175-6, 187-91.

Feckenham (Worcestershire and Warwickshire) - Other

Feckenham Forest lay mostly in Worcestershire, but part also was in Warwickshire. Although not named in the Domesday Book, it certainly existed under the early Norman kings. While areas of the forest were disafforested early during the period of Henry III's personal rule, it remained extensive in scope. The warden of Feckenham Forest was usually, although not always, also the keeper of the royal manor of the same name. The warden was appointed by letters patent and was not a hereditary position. Beneath the warden in the forest hierarchy there were five hereditary foresters-in-fee and a parker. Louise Wilkinson has previously studied the custody of one forester-in-fee, Agnes de Amundeville. The local Beauchamp family had historically had custody of Feckenham Forest alongside their hereditary role as sheriffs of Worcestershire, but this does not appear to have been the case during Henry III's personal rule.⁸⁵⁹

Warden of Feckenham	Term of Office	Details
Hugh de Neville	1224 – No later than October 1229	<p>There are no writs in the extant documentation linking Hugh de Neville to custody of Feckenham Forest during this period. However, he continued to account at the exchequer for the annual farm payment of £20. He first accounted in this way in 1224. The final account was in the 1229 pipe rolls. It is possible that his custody of the forest ended at the same time as his removal in autumn 1229 from the post of chief justice (see earlier).</p> <p>The pipe rolls record that he was due to pay an annual sum of £20 for the farm of the forest. By the time of the 1229 pipe rolls, the arrears on this fee amounted to £120. The debt was transferred to the Essex section of the pipe rolls and combined with other debts. Hugh de Neville made a number of payments before his death. The debt was subsequently inherited by</p>

⁸⁵⁹ Birrell, *Feckenham*, pp.xiv–xvi; Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.226, 228; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.11, 94, 105; Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.147, 162; Wilkinson, 'Women in English Local Government', pp.222-3; E. Mason, *The Beauchamp Cartulary Charters 1100-1268* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1980), pp.xlviii-xlix.

		John de Neville who made annual payments of 100m. By the time of his death, almost all of the remaining sum had been paid. ⁸⁶⁰
John of Monmouth	At least October 1229 – July 1232	John of Monmouth was a chief justice of the forest for much of this period. However, it appears that he also had custody of Feckenham from at least October 1229 until the appointment of Peter de Rivallis in the summer of 1232. The last gift mandate to Monmouth was July 1232 which coincides with the transfer of responsibility of many aspects of the royal forest management to Peter de Rivallis. Monmouth is identified in the pipe rolls for 1230, 1231 and 1232 as being responsible for submitting an account for the forest. However, the entries in all three cases are blank, suggesting he made no payments. ⁸⁶¹
Peter de Rivallis	July 1232 – June 1234	The interactions of Peter de Rivallis with Feckenham Forest were limited to that of gift mandates. It is possible that these were issued to him solely in his capacity as chief justice but equally there is no reference to another forester at this time, so it is quite possible that he fulfilled this function. This is supported by the decision to award the custody in June 1234 to William Pipard as the timing coincides with the fall of Rivallis from power. The first gift mandate was dated August 1232 and the last dated January 1234.

⁸⁶⁰ *PR 1224*, p.32; TNA, E 372/73, rot. 4d, m. 2 accessed online 13 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *PR 1230*, p.158; TNA, E 372/89, rot. 1, m. 2 accessed online 13 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); D. Crook, 'Neville, Hugh de (d. 1234), royal forester', *ODNB* (2016) accessed online 4 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19942>.

⁸⁶¹ *PR 1230*, p.67; TNA, E 372/75, rot. 13d, m.1 accessed online 13 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/76, rot. 1d, m. 1 accessed online 13 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *CR 1227-31*, p.224; *CR 1231-34*, p.82; A. Pollard and R. Davies, 'Monmouth, John of (c. 1182–1248), baron', *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 5 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18959>.

		From 1234 onwards, the pipe rolls record blank entries for details concerning the farm of the forest. This was the case until the last Worcestershire pipe roll of Henry III's reign in 1271, although at that point Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, began to account for his custody of the manor and forest (see below). ⁸⁶²
William Pipard of Bishampton	June 1234 – At least April 1240	William Pipard was awarded the custody of the manor of Feckenham with its appurtenances and the forest at the king's pleasure in June 1234. He was a member of a local family of relatively minor landholders. In August 1234, he received a mandate to provide timber from Feckenham. He is likely to have remained in the role until at least April 1240 when he received a mandate to provide a gift of fish from the pond at Feckenham. Pipard accounted for Feckenham at the exchequer until 1239, but without making any payment. ⁸⁶³
Uncertain	April 1240 – May 1245	Between April 1240 and February 1246, the picture concerning the custody of the forest is unclear. There is no record of an appointment to the wardenship of Feckenham. Many royal writs concerning the forest do not identify the recipient by name or were directed to the chief justices.

⁸⁶² *CR 1231-34*, pp.100, 363; TNA, E 372/78, rot. 10d, m. 1 accessed online 13 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/115, rot. 10d, m. 1 accessed online 13 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); N. Vincent, 'Rivallis [Rivaux], Peter de (d. 1262), courtier and administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 4 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23688>.

⁸⁶³ *CFR 18/236, 18/237* accessed online 13 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_033.html; *CPR 1232-47*, p.58; *CR 1231-34*, p.506; *CR 1237-42*, p.184; TNA, E 372/81, rot. 9, m. 1 accessed online 13 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/82, rot. 13d, m. 1 accessed online 13 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/83, rot. 3d, m.2 accessed online 13 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); West, 'Feckenham', pp.124, 145.

		Those who were identified included Geoffrey Fitzwarin who, described as a 'bailiff' of Feckenham, received a mandate in February 1241 to provide deer as a royal gift. In September of the same year, Richard Strech also received mandates to provide gifts of deer from the forest. Strech was one of the five foresters in fee who held bailiwicks within Feckenham during this period. ⁸⁶⁴
Richard Pipard	May 1245 – February 1246	In May 1245, Richard Pipard was granted custody of both the manor and forest of Feckenham at the king's pleasure. In August 1245, he received a mandate to admit royal hunters to the forest. ⁸⁶⁵
Geoffrey Fitzwarin	February 1246 – Probably at least July 1250	As noted above, Fitzwarin had already received a mandate as a 'bailiff' of Feckenham in May 1241 to provide deer from the forest. In February 1246, he was awarded custody at the king's pleasure of the forests in the counties of Staffordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire. He was subsequently awarded 10m to sustain himself in that role. He also received a number of mandates to provide gifts from Feckenham, the last dated November 1249. In July 1250, a mandate was issued to William Fitzwarin as steward of the forest. It is possible that the name was the result of a clerical error as Fitzwarin continued to serve as forester at this time in Staffordshire and Shropshire. ⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁶⁴ *CLR 1240-45*, p.52; *CR 1237-42*, pp.328, 330; Birrell, *Feckenham*, pp.x, xv.

⁸⁶⁵ *CR 1242-47*, pp.309, 332.

⁸⁶⁶ *CLR 1240-45*, p.52; *CPR 1232-47*, p.474; *CLR 1245-51*, p.41; *CR 1242-47*, p.406; *CR 1247-51*, pp.238, 303.

Uncertain	July 1250 – June 1254	There are no records to identify a warden with confidence between July 1250 and June 1254.
Ralph de Coventry	No later than June 1254 – At least August 1256	There is no formal record of appointment for Ralph de Coventry, but in June 1254 he was described as the warden of the forests of Shropshire, Worcestershire and part of Staffordshire. It is therefore likely that he had been appointed before this date, with the <i>VCH</i> for Staffordshire suggesting this might have been as early as 1250. He received mandates concerning all three county forests, including Feckenham, until August 1256 and conducted an inquisition that month following the death of a forester-in-fee who held a bailiwick within Feckenham Forest. ⁸⁶⁷
Uncertain	August 1256 – August 1265	There are no records to identify a warden with confidence between August 1256 and August 1265.
Hugh Mortimer	August 1265 – October 1266	In August 1265, following the battle of Evesham, the manor and forest of Feckenham were committed at the king's pleasure to Hugh Mortimer. This is likely to have been the Hugh Mortimer who took part in the siege of Kenilworth in 1265 and was later sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire. In the same month that he was awarded custody of Feckenham, he was also granted licence to hunt in the royal forests in Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Shropshire and Staffordshire. ⁸⁶⁸

⁸⁶⁷ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.434-5; *CR 1254-56*, p.134; *CIPM Vol. I*, p.99; *VCH Staffordshire Vol. 2*, p.344.

⁸⁶⁸ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.436, 619; *List of Sheriffs*, p.151; I. Mortimer, 'The Medieval Mortimer Family: An Outline Lineage', Mortimer History Society accessed online 10 March 2025 [Outline-Lineage-V7.2.pdf](#).

Roger de Clifford	October 1266 – October 1270	In October 1266, the manor and forest of Feckenham were committed at the king’s pleasure to Roger de Clifford. He combined this role with that of chief justice of the forest (see Appendix C). In October 1270, the bishop of Worcester was granted the manor and forest, but Clifford still received a mandate as late as October 1271 in his capacity as warden of Feckenham that banned the taking of deer from the forest. In November 1256, he was granted licence to hunt in the royal forests in Worcestershire, Gloucestershire and Shropshire. ⁸⁶⁹
Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester	October 1270 onwards	In October 1270, the manor and forest of Feckenham were committed to Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester to keep for five years. He was to answer for the issues at the exchequer. In January 1271, it was clarified that the bishop should render £40 annually at the exchequer for the manor and forest. The forest element of that sum was not separately identified. Giffard accounted for the £40 fee in the pipe rolls for 1271. After allowances, he owed a balance of £7 12s 5.5d. There was no account for Worcestershire in the final pipe rolls of Henry III’s reign in 1272. Giffard worked extensively in the royal administration before his appointment to the Worcester see, including serving as lord chancellor. In 1267, he was granted licence to hunt in Wiltshire and Somerset. ⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶⁹ *CPR 1247-58*, p.529; *CPR 1258-66*, p.650; *CPR 1266-72*, pp.469-70, 581; ; K. Faulkner, ‘Clifford, Sir Roger de (b. c. 1221, d. in or before 1286), baron and soldier’, *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5659>.

⁸⁷⁰ *CPR 1266-72*, pp.48, 469-70, 507; TNA, E 372/115, rot. 10d, m. 1 accessed online 14 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukiaa/), [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukiaa/); S. Davies, ‘Giffard, Godfrey (1235?–1302), administrator and bishop of Worcester’, *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 14 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10649>.

Forest Between Oxford and Stamford (including Huntingdonshire, Rockingham, Salcey and Whittlewood) - Other

There was a unique set of management arrangements for a group of forests that collectively were known as the Forest Between the Bridges of Oxford and Stamford (usually abbreviated to the 'Forest Between Oxford and Stamford'). This group included the forests in Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire (including Sapley and Weybridge which are referred to frequently in the records), Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire. This group of forests covered an extensive area and included sizeable individual forests such as Rockingham (Northamptonshire). Those individual forests were, in turn, administered by their own wardens, some of whom were hereditary. For example, the arrangements specifically for Bernwood and Shotover Forests are covered elsewhere in this appendix. Above these foresters, but below the chief justices in the hierarchy of forest officials, was the warden for the Forest between Oxford and Stamford. As is shown below, the warden of the forest was often also the constable of Rockingham castle. The warden was also frequently a chief justice of the forest.⁸⁷¹

Warden of Forest Between Oxford and Stamford	Term of Office	Details
Hugh de Neville	1223 - July 1234	Hugh de Neville began to account for custody of the forests in Northamptonshire in 1223, prior to his reappointment as chief justice of the forests in England in January 1224 (see Appendix C). He was due to pay £20 each year for the farm of the forests in Northamptonshire, but by 1229 the accumulated debts concerning the custody amounted to almost £100. That debt was then combined with other debts and accounted for via the Essex section of the pipe rolls from 1230. Despite a number of payments, a substantial proportion of the debt was outstanding at the time of his death in July 1234. Neville continued to account in the Northamptonshire section of

⁸⁷¹ Turner, *Select Pleas*, p.xvii; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.77, 79; *VCH Northamptonshire* Vol. 2, pp.341-2; *VCH Huntingdonshire* Vol. 2, pp.73, 172; *VCH Huntingdonshire* Vol. 3, p.7.

		the pipe rolls after 1229 for his custody of the forests. At the time of his death, there was a debt outstanding of £19. ⁸⁷²
John de Neville	July 1234 – November 1244	<p>In July 1234, John de Neville agreed a fine of 300m with Henry III to acquire the custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford. John de Neville was due to pay the fine in yearly instalments of 50m. He was also due to render £20 per annum for the forests as his father Hugh was accustomed to render. John also inherited the debt of the farm payments outstanding from his father. He was therefore liable to make three separate payments regarding his custody.</p> <p>In relation to his annual fee of £20 for the farm of the forest, John de Neville made irregular payments. At the time of his death in June 1246, the outstanding amount due totalled £117. Responsibility for payment of the balance was accepted by his son and heir Hugh in 1257 when it was combined with a number of other debts and accounted for in the Essex section of the pipe rolls.</p> <p>John de Neville also inherited his father's debts from his custody of the forests. These were in two parts. There was firstly the sum of almost £100 outstanding from the period before 1229 that was accounted for in Essex. There was a second sum of £19 included in the Northamptonshire section of the pipe rolls that related to Hugh de Neville's custody of the</p>

⁸⁷² PR 1224, p.126; PR 1230, p.158; TNA, E 372/77, rot. 3, m. 2 accessed online 16 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.aalt.uh.edu/); D. Crook, 'Neville, Hugh de (d. 1234), royal forester', ODNB (2016) accessed online 4 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19942>.

		<p>forests between 1230 and his death. In 1237, these were combined with other debts and became the responsibility of John de Neville. From 1241 until his death, he made annual payments of 100m. The outstanding balance of approximately £47 (of which the forest debts accounted for only an element) was transferred in 1257 to John de Neville's son and heir, Hugh.</p> <p>The total of the debt inherited by Hugh de Neville in 1257 from his father and grandfather was over £1,805, approximately 86% of which related either to forest custodies or amercements. Neville made a number of payments but none after 1260. While initially loyal to Henry III during the period of baronial reform and revolt, he subsequently joined the rebels and lost his lands after the battle of Evesham. He was reconciled to Henry III at the end of 1266 and subsequently went on crusade. He died in the Holy Land in 1269. In 1272, he was pardoned by Henry III in relation to half of the outstanding amount of just over £1,545.</p> <p>John de Neville lost custody of the forest as a result of royal action taken against him. That may have begun in August 1244 when Henry III's government removed him temporarily from custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford. The last gift mandate to him was dated July 1244. Following a hearing before the king, in November Thomas Mansel was appointed steward of the bailiwick.⁸⁷³</p>
--	--	--

⁸⁷³ CR 1231-34, p.472; CR 1242-47, pp.208, 218; CFR 18/256, 18/257, 18/296 accessed online 16 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_033.html; CPR 1232-47, p.446; TNA, E 372/81, rot. 3d, m. 1 accessed online 16 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/90, rot. 1d, m. 1 accessed online 16 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/101, rot. 17d, m. 2 accessed online 16 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 4d, m. 2 accessed online 16 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Young, *Neville Family*, pp.33, 37, 57-8, 84, 85, 89, 90-2.

Thomas Mansel	November 1244 – No later than February 1246	Thomas Mansel was appointed to replaced John de Nevill in November 1244. It is not clear when he ceased to be warden. He received three gift mandates in the role, the last of which was dated April 1245. ⁸⁷⁴
Robert Passelewe	February 1246 – April 1250	In February 1246, Robert Passelewe was appointed as warden of the forest. He was required to account for 40m annually for its custody. While he was reappointed to the post for two years in February 1250, he was subsequently removed in April of the same year. While Passelewe made a number of payments, there was a balance outstanding of 57m at the time of his removal from office in April 1250 and subsequent death in June 1252. This ultimately was transferred to the London and Middlesex section of the pipe rolls where it was accounted for by his executors and combined with a number of other debts. These outstanding amounts were reported as cleared in the 1264 pipe rolls. ⁸⁷⁵
Geoffrey de Langley	April 1250 – October 1252	In April 1250, Geoffrey de Langley was appointed to replace Robert Passelewe. He was to render 107.5m per annum for both the forest and for Rockingham castle in Northamptonshire. The forest element accounted for 40% of the total. The sums due in 1251 and the following

⁸⁷⁴ *CPR 1232-47*, p.446; *CR 1242-47*, pp.272, 298, 302.

⁸⁷⁵ *CPR 1232-47*, p.474; *CPR 1247-58*, p.59; TNA, E 372/93, rot. 16, m. 1 accessed online 22 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/95, rot. 20, m. 1 accessed online 22 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/108, rot. 5d, m. 2 accessed online 22 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *CFR 34/284*, *CFR 34/317*, *CFR 34/331* accessed online 10 March 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 34 HENRY III \(28 October 1249–27 October 1250\)](#); R. Stacey, 'Passelewe, Robert (d. 1252), administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21507>.

		year were largely accounted for through allowances in 1252, leaving a small balance of almost £28. Langley was pardoned this sum in the following year. ⁸⁷⁶
John Mansel	October 1252 – July 1253	In October 1252, John Mansel was appointed to replace Geoffrey de Langley. His appointment, which was on the same terms as Langley, also included custody of Rockingham castle. Mansel made part-payments of the sums due from him, while receiving a pardon for some of the debt. ⁸⁷⁷
Arnold du Bois	July 1253 – February 1255	In July 1253, Arnold du Bois was awarded custody of the forest, but not the castle. This was confirmed in January 1254. There is no record of any payment by du Bois for his custody of the forest. He died in February 1255. ⁸⁷⁸
Hugh of Goldingham	March 1255 – November 1256	In March 1255, Hugh of Goldingham was formally appointed to the forest, although there is a mandate addressed to him as warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford from the preceding month. In June, he was also awarded custody of Rockingham castle, replacing John Mansel. He was to keep the castle 'at his own cost with the said forest so long as he is warden;

⁸⁷⁶ *CPR 1247-58*, p.63, 64; TNA, E 372/95, rot. 20d, m. 2 accessed online 22 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/96, rot. 10d, m. 2 accessed online 22 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/97, rot. 13d, m. 1 accessed online 22 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); P. Coss, 'Langley, Sir Geoffrey (c. 1200–1274), administrator and landowner', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37651>.

⁸⁷⁷ *CPR 1247-58*, p.154; TNA, E 372/98, rot. 14d, m. 2 accessed online 26 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/99, rot. 8d, m. 2 accessed online 10 March 2025 [AALT Page](#); R. Stacey, 'Mansel, John (d. 1265), administrator and royal councillor', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 31 January 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17989>.

⁸⁷⁸ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.209, 363; *CR 1251-53*, p.408; R. Dace, 'Bois, du, family (per. c. 1071–1313), barons', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/54500>.

		<p>and he is also to keep the appurtenances without the walls of the castle and answer for the issues of these at the exchequer until further order.’</p> <p>In June 1255, 10m was allocated to his account in relation to a payment he had made at the wardrobe. In June 1256, it was clarified that he was due to receive a payment of £10 each year for his maintenance in the role of warden of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford. It was ordered that that amount should be allocated to him ‘in the issues of his bailiwick’ for the year ending Easter 1256. The 1256 pipe rolls show that Goldingham submitted an account for the time that he had custody of the forest.⁸⁷⁹</p>
Robert Walerand	November 1256 – November 1259	<p>In November 1256, Robert Walerand was formally awarded custody of Rockingham castle and the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford for five years, rendering £110 each year. There is, however, a mandate to him in the role dating from October 1256. He was removed from office in November 1259 at the instigation of the reformist Council. In the same month, he was compensated for the loss of income from this curtailment of his period in the warden role.</p> <p>At the time of his removal from office, he owed three years’ farm payments, totalling £330. This debt was transferred in 1260 to the Gloucestershire section of the pipe rolls where it was combined with other debts. Overall, these outstanding sums totalled approximately £1,631, of</p>

⁸⁷⁹ CPR 1247-58, pp.402, 418; CChR 1226-57, p.441; CLR 1251-60, pp.231, 300; TNA, E 372/100, rot. 19d, m. 2 accessed online 26 February 2024 [AALT Page](#).

		which Walerand's custody of the Forest Between Oxford and Stamford accounted for about 8%. This was largely accounted for that year, with a small balance carried forward. ⁸⁸⁰
Thomas Gresley	November 1259 – June 1261	Although Walerand had been appointed for five years, he was replaced by the reformist Council after three years due to his support for Henry III and his association with the Sicilian Business. He was replaced on the same terms by Thomas Gresley. The pipe rolls of 1260 record that he owed a sum of £110 for his custody of the castle and forest, a sum that was transferred in the following year to the Gloucestershire section of the rolls and largely accounted for through payments and allowances. ⁸⁸¹
Alan la Zouche	June 1261 – June 1264	In June 1261, Gresley was replaced as constable of Rockingham castle and warden of the forest by Alan la Zouche on the same terms as his predecessor. The pipe rolls for 1262 record an amount due from Zouche for his custody of the castle and forest. He made a partial payment in 1263. The balance was recorded as cleared in the pipe rolls of 1266. ⁸⁸²
Nicholas of Seagrave/Matthew de Columbariis	June 1264 – December 1265	Following the battle of Lewes in May 1264, Nicholas of Seagrave was appointed to replace Zouche. However, in April 1265 Henry III appointed Matthew de Columbariis to the role. It seems that Seagrave and Columbariis therefore had competing claims on the office. For

⁸⁸⁰ *CPR 1247-58*, p.529; *CLR 1251-60*, p.489; *CR 1254-56*, pp.364-5; *PR 1259*, p.150; TNA, E 372/104, rot. 8d, m. 2 accessed online 26 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); A. Harding, 'Walerand, Robert (d. 1273), administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28455>.

⁸⁸¹ *CPR 1258-66*, p.58; TNA, E 372/104, rot. 18, m. 2 accessed online 26 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

⁸⁸² *CPR 1258-66*, p.158; TNA, E 372/106, rot. 11d, m. 2 accessed online 26 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/107, rot. 2, m. 1 accessed online 26 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/110, rot. 2, m. 1 accessed online 26 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); T. Tout and R. Davies, 'Zouche [Zouch], Alan de la (d. 1270), administrator and soldier', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30300>.

		<p>example, in May 1265, Seagrave received a mandate as warden of the forest. This complex situation was only resolved with the battle of Evesham in August 1265. The position regarding custody of the forest remains unclear until the appointment of Warin of Bassingbourne in December 1265. There are no records of payments for their custody by either Seagrave or Columbariis.⁸⁸³</p>
Warin of Bassingbourne	December 1265 – March 1269	<p>It seems that Warin of Bassingbourne was formally appointed forester in February 1266. However, the earliest mandate to him is dated December 1265. He was granted custody of the forests for life, taking from their uses £100 each year which the king had previously promised that he would provide for him and his heirs out of escheats. He was to render the residue at the exchequer. In May 1267, that arrangement was revised so that Bassingbourne would account for £10 each year at the exchequer. Following his death in early 1269, his son Baldwin briefly had custody of the forest.</p> <p>Bassingbourne does not appear to have made any payments to the exchequer concerning his custody of the forest. In the Northamptonshire section of the 1267 pipe roll, it is noted that Bassingbourne was due to account for his custody of the forest. In the 1271 pipe roll, it was reported that he was due to accounted for part of 1266 and the whole of 1267 and 1268, although no sum was identified.</p>

⁸⁸³ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.324, 418; *CR 1264-68*, p.59.

		There is also a write dated July 1266 requiring Elias de Tingewick to undertake an inquisition in his capacity as ‘keeper of the forest between the bridges of Oxford and Stanford.’ It is possible that Tingewick had custody of the forest for a brief period during 1266 or that he served as Bassingbourne’s deputy. ⁸⁸⁴
John le Moyne	March 1269 – May 1269	In March 1269, the forest and Rockingham castle were awarded to John le Moyne who only held them for a short period of time. ⁸⁸⁵
Henry of Almain	May 1269 – March 1271	In May 1269, the castle and forest were committed to Henry of Almain who nominally held them until he was murdered in Viterbo in March 1271. In practice, his functions were probably undertaken by a deputy. John Fitznigel, the hereditary forester in fee of Bernwood forest (see above) probably fulfilled this function as he received a number of mandates between February and December 1271. ⁸⁸⁶
Richard of Cornwall	October 1271 – April 1272	After the murder of Henry of Almain, the forest and castle were awarded to his father, Richard of Cornwall who held them until his death in April 1272. ⁸⁸⁷

⁸⁸⁴ *CPR 1258-66*, p. 556; *CPR 1266-72*, pp.61, 317; *CLR 1260-67*, p.192; TNA, E 372/111, rot. 1d, m. 1 accessed online 26 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/115, rot. 5d, m. 1 accessed online 26 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *CIM Vol. I*, pp.104-5.

⁸⁸⁵ *CPR 1266-72*, p.327.

⁸⁸⁶ *CPR 1266-72*, pp.342-3; *CR 1268-72*, pp.325, 342, 343, 361, 371, 451; N. Vincent, ‘Henry of Almain [Henry of Cornwall] (1235–1271), courtier’, *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 26 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12958>.

⁸⁸⁷ *CPR 1266-72*, p.581.

Thomas de Clare	April 1272 onwards	In April 1272, the forest and castle were awarded to Thomas de Clare who held them for the rest of the reign. ⁸⁸⁸
-----------------	--------------------	--

Freemantle (Hampshire) - Hereditary

Freemantle was one of a cluster of small forests in Hampshire. It also included a park that was linked to the royal estate there.⁸⁸⁹

Warden of Freemantle	Term of Office	Details
William de Edmundsthorpe	Pre-1227 – No later than January 1246	William de Edmundsthorpe held land in Edmundsthorpe of the king by the serjeanty of guarding the forest of Wittingley. In 1224 he agreed a 5m fine for custody of the bailiwick, an amount that was not paid in full until 1236. After Wittingley was disafforested around 1227, he held the manor of Edmundsthorpe by serjeanty of keeping Freemantle Forest. In May 1242, he was awarded the manor of Freemantle with its wood and appurtenances and described as the king's forester-in-fee. Edmundesthorpe was described also as the forester of Freemantle in April 1243 when he was awarded 100s to enclose the king's park there. ⁸⁹⁰

⁸⁸⁸ CPR 1266-72, p.642.

⁸⁸⁹ Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.62-3; Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.7; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', p.258; VCH Hampshire Vol. 4 accessed online 2 January 2024 [Parishes: Kingsclere | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#).

⁸⁹⁰ VCH Hampshire Vol. 4 accessed online 2 January 2024 [Parishes: Kingsclere | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); CFR 8/167 accessed online 2 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_021.html; CFR 18/346 accessed online 2 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_033.html; PR 1224, p.245; PR 1226, p.87; PR 1236 accessed online 2 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); CR 1237-42, p.443; CR 1242-47, p.95; CLR 1240-45, p.175.

Henry de Farley	January 1246 – No later than September 1250	It appears that Edmundsthorpe was convicted of an unspecified forest trespass as part of the Hampshire forest eyre of December 1244 and lost custody of the forest to Henry de Farley who was formally appointed in January 1246. Edmundsthorpe was amerced 40s for the return of his bailiwick, a sum which appears as outstanding in the 1246 pipe rolls. There is no further reference to it in the pipe rolls which probably reflects the pardon that Edmundsthorpe had received in December 1245 on the basis that he had spent an equivalent sum in repairing the royal park at Freemantle. While Edmundsthorpe may have recovered custody of his bailiwick, it would appear that Farley continued his involvement as warden of the royal works at the manor until at least October 1252. ⁸⁹¹
Robert de Edmundsthorpe	September 1250 or earlier – April 1260	William de Edmundsthorpe probably died around 1248 as the pipe rolls for that year record a sum of 20s outstanding from William, his son and heir for relief. However, it seems that a Robert de Edmundsthorpe was granted custody of the forest. He is first mentioned as the bailiff of Freemantle in September 1250 when he was mandated to provide venison from there for royal use, implying that by then he had responsibility for the park and/or the forest. He received further mandates to provide timber, and to stock and enlarge the royal park in 1251 and 1252. In 1254, he was ordered to sell wood from the park. ⁸⁹²

⁸⁹¹ *CPR 1232-47*, p.471; *CR 1242-47*, p.374; *CLR 1245-51*, pp.21-2; *CLR 1251-60*, p.81; TNA, E 372/90, rot. 12d, m. 1 accessed online 2 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.182-3.

⁸⁹² *CR 1247-51*, pp.328, 424, 427; *CR 1251-53*, pp.2, 202-3; *CR 1253-54*, p.60; TNA, E 372/92, rot. 12d, m. 2 accessed online 2 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

Henry de Edmundsthorpe	April 1260 onwards	<p>Robert de Edmundsthorpe died in April 1260. His brother Henry was granted his lands and the bailiwick of Freemantle Forest. An entry for his relief payment appears in the 1260 pipe rolls, but no amount is specified.</p> <p>In July 1262, he was ordered to deliver the manor of Freemantle to Reginald Fitzpeter to whom the king had committed it for a year. It is unclear if this impacted upon Edmundsthorpe's custody of the forest. As late as 1279, he was receiving royal mandates in relation to Freemantle Forest, so any loss of custody in 1262 is likely to have been temporary.⁸⁹³</p>
------------------------	--------------------	--

Galtres (Yorkshire) - Other

It is not clear quite when Galtres became part of the royal forest, but much of the surrounding area was ancient royal demesne, so it is likely to have been a royal hunting ground for a considerable period of time. The warden of the forest was appointed at pleasure by the king. The postholder was frequently also the chief justice and, after the separation of the role into two positions in 1236, specifically the chief justice of the Forest North of the Trent.⁸⁹⁴

Warden of Galtres	Term of Office	Details
Brian de Lisle	1222 – April 1234	Brian de Lisle certainly had custody of Galtres in 1222 when he received a mandate in relation to the sale of cablish. He received a number of mandates to provide gifts from the forest until

⁸⁹³ *CFR 44/204, CFR 44/205* accessed online 2 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_057.html; *CPR 1258-66*, p.219; TNA, E 372/104, rot. 3d, m. 2 accessed online 2 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *VCH Hampshire Vol. 4* accessed online 2 January 2024 [Parishes: Kingsclere | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#).

⁸⁹⁴ Cowling, *Galtres*, pp.153-6.

		April 1234. His appointment was separate from his appointment as chief justice of the Forest North of the Trent, which he held between October 1229 and July 1232. ⁸⁹⁵
John Fitzgeoffrey	May 1234 – At least November 1234	John Fitzgeoffrey was appointed warden of Galtres, Scarborough and Pickering Forests in May 1234. It is not clear when Fitzgeoffrey's period of tenure ended. The last recorded mandate to him was dated November 1234. ⁸⁹⁶
Robert de Crepping	October 1236 at the latest – Possibly July 1238	The position concerning Robert de Crepping is rather confusing. There is a cancelled entry in the patent rolls recording his appointment to the demesne woods/forests of the king in Yorkshire in October 1236. There is a further cancelled entry from October 1238 consisting of a mandate to him to seize illegal assarts in Galtres Forest. On the other hand, he received a number of mandates in September and October 1236 to provide gifts from Galtres which implies he had at least some form of temporary custody. It is likely that he had custody of the forest for some of the period when he was also responsible for reforming the royal demesne estates in the north of the country. ⁸⁹⁷
Robert de Ros	November 1236 – July 1249	There is no record of a formal appointment of Robert de Ros as warden of Galtres, but in 1252 he accounted via the Northumberland section of the pipe rolls for the sum of £91 14s 8d relating to his custody of Galtres. It is stated that he held the forest when he was chief justice

⁸⁹⁵ *CPR 1216-25*, p.360; *CR 1231-34*, p.409. See Appendix C concerning Lisle's position as chief justice.

⁸⁹⁶ *CPR 1232-47*, p.52; *CR 1234-37*, p.6.

⁸⁹⁷ *CPR 1232-47*, pp.160, 226; *CR 1234-37*, pp.315, 325; Stacey, *Politics*, pp.78, 79-83, 102, 110.

		North of the Trent, that is from November 1236 until July 1249. These dates broadly fit with the details for the tenures of Robert de Crepping and Marmaduke Dayrel. ⁸⁹⁸
Marmaduke Dayrel	July 1249 – No later than April 1250	In July 1249, Marmaduke Dayrel was appointed to keep the forest of York at the king’s pleasure. In January 1250 a mandate was issued to Marmaduke Dayrel as the warden of Galtres Forest. However, his period of tenure seems to have ended by April 1250 when he is referred to in records as the ‘sometime’ warden of the forest. ⁸⁹⁹
Uncertain	April 1250 – January 1252	It is unclear who had custody of the forest between April 1250 and January 1252, although it is possible that it was directly managed by Geoffrey de Langley in his capacity as chief justice of the forest as he received at least one mandate concerning the forest in this period. This period also broadly aligns with Langley’s tenure as chief justice. ⁹⁰⁰
William Boszal	No later than January 1252 – Possibly September 1267	William Boszal was certainly warden of Galtres by January 1257 when he was reimbursed for expenses incurred in the role. For at least some time in 1252, he appears to have combined being warden of Galtres and Pickering Forests. In the preceding year, he had received a mandate as warden of Pickering Forest. There are no further references to him in relation to custody of the forest, although in July 1257 he was awarded both free warren across his lands and an exemption from jury service. It is not clear when his custody ended. ⁹⁰¹

⁸⁹⁸ TNA, E 372/96, rot. 11d, m. 1 accessed online 27 March 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

⁸⁹⁹ *CPR 1247-58*, p.45; *CR 1247-51*, pp.257, 276.

⁹⁰⁰ *CR 1247-51*, p. 276. See Appendix C for Geoffrey de Langley as chief justice.

⁹⁰¹ *CR 1247-51*, p.465; *CR 1251-53*, pp.35, 273, 303; *CChR 1226-57*, p.471; *CPR 1247-58*, p.570.

John de Eboraco/John of York	September 1267 – May 1271	In September 1267, the bailiwick of Galtres Forest was granted to John de Eboraco. He appears to have held it until at least May 1271. ⁹⁰²
Walter of Durham	May 1271 – February 1272	It is not clear whether the appointments of Walter of Durham as warden was a replacement for John de Eboraco or whether this was a joint appointment to the role. ⁹⁰³
William de Eyton and Roger Giffard	February 1272 onwards	It appears that William de Eyton and Roger Giffard were jointly appointed as wardens in February 1272. ⁹⁰⁴

Gillingham (Dorset) - Other

Gillingham was a heavily-wooded and long-established forest in the north of Dorset, and was the most important of the three forests in the county. The wardenship of the forest largely accompanied the wardenship of the manor and was usually awarded at the king's pleasure. Beneath the warden there was at least one hereditary forester-in-fee. At the nucleus of the forest was a park.⁹⁰⁵

Warden of Gillingham	Term of Office	Details
Hugh de Neville	July 1226 – At least May 1229	In July 1226, Henry committed the manors of Gillingham and Powerstock to Hugh de Neville. In May 1229, Neville was ordered to provide timber from Gillingham for works at Camel in Somerset, indicating that he had custody of the forest as well as of the manor. It is likely that

⁹⁰² *CPR 1266-72*, p.110.

⁹⁰³ *CPR 1266-72*, p.534; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.95.

⁹⁰⁴ *CPR 1266-72*, p.626.

⁹⁰⁵ *VCH Dorset Vol. 2* p.290; Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.330; Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, pp.117, 130; Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.150, 170.

		his custody ended at some point during 1229. He accounted at the exchequer for an annual sum of £40. His last account was included in the 1229 pipe rolls. ⁹⁰⁶
John of Monmouth	No earlier than May 1229 – July 1232	There is no formal record of appointment of John of Monmouth to Gillingham, but he began accounting for custody of it from the 1230 pipe rolls. He also received a mandate in June 1231 to provide a gift from the forest, indicating that he had custody of it as well as of the manor. Monmouth's account in 1232 recorded a sum outstanding of £42. Some of this was paid in 1234 and the balance transferred to the Herefordshire section of the pipe rolls. ⁹⁰⁷
Peter de Rivallis	July 1232 – May 1234	In July 1232, Henry III awarded the manor, royal houses and park of Gillingham, with all their appurtenances to Peter de Rivallis for life. Although there is no specific reference to the forest in the writ, its inclusion in the award is supported by the mandate to Rivallis in January 1234 to provide a gift from the forest. As noted above, John of Monmouth accounted for the farm of Gillingham in the 1232 pipe rolls. There was no Dorset account submitted in 1233. The 1234 pipe rolls record that Monmouth remained responsible for the farm payment during 1233 and the first half of 1234. The entry for the second half of the year is blank, so it appears that Rivallis was not required to make any farm payment for the period of his custody. However, the 1234 pipe rolls do also include an

⁹⁰⁶ *CFR 10/217* accessed online 15 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_024.html; *CPR 1225-32*, p.52; *CR 1227-31*, p.179; TNA, E 372/73, rot. 12, m. 2 accessed online 15 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

⁹⁰⁷ *CR 1227-31*, p.514; *PR 1230*, p.55; TNA, E 372/76, rot. 15, m. 2 accessed online 15 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/78, rot. 13, m. 2 accessed online 15 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

		account submitted by Roger Wascelin concerning the farm of Gillingham Forest for some of the period in 1233 and 1234. Wascelin was an administrator closely linked to Peter des Roches. ⁹⁰⁸
Henry FitzNicholas	May 1234 – April 1236	Rivallis was replaced in May 1234 by Henry Fitznicholas who was appointed at the king's pleasure to the 'custody of the forest and town of Gillingham', answering at the exchequer for the proceeds. He received two mandates concerning the forest later in the year. Fitznicholas accounted for his custody of Gillingham in the pipe rolls of 1236 when a payment in full of £32 was recorded. ⁹⁰⁹
Robert de Aundely	April 1236 – No later than July 1247	In April 1236, Henry III committed the manor of Gillingham with the park and its other appurtenances at his pleasure to Robert de Aundely 'so that he answers at the exchequer for all issues and profits.' This appointment was confirmed in April 1237 and again in July 1242. The last mandate to Aundely was dated February 1247. Aundely submitted accounts at the exchequer between 1237 and 1241. It is not clear when his tenure ended, but in 1252 William Passelewe submitted an account at the exchequer for custody of Gillingham from 18 July 1247 until 15 August 1248. In 1249, Hugh Passelewe had submitted an account for the period from 15 August 1248 until Michaelmas 1249.

⁹⁰⁸ *CPR 1225-32*, pp.491-2; *CR 1231-34*, p.370; TNA, E 372/78, rot. 16, m. 2 accessed online 15 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#), [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.36, 38, 235, 359-60, 394, 466.

⁹⁰⁹ *CPR 1232-47*, p.51; *CR 1231-34*, pp.495, 537; TNA, E 372/80, rot. 16, m. 2 accessed online 15 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#)

		It is therefore reasonable to assume that Aundely's tenure ended some time before July 1247. It is interesting to note that Robert Passelewe conducted a forest eyre in Dorset that may have been completed by July 1247. It is therefore possible that this acted as the catalyst for the removal of Aundely from the post of warden. ⁹¹⁰
Crown custody	July 1247 – August 1250	It is possible that the manor and forest were held in royal custody and were administered by royal officials for a period of time after 1247. As noted above, William Passelewe accounted for the period between July 1247 and August 1248. He was followed by Hugh Passelewe who accounted for the period between August 1248 and Michaelmas 1249. Hugh Passelewe also received a mandate in January 1250 to provide wood from Gillingham for a royal chapel and later received a payment in recognition of his time keeping Gillingham. In July 1250, a mandate was also issued to John de Vernun who was described as the steward of Gillingham Forest. ⁹¹¹
Ralph de Godmanston	August 1250 – June 1252	In August 1250 Henry III committed the manor and hundred of Gillingham to Ralph de Godmanston at the king's pleasure. Godmanston was to answer for the issues at the exchequer, although the pipe rolls for this period record no accounts or payments by him. ⁹¹²

⁹¹⁰ *CFR 20/234* accessed online 15 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_035.html; *CFR 21/90* accessed online 15 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_004E.html; *CPR 1232-47*, pp.142, 300; *CR 1242-47*, p.500; TNA, E 372/81, rot. 13, m. 1 accessed online 15 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/83, rot. 9d, m. 1 accessed online 15 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/85, rot. 3d, m.2 accessed online 15 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/93, rot. 6d, m. 2 accessed online 15 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/96, rot. 5, m. 1 accessed online 15 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#) [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#) [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Winters, 'Forest Eyre', p.190.

⁹¹¹ *CR 1247-51*, pp.257-8, 308; *CLR 1245-51*, p.382.

⁹¹² *CFR 34/575* accessed online 15 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_047.html#it575_005.

Adam Wymer	June 1252 – March 1253	In June 1252 Henry III awarded Gillingham manor to Adam Wymer at the king's pleasure. Wymer was to answer for the issues at the exchequer. The pipe rolls of 1255 include an account from Wymer for the period of his custody. No further accounts were submitted to the Exchequer for the remainder of Henry III's reign. ⁹¹³
Hugh Garget	March 1253 – July 1255	In March 1253 Henry III awarded Gillingham, along with other manors, to Hugh Garget 'for as long as it pleases the king, such that he is to answer for the issues of the same at the exchequer.' Garget died in 1255 (see below) but he may have surrendered the forest before then as Adam de Grindham is described as warden of Gillingham Forest in July 1254. ⁹¹⁴
Stephen Frosmund	July 1255 – June 1263	In July 1255, the king committed the custody of a number of manors, including Gillingham, to Stephen Frosmund to hold at the king's pleasure. ⁹¹⁵
Ralph Russell	June 1263 – November 1265	In June 1263, Henry committed Gillingham to Ralph Russell 'to keep with appurtenances for as long as it pleases the king, so that he answers him for the issues arising therefrom at the exchequer.' In 1252, he paid the king 5m so that he might have licence to hunt in the royal forest. ⁹¹⁶

⁹¹³ CFR 36/1318 accessed online https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_049.html; CPR 1247-58, p.162; PR 1255 accessed online 15 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://uh.edu).

⁹¹⁴ CFR 37/602 accessed online 15 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_050.html; CPR 1247-58, p.434.

⁹¹⁵ CFR 39/664 accessed online 15 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_052.html; CPR 1247-58, p.418.

⁹¹⁶ CFR 47/673 accessed online 15 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_060.html; CFR 36/796 accessed online 15 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_049.html; CPR 1247-58, p.144.

John de la Lynde	November 1265 – December 1272	In November 1265, the king granted custody at his pleasure to John de la Lynde of the forests of Gillingham, Blackmore and Powerstock. This broke with the tradition of associating the wardenship of Gillingham Forest with custody of the manor. Lynde had custody of the forests under his death in December 1272. At the time of his death, Gillingham Forest was worth '41s. rent yearly, held of the king's gift; and 10 marks and 24d. in other issues.' ⁹¹⁷
------------------	----------------------------------	--

Hereford Hay (Herefordshire) - Hereditary

The hays in Herefordshire are mentioned in the Domesday Book, before they became a distinct administrative unit in the twelfth century. By 1130, the hays had been farmed out to a local forester at a fixed rent. The Hay of Hereford was a forest district, some six miles in length, that included part of the county town.⁹¹⁸

Warden of Hereford Hay	Term of Office	Details
Hugh de Kilpeck	Possibly 1216 – February 1244	Hugh de Kilpeck was the hereditary forester of the Herefordshire Forests. He came of age and was granted custody of the Hay of Hereford during John's reign. Kilpeck was dead by February 1244 when arrangements were made concerning the custody of his daughters and heiresses and the dower of his wife. There are no records in the pipe rolls of Henry III's reign concerning any payment by Kilpeck for custody of the forest. ⁹¹⁹

⁹¹⁷ CPR 1258-66, p.498; CIPM Vol. II, p.1.

⁹¹⁸ Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.143, 161; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.10, 15.

⁹¹⁹ Sanders, *Baronies*, p.73; CFR 28/91 accessed online 26 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_041.html; CR 1242-47, p.155.

<p>Heirs of Hugh de Kilpeck (Isabella, Joan and her husband Philip Marmion)</p>	<p>February 1244 – 1250</p>	<p>Hugh de Kilpeck’s heirs were his two daughters, Isabella and Joan. At the time of her father’s death, the latter was married to Philip Marmion. Kilpeck’s lands were divided between the two daughters, with Philip Marmion paying homage for Joan’s share.</p> <p>It is possible that the heirs jointly inherited the hay in 1244, although it is not clear if they administered it from that date. In May 1244, William de Cantilupe was given temporary custody of the forest until Isabella had paid homage to the king for her share of her father’s estate. A later entry in the charter rolls suggests that custody of the forest fell to Isabella by virtue of her primogeniture. From 1244, the pipe rolls have entries to record the relief payments of the two heirs. However, no amount due was recorded in 1244 and in the following years.⁹²⁰</p>
<p>Crown custody</p>	<p>1250 – April 1257</p>	<p>At the Herefordshire eyre of 1250, Kilpeck’s heirs were convicted of forest trespasses ‘in the times of the said Hugh and Isabella’ and amerced over £632 in two equal halves. It would also seem that the forest was taken into royal hands. Isabella took the case to the Coram Rege but appears to have been unsuccessful as respites concerning the payment of the amercements were later granted in August and October 1250. Further respites were granted in May and October 1252.</p> <p>In 1253, Philip Marmion assumed responsibility for payment of his share of the amercement. No payments were made before 1257 when the debt was transferred to the Warwickshire section of the pipe roll. There it was combined with other debts, accounting for approximately 54% of the overall sum. Marmion was due to pay the overall balance of almost £589 in annual</p>

⁹²⁰ *CFR 28/91* accessed online 26 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_041.html; *CChR 1226-57*, p.466; *CR 1242-47*, pp.155, 180; TNA, E 372/88, rot. 13d, m.1 accessed online 26 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

		<p>instalments of £5. Despite occasional payments, the pipe rolls of 1272 record an outstanding balance of almost £514.</p> <p>At some point before 1253, the elder daughter and heir, Isabella, married William Walerand who assumed responsibility for payment of their collective share of the amercement. Despite the occasional payment, the amount outstanding in 1268 was just over £289. The pipe rolls for that year record that Isabella and Walerand were pardoned this amount.</p> <p>It is not clear when William de Cantilupe surrendered custody of the forest to Isabella. The 1250 pipe rolls record that he owed in excess of £39 relating to his custody, but it is not clear if this was linked to the eyre of that year. The sum was recorded as outstanding in the final pipe rolls of Henry's reign in 1272.⁹²¹</p>
William Walerand	April 1257 onwards	<p>It is not clear when Hereford Hay was no longer in royal custody following the eyre of 1250. Certainly in April 1257, William Walerand paid 30m at the wardrobe for having the bailiwick of the Hay of Hereford. It appears that he retained custody for the remainder of Henry's reign.⁹²²</p>

⁹²¹ *CFR 28/91* accessed online 26 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_041.html; *CFR 36/544, 36/1317* accessed online 26 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_049.html; *CChR 1226-57*, p.466; *CR 1242-47*, p.180; *CR 1247-51*, pp.318, 336, 351; TNA, E 372/94, rot. 13, m. 2 accessed online 26 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/97, rot. 7d, m. 2 accessed online 26 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/101, rot. 12d, m. 1 accessed online 26 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/112, rot. 10, m. 1 accessed online 26 February 2024; TNA, E 372/116, rot. 8, m. 2; TNA, E 372/116, rot. 25d, m. 2; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.196-7.

⁹²² *CFR 41/531* accessed online 26 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_054.html#d244604e36782; *CChR 1226-57*, p.466; Wilkinson, 'Women in English Local Government', p.219.

Inglewood (Cumberland) - Hereditary

Either William II or Henry I established the royal forest in Cumberland that later became known as Inglewood. During Henry III's reign, it was more commonly referred to either as the 'Forest of Cumberland' or, in the pipe rolls, as the 'Forest of Carlisle'. It covered a large area from just south of Carlisle to Penrith and incorporated a number of bailiwicks, including Allerdale. It was administered by a hereditary warden who, from at least the reign of Richard I, paid an annual rent of ten marks for custody of the forest.⁹²³

Warden of Inglewood	Term of Office	Details
Thomas de Moulton	February 1222 – October 1240	<p>Thomas de Moulton acquired hereditary custody of Inglewood Forest through his mother's line. In February 1222, he agreed a fine with the king of £100 and one palfrey for having custody of the forest of Cumberland according to a charter of John. In February 1227, he gave the king 5m for having confirmation of John's charter 'concerning the forestership of Cumberland with its appurtenances.'</p> <p>In common with his predecessors, Moulton was required to pay an annual rent of 10m. The pipe rolls show that this was in fact rendered by the sheriff (Moulton himself was sheriff of Cumberland between 1233 and 1236), suggesting that Moulton made the payment to him in the first instance. Between 1227 and 1240, the pipe rolls show that the sum was accounted for in full each year. Moulton died around October 1240.⁹²⁴</p>

⁹²³ Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.90-2; Parker, 'Inglewood', pp.38-9, 47; Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, pp.28-9.

⁹²⁴ *CFR 6/87* accessed online 27 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_016.html#it087_007; *CFR 11/111* accessed online 27 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_025.html#it111_009; *RLC II*, p.193; *CM Vol. IV*, p.49; *CRR 1237-42*, p.301; TNA, E 372/71, rot. 9d, m. 2 accessed online 27 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/84, rot. 1d, m.1 accessed online 27 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Parker, 'Inglewood', p.47; Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.91; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.37; *List of Sheriffs*, p.26; C. Kingsford and R. Turner, 'Moulton [Muleton, Multon], Sir Thomas of (d. 1240), landowner and justice', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 27 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19521>.

<p>Thomas de Moulton junior</p>	<p>October 1240 – May 1263</p>	<p>There is no record formally marking the inheritance by Thomas de Moulton of his father’s position as warden of Inglewood. It appears that it proceeded smoothly. The first mandate to him was dated May 1241, while the payment of the annual farm rent of 10m continued without any disruption.</p> <p>Probably as a result of the forest eyre in Cumberland in 1251, Moulton temporarily lost custody of the forest. He agreed a fine of 300m for recovery of the forest and reconfirmation of his privileges. The fine was paid in instalments and was cleared by the time of the 1259 pipe rolls.</p> <p>The disruption in accounting for the annual fee at the exchequer is perhaps an indicator of the measure of the upheaval caused by Moulton’s temporary loss of custody. For the first time in the reign in 1251, there was no record of payment of the rent due from the forest. In fact, no further payment was recorded until 1254 when the arrears were cleared.</p> <p>The last mandate to Moulton as warden of Inglewood is dated October 1261. He lost custody of the forest soon afterwards due to ‘several trespasses’ within the forest that were possibly identified during the Cumberland forest eyre of 1262. This might help explain why the pipe rolls for 1262 record only a partial payment of the annual rent. Moulton’s loss became permanent due to his support for Simon de Montfort during the civil war. He died in 1271.⁹²⁵</p>
---------------------------------	--------------------------------	--

⁹²⁵ CR 1237-42, p.305; CLR 1251-60, p.85; CR 1259-61, p.448; CR 1261-64, p.400; CChR 1257-1300, pp.56-7; CPR 1258-66, pp.364, 463, 471; CIPM Vol. I, p.246; CFR 47/505 accessed online 27 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_060.html#it505_006; TNA, E 372/85, rot. 14, m. 1 accessed online 27 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/95, rot. 13d, m. 2 accessed online 27 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/96, rot. 12d, m. 2 accessed online 27 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/98, rot. 5, m. 1 accessed online 27 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); PR 1259, p.342; TNA, E 372/106, rot. 10d, m. 1 accessed online 27 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.203-4, 245; Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.93; Parker, ‘Inglewood’, pp.50-3; Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, pp.122, 125-6.

Eustace de Balliol	May 1263 – No later than October 1265	In May 1263, custody of Inglewood Forest was awarded to Eustace de Balliol, who was also sheriff of Cumberland between 1261 and 1265. In December 1263 a sum was allocated to him as both sheriff of Cumberland and warden of Inglewood. Balliol remained loyal to Henry III throughout the civil war. After 1262, there were very few accounts presented by the sheriff of Cumberland at the exchequer and even fewer instances of payment of the rent for farm of the forest. As part of a general review in 1269, it was recorded that Balliol owed 17m for his time as warden of the forest. Most, if not all, of this sum was outstanding at the end of the reign. ⁹²⁶
Roger of Leybourne	October 1265 – May 1272	In October 1265, custody of the forest was awarded to Roger of Leybourne, who was also sheriff of Cumberland between 1265 and 1268. The forest was then held by Leybourne until his death in 1272 when it was inherited by his son. In practice, Leybourne appears to have delegated his responsibilities concerning the forest as he did his role as chief justice (see Appendix C). It seems therefore that deputies accounted on his behalf at the exchequer. It appears that no payments were made before the end of the reign for his custody of the forest. ⁹²⁷
William of Leybourne	May 1272 ongoing	William of Leybourne inherited the position of warden of Inglewood Forest upon his father's death in May 1272. There are no further records during Henry's reign on Leybourne's custody of the forest. ⁹²⁸

⁹²⁶ *CFR 47/505* accessed online 27 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_060.html#it505_006; *CLR 1260-67*, p.126; TNA, E 372/113, rot. 3d, m. 2 accessed online 27 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *List of Sheriffs*, p.26; F. Oakes, 'The Barons' War in the North of England, 1264-1265', in Jobson (ed.), *Baronial Reform*, pp.202, 205, 211, 213, 217.

⁹²⁷ *CChR 1257-1300*, p.56; *CPR 1258-66*, pp.463, 471; *CPR 1266-72*, p.652; TNA, E 372/113, rot. 3, m. 2 accessed online 27 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *List of Sheriffs*, p.26; K. Faulkner, 'Leybourne [Leyburn], Sir Roger of (c. 1215–1271), soldier and landowner', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 26 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16624>.

⁹²⁸ *CPR 1266-72*, p.652; *CR 1268-72*, pp.569-70; K. Faulkner, 'Leybourne [Leyburn], Sir Roger of (c. 1215–1271), soldier and landowner', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 26 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16624>.

Kenilworth (Warwickshire) - Castle

Kenilworth Park was originally created by Geoffrey de Clinton in the early twelfth century and was attached to the castle of the same name. It later became part of the royal estate and was one of the very few examples of an isolated park that was subject to forest law. It rarely features in the records of Henry III's reign. For example, it was used only seventeen times as a source of gifts and only once as a source of timber for royal works. During Henry III's reign, it was usually administered by the constable of the castle. In 1244, the king appointed Simon de Montfort warden of the castle and in 1253 granted it to him and his wife Eleanor for their lives. The castle became the centre of Montfort's power and primary family residence. The details in the table below are limited to those individuals who can be clearly linked in the extant records to responsibility for administering the park and demonstrate that this was the responsibility of the castle constable. There are no records in the pipe rolls of any payments by wardens in relation to the park.⁹²⁹

Warden of Kenilworth	Term of Office	Details
Ralph Fitznicholas	No later than April 1235 – April 1236	In April 1235, Ralph Fitznicholas received a mandate to provide a gift of oak trees from Kenilworth Park. It is highly likely that he was constable of the castle at this time as, one year later, he was ordered to deliver it to William de Lucy. He was also sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire between 1234 and 1236 and again was replaced by Lucy. ⁹³⁰
William de Lucy	April 1236 – No later than May 1238	William de Lucy was appointed constable of Kenilworth castle in April 1236 at the same time that he was appointed sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire. He received a mandate in August 1236 to provide a forest gift from Kenilworth. He continued in the role of constable for

⁹²⁹ Bazeley, 'Extent', p.144; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.28; Mileson, *Parks*, pp.86, 111; *VCH Warwickshire Vol. 2*, p.290; *VCH Warwickshire Vol. 6*, p.135; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.33, 39, 56, 65, 75, 109, 122.

⁹³⁰ *CR 1234-37*, p.71; *CPR 1232-47*, p.143; *List of Sheriffs*, p.144.

		at least some of 1237. There is a gift mandate from October 1237 suggesting that he may have been replaced by then, possibly by Hugh le Poer who held the castle until March 1238. ⁹³¹
Richard de Gray	No later than May 1238 – no later than February 1241	Richard de Gray received a mandate to provide a gift of oak trees from the park in May 1238. In February 1241, Philip de Lacelles is recorded as keeping the castle. ⁹³²
Philip de Lascelles	February 1241 – April 1242	Philip de Lascelles had custody of the castle until he was replaced by Gilbert of Seagrave in April 1242. His custody of the forest is implied by the reference to the 'hay' in the terms of Seagrave's appointment. Lascelles was also sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire during the period that he held the castle. ⁹³³
Gilbert of Seagrave	April 1242 – February 1244	Gilbert of Seagrave was appointed to the castle and the 'hay' of Kenilworth, indicating that he had responsibility for the afforested area. In February 1244 he was replaced as constable by Simon de Montfort. ⁹³⁴

⁹³¹ *CPR 1232-47*, pp.143, 212; *CR 1234-37*, pp.303, 507n.; *CLR 1226-40*, pp.313-4; *List of Sheriffs*, p.144.

⁹³² *CR 1237-42*, p.50; *CFR 25/802* accessed online 11 March 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 25 HENRY III \(28 October 1240–27 October 1241\)](#)

⁹³³ *CFR 25/802* accessed online 11 March 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 25 HENRY III \(28 October 1240–27 October 1241\)](#); *CPR 1232-47*, pp.280, 284, 294; *CR 1237-42*, pp.442-3; *List of Sheriffs*, p.144.

⁹³⁴ *CPR 1232-47*, pp.280, 284, 294, 419; *CR 1237-42*, pp.442-3.

Kinver (Staffordshire and Worcestershire) - Hereditary

As a royal forest, Kinver probably dates back to the Norman Conquest, but it is named as such in contemporary records until 1168. Although much of the area of the forest was in Worcestershire and its prison in Shropshire, Kinver was accounted for as a forest of Staffordshire. Pleas relating to the Worcestershire part of the forest were usually heard, for example, in the Staffordshire town of Lichfield. This probably reflects the fact that the manor of Kinver in Staffordshire was usually held by the warden of the forest. The Fitzphilip family held the office of hereditary warden of Kinver Forest from at least the reign of Henry II.⁹³⁵

Warden of Kinver	Term of Office	Details
John Fitzphilip	April 1227 – About 1238	<p>In April 1227, Henry III issued a charter granting John Fitzphilip and his heirs custody of the town and forest of Kinver at the fee farm of £9, pursuant to a charter of John. Fitzphilip was a direct descendant of Philip de Kinver who had held the forest at fee farm under Henry II. In 1199, his father had paid a fine of £100 to John for inheriting custody of the forest. Fitzphilip received a number of mandates in relation to the forest over the following years until his death around 1238. A 'view of the forest' was conducted in 1235 by four Staffordshire knights appointed by the sheriff who concluded that Kinver was 'well kept in respect of vert and venison'.</p> <p>The pipe rolls show that Fitzphilip regularly paid the annual farm of £9, although in 1230 and 1234 he was pardoned amounts totalling £13 10s.⁹³⁶</p>

⁹³⁵ *VCH Staffordshire Vol. 2*, p.343; Birrell, *Cannock and Kinver*, pp.1, 3; Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.148-9; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.159; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.67; Winters, *Forest Eyre*, pp.238, 274; Bazeley, 'Extent', p.162.

⁹³⁶ *VCH Staffordshire Vol. 2*, p.344; *CChR 1226-57*, p.33; *CR 1231-34*, pp.64, 143, 427, 452, 453; *PR 1230*, p.232; TNA, E 372/78, rot. 11, m.2 accessed online 15 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Birrell, *Cannock and Kinver*, p.23; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.96.

John Lestrangle/Stephen of Savoy	About 1238 – July 1244	When John Fitzphilip died about 1238, his son and heir (also called John) was a minor. The <i>VCH</i> for Staffordshire suggests that custody may have passed at this time to Fitzphilip’s widow, Petronilla but there are no records to support this with confidence. The pipe rolls show that it was the sheriff of Staffordshire, John Lestrangle, who paid the farm between 1240 and 1245, so it appears more likely that he had custody of the heir and the estate during this period. Stephen of Savoy briefly had custody of Kinver for a period early in 1244 before the estate was returned to John Lestrangle. ⁹³⁷
Petronilla, widow of John Fitzphilip	July 1244 – Probably 1249	Petronilla had secured custody of the estates of her former husband by July 1244. In August 1245, she received mandates to provide gifts of timber from Kinver. Thereafter, while there was a regular flow of mandates concerning Kinver, these were directed either to the relevant chief justice or to an unnamed warden of the forest. Petronilla also assumed responsibility for payment of the annual fee. This is first recorded in the pipe roll for 1250 which reports an accumulated debt from 1244 of over £38, most of which was then paid. The balance of 45s was recorded as outstanding in the final Staffordshire account of the reign in 1269. ⁹³⁸
John Fitzphilip	Probably 1249 onwards	The evidence of the pipe roll of 1250 suggests that John Fitzphilip inherited custody of the forest at some point during 1249. The last mandate of the reign to him concerning Kinver Forest was dated December 1271. Fitzphilip died in or around 1304.

⁹³⁷ *VCH Staffordshire Vol. 2*, p.344; TNA, E 372/84, rot. 7m, m. 2 accessed online 15 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/89, rot. 6, m. 2 accessed online 15 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); J. Mason, ‘Lestrangle [Le Strange], John (c. 1194–1269), marcher lord’, *ODNB* (2005) accessed online 12 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16510>; *CR 1242-47*, pp.158, 177; *CFR 28/153* accessed online 15 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_041.html.

⁹³⁸ *CR 1242-47*, pp.209, 333, 334; TNA, E 372/94, rot. 7d, m. 1 accessed online 15 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/113, rot. 18, m. 1 accessed online 15 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

		<p>Between 1250 and the end of the reign, he was responsible for payment of the annual fee of £9. He made those payments with reasonable regularity, although the picture is less clear during the period of the civil war as no accounts were presented for Staffordshire between 1262 and 1267. At the request of the king, Fitzphilip made one of the payments directly to the wardrobe rather than through the exchequer. In the final account for Staffordshire of Henry's reign in 1269, Fitzphilip is reported as owing accumulated debts of £21.</p> <p>In the Staffordshire forest eyre of 1262, Fitzphilip was criticised for appointing a certain Brun of Swindon, 'an offender against the king's venison' as a forester under him in Kinver. At the eyre of 1271, he presented cases of men accused of poaching.⁹³⁹</p>
--	--	---

Lancashire (including Amounderness, Lonsdale and West Derby) - Hereditary

While there were a number of separate royal forests within Lancashire, by the thirteenth century at the latest, these were grouped together for administrative purposes under a hereditary forester. The position of warden had been held on a hereditary basis for a long period prior to Henry III's reign by the Gernet family. The boundaries of the forest were confirmed at the start of Henry III's majority rule and mirrored those that existed under John when the forest was at its largest extent.⁹⁴⁰

⁹³⁹ TNA, E 372/94, rot. 14d, m. 2 accessed online 15 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#) ; TNA, E 372/113, rot. 18, m. 1 accessed online 15 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Wild, *Wardrobe Accounts*, p.132; *CR 1268-72*, p.447; Birrell, *Cannock and Kinver*, pp.3, 56, 64; *VCH Staffordshire Vol. 2*, p.344; Wrottesley, *Pleas of the Forest*, p.140.

⁹⁴⁰ Cunliffe Shaw, *Forest of Lancaster*, pp.13, 28-9, 34; Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.20, 98-9; Bazeley, 'Extent', pp. 149, 152, 161.

Warden of Lancashire	Term of Office	Details
Roger Gernet	February 1228 – January 1252	<p>Roger Gernet came from a family of forest wardens. In February 1228, he agreed a fine of 10m for confirmation of the custody of the Lancashire Forest with all things pertaining to it. This is recorded as paid in full in the 1228 pipe roll. Under the terms of the fine, Gernet was to render £12 yearly compared with the historic annual payment of £10. In 1233, he recovered custody of Wyresdale, Grizedale and Calderdale which he previously held and which had been granted to Hubert de Burgh.</p> <p>Gernet paid the annual fee of £12 with reasonable regularity until 1236 when payments ceased. In 1242 and 1244 Henry III ordered the sheriff of Lancaster to place in respite his demands for payment of the annual fee. By 1248, the accumulated arrears totalled £144, with the king granting Gernet an arrangement for paying them gradually over time.</p> <p>Gernet held the forest until his death early in 1252. The pipe roll of 1251 records a total outstanding debt of £124 relating to the annual fee payments.</p> <p>In 1236-7, Gernet was involved in a struggle with the royal official Robert de Crepping over respective responsibilities concerning demesne lands within the royal forest. In 1237 he was summoned to the king's court to show by what authority he held the forest. Gernet was also involved in a protracted dispute with the lepers of the Hospital of St Leonard, Lancaster over their access to the forest and with the people of Wyresdale concerning a perambulation.</p> <p>The only forest eyre to be held in Lancashire during Henry III's reign took place in October 1251. It is probable that the eyre found fault with Gernet's custody as his son and heir, Benedict, was required to make amends for his father's trespasses after inheriting the forest in May 1252. In addition, the general</p>

		inquisition of the forest held in 1244-5 before Robert Passelewe identified Gernet as one of a number of wardens who had illegally alienated land within the forest and received rents from it. ⁹⁴¹
Benedict Gernet	May 1252 – September 1265	<p>Benedict Gernet inherited custody of the forest and all the lands and tenements of his father in May 1252, paying relief of 40m. This is recorded as being paid in the pipe roll for 1255.</p> <p>Gernet paid both the ongoing annual fee and an agreed amount of his father’s debts with reasonable regularity. His commitment to paying his father’s debt at fixed terms led to the recovery of confiscated chattels. In the last Lancashire pipe roll account of Henry III’s reign, there was no debt concerning Gernet’s own custody of the forest and the balance on his father’s arrears had been reduced to £16.</p> <p>With support from Henry III, in 1252 Gernet had to see off a challenge from the earl of Derby concerning the scope of his responsibility as warden of the forest. Gernet lost custody of the forest in September 1265 as a result of his opposition to Henry III in the civil war.⁹⁴²</p>
Roger of Lancaster	September 1265 – June 1267	In September 1265, custody of the forest was granted at the king’s pleasure to Roger of Lancaster with the requirement that he answer for the issues at the exchequer. In October he was mandated to provide

⁹⁴¹ CFR 12/85 accessed online 16 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_027.html#it085_007; CFR 17/77 accessed online 16 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_032.html#it077_009; CFR 26/460, 26/494 accessed online 16 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_039a.html; CFR 28/250 accessed online 16 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_041.html; CFR 33/22 accessed online 16 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_046.html; CFR 36/735 accessed online 16 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_049.html; CChR 1226-57, p.68; CR 1227-31, pp.22, 35; CR 1234-37, p.412; CR 1237-42, p.11; CRR Vol. XV, pp.512-3; TNA, E 372/72, rot. 14, m. 2 accessed online 16 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/95, rot. 16, m. 1 accessed online 16 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); CIPM Vol. I, pp.63-4, 124; CR 1251-53, p.75; Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.20, 99; VCH Lancashire Vol. 2, p.439; Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.204-5, Young, *Royal Forests*, p.84; Stacey, *Politics*, p.111; Cunliffe Shaw, *Forest of Lancaster*, pp.30, 35-7, 54, 108.

⁹⁴² CFR 36/734, 36/735, 36/1137 accessed online 16 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_049.html; CFR 37/263 accessed online 16 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_050.html; CR 1251-53, p.444; TNA, E 372/99, rot. 6d, m. 1 accessed online 16 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/106, rot. 10, m. 1 accessed online 16 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); CPR 1258-66, p.455; Cunliffe Shaw, *Forest of Lancaster*, p.39.

		<p>a gift from Lonsdale Forest which formed part of the overall forest of Lancashire. As noted above, there were no pipe roll accounts for Lancashire from 1263 onwards, so it is unclear if Lancaster made the required payments for the issues of the forest. His appointment as warden terminated the long period when the Gernet family had held the position on a hereditary basis.</p> <p>Gernet never recovered custody of the forest. Roger of Lancaster charged him with venison offences and fined him £20 or the value of a warhorse for taking a stag without warrant. Roger of Lancaster held extensive lands in the county and was appointed sheriff of Lancaster as well as warden of the forest in 1265. He was also the deputy justice of the Forest North of the Trent and warden of Inglewood Forest in 1271.</p> <p>In June 1266 Henry III granted to his younger son Edmund the Lancashire possessions of Robert de Ferrers, earl of Derby, including the earl's forest between the Ribble and the Mersey. In June 1267 Henry further conferred upon Edmund the county and honour of Lancaster and all his demesnes in the county, including the vaccaries and forests of Wyresdale and Lonsdale. As a result of this alienation, the forest of Lancaster does not appear in the royal records for the remainder of Henry's reign.⁹⁴³</p>
--	--	---

New (Hampshire) - Hereditary

The establishment of New Forest under William I provoked considerable adverse comment amongst contemporary chroniclers. By the mid-twelfth century at the latest, a hereditary warden was in position, paying an annual farm of £25. In reality, much of the administration of the forest was likely to have been

⁹⁴³ *CPR 1258-66*, p.455; *CR 1264-68*, p.74; *CChR 1257-1300*, p.78; *List of Sheriffs*, p.72; Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.100; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.144; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.95-6; Bazeley, 'Extent', p.161; Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.cxi-cxii; *VCH Staffordshire Vol. 2*, pp.441-2; Cunliffe Shaw, *Forest of Lancaster*, pp.26-8, 30-1, 34, 39, 42.

delegated to a deputy. In addition, before 1300 there were six bailiwicks within the forest, each with its own forester-in-fee under the overall supervision of the warden.⁹⁴⁴

Warden of New	Term of Office	Details
John of Monmouth	March 1217 – Possibly January 1246	<p>In March 1217, apparently by right of his wife, Cecilia, daughter and heir of Walter de Walerand, John of Monmouth was awarded custody of New Forest. He first accounted for the farm and proceeds of the forest in the pipe rolls of 1221.</p> <p>He received a regular flow of mandates in relation to the forest, with the last writ to provide a gift being dated August 1243. There are no further mandates to him after that date before his death in 1248. Gift mandates in 1245 were addressed to the chief justice, Gilbert of Seagrave, while those in 1247 were addressed firstly to Robert Passelewe and then to William Passelewe.</p> <p>While it is not explicitly stated in the extant documentation, it is likely that Monmouth lost custody of the forest some time either at the end of 1245 or early in 1246. If so, that would be consistent with other forests in Hampshire following the eyre of 1245 and the appointment of Government officials to replace wardens and hereditary foresters-in-fee. This is also supported by the evidence from the pipe rolls. Monmouth’s final account appears in the 1244 pipe rolls. There are blank entries in the pipe rolls for the New Forest accounts in the two subsequent rolls before an account rendered in 1247 by William Passelewe for the period from January 1246.</p>

⁹⁴⁴ Stagg, *New Forest*, pp.20-2; Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.304-9; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.3-4, 5, 10-1, 112; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.7-8, 14-5.

		<p>Monmouth was required to pay an annual amount of £25 for the farm of the forest and account for a range of proceeds including vaccaries and turbaries. At the time of his death, he owed over £62 in relation to the farm of the forest.</p> <p>If Monmouth did lose custody due to the trespass, the reason is not clearly stated. However, he was also convicted in 1246 of waste in his woods in the Forest of Dean. As noted above, Monmouth was a chief justice of the forest between 1229 and 1232.⁹⁴⁵</p>
William Passelewe and Hugh Passelewe	January 1246 – November 1248	<p>In January 1246, William Passelewe was appointed warden of the forest at the king's pleasure. There is a gift mandate to William Passelewe as 'bailiff' of the New Forest dated June 1248 and another addressed to him as 'warden' of the New Forest dated August 1248. The pipe roll for 1247 includes an account by William Passelewe for custody of New Forest from January 1246. William Passelewe died in or shortly before August 1248 and was replaced by Hugh Passelewe who held New Forest until November when custody was granted to the son and heir of John of Monmouth, also called John. Both William Passelewe and Hugh Passelewe were relatives of Robert Passelewe who was chief justice and sheriff of Hampshire.⁹⁴⁶</p>

⁹⁴⁵ *CPR 1216-25*, p.47; *PR 1221*, p.29; TNA, E 372/88, rot. 10d, m. 1 accessed online 29 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); A. Pollard and R. Davies, 'Monmouth, John of (c. 1182–1248), baron', *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 5 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18959>; *CR 1242-47*, pp.37, 288, 328, 434, 516, 521, 525, 527; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.182-3; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.147.

⁹⁴⁶ *CPR 1232-47*, p.471; *CR 1242-47*, pp.521, 525, 527; *CR 1247-51*, pp.62, 74, 128; *CLR 1245-51*, pp.184, 197, 216; TNA, E 372/91, rot. 14d, m. 1 accessed online 29 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *List of Sheriffs*, p.54; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.148.

John of Monmouth Junior	November 1248 - April 1253	<p>In September 1248 John of Monmouth junior had livery of his father's lands and was awarded the custody of New Forest in November of that year.</p> <p>In April 1253, Monmouth gave to Robert Walerand, his kinsman, 'all the bailiwick and ministries' of New Forest 'by rendering for the said John and his heirs to the king the rent, farm and service due.' Monmouth died without a male heir in 1257.</p> <p>In the Hampshire section of the 1255 pipe roll, Monmouth accounted for his custody of the forest between 1249 and 1252. This account also included the approximately £62 farm debts outstanding from this father's custody (see above). Although the account records payments and allowances of over £211, Monmouth still owed over £120 at the time of his death. By 1257, this debt had been transferred to his heirs who accounted for the amount in the Herefordshire section of the pipe rolls. The sum was subsequently combined with other debts and was still outstanding in the final pipe roll of Henry III's reign of 1272.⁹⁴⁷</p>
Robert Walerand	April 1253 – Probably 1269	Following his appointment in April 1253, Robert Walerand received a regular flow of royal mandates. The first of these was dated June 1253 and the final one May 1258.

⁹⁴⁷ *CR 1247-51*, p.128; *CChR 1226-57*, p.462; TNA, E 372/99, rot. 1d, m. 2 accessed online 29 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/101, rot. 2, m. 1 accessed online 29 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 25d, m. 1 accessed online 29 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); A. Pollard and R. Davies, 'Monmouth, John of (c. 1182–1248), baron', *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 5 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18959>.

		<p>In August 1254, Henry III granted New Forest to his son and heir, the Lord Edward, ‘with the vert and venison and all rents and issues thereof, for ten years...saving to Robert Walerand, forester in fee thereof, the right customs pertaining to him as such.’ This grant was repeated in December 1255, with an instruction to the sub-foresters within the forest to pay their rents to the Lord Edward’s exchequer at Bristol. At the end of the ten-year period, and in the aftermath of the civil war, the grant was renewed for a further five years. In September 1266, the Lord Edward granted the revenues of the New Forest to his wife Eleanor.</p> <p>While the revenues from the New Forest were paid to the Lord Edward rather than to Henry’s exchequer, Walerand remained warden until about 1269 when he enfeoffed his half-sister’s son, the staunch royalist Alan (II) de Plugenet, with a range of properties. It is not certain that New Forest was included in this arrangement, but it is implied by a later entry in the charter rolls. Robert Walerand was also a chief justice of the forest between September 1256 and November 1259.</p> <p>As a result of the grant to the Lord Edward, no further revenues were accounted for at the exchequer. Consequently, the pipe roll entries for New Forest after the award are blank for the remainder of Henry III’s reign.⁹⁴⁸</p>
--	--	--

⁹⁴⁸ *CR 1251-53*, p.375; *CR 1256-59*, p.224; *CPR 1247-58*, pp.322, 454; *CPR 1258-66*, pp.504, 638; *CChR 1257-1300*, p.149; TNA, E 372/101, rot. 9, m. 2 accessed online 29 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://aalt.uh.edu); A. Harding, ‘Walerand, Robert (d. 1273), administrator’, *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28455>; Wait, ‘Lord Edward’, pp.84, 324, 371.

Alan de Plugenet	Probably 1269 – September 1270	Alan de Plugenet was probably granted the wardenship of New Forest by his kinsman Robert Walerand around 1269. ⁹⁴⁹
Eleanor, wife of the Lord Edward	September 1270 onwards	In May 1270, Eleanor, wife of the Lord Edward, was granted New Forest for life, along with a number of manors. In September 1270, Alan de Plugenet surrendered the stewardship of New Forest and the bailiwick of Lindehurst to the use of Eleanor. He received custody of a number of manors in compensation. ⁹⁵⁰

Northumberland - Hereditary

During Henry III's reign, the forest covered a substantial part of the county of Northumberland. It was largely unaffected by the pressure for disafforestation during Henry's minority and the early years of his personal rule. There were three bailiwicks within the forest which was administered by a hereditary warden.⁹⁵¹

Warden of Northumberland	Term of Office	Details
Thomas de Stratton	1226 – No later than February 1241	In July 1221, the sisters and co-heiresses of Philip de Oldcoates, the hereditary warden of Northumberland Forest, paid a fine of 80m for seisin of their inheritance. In 1226 Thomas de Stratton, husband of one of the co-heiresses, was appointed as forester-in-fee of

⁹⁴⁹ N. Vincent, 'Plugenet, Alan de, first Lord Plugenet (d. 1298), baron and royal councillor', *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 29 January 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22392>; *CChR 1257-1300*, p.149.

⁹⁵⁰ *CPR 1266-72*, pp.460, 484; *CChR 1257-1300*, pp.143, 149-50; Wait, 'Lord Edward, p.387.

⁹⁵¹ Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.87-8; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.97; Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.149, 152.

		<p>Northumberland. In June 1234, Brian Fitzalan was appointed alongside Thomas de Stratton. This appears to have been a temporary arrangement as in November that year, it was clarified that Stratton held the more senior position.</p> <p>Stratton was still the warden of the forest in December 1239 when he was awarded exemption from jury service due to this role and his position as coroner of Northumberland. At some point after that, he was disseised of his custody of the forest by Robert de Ros, Justice of the Forest North of the Trent. This may have been the result of the Northumberland forest eyre of 1240. In February 1241, Stratton unsuccessfully took his case against Ros to the <i>Coram Rege</i>. In October 1246, he was also removed from his position as coroner due to unspecified trespasses. At the Northumberland eyre of 1252, he was amerced 40m for unspecified offences. He had died by April 1252. There is no record in the pipe rolls of any payment by Stratton after 1227 in relation to his custody of the forest.⁹⁵²</p>
Robert de Ros	No later than February 1241 – July 1249	Robert de Ros was Chief justice of the Forest North of the Trent between November 1236 and May 1249 (see Appendix C). As noted above, in February 1241 he was accused by Thomas de Stratton of disseising him of custody of Northumberland Forest. It is therefore possible that Ros brought the forest under his administration. Between July 1237 and September 1245, he was the recipient of all the mandates to provide gifts from the forest, although that may reflect

⁹⁵² CPR 1216-25, p.296; CR 1231-34, p.459; CR 1234-37, pp.15, 253; CR 1237-42, p.164; CR 1242-47, p.468; CR 1251-53, p.82; CRR 1237-42, pp.282-6; CFR 35/197 accessed online 28 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_048.html#it197_019; Winters, 'Royal Eyre, pp.175-6, 205-6; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.97; *Northumberland County History Vol 7*. (Northumberland County History Committee, 1904), pp.58-9. 267-8.

		<p>simply his role as chief justice rather than as warden of the forest. However, it is telling that, shortly after he ceased his role as chief justice, custody of Northumberland Forest was awarded to John Fitzsimon. There is no record in the pipe rolls of any payment by Ros in relation to his custody of the forest.⁹⁵³</p>
John Fitzsimon	July 1249 - Uncertain	<p>In July 1249, John Fitzsimon was appointed to keep Northumberland Forest. There is insufficient information in the extant records about the length of his tenure and who replaced him. In May 1251, complaints were made against him in relation to his management of the forest. There is no record in the pipe rolls of any payment by Fitzsimon in relation to his custody of the forest.⁹⁵⁴</p>

Pamber and Eversley (Hampshire) - Hereditary

While they are identified as separate forests by Young, Pamber and Eversley were usually jointly administered. They were also usually examined together during the forest eyres, as was the case in 1269. Positive evidence of their existence as royal forests appears first in the early years of the reign of Henry II. Overall, they constituted a relatively small forest area, with the annual farm payment for Pamber under Henry II being just 10s, compared to £25 for New Forest.⁹⁵⁵

⁹⁵³ *CRR 1237-42*, pp.282-6; *CR 1234-37*, p.478; *CR 1242-47*, p.339; *CPR 1247-58*, p.45; N. Vincent, 'Ros, Robert de (d. c. 1270), baron and royal councillor', *ODNB* (2006) accessed online 6 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24078>.

⁹⁵⁴ *CPR 1247-58*, p.45; *CR 1247-51*, p.542.

⁹⁵⁵ P.A. Stamper, 'Medieval Hampshire: Studies in Landscape History' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Southampton, 1983), pp.20, 143-5; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.56, 62-3; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', p.259; *CIM Vol. I*, p.39.

Warden of Pamber and Eversley	Term of Office	Details
Gilbert of Eversley	At least April 1228 – No later than March 1239	The Eversley family was long-established as wardens of the bailiwick of Eversley Forest. In April 1228, an inquiry confirmed that the bailiwick of Gilbert of Eversley was ancient forest. In 1230, Eversley accounted for a 2m fine that he had agreed during the eyre led by Hugh de Neville for the custody of the bailiwick of Pamber. He paid 20s that year and the balance in 1231. Eversley subsequently received occasional mandates to provide gifts from Pamber Forest or grant access to it, the last of which was dated June 1235. ⁹⁵⁶
Herbert Fitzmatthew	March 1239 – February 1245	<p>In March 1239, Herbert Fitzmatthew agreed a fine of 10m with the king ‘for having custody of the whole bailiwick of the forestership that Gilbert of Eversley held from the king in chief until the lawful age of the heir of the aforesaid Gilbert.’ The fine was recorded in the Wiltshire section of the pipe roll of 1239 but remained outstanding at the time of Fitzmatthew’s death in 1245. There is no record of Fitzmatthew making other payments in relation to his custody of Pamber and Eversley Forests.</p> <p>It is not clear why Eversley lost custody of the forest. It may have been due to the outcome of the forest eyre of 1239 which identified a large number of new purprestures in Pamber for which no payment had previously been made. It may also have been because the pipe rolls show no further payments from Eversley after 1231, even though it was later recorded that he</p>

⁹⁵⁶ *VCH Hampshire Vol. 4* accessed online 30 January 2024 [Parishes: Eversley | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/parishes/eversley); *CR 1227-31*, p.103; *CR 1231-34*, p.461; *CR 1234-37*, pp.36, 97; *PR 1230*, p.198; TNA, E 372/75, rot. 15, m. 2 accessed online 30 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.uh.edu/aalt).

		<p>owed 10s per annum at the exchequer for farm of the forest. The evidence of the 1230 pipe rolls suggest that he did at least pay an annual fee to the constable of Windsor, although it is recorded as being 22s per year as opposed to 18s as reported in later documents.</p> <p>Given that the award to Fitzmatthew was for the period until Eversley's son came of age, it was clearly intended that Gilbert of Eversley would not recover custody of the forest before his death. It is therefore also possible that he may have been incapable of undertaking the forester role. He died in 1251.</p> <p>Fitzmatthew certainly still had custody of the forest in September 1242 when he received a mandate. He was killed while campaigning in Wales in February 1245.⁹⁵⁷</p>
Henry de Farley	January 1246 – May 1251	<p>In January 1246 Henry de Farley was appointed during pleasure as warden of Pamber as well other forests in Hampshire. He subsequently received a number of mandates in relation to the forest, the last dated July 1248. Thereafter, the mandates were addressed to Adam de la More. There is no record of More being appointed as warden, so it is possible that he was acting as Farley's deputy. There are no records in the pipe rolls of payments by either of them in relation to custody of the forest during this period. It is not clear when Farley ceased to be warden, but Walter of Eversley inherited the bailiwicks of Pamber and Eversley in May 1251.⁹⁵⁸</p>

⁹⁵⁷ *CFR 23/112* accessed online 30 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_036.html; *PR 1230*, p.5; TNA, E 372/83, rot. 4d, m. 2 accessed online 30 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/89, rot. 5, m. 1 accessed online 30 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.173-4; *PR 1242*, pp.272-3; *CIM Vol. I*, p.39; *CIPM Vol. I*, p.56; *CR 1237-42*, p.471; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.428.

⁹⁵⁸ *CPR 1232-47*, p.471; *CLR 1245-51*, pp.21-2; *CR 1242-47*, p.520; *CR 1247-51*, pp. 31, 66, 164, 313, 379, 380.

Walter of Eversley	May 1251 onwards	Gilbert of Eversley died in January 1251. In May that year, the king took the fealty of Walter, his son and heir, for the two bailiwicks of Pamber and Eversley, on condition that he should render 10s for them each year at the exchequer and 18s to the constable of Windsor, just as his father was accustomed to render. The only payment made by Eversley was 100s in 1263 at a time when the outstanding sum totalled 115s. No further payments were made after this and, in the final pipe rolls of the reign, the outstanding sum amounted to £4 15s. The final writ of the reign to Eversley as warden of Pamber Forest was dated December 1271. ⁹⁵⁹
--------------------	------------------	---

Peak (Derbyshire) - Castle

Like Kenilworth and Corfe warren/Purbeck, the Peak Forest rarely features in the records of Henry III's reign. For example, it was used only eighteen times as a source of gifts and seventeen times to provide venison for the royal household. During Henry III's reign, it was usually administered by the constable of Peak Castle (also known as Castleton and later Peveril castle), who was typically appointed by letters patent. In spring 1254, the honour of Peak, including the forest, was granted to Henry's heir, the Lord Edward. While there were occasional royal orders for venison from the forest after that date, to all intents and purposes, Peak was henceforth no longer part of the royal forest system. It is unclear whether subsequent amercements from forest eyres were paid to the crown or to the Lord Edward. Control of the castle and honour were contested during the civil war. While the Lord Edward granted the castle to Simon de Montfort, he subsequently recovered it and held it as part of his estate for the rest of Henry's reign.

⁹⁵⁹ *CFR 35/600* accessed online 30 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_048.html; *CIPM Vol. 1*, p.56; *CIM Vol. 1*, p.39; *CR 1268-72*, p.451; TNA, E 372/97, rot. 15d, m. 2 accessed online 30 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/107, rot. 8, m. 2 accessed online 30 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 13, m. 1 accessed online 30 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#). There is an error in the pipe roll entry for 1263. The outstanding amount brought forward is correctly recorded as 115s and Eversley was further required to account for an additional 10s for that year. He paid 100s, leaving an outstanding balance of 25s. However, the pipe roll entry records the balance to be carried forward as just 15s, an error that is not corrected in subsequent years.

Cox has provided a helpful list of the keepers of the honour of the Peak, including the forest, during the period between 1216 and 1251. That is reproduced in the table below, with some amendments, insofar as it relates to the period of Henry's personal rule. Where it is possible from the extant records, supplementary information demonstrating their responsibility for the forest has been provided.⁹⁶⁰

Warden of Peak	Term of Office	Details
Brian de Lisle	1222 – 1227	Cox states that Brian de Lisle had custody of the castle and forest from as early as 1222 and that he was succeeded in 1228 by Robert of Lexinton. However, the evidence of the pipe rolls is that Lexinton had custody from 1227. ⁹⁶¹
Robert of Lexinton	1228 – 1233	Cox states that Robert of Lexinton had custody of the forest from 1228 until 1233. However, the evidence from the pipe rolls suggests that Lexinton had custody for the period from 1227 until 1229. He accounted for an annual farm of £140 for each of those three years. There is no information within the pipe rolls concerning the share of that rent that related to the forest. ⁹⁶²
Brian de Lisle	1229 – August 1234	Although Cox overlooks it, custody of the castle was again awarded to Brian de Lisle in October 1229, when he was also mandated to award land in the bailiwick to an abbey. He received a further confirmation of the award of the bailiwick in November 1230 and, in January 1232, was

⁹⁶⁰ Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.17, 152, 154-5; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.94, 100, 105; *VCH Derbyshire Vol. 1*, pp.397-400; R. Eales, *Pevensey Castle* (English Heritage, 2018), pp.3, 24-9; *CPR 1247-58*, pp.270, 365; *CR 1253-54*, p.64; *CR 1254-56*, pp.118, 356; *CLR 1251-60*, p.391; *CR 1261-64*, p.127; *CPR 1258-66*, p.416; *CPR 1266-72*, pp.642, 660.; Wait, 'Lord Edward', pp.10, 59, 60; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.133, 134, 135, 155; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.319-24, 326-7.

⁹⁶¹ Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.155.

⁹⁶² Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.155; TNA, E 372/72, rot. 9, m.1 accessed online 1 March 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.aalt.uh.edu); TNA, E 372/73, rot. 1, m. 1 accessed online 1 March 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.aalt.uh.edu).

		granted the castle and bailiwick for life on payment of £100 each year to the exchequer. The last mandate to Lisle concerning Peak Forest is dated June 1234. He died in August 1234. ⁹⁶³
Ralph Fitznicholas	No earlier than August 1234 – April 1236	Cox states that Ralph Fitznicholas held the forest between 1233 and 1234. However, as noted above, the last mandate to Lisle is dated June 1234. He died in August 1234. In addition, it is clear that Fitznicholas was replaced in April or May 1236 by John Gobaud. ⁹⁶⁴
John Gobaud	April/May 1236 – no later than February 1239	John Gobaud replaced Fitznicholas as constable of Peak with responsibility for the forest in April or May 1236. He still had custody of the forest in September 1237 when he received mandates to provide a tithe of venison and to admit the king's hunters. Gobaud's period of tenure ended before February 1239 when Thomas de Furnival is recorded as having custody of the castle. Gobaud presented an account to the exchequer in 1237 that does not include any reference to revenue from the forest. ⁹⁶⁵
Thomas de Furnival	February to June 1239	Cox states that Thomas de Furnival had custody of the forest during 1237 but the only record relevant record refers to a period of February to June 1239. ⁹⁶⁶

⁹⁶³ Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.155; *CPR 1225-32*, pp.270, 460; *CR 1227-31*, pp.218, 277, 457; *CPR 1232-47*, p.53; Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.155. At odds with Cox, *CLR 1226-40* p.44 indicates that Robert of Lexinton was farming the bailiwick of Peak in 1227. S. Church, 'Lisle [Insula], Sir Brian de (d. 1234), soldier and administrator', *ODNB* (2007) accessed online 5 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47250>.

⁹⁶⁴ Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.155; *CPR 1232-47*, p.140; *CR 1234-37*, p.269.

⁹⁶⁵ *CPR 1232-47*, p.140; *CR 1234-37*, pp.269, 492; *CLR 1226-40*, pp.291, 387; TNA, E 372/81, rot. 15d, m. 1 accessed online 1 March 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

⁹⁶⁶ Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.155; *CLR 1226-40*, p.387.

Warner Engayne	Probably June 1239 – March 1243	Cox states that Warner Engayne had custody of the forest between 1237 and 1242, but the only relevant record concerns his being replaced as constable of the castle by John de Grey in March 1243. ⁹⁶⁷
John de Grey	March 1243 – Easter 1249	John de Grey was appointed constable of the castle in March 1243. He appears to have continued in the role until some time shortly after Easter 1249 when he was replaced by William de Horsenden. In May 1246 Grey was allocated 40m per annum for keeping the castle. He submitted accounts to the exchequer in 1247 and 1250. There are some elements within those accounts that relate specifically to revenue from the forest. Overall, annual revenues were in the region of £180, of which the forest accounted for between approximately 6% and 21%. ⁹⁶⁸
William de Horsenden	Easter 1249 – At least June 1253	William de Horsenden succeeded John de Grey shortly after Easter 1249 and appears to have held the post until at least June 1253. He submitted accounts to the exchequer in 1251 and 1254. There are some elements within those accounts that relate specifically to revenue from the forest. Overall, annual revenues were in the region of £200 to £240, of which the forest accounted for between approximately 13% and 17%. ⁹⁶⁹

⁹⁶⁷ Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.155; *CPR 1232-47*, p.367.

⁹⁶⁸ Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.155; *CPR 1232-47*, p.367; *CLR 1245-51*, pp.50, 249; TNA, E 372/91, rot. 14, m. 1 accessed online 1 March 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/94, rot. 18, m. 2 accessed online 1 March 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

⁹⁶⁹ Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.155; *CLR 1245-51*, p.249; *CLR 1251-60*, p.141.

Richard de Vernon	No earlier than June 1253- June 1254	At some point in 1253, William de Horsenden was replaced by Richard de Vernon. In October 1253, he was found guilty of an offence in Peak Forest. In 1254, he received a payment following the award of the honour to the Lord Edward. In 1255 he submitted an account at the exchequer for his period as constable and warden that makes no specific reference to revenues from the forest. Vernon later formed part of the garrison of the castle for Henry de Montfort during the civil war. ⁹⁷⁰
-------------------	--------------------------------------	--

Pickering (Yorkshire) – Castle/Hereditary

Pickering was a long-established forest linked to the castle and manor of the same name. In 1267, the manor, castle and forest of Pickering were alienated to Henry III's second son, Edmund. Until then, the warden of the forest was the constable of the castle. However, the administration of the forest was unusual in that accounts were submitted directly to the exchequer by two sub-foresters responsible for two separate halves of the forest, namely Pickering in the west and Scalby or Scarborough in the east. The table below therefore records details both of the constables who held the castle and the two sub-forester positions.⁹⁷¹

⁹⁷⁰ Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.155; *CR 1251-53*, p.422; *CLR 1251-60*, p.166; *CIM Vol. I*, p.236; TNA, E 372/99, rot. 15d, m. 1 accessed online 1 March 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.aalt.uh.edu/).

⁹⁷¹ *CChR 1257-1300*, p.78; *VCH Yorkshire Vol. 1*, pp.512-3; Turton, 'Pickering' Vol. 1, pp.xviii-xxi, xiv; Turton, 'Pickering' Vol. 2, p.xxvi; Turton, 'Pickering' Vol. 4, pp. xiv-xvi, xix, xxix.

Warden/Constable of Pickering	Term of Office	Details
William de Stuteville	January 1230 – April 1233	William de Stuteville was granted custody of the castle in January 1230. ⁹⁷²
Brian de Lisle	April 1233 – May 1234	Brian de Lisle was granted custody of the castle in April 1233. ⁹⁷³
John Fitzgeoffrey	May 1234 – May 1236	John Fitzgeoffrey was appointed warden of Galtres, Scarborough and Pickering Forests in May 1234. It is not clear when Fitzgeoffrey's period of tenure ended but the last recorded mandate to him concerning Pickering was dated December 1234. He was replaced as constable of Pickering in May 1236 by Brian Fitzalan. ⁹⁷⁴
Robert de Crepping	June 1236 – January 1253	Brian Fitzalan was replaced as constable of Pickering after just one month in June 1236 by Robert de Crepping. Crepping appears to have been associated with the castle until January 1253, although Nicholas de Molis, Henry of Bath and William le Dacre all seem to have had custody for short periods in the intervening years. ⁹⁷⁵

⁹⁷² *CFR 14/109* accessed online 12 March 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 14 HENRY III \(28 October 1229–27 October 1230\)](#).

⁹⁷³ *CFR 17/183* accessed online 12 March 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 17 HENRY III \(28 October 1232–27 October 1233\)](#).

⁹⁷⁴ *CPR 1232-47*, pp.52, 144; *CR 1234-37*, p.33; *CFR 20/584* accessed online 12 March 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 20 HENRY III \(28 October 1235–27 October 1236\)](#).

⁹⁷⁵ *CPR 1232-47*, pp.150, 159; *CPR 1247-58*, p.16; *CLR 1240-45*, pp.51, 345; *CFR 25/806* accessed online 12 March 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 25 HENRY III \(28 October 1240–27 October 1241\)](#); *CFR 34/313* accessed online 12 March 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 34 HENRY III \(28 October 1249–27 October 1250\)](#).

John of Lexinton	January 1253 – November 1255	John of Lexinton was appointed constable in January 1253. Lexinton was also chief justice North of the Trent during this period. ⁹⁷⁶
Hugh Bigod	November 1255 – September 1265	Hugh Bigod was appointed constable in November 1255. At some point in 1264, the manor may have been granted to John d’Eyville, but otherwise it appears Bigod held the honour until May 1266. ⁹⁷⁷
Robert de Neville	May 1266 until alienation	Robert de Neville was appointed constable in May 1266 and appears to have been the last postholder before the honour was granted to the king’s son, Edmund in the following year. ⁹⁷⁸
Sub-forester of Pickering	Term of Office	Details
Alan de Kinthorpe	1227 – May 1234	Alan de Kinthorpe (senior) seemingly held the bailiwick of Pickering Forest as forester-in-fee. He rendered accounts until 1234 when he died. He was succeeded by his son Geoffrey who was dead by 1238. Robert de Crepping then had custody of Geoffrey’s lands and of his heir, Alan (junior). It is not clear when Alan (junior) came of age. ⁹⁷⁹

⁹⁷⁶ *CFR 37/320* accessed online 12 March 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 37 HENRY III \(28 October 1252–27 October 1253\)](#); *CPR 1247-58*, pp.165, 173, 447; *CLR 1251-60*, pp.189, 190. See Appendix C for John of Lexinton as chief justice.

⁹⁷⁷ *CPR 1247-58*, p.447; *CLR 1251-60*, p.416; *CLR 1260-67*, p.2; *CFR 40/56* accessed online 12 March 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 40 HENRY III \(28 October 1255–27 October 1256\)](#); *CPR 1258-66*, pp.334, 451.

⁹⁷⁸ *CPR 1258-66*, p.594.

⁹⁷⁹ *VCH Yorkshire Vol. 2* accessed online 21 November 2023 [Parishes: Pickering | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CPR 1232-47*, p.224; *CR 1237-42*, p.49; *CFR 19/71* accessed online 12 March 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 19 HENRY III \(28 October 1234–27 October 1235\)](#).

Alan de Kinthorpe and Walter Boye	1227 – 1258	Between 1227 and 1258, Alan de Kinthorpe and Walter Boye jointly accounted at the exchequer for the farm of the western part of Pickering Forest. At some point, therefore Alan de Kinthorpe (junior) came of age and assumed responsibility as hereditary forest warden. ⁹⁸⁰
Alan de Kinthorpe and John Thornton	1259 onwards	The 1259 pipe roll records that Alan de Kinthorpe shared the custody and payment of the annual rent with John Thornton who had married the heiress of Walter Boye, suggesting the latter had died by this time. This was the only payment made by them for farm of the forest. In May 1252 John Thornton had agreed a fine of 25m in relation to trespasses of the forest and for his prizes due from him and his ancestors. ⁹⁸¹
Sub-forester of Scalby/Scarborough	Term of Office	Details
Ralph de Bolebec	At least 1227 – April 1252	Ralph de Bolebec had custody of the forest in September 1236 when he received two mandates to provide wood. Bolebec died in 1252/53 when he appears to have still had custody of the forest. Between 1227 and 1248 he accounted directly at the exchequer for this farm of the Scarborough part of the Pickering Forest. ⁹⁸²

⁹⁸⁰ TNA, E 372/71, rot. 4, m. 1 accessed online 12 March 2025 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/102, rot. 19, m. 1 accessed online 12 March 2025 [AALT Page](#). Turton, 'Pickering' Vol.4, p.xvi.

⁹⁸¹ *PR 1259*, p.391; *CFR 36/554* accessed online 12 March 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 36 HENRY III \(28 October 1251–27 October 1252\)](#); Turton, 'Pickering' Vol. 4, p.xvi.

⁹⁸² *CR 1234-37*, pp.315, 317; *CIPM Vol. I*, p.60; TNA, E 372/71, rot. 4, m. 1 accessed online 12 March 2025 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/92, rot. 14, m. 1 accessed online 12 March 2025 [AALT Page](#).

Hugh Bigod	May 1256 onwards	Although his brother Osbert de Bolebec was identified as Ralph de Bolebec's heir, custody of the forest appears to have been sold in May 1256 to Hugh Bigod. ⁹⁸³
------------	------------------	---

Poorstock/Powerstock (Dorset) - Other

Powerstock only became part of the royal forest when John acquired it. It was a comparatively small forest, assessed as being worth just 1m in 1273.

Custody of the forest was separate from custody of the manor of the same name.⁹⁸⁴

Warden of Powerstock	Term of Office	Details
Richard de Wrotham	No later than July 1236 – Possibly November 1250	It is difficult to identify the warden of Powerstock before 1236. In that year, a gift mandate was addressed to Richard de Wrotham, suggesting he had responsibility for the forest at that time. Wrotham was simultaneously warden of the forests in Somerset and in 1235 had been appointed warden of Blackmore Forest in Dorset (see elsewhere in this appendix). While there is therefore no clear statement to the effect that he had custody of the forest, it is certainly probable. Wrotham died in November 1250. ⁹⁸⁵
Uncertain	November 1250 – June 1254	It is unclear who had custody of the forest during this period.

⁹⁸³ *CPR 1247-58*, p.254; *CFR 40/598, 40/1258* accessed online 12 March 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: 40 HENRY III \(28 October 1255–27 October 1256\)](#); Turton, 'Pickering' Vol. 4, p.xix.

⁹⁸⁴ *VCH Dorset Vol. 2*, p.292; *CIPM Vol. II*, p.1; Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.332.

⁹⁸⁵ *CR 1234-37*, p.295.

William de Mohun	No later than June 1254 – September 1265	<p>In March 1254, William de Mohun is described as the warden of Powerstock in instructions concerning the sale of wood from the forest. This is the only explicit reference to him in the role. He had previously been appointed to sell wood for the king in Dorset in 1251, but there is no specific reference at that time to him as warden of Powerstock.</p> <p>Mohun was the younger brother of the baron Reginald de Mohun who served as chief justice of the Forest South of the Trent for two brief periods in 1242 and 1252-3 (see Appendix C). William de Mohun died in September 1265 which, in turn, helps to explain the appointment of John de la Lynde as his replacement in November of that year. It is possible that it was the same William de Mohun who, in 1253, was amerced 5m for waste following a forest eyre.⁹⁸⁶</p>
John de la Lynde	November 1265 – December 1272	<p>In November 1265, John de la Lynde was granted custody at the king's pleasure of all the main Dorset forests of Gillingham, Blackmore and Powerstock, answering for their proceeds at the exchequer. There must have been a short period when they were temporarily in the hands of Alan de Plugenet as he was ordered to deliver the forests to Lynde.</p> <p>Lynde was a household knight who had served the king in a variety of ways prior to his appointment to Powerstock. In 1253, he joined Henry's campaign in Gascony and was subsequently appointed seneschal of Limousin, Quercy and Perigord. For a period of time, he received a yearly fee of 20m and was the regular recipient of royal gifts, including 10 forest gifts</p>

⁹⁸⁶ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.433, 435; *CFR 35/614* accessed online 5 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_048.html; W. Hunt and H. Ridgeway, 'Mohun, Sir Reginald de (c. 1206–1258), baron', *ODNB* (2005) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18886>.

		<p>between July 1261 and May 1272. In December 1254, he had also received a royal exemption from a range of offices and responsibilities, including that of forester. In June 1261, he was appointed to enquire into malefactors who had assaulted the king's foresters and taken venison from Aliceholt and Wolmer forests.</p> <p>Lynde had custody of Powerstock Forest at the time of his death in December 1272. In the intervening period, he had also been constable of the Tower of London, a justice, king's steward, charter witness and frequent ambassador on royal business to France. In addition to the forest wardenships, Lynde held land in Somerset and Dorset.⁹⁸⁷</p>
--	--	--

Portchester (Hampshire) - Castle

Portchester was part of a continuous chain of forests across Hampshire and was occasionally referred to as Bere Portchester. It was closely associated with the castle of the same name. Throughout most of Henry III's reign, the constable of the castle was also warden of the forest.⁹⁸⁸

Constable of Portchester	Term of Office	Details
Richard Poore	1224 – July 1228	Richard Poore was constable of Portchester, Winchester and Southampton castles from 1224. He was also bishop of Salisbury until May 1228 when he was elected bishop of Durham. He received the temporalities of Durham late in July 1228 and was shortly afterwards mandated to

⁹⁸⁷ *CPR 1247-58*, pp.235, 387; *CPR 1258-66*, pp.185, 498; *CR 1259-61*, pp.260, 406, 422; *CR 1268-72*, p.482; *CLR 1260-67*, pp.44, 53, 54, 74, 88, 189, 254, 261, 255; *CLR 1267-72*, pp.11, 82, 93, 184, 194; *CChR 1257-1300*, p.123; *CIPM Vol. II*, p.1.

⁹⁸⁸ Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.310; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.5, 100; J. Goodall, *Portchester Castle* (English Heritage, 2003), pp.31-3.

		surrender Portchester castle and forest to Geoffrey de Lucy who was to hold it at the king's pleasure. ⁹⁸⁹
Geoffrey de Lucy	July 1228 – June 1232	In July 1228, the castle and forest of Portchester were committed to Geoffrey de Lucy at the king's pleasure. He subsequently received a number of writs to provide timber and gifts from the forest. From at least 1230, Lucy was granted 25m yearly for the custody of Portchester castle. In August 1233, Henry III owed Lucy 25m for the custody of the castle for one year. Lucy used the income for custody of Portchester to offset debts that he owed the crown. During this period, he was a household knight who participated in Henry III's military campaign in France in 1230. ⁹⁹⁰
Peter des Roches	June 1232 – March 1233	Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, was awarded Portchester castle at the king's pleasure in June 1232. He had previously held the castle and forest during the period of Henry III's minority. It appears he was appointed on the same terms as Geoffrey de Lucy as in February 1237, Henry III acknowledged a debt of 25m yearly for des Roches's custody of the castle. ⁹⁹¹
Roger Wascelin/Gascelin	March 1233 – February 1235	In March 1233, des Roches was mandated to surrender the castles of Portchester and Winchester to Roger Wascelin who was appointed to them at the king's pleasure. Vincent has

⁹⁸⁹ *CPR 1225-32*, p.198; *CR 1227-31*, pp.69, 82; P. Hoskin, 'Poor [Poore], Richard (d. 1237), bishop of Salisbury', *ODNB* (2009) accessed online 16 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22525>.

⁹⁹⁰ *CR 1227-31*, pp.69, 82, 248, 551; *CLR 1226-40*, pp.157, 180, 227; Lightfoot, 'Household Knights', pp.77, 175, 429, 498.

⁹⁹¹ *CR 1231-34*, p.76; *CLR 1226-40*, p.253; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.185, 189, 214, 297.

		argued that des Roches initiated the transfer of custody to Wascelin who was his deputy and who had worked for the bishop over a long period of time. ⁹⁹²
Henry Fitznicholas	February 1235 – April 1236	In February 1235, Henry Fitznicholas was appointed sheriff of Hampshire to keep as the farmer at the king’s pleasure, answering each year for the profit of the county for 40m. At the same time, he was awarded Portchester and Winchester castles to keep at his own costs. ⁹⁹³
Geoffrey de Lisle	April 1236 – December 1237	<p>In April 1236, Henry III committed Winchester castle and Portchester castle with the forest of Portchester and the county of Hampshire to Geoffrey de Lisle at the king’s pleasure. Lisle was to answer for all issues and to take 40m per annum for the custody.</p> <p>After his time in office, Lisle was amerced at the forest eyre presided over by John Biset in 1239 to the sum of 8m. This related to sales from Portchester Forest. He paid the sum and cleared the debt in February 1242.</p> <p>As part of the Hampshire eyre of December 1244 that was presided over by Robert Passelewe and Geoffrey de Langley, Lisle was amerced 40m for trespasses in Portchester Forest at the time that he had custody of the forest and castle there. In April 1245, the king issued a writ stating that he would ‘exact nothing further from him for that time, to wit, from the date when</p>

⁹⁹² *CPR 1232-47*, p.13; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp.36, 38, 235, 359-60, 394, 466.

⁹⁹³ *CFR 19/140* accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_034.html.

		he received the said custody until Friday in Easter week this year.’ The pipe rolls show that Lisle paid the amercement for waste in three instalments between 1246 and 1248. ⁹⁹⁴
Geoffrey de Lucy	December 1237 – At least February 1245	In December 1237, Lisle was ordered to hand the castle over to Geoffrey de Lucy who was again granted custody of it at the king’s pleasure. In January 1240 and April 1243, Lucy was mandated to provide royal gifts from the forest. The last mandate to Lucy was dated February 1245 when he was required to provide wood from the forest for works at Winchester. ⁹⁹⁵
Henry de Farley	January 1246 – At least September 1246	In January 1246, Henry de Farley was appointed as warden of 10 separate forests within Hampshire, including Portchester. While it is not explicitly stated, it is therefore possible that, in addition to Geoffrey de Lisle, Geoffrey de Lucy had been found guilty of trespass at the Hampshire forest eyre of the preceding year and had, in common with other foresters elsewhere, lost custody of the forest at some point during 1245. Farley still had custody of the forest in September 1246 when he received a writ to provide a royal gift. ⁹⁹⁶

⁹⁹⁴ *CFR 20/219* accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_035.html; *CLR 1226-40*, pp.249, 441; *CPR 1232-47*, p.451; TNA, E 372/84, rot. 6, m.2 accessed online 6 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *PR 1242*, p.267; TNA, E 372/90, rot. 12d, m. 1 accessed online 6 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/91, rot. 4d, m. 2 accessed online 6 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/92, rot. 12d, m. 1 accessed online 6 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.173-4. The second amercement must relate to the most recent forest eyre conducted in Hampshire which Winters dates to December 1244 (Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.182-3); Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.147; R.C. Stacey (ed.), *Receipt and Issue Rolls for the Twenty-Sixth year of the Reign of King Henry III, 1241-2* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1992), p.38.

⁹⁹⁵ *CPR 1232-47*, p.207; *CR 1237-42*, p.169; *CR 1242-47*, pp.22, 288; *CLR 1240-45*, p.290.

⁹⁹⁶ *CPR 1232-47*, p.471; *CLR 1245-51*, pp.21-2; Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.182-3.

Geoffrey de Lucy	At least October 1247 – No later than September 1252	There is no record of the formal reappointment of Geoffrey de Lucy as warden of Portchester, but there is an incomplete mandate dated September 1247 for to him to provide a gift from the forest. There were a number of further mandates to him as warden of the forest, the last dated September 1251. ⁹⁹⁷
William de Chabbeney	September 1252 – June 1255	In September 1252, William de Chabbeney was awarded custody of the manor and castle of Portchester with appurtenances at the king's pleasure on the same terms as Geoffrey de Lucy. The only mandate to Chabbeney specifically concerning the forest was dated June 1253. In July 1255 he was required to deliver Portchester castle to Henry de Farley. For much of the period of his custody, Chabbeney was in Gascony as part of Henry III's campaign there. ⁹⁹⁸
Henry de Farley	June 1255 – January 1256	Farley was formally granted custody of the castle with its appurtenances in June 1255, alongside his role as sheriff of Hampshire. He was to keep the castle and appurtenances at his own cost and account for the issues at the exchequer. His appointment to custody of the castle was linked to his role as sheriff. From 1257 the pipe rolls record an obligation on the part of Farley to account for the issues of Portchester but provide no details about the amounts due or any payments. ⁹⁹⁹

⁹⁹⁷ *CR 1242-47*, p.542; *CR 1247-51*, pp.26, 41, 73, 124, 198, 500; *CR 1251-53*, p.155.

⁹⁹⁸ *CR 1251-53*, pp.155, 240, 364; *CR 1253-54*, pp.221, 232-3, 268, 271, 276; *CPR 1247-58*, pp.416, 417.

⁹⁹⁹ *CFR 39/643* accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_052.html; *CPR 1247-58*, pp.416, 417; TNA, E 372/101, rot. 9, m. 2 accessed online 7 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

Robert de Mares	January 1256 – December 1256	<p>In January 1256, Robert de Mares was appointed to keep Portchester castle for five years, rendering 16m per annum. He was to keep the castle and Portchester Forest at his own cost. In September 1256, he received a mandate to provide oaks from the forest.</p> <p>The Hampshire pipe rolls for 1257 record that Robert de Mares owed 16m in relation to his custody of Portchester, with the debt being transferred to the Northamptonshire account in the following year. While there were a number of payments and part of the debt was pardoned, over 108s was outstanding at the end of the reign.¹⁰⁰⁰</p>
William de Turberville	December 1256 – June 1258	<p>William de Turberville was granted custody of Portchester castle, together with the forest, for five years in December 1256 on the same terms as Robert de Mares. In November 1257 he received a writ as constable of Portchester to provide a gift from the forest.</p> <p>The pipe rolls of 1257 record a payment of 16m for his custody of the castle. Later pipe rolls record a further sum of 16m as outstanding.¹⁰⁰¹</p>

¹⁰⁰⁰ *CFR 40/218* accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_053.html; *CPR 1247-58*, p.459; *CR 1254-56*, p.360; *CFR 46/413* accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_059.html; TNA, E 372/101, rot. 9d, m. 2 accessed online 7 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/102, rot. 5d, m.2 accessed online 7 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/104, rot. 18, m. 1 accessed online 12 March 2025 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/115, rot. 5, m. 2 accessed online 12 March 2025 [AALT Page](#).

¹⁰⁰¹ *CPR 1247-58*, p.535; *CFR 41/258* accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_054.html; *CR 1256-59*, pp.146, 164; TNA, E 372/101, rot. 9d, m. 2 accessed online 7 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *PR 1259*, p.58; TNA, E 372/104, rot. 3d, m. 1 accessed online 7 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

Roger de Saunford	June 1258 – December 1264	In June 1258, William de Turberville was ordered to hand Portchester castle over to Roger de Saunford. In July 1263, he was relieved of the requirement to pay 16.5m yearly out of the castle-guard rents and instead to have that sum annually for his maintenance. In 1261 and 1264 he received royal mandates as the warden of Portchester Forest. There is no record in the pipe rolls during this period of any payment by Saunford for custody of the castle and forest, although he was later pursued for a debt of £6 3s relating to pannage income that resulted from the Hampshire eyre of 1269 and that was unpaid at the end of the reign. ¹⁰⁰²
Simon de Montfort Junior	December 1264 – Probably August 1265	In December 1264, Roger de Saunford was ordered to surrender the castle to Simon de Montfort who was granted it ‘during pleasure by the counsel of the barons’, requiring him to answer for the issues at the exchequer. A subsequent entry in the patent rolls for March 1265 states that it was Simon de Montfort junior who was the constable and who was required ‘to keep the peace in the parts of Southampton and Portsmouth and repress those persons who coming by sea and land to those parts incessantly commit plunderings and other grievous trespasses there.’ He is also referred to as the constable in close rolls entries for March and April 1265. It is likely that he held the post until the battle of Evesham in August 1265 but no later. ¹⁰⁰³

¹⁰⁰² *CPR 1247-58*, p.638; *CPR 1258-66*, p.268; *CR 1259-61*, pp.433-4; *CR 1261-64*, p.338; TNA, E 372/114, rot. 5, m. 2 accessed online 12 March 2025 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 13d, m. 2 accessed online 12 March 2025 [AALT Page](#); Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.255-9.

¹⁰⁰³ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.398, 481; *CR 1264-68*, pp.30, 53; J. Maddicott, ‘Montfort, Sir Simon de, the younger (1240–1271), soldier’, *ODNB* (2006) accessed online 6 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19050>.

Robert de Tybetot	November 1265 – April 1266	In November 1265, the castle was committed at the king’s pleasure to Robert de Tybetot who was to answer for its issues at the exchequer. Henry de Huse was mandated to deliver the castle to him. This is the only reference to Huse holding the castle, so it was presumably done so as a temporary measure after the battle of Evesham. In April 1266, Tybetot was in turn ordered to deliver the castle to Robert de St John to hold it on the same terms. ¹⁰⁰⁴
Robert de St John	April 1266 – June 1267	In April 1266 Portchester castle was committed at the king’s pleasure to Robert de St John who was to answer for the issues at the exchequer. In June 1267, St John was ordered to deliver the castle to his son John on the same terms that he held it. St John had previously been amerced 200m as part of the Hampshire eyre of December 1244 for a trespass in Pamber Forest. Part of this was outstanding in 1272. ¹⁰⁰⁵
John de St John	June 1267 – March 1268	John de St John held the castle beyond June 1267 and March 1268 when it was granted to Isabel, Countess of Arundel. ¹⁰⁰⁶
Isabel, Countess of Arundel (and possibly others)	March 1268 – February 1272	Although the castle was not granted to the Countess of Arundel until March 1268, there is a mandate from September 1267 addressed to her as the constable to undertake repairs to it. It is possible that custody of the forest was split from that of the castle in June 1270 when Roger Giffard, valet of the Lord Edward, was appointed to the former. However, in November 1270,

¹⁰⁰⁴ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.508, 581.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *CPR 1258-66*, p.581; *CPR 1266-72*, p.67; TNA, E 372/89, rot. 12d, m. 2 accessed online 6 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://aalt.uh.edu); TNA, E 372/116, rot, 13, m. 1; *CFR 29/283* accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_042.html.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *CPR 1266-72*, pp.67, 204.

		custody of the two was again combined under William Belet during the king's pleasure. In the following month, Isabel was ordered to surrender the castle but seems to have held on to it as it was not until February 1272 that she was instructed by Henry III to deliver it to Thomas de Clare without delay. ¹⁰⁰⁷
Thomas de Clare	February 1272 onwards	Thomas de Clare was granted custody in February 1272. In March and October 1272, he received royal mandates in his role as warden of Portchester Forest. ¹⁰⁰⁸

Purbeck/Corfe Warren (Dorset) - Castle

In a number of instances, royal warrens became subject to forest law. This was the case with the warren at Corfe Castle which, under King John, became the nucleus of the forest of Purbeck. The two titles of Purbeck Forest and Corfe Warren were seemingly interchangeable. Because of the close association of the warren with the castle, it was usual for the former to be administered by the castle constable. Dru Drury has previously compiled a helpful list of the constables of the castle that has been used to compare against contemporary records of Purbeck Forest and Corfe Warren. Unlike his father who spent heavily on the castle, Henry III rarely visited Corfe, spending just one day there between 1234 and 1258.¹⁰⁰⁹

¹⁰⁰⁷ *CPR 1266-72*, pp.204, 626; *CLR 1260-67*, p.290; *CFR 54/723* accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_067.html; *CFR 55/57* accessed online 6 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_068.html.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *CPR 1266-72*, p.626; *CR 1268-72*, pp.474, 534.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Bazeley, 'Extent', pp.144-5; *VCH Dorset Vol. 2*, p.296; G. Dru Drury, 'The Constables of Corfe Castle and some of their Seals', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society* 65 (1944), pp.76-91; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.351-2, 359.

Warden of Purbeck/Corfe	Term of Office	Details
Constable of Corfe	Until August 1250	<p>Until August 1250, mandates in relation to Corfe Warren and Purbeck Forest were exclusively addressed to the constable of Corfe castle. In many cases, the recipient constable was not identified by name, but in July 1249 there is a mandate to Hugh de Vivon who was constable.</p> <p>As identified below, a distinct position of warden of Corfe Warren was recorded from 1250. Despite that, mandates concerning the warren and Purbeck Forest were still occasionally sent to constables of the castle, for example in April 1252, April 1257, June 1258 and August 1263.¹⁰¹⁰</p>
Warden of Corfe Warren/Purbeck Forest	August 1250 – April 1257	<p>The first mandates to an unidentified warden of the warren/forest occurs in August 1250. The title continued to be used throughout the rest of Henry III's reign, with the last mandate being issued to an unidentified warden in August 1269.</p> <p>However, there were also occasions during this period when the sheriff of Dorset and Somerset held the warren as a distinct custody separate from that of the castle. For example, in July 1255 Elias de Rabayne was awarded custody of Corfe castle, but it was explicitly stated that 'the king wills that the sheriff of Dorset is to keep that warren and forest and all other things pertaining to the said castle outside the walls of the same castle, so that he is to answer for the issues of the same at the exchequer until the king shall have ordained otherwise concerning them.'</p>

¹⁰¹⁰ CR 1231-34, p.88; CR 1234-37, pp.6, 241; CR 1237-42, pp.29, 217; CR 1247-51, p.183; CR 1251-53, p.80; CR 1256-59, pp.50, 234; CR 1261-64, p.246; CLR 1240-45, p.143.

		<p>Custody of the warren was therefore given instead to John de Aure. In October of the same year, Stephen de Ashton was appointed sheriff and awarded custody of Sherborne castle and Corfe Warren, ‘keeping the castle of Sherborne and the said warren at his own cost.’ There is also a mandate from August 1256 stating that the warren was at that time in the keeping of the sheriff.¹⁰¹¹</p>
Elias de Rabayne	April 1257 – 1260	<p>A distinct keeper of the warren can be identified for the first time in April 1257 when Elias de Rabayne was appointed ‘to hold [the warren] from the king from Easter in the forty-first year through five years for ten marks each year at the exchequer, namely 5m at the exchequer of Easter and another 5m at the exchequer of Michaelmas.’</p> <p>Elias de Rabayne had previously served as sheriff of Dorset and Somerset and, at various times, was also constable of Corfe castle. His appointment as warden of the warren appears to have overlapped with one of his periods of office as constable but was nevertheless identified as a distinct role. In practice, he appears to have had custody of the warren for just three years.</p> <p>Rabayne was required to make an annual 10m payment at the exchequer for his custody of the warren. The pipe rolls first record the requirement in 1258. By March 1264, he owed 30m for the three years of his custody, a sum which was then pardoned by the king for ‘his praiseworthy service.’</p>

¹⁰¹¹ CR 1247-51, p.313; CR 1254-56, pp.269, 338; CR 1256-59, pp.257-8, 406; CR 1268-72, pp.78-9; CLR 1245-51, p.298; CLR 1251-60, p.318; CPR 1247-58, pp.416, 428-9; CFR 39/1014 accessed online 29 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_052.html.

		<p>As noted above, the extant records occasionally refer to a warden of the warren until the end of the reign. However, as usually no warden is identified by name, it is generally not possible to establish whether they were also the sheriff of the county, constable of the castle or entirely independent of both roles.</p> <p>While theoretically subsequent wardens may have been expected to make an annual payment to the exchequer for custody of the warren, none were made. In the pipe rolls for 1260, there is an incomplete entry for payment relating to custody of the warren, identifying neither the debtor nor the amount due. This practice continued for the remainder of Henry's reign.</p> <p>As well as holding land in Dorset, Rabayne was a Lusignan knight who was prominent at court. He was forced into exile by the reformers in November 1258 but returned in April 1261.¹⁰¹²</p>
Uncertain	1260 – March 1272	Between 1260 and March 1272, it is not possible to identify the warden of the warren as distinct from the constable of the castle.

¹⁰¹² CLR 1251-60, pp.366-7; CFR 35/1200 accessed online 29 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_048.html; CFR 39/645 accessed online 29 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_052.html; CFR 41/280 accessed online 29 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_054.html; CFR 48/84 accessed online 29 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_061.html; TNA, E 372/102, rot. 12d, m. 2 accessed online 29 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.aalt.uh.edu/); TNA, E 372/104, rot. 19, m. 1 accessed online 29 February 2024; CPR 1247-58, pp.416, 581; *List of Sheriffs*, p.122; Carpenter, *Henry III, 1207-58*, pp.351-2, 472, 555-7, 674; Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.9, 32,62; H. Ridgeway, 'Dorset in the Period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion', *Historical Research* 87 (2014), pp.20, 22-5.

Walter le Nepeyre	March 1272 – Uncertain	In March 1272, Walter le Nepeyre was granted custody of Purbeck Warren. He was appointed at the king's pleasure and was to answer for the issues of the warren. There is no entry in the pipe rolls for 1272 concerning his custody. Elias de Rabayne was once again constable of Corfe castle in November 1272 when he was to receive 10m from Corfe Warren for the maintenance of the castle. ¹⁰¹³
-------------------	------------------------	---

Rutland including Sauvey (Rutland and Leicestershire) - Hereditary

The royal forest of Leicestershire and Rutland owed its origin to Henry I. The royal forest ceased to exist under Stephen but was recreated by Henry II before 1160. Much of Leicestershire was disafforested in 1235, but throughout Henry III's reign the forest of Rutland covered the whole of the southern part of the county and at least half the total area. The hereditary wardenship of Rutland Forest descended directly from the first warden, Hasculf de Allextou.¹⁰¹⁴

Warden of Rutland	Term of Office	Details
Hasculf II de Allextou/Neville	No later than June 1220 – No later than January 1249	Hasculf de Allextou was the grandson of the original warden of the forest. He gained custody of Rutland Forest during the minority of Henry III. From about 1231, he was more frequently referred to in contemporary records as Hasculf de Neville, reflecting his connection, through his mother, with the important Neville family. In 1227-8 there were complaints against him that he had treated the men in his bailiwick badly. In July 1231 he was ordered by the king not to

¹⁰¹³ CPR 1266-72, p.633; CLR 1267-72, p.238.

¹⁰¹⁴ VCH Leicestershire Vol. 2, pp.265-6; VCH Rutland Vol. 1, p.251; Clough, 'Peter de Neville', p.333; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.4, 139, 141; Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.232-3.

		<p>impede access to a private wood within the forest. In November 1234, he was accused of taking venison and causing waste in the forest.</p> <p>Allextton/Neville was required to pay an annual farm of 40s. While there were payments recorded in the pipe rolls for 1227 and 1236 that cleared some of the balance, overall his debts to the crown gradually grew and stood at almost £30 at the time of his death early in 1249.¹⁰¹⁵</p>
William de Northampton	January 1249 – May 1249	<p>Following Allextton/Neville’s death, the king’s sergeant William de Northampton was appointed to keep Rutland Forest at the king’s pleasure. This was a temporary arrangement until Neville’s heir acquired custody of the forest. In August 1249, Northampton was paid 100s from the proceeds of the Rutland forest eyre, presumably to sustain himself in the role as temporary warden.¹⁰¹⁶</p>
Peter de Neville	May 1249 onwards	<p>In May 1249, Henry III took the homage of Peter de Neville, Hasculf de Allextton’s heir, for custody of Rutland Forest. As a result of the Rutland eyre of the same year, Neville agreed a fine of 486m with the king regarding a trespass of the forest. It was agreed that he would pay this sum in instalments of 20m per annum. This arrangement was amended slightly in a further fine that was agreed in April 1250. The debt is first recorded in the pipe roll for Warwickshire and Leicestershire in 1253, with the first payment of just over £33 being recorded in 1257. No</p>

¹⁰¹⁵ Clough, ‘Peter de Neville’, p.334; *CR 1227-31*, p.534; *CFR 19/9* accessed online 23 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_034.html; TNA, E 372/71, rot. 1d, m. 2 accessed online 23 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/80, rot. 12, m.2 accessed online 23 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/93, rot. 2d, m. 1 accessed online 23 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

¹⁰¹⁶ *CPR 1247-58*, p.35; *CLR 1245-51*, p.249.

		<p>further payments were made and the balance of over £290 is recorded as outstanding in the final pipe rolls of Henry's reign.</p> <p>In addition, while Neville inherited both his father's debts concerning the farm of the forest and an ongoing commitment to pay a fee of 40s each year, no payments are recorded in the pipe rolls after he gained custody. By the final year of the reign, the outstanding amount was over £75.¹⁰¹⁷</p>
Henry de Stoke	June 1264 – Probably August 1265	<p>In June 1264, in the aftermath of the battle of Lewes, Rutland Forest was committed to Henry de Stoke. This was probably because of Neville's support for the royalist cause. Stoke's custody was temporary and is likely to have ended soon after the battle of Evesham as Neville was certainly receiving mandates in relation to the forest soon after then.</p> <p>In the immediate aftermath of Evesham, Neville and his men were accused by the villagers of Peatling Magna in Leicestershire of treason against Simon de Montfort and the community of the realm, resulting in a violent struggle.¹⁰¹⁸</p>

¹⁰¹⁷ CR 1247-51, pp.158-9; CR 1254-56, p.113; CR 1256-59, p.451; CR 1259-61, p.113; CR 1264-68, p.166; CR 1268-72, p.158; CFR 34/177, CFR 34/304 accessed online 23 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_047.html#it177_014; TNA, E 372/97, rot. 7, m. 2 accessed online 23 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/101, rot. 12, m. 2 accessed online 23 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 12d, m. 1; TNA, E/372, rot. 8, m. 2; CPR 1258-66, p.322; Clough, 'Peter de Neville', pp.334-41; Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp. 44-53; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.81, Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.233-4; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.191-4, 254-5.

¹⁰¹⁸ Carpenter, 'English Peasants', pp.3-42; Jobson, *English Revolution*, p.150; CPR 1258-66, p.322.

Peter de Neville	August 1265 ongoing	Neville achieved lasting notoriety as a result of detailed and lengthy accusations made against him by a range of local verderers, regarders and knights as part of the 1269 forest eyre. He was variously accused of false imprisonment, the wrongful levying of tolls and allowing pigs to roam in the forest. He temporarily lost custody of the forest but regained it before the end of the reign. ¹⁰¹⁹
------------------	---------------------	---

Savernake (Wiltshire and Berkshire) - Hereditary

The wooded area of Savernake is recorded in the Domesday Book and had become a designated royal forest by the twelfth century. It was initially termed the ‘Forest of Marlborough’, a name that is occasionally found in the documentation of Henry III’s reign and that reflected the historically important connection between the forest and Marlborough castle. The Esturmy family were hereditary wardens until the fifteenth century. During the minority of heirs to the wardenship, the king usually granted custody of the forest to the constable of Marlborough castle. Barber has compiled a helpful list of constables of the castle, while the earl of Cardigan wrote a monograph of the wardens of the forest. During Henry III’s reign, there were also four families holding hereditary bailiwicks within the forest.¹⁰²⁰

¹⁰¹⁹ Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp.44-53; Clough, ‘Peter de Neville’, pp.333-41; Young, *Neville Family*, pp.60-2, 87-9; Young, *Royal Forests*, pp.81-2; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.106-7.

¹⁰²⁰ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests); B. Lennon, *Savernake Forest: Continuity and Change in a Wooded Landscape* (Oxford, 2012), pp.21-2, 100-1, 120; R. Barber (ed.), *The Marlborough Mound: Prehistoric Mound, Medieval Castle, Georgian Garden* (Woodbridge, 2022), Appendix C; Cardigan, *Wardens*, pp.33-51. For a list of wardens of Savernake Forest see also *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/royal-forests/appendices).

Warden of Savernake	Term of Office	Details
Geoffrey Esturmy	December 1226 – April 1246	<p>Geoffrey Esturmy came from a long family line of wardens of Savernake Forest. He was awarded custody of the forest in December 1226 at the end of his own minority and shortly before the personal rule of Henry III began. The last mandate to him was dated June 1245. He died some time between then and April 1246 when custody of the forest and wardship of his heir were granted to Robert de Muscegnos. It is likely that he was killed during the Welsh campaign of 1245.</p> <p>Esturmy was amerced 10m at the Northamptonshire eyre of 1245, a debt that was paid and cleared by 1250, four years after his death. He was also amerced £20 as a result of Robert Passelewe’s forest eyre in Hampshire in 1244. The debt is first recorded in the pipe rolls in 1250. It was outstanding in 1254 when it was combined with an unpaid debt of 1m relating to the possession of dogs in the forest in Hampshire that was first recorded in the pipe rolls in 1248. It is not clear if the second debt relates to an amercement arising from an eyre or to the award of a right to have hunting dogs. The two debts were combined with a number of other outstanding sums not related to the forest that together totalled in excess of 500m. Responsibility for these debts was subsequently assumed by his son after he inherited custody of his father’s lands.</p> <p>The annual farm payment for custody of the forest was 78s. While Esturmy was warden of the forest, it was the constable of Marlborough castle who accounted for the amount due at the exchequer. Initially, the farm payment for the forest was included in a separate account such as</p>

		that provided by Robert de Meysy in 1228 and by John de Eston in 1230. From 1242 onwards, the constables accounted for the farm of Marlborough and Ludgershall within the main pipe roll account for Wiltshire. No separate element was identified within these abbreviated accounts for the element relating to Savernake Forest. ¹⁰²¹
Robert de Muscegros	April 1246 – January 1254	Robert de Muscegros, constable of Marlborough castle, was granted custody of the forest and the wardship of Esturmy's heir in April 1246. It would appear that Esturmy's brother Richard had possession of the forest for a period of time after his death as it was he who was mandated to surrender it to Muscegros. In practice, Muscegros may have had custody of the forest as early as March 1246 as the first mandate to him in that role is dated that month. Muscegros continued to account for his custody of the forest as part of the account he was due to render annually at the exchequer for the farm of Marlborough and Ludgershall. At the end of his tenure, he owed over £180 in relation to these farm payments. ¹⁰²²
Arnold du Bois	January 1254 – February or March 1254	In January 1254, Henry III committed the bailiwick that Robert de Muscegros had of the king's bailiff in the forest of Savernake to the chief justice South of the Trent, Arnold du Bois (see

¹⁰²¹ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CR 1242-47*, p.315; TNA, E 372/72, rot. 10d, m.1 accessed online 13 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *PR 1230*, pp.1-5; *PR 1242*, pp.173, 175; TNA, E 372/91, rot. 13, m. 2 accessed online 14 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *E 372/92* accessed online 14 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/94, rot. 1d, m. 1 accessed online 14 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/98, rot. 20, m. 1 accessed online 14 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/98, rot. 20d, m. 1 accessed online 14 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.182-3; Cardigan, *Wardens*, pp.35-6, 42-4.

¹⁰²² *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CR 1242-47*, pp.400, 418; TNA, E 372/98, rot. 11d, m. 1 accessed online 13 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#) and [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

		Appendix C above). This would appear to be the result of Bois replacing Muscegros as the ward for Esturmy's heir. However, the appointment lasted just one month as in February 1254, Henry de la Mare was granted custody of Marlborough castle along with Savernake Forest. However, when custody of the forest was subsequently granted to Henry Esturmy in March, it was Bois who was ordered to surrender it to him. ¹⁰²³
Henry de la Mare	February 1254 – March 1254	Henry de la Mare was seemingly granted custody of Savernake Forest alongside his appointment to Marlborough castle. There are contradictory indicators within the records about his period of tenure. On the one hand, it appears that his time in office may have been very short given that the forest was awarded to Henry Esturmy in March 1254. On the other hand, de la Mare received a mandate in April 1255 to provide a gift from Savernake in which he was addressed as the 'warden' of the forest. There is also a single entry in the close rolls for early March 1254 when Nicholas de Barbeflet is required to allow royal servants to take brushwood from the forest in his capacity as the warden of Savernake. ¹⁰²⁴
Henry Esturmy	March 1254 onwards	In March 1254, the king rendered to Henry Esturmy, the son and heir of Geoffrey Esturmy, all the bailiwick that Geoffrey had in the forest of Savernake. Arnold du Bois was ordered to allow

¹⁰²³ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://royal.gov.uk/royal-forests/appendices); *CFR 38/167, CFR 38/313* accessed online 13 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_051.html; *CPR 1247-58*, p.363; *CR 1253-54*, pp.217-8.

¹⁰²⁴ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://royal.gov.uk/royal-forests/appendices); *CR 1253-54*, pp.35, 217-8; *CFR 38/313* accessed online 13 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_051.html; *CR 1254-56*, p.65.

		<p>him to have full seisin. The last mandate of Henry's reign to Esturmy was dated November 1271 and he retained custody of the forest until his death in 1295.</p> <p>Despite Esturmy inheriting the bailiwick, there were no separate payments of the annual fee. It would appear that this continued to be accounted for at the exchequer by the constable of Marlborough castle.</p> <p>Esturmy did assume responsibility for his father's debts, including the outstanding forest eyre amerancements. In 1254, these debts together totalled over 500m. Henry Esturmy gradually paid these outstanding amounts, with the final payment being recorded on the pipe roll for 1266.¹⁰²⁵</p>
--	--	--

Selwood (Wiltshire) - Hereditary

The royal forest of Selwood straddled the boundary between the counties of Wiltshire and Somerset. For most of their history the two parts were administered separately. This section concerns the part of the forest that was within Wiltshire, which had its own warden. In the twelfth century pipe rolls, the forest is named Westbury. The first references to the forest of Selwood in Wiltshire appear in the close rolls in 1235. However, the pipe rolls of Henry III's reign continue to identify farm payments in relation to Westbury Forest. These payments of 10s annually were paid during most of the reign by James de Leigh (Lya). However, as shown in the table below, Leigh was never formally referred to in documentation as the warden of Selwood. It is possible

¹⁰²⁵ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://royalforests.org.uk/appendices/); *CFR 38/313* accessed online 13 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_051.html; *CR 1253-54*, pp.39-40; *CR 1268-72*, pp.443, 444; TNA, E 372/110, rot. 5d, m. 2 accessed online 24 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://www.uh.edu/aalt/); Cardigan, *Wardens*, pp.45-51.

therefore that he held a position as a sub-forester for the part of the forest around Westbury. A helpful list of wardens of Selwood Forest is provided in the *VCH* for Wiltshire.¹⁰²⁶

Warden of Selwood	Term of Office	Details
James Hoese	May 1235 – April 1250	The precise date for the commencement of Hoese’s custody is unclear. The first mandate to him in relation to an unnamed forest jurisdiction is from May 1235. The first mandate to him specifically concerning Selwood is dated April 1236, while the last writ concerning a role within the forest is from May 1249. Hoese was dead by April 1250. There is no evidence in the pipe rolls or fine rolls of a payment by Hoese for the custody or farm of Selwood Forest. He is likely to have been a member of the family that held land in Corsley within the bounds of Selwood Forest. ¹⁰²⁷
John Vernon	April 1250 – May 1251	Following Hoese’s death, it would appear that custody of the forest was briefly held by John Vernon who was described in the records as the ‘steward’ of the forest in Wiltshire. There was only a small number of mandates to Vernon and no evidence that he paid a fine or fee to the exchequer. ¹⁰²⁸

¹⁰²⁶ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 8* accessed online 14 December 2023 [Westbury: Manors | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#). The first payment by James de Leigh (Lya) was made in 1228 (TNA, E 372/72, rot. 2, m. 1 accessed online 14 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#)).

¹⁰²⁷ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 8* accessed online 11 January 2024 [Corsley | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CR 1234-37*, pp.88, 253; *CR 1247-51*, pp.160, 279; *CIPM Vol. I*, p.44.

¹⁰²⁸ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CR 1247-51*, pp.278, 298.

Adam de Grenville	May 1251 onwards	In May 1251, Adam de Grenville made a fine of 40m with the king for custody for life of the Wiltshire part of Selwood Forest, which was recorded as paid in the pipe rolls of 1252. Grenville was additionally to pay 20s each year at the exchequer. Grenville had custody for the rest of Henry III's reign. He frequently built up arrears on his annual fee, making partial payments in 1253, 1260, 1266 and 1268. In the final pipe roll of the reign, he owed 80s. It is likely that Grenville was a member of the family that held land in North Bradley within the bounds of Selwood Forest. ¹⁰²⁹
-------------------	------------------	--

Sherwood (Nottinghamshire) - Hereditary

There is no mention of Sherwood Forest in the Domesday Book, although the area was probably woodland before the Norman Conquest. It was initially known as the forest of Nottingham but acquired its more common title some time in the twelfth century. The earliest evidence in the extant records of a hereditary warden for the forest dates from the late twelfth century.¹⁰³⁰

¹⁰²⁹ *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 4* accessed online 12 December 2023 [Royal forests: Appendices | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *VCH Wiltshire Vol. 8* accessed online 11 January 2024 [North Bradley | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CPR 1247-58*, p.96; *CFR 35/650* accessed online 14 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_048.html#it650_011; TNA, E 372/96, rot. 4d, m. 2 accessed online 14 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/97, rot. 4d, m. 1 accessed online 14 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/104, rot. 13d, m. 2 accessed online 14 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/110, rot. 7, m. 1 accessed online 14 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/112, rot. 18d, m. 2 accessed online 14 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 18d, m. 2 accessed online 14 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

¹⁰³⁰ Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, p.180; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.10; Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp. 20, 205; G. Jones, 'A "Common of Hunting"?: Forests, Lordship and Community Before and After the Conquest', in Langton and Jones (eds.), *Forests and Chases*, pp.59, 61, 65; Boulton, *Sherwood Forest*, pp.48-50.

Warden of Sherwood	Term of Office	Details
John de Birkin	May 1224 – October 1227	In May 1224, John de Birkin was awarded custody of Sherwood Forest following the death of his mother Maud de Caux. He agreed a fine of 300m for the relief of the lands and the forest that he inherited that was to be paid in three annual instalments. The struggles of Maud de Caux to secure custody of the forest have been examined by David Crook. ¹⁰³¹
Thomas de Birkin	October 1227 – September 1230	<p>John de Birkin must have died some time before October 1227 as his son and heir Thomas was then awarded custody of Sherwood. He agreed a fine of 200m ‘for having seisin of the lands formerly of John that fall to him by hereditary right, with the bailiwick of the forest of Sherwood.’ The fine was recorded as fully paid in the pipe roll for 1230. There are no records of an annual farm payment.</p> <p>Thomas de Birkin accompanied Henry III on the military expedition to France in the spring of 1230 and may have died there. Certainly in September 1230 his widow remarried and Henry’s government briefly took possession of Birkin’s lands and the forest.¹⁰³²</p>
Isabella and Robert de Everingham	November 1230 – July 1252	In November 1230, Sherwood was awarded to Isabella, sister and heiress of Thomas de Birkin and her husband Robert de Everingham. They agreed a fine of 200m, with an arrangement to

¹⁰³¹ *CFR 8/195, 8/196* accessed online 25 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_021.html; *VCH Nottinghamshire Vol. 1*, pp.365, 368; Crook, ‘Maud de Caux’ accessed online 25 January 2024 <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-01-2006.html>.

¹⁰³² *CFR 11/393* accessed online 25 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_025.html; *PR 1230*, p.79; *CFR 14/459, 14/460, 14/463, 14/464* accessed online 25 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_029.html; *CPR 1225-32*, p.359; *CR 1227-31*, pp.376, 435. Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, pp.85-97 provides a detailed account of the king’s 1230 campaign in France.

		<p>pay in four equal instalments. Robert de Everingham accounted for this sum in the Yorkshire pipe roll, with the final payment being recorded there in 1231. There are no records of an annual farm payment.</p> <p>In 1237, Isabella and Robert de Everingham were required to demonstrate by what warrant they held the forest. This came about as a result of the reforms introduced in late 1236 and early 1237 to improve management of the royal demesne. The Everinghams were successful in retaining custody of the forest.</p> <p>It was initially Robert who undertook the duties and responsibilities attached to the role of warden of the forest. However, after his death in 1246, these transferred to Isabella. The inquest undertaken in 1251 into the administrative arrangements for Sherwood does still, however, refer to Robert as the warden.</p> <p>In May 1252, Isabella had to pay 40m to obtain a pardon for a trespass committed in Inglewood Forest. At the same time, she was pardoned for trespasses committed in Sherwood. These were probably prosecutions arising from the forest eyres in Nottinghamshire in 1250 and in Cumberland in 1251.</p> <p>Isabella had died by July 1252 when custody of the forest passed to her son and heir, Adam. The amercement of 40m arising from Cumberland eyre continued to be recorded in the Nottinghamshire pipe rolls in her name. The final Nottinghamshire pipe roll of Henry's reign in</p>
--	--	---

		1271 records the amount as outstanding. The career of Isabella de Everingham as warden of Sherwood Forest has been studied by Louise Wilkinson. ¹⁰³³
Adam de Everingham	August 1252 onwards	<p>In August 1252, Adam de Everingham rendered £50 to Henry for custody of all the lands that Isabella had held from the king. In the same month, he paid one mark of gold (10m silver) into the wardrobe ‘for having his bailiwick in Sherwood Forest as Isabella de Everingham had it’.</p> <p>There are no records of any subsequent annual farm payment. The substantially lower relief payment than those of his predecessors may reflect the substantial reduction in the area covered by Sherwood Forest following the perambulation of 1232.</p> <p>During the civil war, Everingham sided with the rebels. During this period, he continued to act in his role as warden of the forest, receiving a mandate in March 1265 concerning the woods of the archbishop of York within the bounds of the forest. As a result of his support for the rebels, Everingham lost land and probably, for a period of time, custody of Sherwood Forest. He was also required to pay a ransom. He was granted a pardon in June 1268. He certainly recovered Sherwood at some point as the final mandate to him of Henry’s reign was dated October 1271. Everingham died in 1281.¹⁰³⁴</p>

¹⁰³³ *CFR 15/37, CFR 15/38* accessed online 25 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_030.html; TNA, E 372/75, rot. 11d, m. 2 accessed online 25 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_049.html); *CFR 36/548, CFR 36/549* accessed online 25 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_049.html; *CIPM Vol. I*, p.65; TNA, E 372/115, rot. 19, m. 2 accessed online 25 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_062.html); Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.197-204; Wilkinson, ‘Women in English Local Government’, pp.220-2; Boulton, *Sherwood Forest*, pp.45-7; D. Crook, ‘The Early Keepers of Sherwood Forest’, *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* 84 (1980), pp.14-20.

¹⁰³⁴ *CFR 36/940, 36/1014* accessed online 25 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_049.html; *CFR 49/272* accessed online 25 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_062.html; *CIM Vol. I*, p. 285; *CPR 1258-66*, pp.533, 538, 580; *CPR 1266-72*, pp.240, 242, 286-7; *CR 1268-72*, p.382; *CIPM Vol. II*, pp.224-5; Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.204; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.144.

Shotover, including Stowe (Oxfordshire) - Hereditary

Shotover and Stowe were adjacent forests that are mentioned in the Domesday Book. By the thirteenth century, they were jointly administered by a hereditary warden, although they were also part of the group that was termed the Forests Between Oxford and Stamford that had its own warden. In most documents of Henry III's reign, the forest is referred to simply as Shotover.¹⁰³⁵

Warden of Shotover	Term of Office	Details
Peter Mimecan	Unclear – January 1230	Peter Mimecan was the son of Philip Mimecan who had been granted Shotover as a hereditary warden by Richard I. It is not clear when Peter Mimecan inherited the forest from his father, but he lost custody in 1230 when it was granted to Hugh de Neville for reasons that are not clear. ¹⁰³⁶
Hugh de Neville	January 1230 – No later than March 1234	In January 1230, Hugh de Neville agreed a fine of 20m with Henry III for having the land and bailiwick of Peter Mimecan in Shotover. This fine was recorded in the Essex pipe roll account in 1230 and was later combined with a debt of 100s outstanding from Neville's farm of Galtres. The combined debt was outstanding at the time of his death in 1234 and remained so two years later. ¹⁰³⁷

¹⁰³⁵ Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.257; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.5, 94; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.10; Schumer, *Oxfordshire Forests*, p.ix; *VCH Oxfordshire Vol. 2* accessed online 5 January 2024 [Forestry | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/forestry); *VCH Oxfordshire Vol. 5* accessed online 5 January 2024 [Parishes: Shotover | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/parishes/shotover); *VCH Oxfordshire Vol. 5* accessed online 5 January 2024 [Parishes: Stowood | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/parishes/stowood).

¹⁰³⁶ *VCH Oxfordshire Vol. 5* accessed online 5 January 2024 [Parishes: Shotover | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/parishes/shotover).

¹⁰³⁷ *CFR 14/142* accessed online 5 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_029.html; *CR 1227-31*, p.285; *PR 1230*, p.140; TNA, E 372/80, rot. 17, m. 2 accessed online 5 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://uh.edu/aalt).

Peter Mimecan	At least March 1234 – June 1234	It seems that Peter Mimecan temporarily regained custody of the forest as he received a royal writ in March 1234 requiring him to respect the rights of the brothers of the Hospital of St John to have access to firewood in the forest. ¹⁰³⁸
Thomas le Naper	June 1234 – December 1234	In June 1234 Thomas le Naper was awarded custody of Shotover as Peter Mimecan was in prison for causing the death of a man. However, Naper’s tenure was brief as he was replaced in December 1234 by John de Neville. ¹⁰³⁹
John de Neville	December 1234 – October 1235	John de Neville had custody of Shotover between December 1234 and October 1235, when Philip Mimecan inherited it. Peter Mimecan had died some time before April 1235 as Neville was instructed to make reasonable provision for his widow. ¹⁰⁴⁰
Philip Mimecan	October 1235 – October 1250	In October 1235, Philip Mimecan inherited custody of Shotover. Mimecan was the son of Peter Mimecan and the grandson of the first Philip who had been awarded custody of the forest by Richard I. He agreed a fine of 100s for custody of the forest and the lands held of the king in chief. In July 1237, he agreed a further fine to pay the sum in four instalments. The final payment was recorded on the pipe rolls for 1239. Philip Mimecan held the forest until his death in October 1250 when his son and heir, also called Philip, was a five-year old minor. In 1242, he successfully defended himself against a charge of

¹⁰³⁸ CR 1231-34, p.394.

¹⁰³⁹ CR 1231-34, p.457; CR 1234-37, p.32.

¹⁰⁴⁰ CR 1234-37, pp.32, 72; CFR 19/467, 19/468, 19/469, accessed online 5 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_034.html.

		causing waste to the value of 50m in the forest, blaming instead the preceding wardenship of John de Neville. As a result of the Oxfordshire forest eyre of 1245, he was responsible for amercements totalling £7 13s 8d. He paid some of this sum in 1247 but a balance of 113s 8d was outstanding at the time of his death. This outstanding debt continued to be reported on the pipe rolls until a further part payment was made by his son Philip Mimecan (junior) in 1272. ¹⁰⁴¹
Crown custody	October 1250- October 1264	As Philip Mimecan (junior) was a minor when his father died in 1250, the bailiwick and serjeanty were held by the crown until he came of age. William Goyle held the bailiwick for a period of time as a result of a grant by Henry III. ¹⁰⁴²
Philip Mimecan (junior)	October 1264 onwards	Philip Mimecan (junior) came of age in 1264 and then held the estate including the forest until 1309. In 1265, he received mandates to provide two gifts from the forest. In 1272, he presented cases of poaching in Shotover to the Oxfordshire forest eyre. There is no record of a fine agreed with the king when Mimecan took custody of the forest in 1264 and there are no entries in the pipe rolls for that or subsequent years of any payment or

¹⁰⁴¹ *CFR 19/467, 19/468, 19/469*, accessed online 5 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_034.html; *CFR 21/187* accessed online 5 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_004E.html; *VCH Oxfordshire Vol. 5* accessed online 5 January 2024 [Parishes: Shotover | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/parishes-shotover); *CRR Vol. XVII*, pp.9-10, 78; *CRR Vol. XVIII*, p.370; *CIPM Vol. I*, p.48; *CR 1237-42*, pp.447, 463; TNA, E 372/83, rot. 3, m. 2 accessed online 5 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://aalt.uh.edu); TNA, E 372/89, rot. 7d, m. 2 accessed online 6 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://aalt.uh.edu); TNA, E 372/91, rot. 1d, m. 2 accessed online 6 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://aalt.uh.edu); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 15, m. 2 accessed online 6 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://aalt.uh.edu).

¹⁰⁴² *VCH Oxfordshire Vol. 5* accessed online 5 January 2024 [Parishes: Shotover | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://british-history.ac.uk/parishes-shotover); *Rotuli Hundredorum Temp. Hen. III et Edw. I In Turr. London Vol. 1* (1812), pp.39-40; *CPR 1247-58*, p.79; Schumer, *Oxfordshire Forests*, pp.85, 86 n.33.

		outstanding sum relating to the event. He did, however, make a payment of £4 5s 4d in 1272 that partly cleared the debt inherited from his father relating to the forest eyre of 1245. ¹⁰⁴³
--	--	--

Shropshire (including Long, Morfe, Shirlet and Wrekin) - Hereditary

Under early Norman rule, more than half of Shropshire was subject to forest law. At the time of Henry III's reign, the main forest areas were Long, Morfe, Shirlet and Wrekin. Many of these of had their own foresters-in-fee and indeed sub-foresters between them. For example, the tenants of Upper Millichope also held in fee the office of forester of Long Forest. However, the four areas were combined for administrative purposes under one warden with overall responsibility for the forests in the county.¹⁰⁴⁴

Warden of Shropshire	Term of Office	Details
Hugh Fitzrobert	At least 1223- February 1249	According to the inquisition conducted following his death early in 1249, Hugh Fitzrobert held land in Shropshire and Herefordshire of the king in chief 'by service of keeping the king's forests in Shropshire: he was chief forester, as were his ancestors'. His tenure dates from at least 1223 when he received a mandate to give wood to a hospital in Bridgnorth.

¹⁰⁴³ *VCH Oxfordshire Vol. 5* accessed online 5 January 2024 [Parishes: Shotover | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); *CIPM Vol. 1*, p.178; *CR 1264-68*, pp.61, 69; *CLR 1260-67*, p.165; Schumer, *Oxfordshire Forests*, pp.86, 137 n.30. There is no record of a payment or outstanding sum relating to Mimecan gaining custody of the forest in 1264 ([AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#) accessed online 6 January 2024). Tracing payments and outstanding debts in subsequent years is complicated by the absence of accounts for Oxfordshire for both 1265 and 1266 ([Pipe Roll Table of Contents \(uh.edu\)](#) and [Pipe Roll Table of Contents \(uh.edu\)](#) accessed online 6 January 2024); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 15, m. 2 accessed online 6 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

¹⁰⁴⁴ *VCH Shropshire Vol. 1*, pp.485-9; *VCH Shropshire Vol. 10* accessed online 23 January 2024 [Eaton-under-Heywood | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#).

		<p>The first record of Fitzrobert as warden of the forests in Shropshire during Henry III's personal rule is a mandate issued to him in May 1231. The last mandate to him to provide a gift from the royal forest in the county was dated July 1247. Fitzrobert was dead by February 1249 when arrangements were made for the maintenance of his widow.</p> <p>There are no records in the pipe rolls of any annual fee payments by Fitzrobert nor any records to suggest that any were expected.¹⁰⁴⁵</p>
Geoffrey Fitzwarin	February 1246 – November 1250	<p>Geoffrey Fitzwarin first appears in the records in relation to the forests in Shropshire in 1246. In February that year, he was appointed at the king's pleasure to the custody of the forests in Staffordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire. In April 1246, he was awarded 10m 'to maintain himself in the king's service', seemingly in relation to his wardenship of the forests in Staffordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire.</p> <p>It is difficult to reconcile these descriptions of Fitzwarin's role regarding the forests in Shropshire with Hugh Fitzrobert's ongoing custody, particularly as the latter continued to receive mandates until at least July 1247 (see above). For his part, Fitzwarin received two mandates in relation to the forests in Shropshire in August 1246 and September 1248, when Fitzrobert was still alive.</p>

¹⁰⁴⁵ CR 1227-31, p.508; CR 1247-51, pp.137, 138, 309; CIPM Vol. I, p.40; VCH Shropshire Vol. 2, pp.485, 487.

		<p>However, there does appear to have been a period when Fitzwarin had sole custody of the forests in Shropshire. Between July 1249 and November 1250, he received seven mandates in his capacity as warden of the Shropshire Forests.</p> <p>His custody of the Shropshire Forests may have ended some time either later in 1250 or during 1251. In November 1251, he was granted a respite concerning the submission of his accounts for his custody of the forests.¹⁰⁴⁶</p>
John Fitzhugh	March 1249 ongoing	<p>In March 1249, Hugh Fitzrobert's son and heir, John, gave homage for all lands and tenements that his father held from the king in chief and that fell to him by inheritance, including the forest of Shropshire. He agreed a fine of 15m for his relief. Following the Shropshire forest eyre of 1249, Fitzhugh was amerced 100m 'for trespass of the king's forest of Shropshire from the time of Hugh, his father.' In January 1250, he agreed to pay the amercement at the rate of 100s per annum. The last record of any payment by Fitzhugh concerning these debts is in the pipe rolls for 1256. After that, there were no further payments and a total of £41 1m is recorded as outstanding in the final Shropshire pipe roll of Henry's reign in 1269.</p> <p>There were no mandates to Fitzhugh in relation to the Shropshire Forests until November 1251, which is consistent with the suggestion that Geoffrey Fitzwarin had custody for a period of time after the death of Hugh Fitzrobert. It is possible that Fitzhugh's inheritance was initially limited to a bailiwick within the forest and that he subsequently assumed greater responsibility from</p>

¹⁰⁴⁶ CPR 1232-47, p.474; CLR 1245-51, p.41; CR 1242-47, p.457; CR 1247-51, pp.85, 184, 235, 256, 303, 309, 325, 375; CR 1251-53, p.12.

		Fitzwarin. Between June 1255 and December 1271, Fitzhugh received four gift mandates relating to the Shropshire Forests. He still had custody of them during Edward I's reign. ¹⁰⁴⁷
--	--	--

Somerset - Hereditary

During Henry III's reign, the county of Somerset consisted of five separate forest areas – Exmoor (also partially in Devon), Mendip, Neroche, North Petherton and part of Selwood – as well as Newton Park. While each had their own management arrangements at the local level, they were combined under one overall warden for the county as a whole. In addition, following an inquisition in 1253, it was confirmed that Somerton warren belonged to the bailiwick of Somerset Forest rather than to the manor of Somerton and that it was held at fee. The table below describes the custody arrangements for the county as a whole. There is a list of wardens of Exmoor Forest in Edward MacDermot's study of that particular forest.¹⁰⁴⁸

Warden of Somerset	Term of Office	Details
Richard de Wrotham	May 1225 – November 1250	The Wrotham family acquired the hereditary wardenship of Somerset Forest under Richard I. In May 1225 Richard de Wrotham was granted custody of all the Somerset Forests and Newton Park which fell to him by inheritance. He agreed a 50m fine for the custody, of which he was 'to render 20m to the king at the exchequer of Michaelmas in the ninth year, 10m at the

¹⁰⁴⁷ *CFR 33/138, 33/139, 33/140* accessed online 22 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_046.html#it138_009; *CFR 34/146* accessed online 23 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_047.html#it146_014; *CChR 1226-57*, p.369; *CR 1254-56*, p.92; *CR 1264-68*, pp.313, 330, 331; *CIPM Vol. II* accessed online 23 January 2024 [Inquisitions Post Mortem, Edward I, File 40 | British History Online](#); TNA, E 372/94, rot. 14d, m. 1 accessed online 23 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/95, rot. 5, m. 2 accessed online 23 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/97, rot. 12, m. 2 accessed online 23 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/100, rot. 17, m. 1 accessed online 23 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/113, rot. 19, m. 1 accessed online 23 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.194-6.

¹⁰⁴⁸ *VCH Somerset Vol. 2*, p.548; Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.333-9; Bazeley, 'Extent', p.162; MacDermot, *Exmoor*, p.441; *CIM Vol. I*, p.58.

		<p>exchequer of Easter in the tenth year, 10m at the exchequer of Michaelmas in the same year and 10m at Easter in the eleventh year.’ In reality, the fine was paid in smaller amounts and over a longer time period, with the final payment being recorded in the 1231 pipe rolls. There is no evidence in the pipe rolls of the payment of an annual farm nor any reference in other documentation to suggest that one was expected.</p> <p>In September 1242, the prior of Witham Charterhouse complained to the king about the behaviour of Richard de Wrotham. Wrotham was amerced 7s 6d in relation to a purpresture at the Somerset eyre of 1240. He served as a justice on a number of forest eyres in 1246 and was paid a fee from the proceeds for his service.</p> <p>Wrotham died in November 1250 and, while all his lands and tenements were granted to his heirs, the bailiwick of the forest was temporarily retained in royal hands.¹⁰⁴⁹</p>
Adam de Grindeham	November 1250 – May 1251	Following Wrotham’s death, the bailiwick was taken into royal hands for a short period of time and granted to Adam de Grindeham. ¹⁰⁵⁰

¹⁰⁴⁹ *VCH Somerset Vol. 2*, pp.548, 550; *CPR 1216-25*, p.531; *CPR 1232-47*, p.326; *CFR 9/208* accessed online 15 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_022.html; *CFR 9/276* accessed online 15 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_023.html; *CFR 35/46*, *CFR 35/118*, *CFR 35/281* accessed online 15 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_048.html; *CLR 1245-51*, pp.27, 65, 87, 310; *PR 1226*, p.259; TNA, E 372/72, rot. 10, m.2 accessed online 15 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://aalt.uh.edu); *PR 1230*, p.41; TNA, E 372/75, rot. 12, m. 1 accessed online 15 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://aalt.uh.edu); TNA, E 372/84, rot. 5d, m.2 accessed online 12 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](https://aalt.uh.edu); MacDermot, *Exmoor*, pp.121, 123-4, 441; Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, pp.174, 183, 185-7.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *CPR 1247-58*, p.81; MacDermot, *Exmoor*, pp.123-4, 441.

William de Plessy	May 1251 ongoing	<p>In May 1251, one of Richard de Wrotham's heirs, William de Plessy, agreed to pay the crown £20 for the bailiwick of the Somerset Forest and the keeping of Newton Park. Plessy was also required to 'render 14 bullocks and one steer per annum for the aforesaid bailiwick of Exmoor, or 10d for each of them, and he will answer the king for the profit of the herbage of the aforesaid forest of Exmoor.'</p> <p>There was, however, a dispute between Richard de Wrotham's heirs concerning the bailiwick of the forest of Somerset and Devon, resulting in May 1252 in royal consent to a delay in the payment of the relief of £20. The dispute appears to have been resolved by March 1254 when William de Plessy was mandated to assist royal officials in the sale of wood in the forest of Somerset.</p> <p>Plessy was also at some point disseised of Somerton warren by Adam Wimer, the bailiff of Somerton manor. His custody of the warren was confirmed following an inquisition held in 1253.</p> <p>While the requirement for Plessy to pay the £20 relief appears in the 1252 pipe rolls, there is no reference to it after that. He paid the annual fee for Exmoor at irregular intervals, but there was no debt outstanding in the final pipe roll of Henry III's reign. Plessy continued to make these payments in the final years of Henry's reign despite granting Exmoor Forest to Richard de la</p>
-------------------	------------------	--

		<p>More in 1270. There are no records of any other annual farm payments made by Plessy in relation to the Somerset Forests. Plessy died in 1274.¹⁰⁵¹</p> <p>In November 1266, Robert Walerand was granted Neroche for life ‘so that he may take the venison and issues thereof without impediment.’ The reasons for this transfer of custody from Plessy to Walerand are not clear. Walerand still held Neroche a year later when an inquiry was ordered into the presence of malefactors in the forest. There are no further references to Neroche in the records for Henry’s reign that identify the keeper. It is likely that Walerand therefore continued to have custody until his death in 1273.¹⁰⁵²</p>
--	--	--

Windsor (Berkshire, Surrey and Hampshire) - Castle

Windsor Forest was expressly mentioned in the Domesday Book. At the time of Henry III’s reign, it covered a large section of the east of Berkshire as well as parts of Surrey and Hampshire. It became common for the constable of Windsor castle also to hold the office of warden of the forest but, as illustrated

¹⁰⁵¹ *VCH Somerset Vol. 2, p.549; CPR 1247-58, pp.96, 434; CR 1251-53, p.211; CFR 35/281, 35/601, 35/602* accessed online 15 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_048.html; *CFR 36/560* accessed online 15 December 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_049.html; *CIM Vol. I, p.58; TNA, E 372/96, rot. 9d, m. 2* accessed online 15 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 6, m. 1 accessed online 15 December 2023 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *CPR 1266-72, p.470; CIPM Vol. II* accessed online 15 December 2023 [Inquisitions Post Mortem, Edward I, File 7 | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); MacDermot, *Exmoor*, pp.89, 90, 124-5, 128-9, 135, 441.

¹⁰⁵² *CPR 1266-72, pp.5, 162; A. Harding, ‘Walerand, Robert (d. 1273), administrator’, ODNB (2004)* accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28455>.

below, this was not always the case. Included within the forest was a royal park that was enlarged and consolidated by Henry III during the 1240s. Shelagh Bond has produced a helpful list of constables of the castle. The list below focuses on those constables who also held the forest for a length of time.¹⁰⁵³

Warden of Windsor	Term of Office	Details
William de Coyneres	At least July 1224 – April 1230	William de Coyneres certainly had custody of the forest in July 1224 when the local verderers and other officers were ordered to assist him. He was later also awarded custody of Guildford castle, royal houses and park. The last mandate to him in his role as bailiff or warden of Windsor Forest was dated April 1230. Coyneres was not constable of the castle. ¹⁰⁵⁴
Constable of Windsor	April 1230 – May 1234	<p>From April 1230 until May 1234, it appears that responsibility for the forest was in the hands of the constables of Windsor castle. Constables such as William de Millers and Walerand Teutonicus received writs to provide gifts from Windsor Forest. Hubert de Burgh also briefly had custody of the castle and forest in July 1232.</p> <p>Occasionally, mandates to provide gifts were also directed towards chief justices such as Peter de Rivallis rather than local foresters. Mandates to provide gifts were also occasionally sent to the warden or bailiff of Windsor Forest, but these men are not mentioned by name.¹⁰⁵⁵</p>

¹⁰⁵³ *VCH Berkshire Vol. 2*, pp.341-4; Cox, *Royal Forests*, pp.267, 287; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.10; Grant, *Royal Forests*, pp.6, 12, 32, 94, 100; Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, p.125; S. Brindle (ed.), *Windsor Castle: A Thousand Years of a Royal Palace* (London, 2018), pp.77-9; A. Richardson, "The King's Chief Delights": A Landscape Approach to the Royal Parks of Post-Conquest England', in Liddiard (ed.), *Medieval Park*, pp.35-6; Miles, *Parks*, pp.22, 113; Langton 'Medieval Forests and Chases', pp.17, 28 n.215; Bond, 'Constables', pp.225-249 and especially pp.245-6.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *CPR 1216-25*, p.452; *CPR 1225-32*, pp.66, 89; *CR 1227-31*, p.341; Bond, 'Constables', p.245.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *CR 1227-31*, pp.321, 339, 342, 343, 468, 484, 524; *CR 1231-34*, pp.47, 51, 90, 93, 96, 101, 162, 178, 208, 217, 232, 238, 244, 277, 389, 392; *CChR 1226-57*, pp.163-4; Bond, 'Constables', p.245.

Engelard de Cigogne	May 1234 – April 1236	<p>In May 1234, Engelard de Cigogne was appointed at the king’s pleasure ‘to the custody of the castles of Windsor and Odiham, and of the manors of Windsor, Cookham, Bray, and Odiham, and of the forest of Windsor and Odiham; so that he answer at the exchequer for the farms of the said manors and forest, and for the custody of the said castle, he shall have the castle-guard rents of the knights, tenants of the castellany of the castle.’ He had previously had custody of the castle and forest under John and during Henry III’s minority. Cigogne was also simultaneously the sheriff of Berkshire.</p> <p>Cigogne submitted accounts for all aspects of his administration of Windsor to the exchequer for 1234 and 1235, with no debts outstanding. In April 1236 he was dismissed as sheriff of Berkshire and deprived of Odiham and Windsor Forest but continued as constable of the castle.¹⁰⁵⁶</p>
Reginald de Blancmuster	April 1236 – at least April 1237	<p>In April 1236, the king committed Windsor Forest and Odiham Forest to Reginald de Blancmuster. He held it until at least April 1237 when the last recorded mandate to him in the role was issued. In May 1237, he was appointed sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire. In December 1239, he was ordered to meet his obligations to provide tithes from the forest</p>

¹⁰⁵⁶ *CPR 1232-47*, p.81; *CFR 19/25* accessed online 8 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_034.html; *RLC II*, p.198; *CR 1234-37*, p.314; TNA, E 372/78, rot. 16, m. 2 accessed online 8 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/79, rot. 11, m. 1 accessed online 8 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); N. Vincent, ‘Cigogné, Engelard de (d. 1244), sheriff and administrator’, *ODNB* (2024) accessed online 10 December 2025 <https://doi.org/10.1093/odnb/9780198614128.013.39498>; Bond, ‘Constables’, p.245; *List of Sheriffs*, p.6; M. Ray, ‘Alien Courtiers of Thirteenth-Century England and their Assimilation’ (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 2003), pp.86-94.

		<p>relating to the period when he had custody of it. In January 1237, Blancmuster was authorised to draw upon the issues of the forest for a payment of 10m relating to its custody.</p> <p>Although he surrendered custody of the forest in April 1237, there is no record of sums due from Blancmuster in the pipe rolls until 1243 when a debt of just over 47s relating to proceeds is recorded. This was finally paid in 1259. Separately, Blancmuster also accounted for the farm of the forest in the pipe rolls of 1252, when he made a payment of just over £10. The debt was later transferred to the Oxfordshire section of the pipe rolls where a small amount was still outstanding in 1268.¹⁰⁵⁷</p>
Engelard de Cigogne	May 1237 – January 1242	<p>In May 1237 Cigogne was restored to custody of Windsor Forest and began once again to receive mandates relating to it. As noted above, his appointment may also have been due to the grant of the sheriffdom of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire to Reginald de Blancmuster. Cigogne had custody of the forest until early 1242. During this period, there are no records of mandates to a separate forester for Windsor.</p> <p>Cigogne submitted an account for his custody of the forest for the four years from 1237 as part of the pipe rolls for 1240. The outstanding balance was transferred to the Oxfordshire section</p>

¹⁰⁵⁷ *CFR 20/227* accessed online 8 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_035.html; *CPR 1232-47*, pp.142, 181; *CR 1227-31*, p.142; *CR 1231-34*, p.7; *CR 1234-37*, p.429; *CR 1237-42*, p.160; *CLR 1226-40*, p.252; TNA, E 372/87, rot. 1, m. 2 accessed online 8 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/96, rot. 5, m. 1 accessed online 8 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *PR 1259*, p.103; TNA, E 372/112, rot. 13, m. 2 accessed online 8 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *List of Sheriffs*, p.1.

		<p>of the pipe rolls, where, in 1244, it was combined with other debts and cleared through a combination of payments and allowances.</p> <p>There is no account for Cigogne’s custody of the forest in 1241. However, at the Berkshire forest eyre of 1242, he was amerced to the amount of £13 7s 1d for unspecified debts. The amount is strikingly similar to the £13 that he was due to account each year for the farm of the forest. This debt was one of a series that was cleared through payments and allowances in the Oxfordshire pipe roll of 1244.¹⁰⁵⁸</p>
Bernard of Savoy	January 1242 – June 1246	<p>In January 1242, Cigogne was replaced by Bernard of Savoy, who was appointed during pleasure to the custody of the castle with the forest. He was to receive ‘the yearly castle-guards of knights which are held of the castellany, with the king's new purpresture brought into cultivation and 10l. a year by the hands of the bailiffs of Windlesor, and one tun of wine a year, of the king's gift, so long as he keep the said castle.’</p> <p>Bernard of Savoy was possibly an illegitimate son of Count Thomas of Savoy. He probably came to England in 1240. He was one of a group of Savoyards who were linked to the royal household and especially the upbringing of Henry’s heir, the Lord Edward. In 1244 lands set aside for the Lord Edward’s support were placed in his custody.</p>

¹⁰⁵⁸ CR 1234-37, pp.432, 446, 447; TNA, E 372/84, rot. 2d, m.2 accessed online 9 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); PR 1242, p.68; TNA, E 372/88, rot. 6, m. 1 accessed online 9 February 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); Winters, ‘Forest Eyre’, p.179.

		In June 1246, Bernard of Savoy was replaced by Godfrey de Liston in relation to custody of the forest. Savoy did not provide an account at the exchequer for his period of custody of the forest. ¹⁰⁵⁹
Godfrey de Liston	June 1246 – November 1257	<p>In June 1246, Bernard of Savoy was replaced by Godfrey de Liston, a king's sergeant, who was appointed at the king's pleasure to custody of the forest. Liston held the position until November 1257. At no point was he constable of the castle. In September 1251, he was reappointed to his position in the forest and granted the custody of other royal estates, including the manors of Cookham, Bray and Kempton.</p> <p>Liston received £20 per annum from the wardrobe for keeping the forest and paid an annual rent of over £220 for all the estates of which he had custody. Liston submitted an account for his custody in 1253. At the 1258 Berkshire forest eyre, he was amerced to the sum of £267 8s 1d relating to a range of revenue raised from the forest. He made an initial payment that year. The amount of his debt was adjusted in the following year before the debt was combined with others and subsequently accounted for in Essex.¹⁰⁶⁰</p>
Henry de Farley	November 1257 – September 1259	In November 1257, Henry de Farley replaced Liston as warden of Windsor Forest, with the same scope of responsibility for Cookham, Bray and Kempton, and on the same terms. He had

¹⁰⁵⁹ *CPR 1232-47*, pp.269, 482; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp.32, 50; Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-58*, p.217; Bond, 'Constables', p.245.

¹⁰⁶⁰ *CPR 1232-47*, p.482; *CPR 1247-58*, p.109; *CFR 35/1107* accessed online 9 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_048.html; Bond, 'Constables', pp.245-6; TNA, E 372/97, rot. 2d, m. 2 accessed online 12 March 2025 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/102, rot. 20d, m. 2 accessed online 12 March 2025 [AALT Page](#).

		custody of the forest until his death in September 1259. At no time was he constable of the castle. There is no reference to any payments or debts concerning his custody of the forest in the pipe rolls prepared after his death in 1259. ¹⁰⁶¹
Richard de Freemantle	October 1259 – July 1261	In October 1259, Richard of Freemantle was appointed at the king's pleasure, 'to keep the manors of Cookham and Bray, with the seven hundreds, and the forest of Windsor and the manor of Kempton, in the same manner and under the same conditions as Henry de Farley, deceased, had this wardenship, rendering yearly at the exchequer as much as he did.' At no time was Freemantle the constable of the castle. He was replaced in July 1261 by Aymo Thurberd. ¹⁰⁶²
Aymo Thurberd	July 1261 – November 1263	In July 1261, Aymo Thurbert replaced Freemantle. While there is no specific reference in the writ to custody of the forest, the implication is that it was included alongside the castle and manors of Cookham, Bray and Kempton. Thurberd was also constable of the castle until August 1263, when he was replaced by Giles de Argentin. It is not clear if Argentin's brief period of custody until November 1263 also included the forest. ¹⁰⁶³
Drew de Barentin	November 1263 – July 1264	In November 1263, Henry III committed to Drew de Barentin 'the castle, town and forest of Windsor, and the manors of Cookham and Bray and Kempton to keep; he grants that he shall

¹⁰⁶¹ *CFR 42/59* accessed online 30 November 2023 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_055.html; *CR 1256-59*, p.440; *PR 1259*, pp.82, 104, 108; Bond, 'Constables', p.246.

¹⁰⁶² *CFR 43/849* accessed online 9 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_056.html; *CPR 1258-66*, p.45; Bond, 'Constables', p.246.

¹⁰⁶³ *CPR 1258-66*, p.168; *CFR 47/705* accessed online 9 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_060.html#it705_003; Bond, 'Constables', p.246.

		have the keeping of these during pleasure, on condition that he render at the exchequer as much as Aymo Thrumbert, who had the keeping, rendered.’ Barentin only held the position until July 1264 when he was replaced. Barentin was also constable of the castle during this period. ¹⁰⁶⁴
John Fitzjohn	July 1264 – 1265	In July 1264, John Fitzjohn replaced Barentin, with the same scope of responsibility. He had custody of the castle, manors and forest until some time in 1265. As a close associate and supporter of Simon de Montfort, it is likely he was removed from his position after the battle of Evesham in August 1265. ¹⁰⁶⁵
Ebulo de Montibus	February 1266 – April 1268	For a period after the battle of Evesham, it is not clear who had custody of Windsor Forest. However, in February 1266, Ebulo de Montibus was awarded custody of the castle, town and forest, and the manors of Cookham and Bray at the king’s pleasure. Montibus died early in 1268. ¹⁰⁶⁶
Hugh de Dyve	April 1268 – January 1269	In April 1268, Hugh de Dyve was appointed at the king’s pleasure to replace Montibus with custody of ‘the castle, town and forest of Windsor and the manors of Cookham, Bray and Kempton, with the seven and a half hundreds there, so that he answer for the issues at the exchequer.’

¹⁰⁶⁴ CPR 1258-66, p.300; CFR 48/231 accessed online 9 February 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_061.html#it231_001; Bond, ‘Constables’, p.246.

¹⁰⁶⁵ CPR 1258-66, p.329; Bond, ‘Constables’, p.246; D. Carpenter, ‘John, Sir, fitz John (c. 1240–1275), baronial leader’, ODNB (2004) accessed online 9 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/38272>.

¹⁰⁶⁶ CPR 1258-66, p.543; Bond, ‘Constables’, p.246.

		In May 1268 the king granted that Dyve 'may have the said keeping with the purprestures already made and with the pannage, fallen wood, croppings and loppings and with the fees and heaths belonging to the said castle and forest; saving to the king purprestures hereafter made, alienations revoked, escheats, wards and marriages of the fees of knights and free men who hold of the said castle; he rendering at the exchequer 77l. 5s. a year, so long as he have the said keeping.' He was also to receive £30 annually from the farm so long as he had custody. ¹⁰⁶⁷
Nicholas de Yattenden	January 1269 – October 1272	In January 1269, Dyve was replaced by Nicholas de Yattenden. He was given custody during pleasure of the three manors and Windsor Forest on the same terms as Godfrey de Liston and was to render £223 14s annually at the exchequer. He was also appointed constable of the castle, rendering £77 5s annually and receiving a grant of £30 from the castle rents as Hugh de Dyve had done. He accounted at the exchequer in 1270 and 1272. In June 1272, Yattenden was pardoned for taking two deer in Shotover Forest without licence. He died in office later in 1272. ¹⁰⁶⁸
Eleanor of Provence	October 1272 onwards	In October 1272, Henry III granted custody of the castle and forest to his wife, along with the town of Old Windsor and the manors of Bray and Kempton. She was to answer at the

¹⁰⁶⁷ CPR 1266-72, pp.215, 229; Bond, 'Constables', p.246.

¹⁰⁶⁸ CPR 1266-72, pp.315-6; CR 1268-72, p.486; CFR 53/115 accessed online 12 March 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III](#); Bond, 'Constables', p.246; TNA, E 372/114, rot. 12d, m. 1 accessed online [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 14, m. 1 accessed online 12 March 2025 [AALT Page](#).

		exchequer in the same manner as Nicholas de Yattenden. This appointment took place shortly before Henry III's death and was one of a number of measures Eleanor took to secure her position at the time. ¹⁰⁶⁹
--	--	--

Wychwood (Oxfordshire) - Hereditary

Wychwood Forest is referred to in the Domesday Book when it was farmed out by the crown. At some point during the twelfth century, the Langley family acquired the hereditary wardenship of the forest.¹⁰⁷⁰

Warden of Wychwood	Term of Office	Details
Thomas de Langley	Pre-1227 - No later than October 1240	Thomas de Langley was the warden of Wychwood at the time Henry III achieved his majority. In February 1230, following the Oxfordshire eyre of the previous year, he agreed a fine with the king to the value of £100 relating to a trespass he had committed in the forest. This seems to have been linked to a possibly illegal assart within the forest of four acres of land. Langley temporarily lost custody of the forest for this trespass. By entering into the fine, he both recovered the forest and was granted the four acres of land. Later in 1230, he was awarded an acre of land within Wychwood by Henry III as a site for a chapel.

¹⁰⁶⁹ CPR 1266-72, p.684; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p.252. Bond, 'Constables', p.246, mistakenly attributes the award of custody to the Lord Edward's wife, Eleanor of Castile.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, p.117; Young, *Royal Forests*, p.10; Grant, *Royal Forests*, p.11; Cox, *Royal Forests*, p.31; Schumer, *Oxfordshire Forests*, p.xii n.13; VCH *Oxfordshire Vol. 2* accessed online 8 January 2024 [Forestry | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/forestry).

		<p>According to the fine, Langley was required to pay the £100 over four years in equivalent amounts of £25 per annum. In each of the three years 1230, 1231 and 1232 he accordingly paid £25 per annum, but thereafter payments became smaller and less frequent until the balance was cleared in the pipe rolls of 1236. At the 1236 Oxfordshire forest eyre, Langley was amerced 40s for a trespass, possibly associated with his non-appearance at the session. This sum was paid by the time of the preparation of the pipe rolls in the following year.</p> <p>Langley was also required to account for £7 annually, including a 14s tithe to the canons of Lincoln, for the farm of the forest. He did this every year until and including 1240. The last mandate to Langley was dated November 1239. He had certainly died before October 1240 when his lands and forest bailiwick were inherited by his son and heir William.¹⁰⁷¹</p>
William de Langley	October 1240 – August 1260	In October 1240, William de Langley inherited his father's lands and forest bailiwick for a fine of £20. In the following month, Henry III agreed that the fine should be paid in two equal instalments which were subsequently recorded on the pipe rolls for 1241 and 1242.

¹⁰⁷¹ CPR 1225-32, p.325; CFR 14/198, 14/199 accessed online 8 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_029.html; CChR 1226-57, p.128; PR 1230, p.258; TNA, E 372/75, rot. 2, m. 2 accessed online 8 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/76, rot. 9, m. 2 accessed online 8 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/77, rot. 9, m.2 accessed online 8 January 2024; TNA, E 372/79, rot. 16, m. 1 accessed online 8 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/80, rot. 14d, m.1 accessed online 8 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/81, rot. 10, m. 2 accessed online 8 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/84, rot. 4d, m. 1 accessed online 8 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); CR 1227-31, pp.326, 473; CR 1237-42, p.152; CFR 24/277 accessed online 8 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_007E.html; Cox, *Royals Forests*, pp.31, 258, 259; VCH *Oxfordshire Vol. 2* accessed online 8 January 2024 [Forestry | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](#); Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.164-5, 172-3. As per Schumer, *Oxfordshire Forests*, p.xix n.46, Cornbury forest should be seen as synonymous with Wychwood forest.

		<p>It would appear that Langley was found guilty of trespasses at the Oxfordshire eyre of 1245 and temporarily lost custody of the forest. Walter Trenchefoill was briefly appointed warden of the forest before Langley regained custody in the early part of 1246, albeit he was only now appointed during the king's pleasure. There is no record of any payment to accompany this reappointment, but it is possible that this was part of the total of over £820 ameracements arising from the eyre.</p> <p>At some time around 1251, he was also charged with poor management of the forest and obliged to pay 30m. He paid a further 10m into the wardrobe in September 1252 following a challenge to his management of the forest by Geoffrey de Langley. Following the 1256 Oxfordshire forest eyre, he was obliged to pay £18 in relation to the sale of wood. Almost half of this sum was outstanding at the time of his death in 1260 and was eventually paid by his son.</p> <p>William de Langley inherited his father's obligation to pay £7 annually for the farm of Wychwood. He did this with less regularity than his father so that, by 1259, he had accumulated debts of £21 12. Langley died at some point before August 1260.¹⁰⁷²</p>
--	--	--

¹⁰⁷² CFR 24/277 accessed online 8 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_007E.html; CFR 25/20 accessed online 8 January 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_037.html; TNA, E 372/85, rot. 7d, m. 2 accessed online 8 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); PR 1242, p.57; TNA, E 372/95, rot. 17, m. 2 accessed online 8 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/96, rot. 7, m. 1 and m. 2 accessed online 8 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/100, rot. 8d, m. 1 accessed online 10 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); PR 1259, p.87; TNA, E 372/104, rot. 14, m. 2 accessed online 10 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); CPR 1232-47, p.472; CLR 1245-51, p.61; CR 1251-53, p.155; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.183-4, 220-2.

Thomas Gresley	August 1260 – No later than February 1262	When Langley died in 1260, his son and heir was a minor. The chief justice Thomas Gresley was granted custody of Wychwood Forest. Gresley was obliged to pay the customary annual farm of £7, including the tithe to the Lincoln canons. There is a large payment recorded in the accounts for 1261. It is not clear when Gresley's period of custody ended. Because of his close association with the reform movement, he was removed from many of his forest appointments by Henry III's government in June 1261, possibly including Wychwood. He was dead by early 1262. ¹⁰⁷³
Thomas de Langley	No earlier than February 1262 onwards	<p>It is not clear when Thomas de Langley inherited the custody of Wychwood. There are no records of any farm payments after 1261 until 1267 when the pipe rolls record that he assumed responsibility both for the accumulated debts and for future payments. The entries in the pipe rolls for the remaining years of the reign generally do not reconcile from one account to the next, but the final pipe roll of the reign records an outstanding balance in relation to the fee payments of £12 12s. Thomas de Langley also assumed responsibility for the outstanding balance of his father's debt arising from the 1256 eyre.</p> <p>Langley certainly had custody of the forest in October 1264 when he received a royal writ. He was also forester in June 1270 when the £7 he rendered each year to the exchequer was allocated to the Queen. In addition, at the Oxfordshire forest eyre of 1272, he both presented</p>

¹⁰⁷³ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.92, 158, 201; *CLR 1251-60*, pp.535-6; *CFR 44/576* accessed online 8 January 2024; TNA, E 372/105, rot. 12, m. 1 accessed online 8 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#).

		poaching cases for prosecution and was simultaneously criticised for poor management of the forest. ¹⁰⁷⁴
--	--	---

¹⁰⁷⁴ TNA, E 372/111, rot. 25, m. 1 accessed online 8 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/112, rot. 13d, m. 1 accessed online 10 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/116, rot. 15, m. 1 accessed online 8 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *CR 1264-68*, pp.1-2; *CPR 1266-72*, pp.433-4; Schumer, *Oxfordshire Forests*, pp.65, 83-4.

Appendix E

The Forest Debts of William de Beauchamp of Elmley

Pipe Roll Year	Debt Details
1246	The <i>Nova Oblata</i> section of the Worcestershire pipe roll records a debt of William de Beauchamp of Elmley of 100m relating to a hunting offence. No payment is made. It is not clear which eyre this amercement relates to, although the last eyre in the county was conducted in 1240. ¹⁰⁷⁵
1248	Beauchamp is pardoned 20m of the original debt by Henry III, with the balance of 80m (£53.33) outstanding. ¹⁰⁷⁶
1249	The 80m (£53.33) outstanding sum is combined with other non-forest related debts. Total debts outstanding are now calculated at £274 9s 11d. Beauchamp is henceforth due to pay 20m per annum. ¹⁰⁷⁷ The forest element of the debt is calculated at approximately 19%. No payments are recorded until 1252.
1252	The £274 9s 11d is combined with a range of other debts to total approximately £959. The original forest debt accounts for 5.56% of this new balance. Payments and adjustments of £135 reduce the overall balance to approximately £824. ¹⁰⁷⁸ The payment represents 14% of the opening combined debt. Accordingly, it is assumed that the forest element is reduced by 14% from £53.33 to £45.87 and continues to account for 5.56% of the closing balance.
1254	The overall debt is further increased to approximately £996, with the forest element of £45.87 now accounting for a revised share of 4.61%. Beauchamp makes a payment of 100m, reducing the overall debt to £929. The forest element is proportionately reduced by £3.07 to £42.80. ¹⁰⁷⁹

¹⁰⁷⁵ TNA, E 372/90, rot. 3d, m. 1 accessed online 27 February 2025 [AALT Page](#); Winters, 'Forest Eyre', p.177.

¹⁰⁷⁶ TNA, E 372/92, rot. 13d, m. 2 accessed online 27 February 2025 [AALT Page](#).

¹⁰⁷⁷ TNA, E 372/93, rot. 15d, m. 2 accessed online 27 February 2025 [AALT Page](#).

¹⁰⁷⁸ TNA, E 372/96, rot. 3, m. 2 accessed online 27 February 2025 [AALT Page](#).

¹⁰⁷⁹ TNA, E 372/98, rot. 4, m. 2 accessed online 27 February 2025 [AALT Page](#).

1255	The overall debt is further increased to approximately £943, with the forest element of £42.80 accounting for a revised share of 4.53%. Beauchamp makes a payment of 50m, reducing the overall debt to £910. The forest element is proportionately reduced by £1.51 to £41.29. ¹⁰⁸⁰
1256	The overall debt is increased slightly to £915. The impact on the forest element is judged immaterial. Beauchamp makes a payment of 50m, reducing the overall debt to £882. The forest element is reduced by £1.50 to £39.79. ¹⁰⁸¹ There are no further adjustments to the debt until 1259.
1259	The overall debt is increased slightly to £887. The outstanding forest element of £39.79 represents 4.49% of the total. Beauchamp makes a payment of 50m, reducing the overall debt to £854. The forest element is reduced by £1.50 to £38.29. ¹⁰⁸² The next payment is recorded in 1261.
1261	The overall debt is increased to £892. The outstanding forest element of £38.29 represents 4.29% of the total. Beauchamp makes a payment of £67, reducing the overall debt to £825. The forest element is reduced proportionately by £2.87 to £35.42. ¹⁰⁸³
1262	The overall debt is increased to £847. No payments are made. The forest element of £35.42 accounts for 4.18% of the total. ¹⁰⁸⁴
1264	Beauchamp pays £17, reducing the overall debt to £830. The forest element is proportionately reduced by £0.71 to £34.71. The overall debt of £830 is recorded as outstanding in the 1266 pipe rolls. There are no further pipe rolls for Worcestershire until 1270. ¹⁰⁸⁵
1270	The entry in the 1270 Worcestershire pipe roll records an outstanding debt of £805. There is no explanation of the difference of £25 compared with the closing balance of

¹⁰⁸⁰ TNA, E 372/99, rot. 19, m. 2 accessed online 27 February 2025 [AALT Page](#).

¹⁰⁸¹ TNA, E 372/100, rot. 14, m. 1 accessed online 27 February 2025 [AALT Page](#).

¹⁰⁸² *PR 1259*, p.374.

¹⁰⁸³ TNA, E 372/105, rot. 16, m. 2 accessed online 27 February 2025 [AALT Page](#).

¹⁰⁸⁴ TNA, E 372/106, rot. 8, m. 2 accessed online 27 February 2025 [AALT Page](#).

¹⁰⁸⁵ TNA, E 372/108, rot. 10d, m. 2 accessed online 27 February 2025 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/110, rot. 10, m. 2 accessed online 27 February 2025 [AALT Page](#).

	<p>the pipe roll of 1266. The sum of £805 is recorded as outstanding in the final Worcestershire pipe roll of the reign in 1271. It is therefore judged that £34.71 of the original 100m forest amercement is outstanding in 1272.¹⁰⁸⁶</p>
--	---

¹⁰⁸⁶ TNA, E 372/114, rot. 18, m. 1 accessed online 27 February 2025 [AALT Page](#); TNA, E 372/115, rot. 10, m. 1 accessed online 27 February 2025 [AALT Page](#).

Appendix F

Shire Accounts Examined 1227-72

Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire

Berkshire

Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire

Cumberland

Dorset and Somerset

Essex

Gloucestershire

Hampshire

Herefordshire

Lancashire

Northamptonshire

Northumberland

Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire

Oxfordshire

Rutland

Shropshire

Staffordshire

Surrey

Warwickshire and Leicestershire

Wiltshire

Worcestershire

Yorkshire

Appendix G

Forest and Crown Revenue 1227-72

Year	Award £	Management £	Eyre £	Total £	Crown Income £	Source	Forest Share %
1227	578.38	199.19	84.13	861.70	24,747.00	Estimate based on Barratt p.71	3.48
1228	658.63	177.22	37.22	873.07	24,747.00	Estimate based on Barratt p.71	3.53
1229	573.48	273.97	376.49	1,223.94	24,747.00	Estimate based on Barratt p.71	4.95
1230	1,141.37	260.95	636.78	2,039.10	24,747.00	Barratt p.71	8.24
1231	314.97	219.41	439.62	974.00	25,250.00	Average of Carpenter 1207-58 pp.189, 224	3.86
1232	437.00	109.64	693.20	1,239.84	25,250.00	Average of Carpenter 1207-58 pp.189, 224	4.91
1233	170.75	135.62	180.78	487.15	25,250.00	Estimate based on Carpenter above	1.93
1234	280.05	127.82	79.28	487.15	25,250.00	Estimate based on Carpenter above	1.93
1235	493.71	115.30	58.73	667.74	25,250.00	Estimate based on Carpenter above	2.64
1236	260.94	246.08	178.93	685.95	25,250.00	Estimate based on Carpenter above	2.72
1237	246.28	365.97	174.99	787.24	25,250.00	Estimate based on Carpenter above	3.12
1238	98.95	118.46	205.17	422.58	25,250.00	Estimate based on Carpenter above	1.67
1239	85.64	362.73	93.79	542.17	25,250.00	Estimate based on Carpenter above	2.15
1240	98.89	354.96	696.47	1,150.32	25,250.00	Estimate based on Carpenter above	4.56
1241	63.72	188.61	576.89	829.22	40,124.20	Stacey p.208	2.07
1242	63.17	262.23	472.11	797.51	57,058.45	Stacey p.208	1.40
1243	147.09	176.29	254.94	578.32	36,089.90	Stacey p.208	1.60
1244	92.86	192.19	162.22	447.27	37,190.95	Stacey p.208	1.20
1245	139.72	130.30	1,747.51	2,017.53	39,909.85	Stacey p.208	5.06
1246	95.50	64.42	1,133.61	1,293.53	37,730.23	Estimate based on average of 1243-45	3.43
1247	142.72	295.23	1,334.67	1,772.62	37,730.23	Estimate based on average of 1243-45	4.70
1248	92.66	155.53	664.52	912.72	37,730.23	Estimate based on average of 1243-45	2.42
1249	108.63	490.90	836.77	1,436.30	37,730.23	Estimate based on average of 1243-45	3.81

1250	137.90	470.45	2,273.01	2,881.36	37,300.00	Cassidy p.23	7.72
1251	119.49	315.15	1,943.08	2,377.72	31,100.00	Cassidy p.23	7.65
1252	786.07	515.97	2,045.39	3,347.43	31,000.00	Cassidy p.23	10.80
1253	349.14	590.63	1,305.34	2,245.11	31,000.00	Estimate based on preceding two years	7.24
1254	340.24	152.12	778.47	1,270.82	31,000.00	Estimate based on preceding two years	4.10
1255	187.76	1,130.50	537.64	1,855.91	37,000.00	Carpenter 1207-58 p.663	5.02
1256	451.84	968.06	752.09	2,171.99	34,100.00	Cassidy p.23	6.37
1257	239.58	716.12	293.60	1,249.30	28,217.00	Collingwood p.29	4.43
1258	80.83	331.72	549.46	962.00	26,183.00	Collingwood p.29	3.67
1259	236.61	236.10	779.15	1,251.86	25,200.00	Cassidy p.23	4.97
1260	34.22	575.62	208.50	818.34	37,200.00	Cassidy p.23	2.20
1261	187.21	388.84	85.63	661.69	25,600.00	Cassidy p.23	2.58
1262	169.73	53.60	312.74	536.08	30,500.00	Cassidy p.23	1.76
1263	59.33	30.40	246.55	336.27	15,300.00	Cassidy p.23	2.20
1264	19.95	175.30	168.83	364.08	13,294.00	Collingwood p.270	2.74
1265	18.14	251.47	25.78	295.39	12,209.00	Collingwood p.270	2.42
1266	15.32	293.47	94.87	403.65	21,553.00	Collingwood p.281	1.87
1267	562.75	139.65	310.77	1,013.17	36,002.00	Collingwood p.281	2.81
1268	53.14	53.66	143.36	250.16	22,031.00	Collingwood p.319	1.14
1269	298.34	119.58	294.95	712.86	25,059.00	Collingwood p.319	2.84
1270	59.78	63.78	339.61	463.17	24,686.00	Collingwood p.319	1.88
1271	241.69	16.18	163.65	421.51	23,925.33	Estimate based on average of 1268-70	1.76
1272	105.91	26.28	336.65	468.85	23,925.33	Estimate based on average of 1268-70	1.96
Total	11,140.07	12,637.64	25,107.96	48,885.68	1,336,166.95		3.66

Appendix H

Actions by Local Forest Officials 1227-57

The following table records examples of complaints and concerns that were raised about the actions of local forest officials, or that suggest concern on the part of the crown about the risk of abuse by local forest officials.

Date	Action	Reference
1227	The men of Bilston complain that hereditary foresters in Cannock had unlawfully erected buildings within the forest, had destroyed the wood and were preventing them from having husbote and haybote.	Birrell, 'Common Rights', p.44
May 1228	Hugh de Neville is ordered not to harass the abbot of Bury St Edmunds in relation to the regard, waste or view of the foresters and regards concerning three of his woods for which he has privileges previously granted by King John.	CR 1227-31, p.41
December 1229	Brian de Lisle is ordered, without delay, to return a wood of Osney Abbey which he seized due to waste of the forest.	CR 1227-31, p.274
March 1230	John of Monmouth is ordered not to demand any customs from the men of Preston and to delay action concerning any amercements relating to them.	CR 1227-31, p.308
July 1231	Hasculf de Athelaxton is ordered not to impede people buying wood from Doddington wood.	CR 1227-31, p.534
March 1232	Geoffrey Esturmy is ordered to place into respite all the disputes he has with the abbess of Wilton Abbey concerning Savernake Forest, including the lawing of dogs. In the meantime, he is ordered to return all goods seized from the abbey.	CR 1231-34, pp.46-7

May 1233	Brian de Lisle is ordered to allow Peter de Maulay and his wife Isabelle to hold their wood in Eskdale 'well and in peace' as Isabelle's father, Robert de Turnham, used to hold it, without the imposition of new customs or services. This entry might be a grant, but its tone suggests a concern that de Lisle may seek to impose new customs.	<i>CR 1231-34</i> , p.222
March 1234	Peter Mimecan is ordered not to impede the access of the master and brothers of the Hospital of St John, Oxford to the wood within his bailiwick that was granted to them by the king.	<i>CR 1231-34</i> , p.394
June 1235	The constable of St Briavels is ordered to return without delay the animals of Flaxley Abbey that he seized in the Forest of Dean.	<i>CR 1234-37</i> , p.110
May 1236	John de Neville is ordered that he should not permit his foresters to harass the abbot of Westminster Abbey or his men in fee concerning swanimote courts or the hambling of dogs of which they are quit as set out in a royal charter.	<i>CR 1234-37</i> , p.261
August 1237	Robert de Ros is ordered to allow Robert de Crepping to mow and collect hay in the demesne woods of the king that are in his custody.	<i>CR 1234-37</i> , p.485
August 1238	Engelard de Cygoyny is ordered not to impede the men of the archbishop of York from taking 10 oaks from the wood of Abingdon Abbey within Windsor Forest.	<i>CR 1237-42</i> , p.91
May 1239	Robert of Laverstock agrees to a fine of 10m for the trespass of selling woodland and for not having kept his bailiwick well, and similarly for all other trespasses which could have been brought against him concerning the aforesaid bailiwick which he has in the forest. The bailiwick was within Clarendon Forest.	<i>CFR 23/182</i> accessed online 14 November 2024 Fine Rolls Henry III: 23 HENRY III (28

		October 1238–27 October 1239); <i>IPM Vol. I</i> , p.47
1240	It is established through an inquiry that Brian de Lisle had previously sold land within the forest in Northamptonshire without appropriate royal authority.	<i>CRR 1237-42</i> , pp.226-7
1241	Thomas de Stratton complains that he has been wrongly disseised of his bailiwick by Robert de Ros who, he also states, has committed multiple trespasses within Northumberland Forest.	<i>CRR 1237-42</i> , pp.282-5
September 1242	The prior of Witham Charterhouse priory complains to the king that Richard de Wrotham harasses him and his brethren by entering the bounds of their house and inflicting other injuries upon them.	<i>CPR 1232-47</i> , p.326
August 1243	Gilbert of Seagrave is ordered to place into respite the demand that he makes of John de Burgh of Arley concerning the hambling of his dogs until the return of the king to England.	<i>CR 1242-47</i> , p.38
1244	The abbot of Wardon Abbey complains that Adam de Catteworth, forester of Huntingdon, is not allowing him to take from the abbey wood within the bounds of the royal forest, contrary to the terms of a charter granted to the abbey by King John.	<i>CRR 1243-45</i> , pp.159-60, 195-6
1245 (probable)	Inquisition jury states that foresters in Feckenham have sold wood from the forest without special royal mandate, have permitted destruction and waste within the forest, have extorted money, have taken cheminage unjustly and have burdened men of their bailiwicks with undue hospitality.	Birrell, <i>Feckenham</i> , pp.14-6, 20-1, 26-32

July 1246	Mabel Bacun complains that Avice de Columbariis has refused her common pasture and access to collect deadwood for which she has paid 5s annually.	<i>CR 1242-47</i> , pp.474-5
1247	Walter Wycher is removed from custody of his bailiwick within the Forest of Dean as a result of a prosecution for a 'trespass of the forest' at the Gloucestershire eyre.	<i>CChR 1226-57</i> , p.377; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', p.189
December 1248	The constable of St Briavels is ordered to return to the Abbey of St Peter, Gloucester the animals that he seized in a dispute about pasturage rights.	<i>CR 1247-51</i> , p.133
October 1249	John Fitznigel is ordered not to harass, molest or oppress Henry Fisher whom he has attached for poaching as the deer concerned were given to him by Aymer de Lusignan.	<i>CR 1247-51</i> , p.205
August 1250	Geoffrey de Langley is ordered to cease action against Richard de Grey and his men concerning beasts that they took in Pickering Forest as these had been gifted to Richard by the king.	<i>CR 1247-51</i> , pp.315-6
May 1251	Roger Bertram presents the king with a long list of complaints that John Fitzsimon, steward of the forest in Northumberland, has acted in contravention of the privileges enjoyed by Bertram's predecessors.	<i>CR 1247-51</i> , p.542
August 1252	Geoffrey de Langley is ordered to permit the bishop of Bath and Wells to hunt with dogs across all of Somerset as his predecessors used to do.	<i>CR 1251-53</i> , p.142
September 1253	The king gives assurances to Peter de Montfort that, upon his return to England, he will ensure Montfort receives justice concerning his lands and woods within Rutland Forest.	<i>CPR 1247-58</i> , p.242

May 1254	Matilda de Cantilupe has complained to the king that Ernald de Bosco is making demands and restricting her rights within the forest contrary to custom.	<i>CR 1253-54,</i> p.55
June 1255	Avice de Columbariis is ordered to return a wood of Matthew Hoese that was wrongly taken into the king's hands following a false accusation of waste made against Hoese by his enemies.	<i>CR 1254-56,</i> p.102
1256/57	The Hampshire eyre was originally planned for November 1256 but was then delayed until January 1257. The plea roll includes a complaint that Richard Shail, forester of the Godshill bailiwick within New Forest, is a malefactor 'both of the vert and the venison' and has 'permitted offences by certain others.'	Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.225-7; Stagg, <i>New Forest Documents,</i> p.74
December 1257	The warden of Huntingdon Forest is ordered to allow the parson of Brampton church to have cheminage for reasonable estover within the forest. The king also overturns an amercement raised by the warden concerning the hambling of the parson's dogs.	<i>CR 1256-59,</i> p.176
1258	Regarders of the forest in Surrey complain that foresters from the time of Godfrey de Liston have been charging excessively for cheminage.	Stewart, <i>Surrey,</i> p.89

Appendix I

Council of Fifteen Forest Interactions

Details of membership of the Council of Fifteen are to be found in Jobson, *English Revolution*, pp.24, 42 and Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.69, 188. The details of the interactions of the various members with the royal forest are contained within the relevant databases constructed as part of this research.

Name	Number of Gifts	Eyre Transactions	Awards of Privileges	Forest Responsibilities
Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester	14	1251: Pardon of trespass	1251: Respite concerning assart payments	None
Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester	10	None	1236: Confirmation of hunting privileges 1246: Licence to impark 1257: Licence to impark 1258: Award of estover	None
Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester	15	1241: Pardoned 100s amercement 1250 Pardoned £100 amercement	None	None

		1256: Pardoned £10 amercement		
Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk	26	1242/3: Respite for amercement payment of 100m. Paid 1243 1255: Amerced 15m 1256: Protection from prosecution	1256: Quittance of summons to attend eyre	None
Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford	40	1242: Amerced 100m Approximately 89m outstanding 1272	1253: Award of hunting privileges 1256: Access to woods 1256: Award of hunting privileges 1257: Access to woods	None
Peter of Savoy	11	None	None	None
John Fitzgeoffrey	50	1245: Pardon of trespass 1250: Amerced 1m	1242: Approval to assart	1234: Appointed warden of Galtres, Pickering and Scarborough Forests 1241-42: Chief justice of the Forest South of the Trent
Peter de Montfort	19	1256: Amerced 0.5m	1248: Approval to enclose wood	None

			1256: Award of £50 annually in lieu of claim to woods 1256: Access to woods	
Richard de Grey	25	1246: Amerced 30m which was outstanding 1272 1247: Pardon of trespass 1251: Pardon of trespass	1231: Access to woods 1239: Award of warren 1250: Confirmation of hunting privileges 1256: Access to woods	1228-29: Custody of Chippenham and Melksham Forests
Roger de Mortimer	13	1256: Pardoned 100m amercement 1259: Protection from prosecution	1256: Access to woods	None
Boniface of Savoy, archbishop of Canterbury	1	None	None	None
John de Plessy, earl of Warwick	64	1240: Amerced concerning outstanding proceeds from Chippenham Forest	1238: Award of estover 1245: Access to woods 1247: Access to woods 1253: Access to woods 1254: Access to woods	1234-46: Custody of Chippenham Forest 1250-63: Custody of Chippenham Forest

		1246: Amerced concerning outstanding proceeds from Chippenham Forest of which approximately £16 outstanding 1272	1256: Access to woods	
John Mansel	33	None	1246: Award of right to cultivate land 1249: Award of warren 1259: Award of right to have a sheepfold	1250: Custody of Bere Ashley 1252-53: Custody of Forest Between Oxford and Stamford
James Audley	7	None	None	None
William de Forz, earl Albemarle	5	1252: Restitution of wood following eyre	None	None
Philip Basset	15	None	1244: Award of assart 1252: Award of warren for 10m fine (paid) 1260: Award of assart 1260: Approval to impark	None

Robert Walerand	28	None	<p>1252: Award of hunting privileges</p> <p>1259: Award of estover</p> <p>1260: Award of assart</p>	<p>1253-69: Warden of New Forest</p> <p>1255-63: Warden of Forest of Dean</p> <p>1256-59: Chief justice of the Forest South of the Trent</p> <p>1256-59: Warden of Forest Between Oxford and Stamford</p> <p>1259-63: Warden of Clarendon Forest</p>
-----------------	----	------	---	--

Appendix J

Rebel Forest Wardens 1258-67

Adam Gurdon, Aliceholt and Wolmer Forests

Adam Gurdon had estates in Hampshire, Dorset and Gloucestershire. He acquired custody of Aliceholt and Wolmer Forests in March 1257. It is not clear when Gurdon joined the baronial cause, but he was certainly active by 1264 in his support for Simon de Montfort. After the battle of Evesham, he continued to resist the king until he was defeated by the Lord Edward in May 1266. By then, Henry III had already awarded the Wolmer part of the forest to Alan de Plugenet who had been a firm royalist during the civil war. At some point, Gurdon was reconciled to the king, receiving forest gifts in 1271 and 1272. He seems to have retained Aliceholt throughout the period of reform and civil war and, at some point before June 1270 recovered Wolmer, even though it had previously been granted to Plugenet for life. Gurdon went on to serve as a forest justice during Edward I's reign.¹⁰⁸⁷

Thomas de Moulton, Inglewood Forest

It is also unclear when the warden of Inglewood Forest, Thomas de Moulton, attached himself to the reformers. A forest eyre was held in Cumberland early in 1262 when it appears that Moulton was found guilty of several trespasses that may have resulted in his losing custody of the forest which, in May 1263, was awarded to the loyalist Eustace de Balliol. By the summer of 1264, he was participating in attacks against royalist leaders. It may have been that, as Summerson has suggested, Moulton took up arms against the king 'in deference to what was practically family tradition', given that his father had rebelled against John in the first Barons' War. It is also possible that the loss of the forest wardenship was a contributory factor. It is worth noting that he had previously lost custody of Inglewood, probably following the Cumberland forest eyre of 1251. He had been obliged to pay a 300m fine for recovery of the forest, a debt that was only cleared in 1259, just three years before he again lost the forest. In October 1265, custody of Inglewood was granted to Roger of Leybourne who was also appointed chief justice of the Forest North of the Trent. It is possible that

¹⁰⁸⁷ H. Summerson, 'Gurdun [Gurdon], Sir Adam (c. 1220–1305), soldier and rebel', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 10 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11754>; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, pp.375, 485, 488; Jobson, *English Revolution*, p.155; Appendix D, 'Aliceholt and Wolmer'.

Thomas de Moulton should have recovered custody of the forest under the terms of the Dictum of Kenilworth, but he died in 1271 and consequently the wardenship remained with Leybourne.¹⁰⁸⁸

Benedict Gernet, Lancashire Forest

The other northern forest official who joined the rebels was Benedict Gernet, the warden of Lancashire Forest. Again, it is not clear when Gernet joined the reformers. In March 1263, he appears to have been sufficiently in the royal favour to earn a respite concerning a debt at the exchequer, while in December of the same year he received a mandate to provide timber from Lancashire Forest to help repair local royal mills. However, in September 1265, soon after his victory at Evesham, Henry III moved against Gernet who was described as 'the king's enemy' and whose custody of Lancashire Forest was removed and given instead to Roger of Lancaster, who was also appointed sheriff of the county and deputy justice of the Forest North of the Trent. Lancaster charged Gernet with forest offences and amerced him £20. In June 1267, Henry III conferred upon his second son Edmund the county and honour of Lancaster, including the forests. Gernet did not formally relinquish the title of warden of the Lancashire forests until the post was abolished in 1280 but, after 1265, the office was merely nominal.¹⁰⁸⁹

Adam de Everingham, Sherwood Forest

In the midlands, Adam de Everingham, the hereditary warden of Sherwood, also rebelled against Henry III. He appears to have been aligned to the king during 1264 but in the inquisitions launched after Evesham, Everingham was described as someone who had 'openly rebelled' against the king and his son. He and his son Robert subsequently joined the younger Simon de Montfort in sustained resistance against Henry III on the Isle of Axholme in Lincolnshire. After the rebels there were defeated around Christmas 1265, Everingham and his son were granted safe conduct until Easter 1266 to attend the king's court. In the settlement that followed, Everingham lost custody of a number of manors and was obliged to pay a ransom for recovery of his estates. It is possible also that he lost custody of Sherwood Forest at the same time, but he received a royal pardon in June 1268 and certainly had recovered his wardenship at some point during this period.¹⁰⁹⁰

¹⁰⁸⁸ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.328, 349, 364, 386, 399, 463, 471; *CR 1261-64*, p.400; *CLR 1260-67*, p.126; Appendix D, 'Inglewood'; Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, pp.122, 125, 126; Jobson, *English Revolution*, p.63; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, p.334; Oakes, 'Barons' War', pp.206, 210.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *CR 1261-64*, pp.220, 328; *CPR 1258-66*, p.455; Appendix D, 'Lancashire'.

¹⁰⁹⁰ *CR 1259-61*, pp.158, 499; *CR 1261-64*, pp.379, 382; *CR Supplementary Volume (1244-1266)*, p.47; *CFR 49/272* accessed online 26 March 2024 https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_062.html; *CPR 1258-66*, pp.533, 538, 580; *CIM Vol. I*, p.285; *CIPM Vol. I*, p.285; Jobson, *English Revolution*, p.154; Carpenter, *Henry III 1258-72*, p.481; Appendix D, 'Sherwood'.

Hugh de Loges, Cannock Forest

Following the Staffordshire eyre of 1240, Hugh de Loges lost custody of Cannock Forest, simultaneously agreeing a fine of £100 which was finally paid in full in 1259. In January 1256, Henry III granted custody of Cannock Forest for life to his surgeon Thomas de Weseham. If Loges had retained any hopes of recovering Cannock, these were undermined by the belligerent support that his son and heir, Richard, gave to the rebels during the civil war. The younger Loges was active in campaigning against the king and his supporters in the midlands, joining the rebels in their resistance at Axholme. He was readmitted into the king's peace early in 1266 but did not regain the wardenship of Cannock Forest that his father had lost in 1240. Already in September 1265, Henry III had decided to reappoint his surgeon Thomas de Weseham as warden of the forest, although on this occasion extending it to his heirs.¹⁰⁹¹

John Fitznigel, Bernwood Forest

John Fitznigel probably inherited custody of Bernwood Forest in or shortly before 1234. As a result of the Oxfordshire forest eyre of 1245, Fitznigel was amerced £13 10s, a sum that first appears in the pipe rolls in 1247. He paid this in irregular instalments of usually 20s per year, with the final payment being recorded in 1262. There is no evidence to indicate that he lost custody of the forest as a result of the amercement.

It appears that Fitznigel sided with the reformers during the civil war. Possibly as a result of this, in 1266, an inquiry was held into his right to hold the position as forester-in-fee of Bernwood, which was confirmed as a result. In March 1272, he received a royal pardon 'for good service to the king, of all trespasses, excesses and forfeitures done by him in the forest of Bernwood', but no further details about what those might be are forthcoming. He continued as forester-in-fee under Edward I and died in 1289.¹⁰⁹²

Matthew de Columbariis, Chute Forest

There is no firm evidence linking Matthew de Columbariis, the hereditary warden of Chute Forest, with the baronial cause. However, in April 1265, he was appointed 'by the counsel of the magnates of the council' as chief justice of the Forest South of the Trent as well as warden of the Forest

¹⁰⁹¹ Appendix D, 'Cannock'.

¹⁰⁹² Salter, *Boarstall*, pp.66, 170; *CR 1231-34*, p.392; *CR 1237-42*, p.151; *CR 1242-47*, p.386; *CIM Vol. I*, pp.104-5; *Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees, Part II*, pp.1358, 1373; *Rotuli Hundredorum Temp. Hen. III et Edw. I In Turr. London Vol. 1* (1812), pp.22, 26; *CIPM Vol. II*, p.438; TNA, E 372/91, rot. 11d, m. 2 accessed online 25 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); TNA, E 372/106, rot. 17, m. 1 accessed online 25 January 2024 [AALT Page \(uh.edu\)](#); *CPR 1266-72*, p.636; Winters, 'Forest Eyre', pp.183-4; *VCH Buckinghamshire Vol. 2*, p.135; Jobson, 'Oxfordshire Eyre Roll', pp.178, 195, 199, 200'; Appendix D, 'Bernwood'.

Between Oxford and Stamford. Columbariis must therefore at least have been acceptable to the reformers. If he were indeed sympathetic to Montfort's cause, he appears to have been swiftly reconciled to the king after the battle of Evesham as he was appointed to undertake royal service in Hampshire in September 1265. There is also no evidence that he lost custody of his wardenship of Chute Forest at any time during the civil war.¹⁰⁹³

¹⁰⁹³ Appendix D, 'Chute'; *CPR 1258-66*, pp.418, 491.

Bibliography

Unprinted Primary Sources

TNA C 47/11 and TNA C 47/12 Chancery Miscellanea: Forests

TNA C 54 Chancery and Supreme Court of Judicature: Close Rolls

TNA C 66 Chancery and Supreme Court of Judicature: Patent Rolls

TNA E 32 Justices of the Forest: Records formerly in the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer

TNA E 101 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer: Accounts Various

TNA E 146 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer: Forest Records

TNA E 368 Exchequer, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer: Memoranda Rolls

TNA E 372 Exchequer, Pipe Office: Pipe Rolls

Printed Primary Sources

Amt, E. (ed.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Eighth Year of the Reign of King Henry III, Michaelmas 1224* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 2005)

Birrell, J. (ed.), *The Forests of Cannock and Kinver: Select Documents 1235-1372* (Staffordshire Record Society, 1999)

Birrell, J. (ed.), *Records of Feckenham Forest, Worcestershire, c.1236-1377* (Worcestershire Historical Society, 2006)

Boulton, H.E. (ed.), *The Sherwood Forest Book* (Thoroton Society Record Series 23, Nottingham, 1965)

Brown, R.A. (ed.), *Memoranda Rolls 16-17 Henry III* (London, 1991)

Calendar of Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, 2 volumes (London, 1903-6)

Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, 3 volumes (Woodbridge, 2007-9)

Calendar of the Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) Preserved in the Public Record Office Vol. 1, 1216-1307 (London, 1916)

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other Analogous Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office, 2 volumes (London, 1904-6)

Calendar of the Liberate Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, 6 volumes (London, 1916-64)

Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, 5 volumes (London, 1903-13)

Cannon, H.L. (ed.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-Sixth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Third, 1241-1242* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1918)

Carlin, M. and Crouch, D. (eds.), *Lost Letters of Medieval Life: English Society, 1200-1250* (Philadelphia, 2013)

Cassidy, R. (ed.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Forty-Third Year of the Reign of King Henry III, Michaelmas 1259* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 2024)

Cazel, F.A. (ed.), *Roll of Divers Accounts for the Early Years of the Reign of Henry III* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1982)

Clay, C.T. (ed.), *Three Assize Rolls from the Reigns of King John and King Henry III* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 1911)

Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office, 14 volumes (London, 1902-38)

Craib, T., 'The Itinerary of Henry III 1215-1272' (Unpublished manuscript, 1923), TNA Map Room Reference 942.037

Crawley-Boevey, A.W. (ed.), *The Cartulary and Historical Notes of the Cistercian Abbey of Flaxley* (Exeter, 1887)

Crook, D. (ed.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Fifth Year of the Reign of King Henry III, Michaelmas 1221* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1990)

Crouch, D. (ed.), *The Acts and Letters of the Marshal Family: Marshals of England and Earls of Pembroke, 1145-1248* (London, 2015)

Crowley, D. (ed.), *Braydon Forest and the Forest Law* (Wiltshire Record Society, 2019)

Curia Regis Rolls of the Reigns of Richard I, John and Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office, 20 volumes (London, 1922-2006)

Davis, G.R.C. (ed.), *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 2010)

Ebden, E.P. (ed.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Second Year of the Reign of King Henry III, Michaelmas 1218* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1972)

- Elvey, G.R. (ed.), *Luffield Priory Charters*, 2 volumes (Buckinghamshire Record Society, 1968-75)
- Gallagher, E. and Boatwright, L. (eds.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Tenth Year of the Reign of King Henry III, Michaelmas 1226* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 2022)
- Hardy, T.D. (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1204-27*, 2 volumes (Record Commission, London, 1833-44)
- Harris, B.E. (ed.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Third Year of the Reign of King Henry III, Michaelmas 1219* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1976)
- Harris, B.E. (ed.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Fourth Year of the Reign of King Henry III, Michaelmas 1220* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1987)
- Hershey, A.H. (ed.), *The 1258-9 Special Eyre of Surrey and Kent* (Surrey Record Society, 2004)
- Hershey, A.H. (ed.), *Special Eyre Rolls of Hugh Bigod 1258-60*, 2 volumes (Selden Society, London, 2014-16)
- Hewlett, H.G. (ed.), *Rogeri de Wendover Liber Qui Dicitur Flores Historiarum*, 3 volumes (London, 1886-89)
- Jobson, A. and Slade, C.F. (eds.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Seventh Year of the Reign of King Henry III, Michaelmas 1223* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 2008)
- Kemp, B.R. (ed.), *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, 2 volumes (London, 1986-87)
- Knight, G.A. (ed.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Sixth Year of the Reign of King Henry III, Michaelmas 1222* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1999)
- Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees*, 3 volumes (London, 1920-31)
- List of Inquisitions Ad Quod Damnum Preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1963)
- List of Sheriffs for England and Wales from the Earliest Times to AD 1831* (Public Record Office, 1963)
- Luard, H.R. (ed.), *Roberti Grosseteste Episcopi Quondam Lincolniensis Epistolae* (London, 1861)
- Luard, H.R. (ed.), *Annales Monastici*, 5 volumes (London, 1864-69)
- Luard, H.R. (ed.), *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, 7 volumes (London, 1872-83)
- Mason, E. (ed.), *The Beauchamp Cartulary Charters, 1100-1268* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1980)

- Mills, M.H. (ed.), *Cheshire in the Pipe Rolls, 1158-1301* (Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1938)
- Morris, M. (ed.), *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Henry III (1226-1272) from the Charter Rolls in the Public Record Office*, 2 volumes (List and Index Society, London, 2001)
- Parker, F.H.M. (ed.), *Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland 1222-1260* (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1905)
- Patterson, R.B. (ed.), *Earldom of Gloucester Charters: The Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to AD 1217* (Oxford, 1973)
- Riley, H.T. (ed.), *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani Volume I* (London, 1867)
- Robinson, C. (ed.), *Great Roll of the Pipe for the Fourteenth year of the Reign of King Henry the Third, Michaelmas 1230* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1927)
- Robinson, C. (ed.), *Memoranda Roll of the King's Remembrancer for Michaelmas 1230 – Trinity 1231* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1933)
- Rothwell, H. (ed.), *English Historical Documents, Volume III, 1189-1327* (London, 1975)
- Rotuli Hundredorum Temp. Hen. III and Edw. I*, 2 volumes (London, 1812-8)
- Salter, H.E. (ed.), *A Cartulary of the Hospital of St John the Baptist*, 3 volumes (Oxford Historical Society, 1914-17)
- Salter, H.E. (ed.), *The Boarstall Cartulary* (Oxford, 1930)
- Schumer, B. (ed.), *Oxfordshire Forests, 1246-1609* (Oxfordshire Record Society, 2004)
- Stacey, R.C. (ed.), *Receipt and Issue Rolls for the Twenty-Sixth year of the Reign of King Henry III, 1241-2* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1992)
- Stagg, D.J. (ed.), *A Calendar of New Forest Documents, 1244-1334* (Hampshire County Council, 1979)
- Stewart, S. (ed.), *Royal Justice in Surrey, 1258-1269* (Surrey Record Society, 2013)
- Treharne, R.E. and Sanders, I.J. (eds.), *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion 1258-1267* (Oxford, 1973)
- Turner, G.J. (ed.), *Select Pleas of the Forest* (London, 1901)
- Webster, H.R. (ed.), *The Annals of Dunstable Priory* (Woodbridge, 2018)

Wild, B.L. (ed.), *The Wardrobe Accounts of Henry III* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 2012)

Wilkinson, L.J. (ed.), *The Household Roll of Eleanor de Montfort, Countess of Leicester and Pembroke, 1265* (Pipe Roll Society, London, 2020)

Secondary Literature

Aberth, J., *An Environmental History of the Middle Ages* (London, 2013)

Almond, R., *Medieval Hunting* (Stroud, 2003)

Almond, R., 'The Forest as Hunting Ground', in Langton, J. and Jones, G. (eds.), *Forests and Chases of Medieval England and Wales c.1000-c.1500* (Oxford, 2010), 68-79

Altschul, M., *A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217-1314* (Baltimore, 1965)

Ambler, S., 'The Fine Roll of 11 Henry III, 28 October 1226 – 27 October 1227' accessed online 16 September 2024 <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-12-2007.html>

Ambler, S.T., 'Magna Carta: Its Confirmation at Simon de Montfort's Parliament of 1265', *English Historical Review*, 130 (2015), 801-30

Ambler, S., 'The Montfortian Bishops', in Jobson, A. (ed.), *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England 1258-1267* (Woodbridge, 2016), 139-51

Ambler, S.T., *Bishops in the Political Community of England, 1213-1272* (Oxford, 2017)

Ambler, S.T., *The Song of Simon de Montfort: England's First Revolutionary and the Death of Chivalry* (London, 2019)

Barber, R. (ed.), *The Marlborough Mound: Prehistoric Mound, Medieval Castle, Georgian Garden* (Woodbridge, 2022)

Barratt, N., 'The Revenue of King John', *English Historical Review*, 111 (1996), 835-55

Barratt, N., 'English Royal Revenue in the Early Thirteenth Century and its Wider Context, 1130-1330', in Ormrod, W.M., Bonney, M. and Bonney, R. (eds.), *Crises, Revolutions and Self-Sustained Growth: Essays in European Fiscal History, 1130-1830* (Stamford, 1999), 59-96

Barratt, N., 'Finance on a Shoestring: The Exchequer in the Thirteenth Century', in Jobson, A. (ed.), *English Government in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), 71-86

Barratt, N., 'Another Fine Mess: Evidence for the Resumption of Exchequer Authority in the Minority of Henry III', in Crook, D. and Wilkinson, L.J. (eds.), *The Growth of Royal Government under Henry III* (Woodbridge, 2015), 149-65

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

Baskerville, M., 'The Boundaries of Buckholt: A Hampshire Royal Forest', *Hampshire Studies*, 63 (2008), 179-92

Bazeley, M.L., 'The Forest of Dean and its Relations with the Crown During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 33 (1910), 153-286

Bazeley, M.L., 'The Extent of the English Forest in the Thirteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4 (1921), 140-72

Beam, A., *The Balliol Dynasty 1210-1364* (Edinburgh, 2008)

Beaumont James, T. and Gerrard, C., *Clarendon: Landscape of Kings* (Macclesfield, 2007)

Birrell, J., 'Peasant Craftsmen in the Medieval Forest', *Agricultural History Review*, 17 (1969), 91-107

Birrell, J.R., 'The Medieval English Forest', *Journal of Forest History*, 24 (1980), 78-85

Birrell, J., 'Who Poached the King's Deer? A Study in Thirteenth-Century Crime', *Midland History*, 7 (1982), 9-25

Birrell, J., 'Common Rights in the Medieval Forest: Disputes and Conflict in the Thirteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 117 (1987), 22-49

Birrell, J., 'Forest Law and the Peasantry in the later Thirteenth Century', in Coss, P. and Lloyd, S.D. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England II* (Woodbridge, 1988), 149-63

Birrell, J., 'Deer and Deer Farming in Medieval England', *Agricultural History Review*, 40 (1992), 112-26

Birrell, J., 'Peasant Deer Poachers in the Medieval Forest', in Britnell, R. and Hatcher, J. (eds.), *Progress and Problems in Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Edward Miller* (Cambridge, 1996), 68-88

Birrell, J., 'Aristocratic Poachers in the Forest of Dean: Their Methods, Quarry and their Companions', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 119 (2001), 147-54

- Birrell, J., 'Procuring, Preparing and Serving Venison in Late Medieval England', in Woolgar, C.M., Serjeantson, D. and Waldron, T. (eds.), *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition* (Oxford, 2006), 176-90
- Blakely, R.M., 'The Scottish Bruses and the English Crown c.1200-1290', in Prestwich, M.C., Britnell, R. and Frame, R. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England IX* (Woodbridge, 2003), 101-14
- Bloch, M., *Feudal Society* (2nd edition, London, 1965)
- Bolton, J.L., *The Medieval English Economy, 1150-1500* (London, 1980)
- Bond, J., 'Forests, Chases, Warrens and Parks in Medieval Wessex', in Aston, M. and Lewis, C. (eds.), *The Medieval Landscape of Wessex* (Oxford, 1994), 115-58
- Bond, S., 'The Medieval Constables of Windsor Castle', *English Historical Review*, 82 (1967), 225-49
- Brand, P., *The Making of the Common Law* (London, 1992)
- Brand, P., *Kings, Barons and Justices: The Making and Enforcement of Legislation in Thirteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2003)
- Brindle, S. (ed.), *Windsor Castle: A Thousand Years of a Royal Palace* (London, 2018)
- Broad, J. and Hoyle, R. (eds.), *Bernwood: The Life and Afterlife of a Forest* (Preston, 1997)
- Burton, J., *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994)
- Butlin, R.A. (ed.), *Historical Atlas of North Yorkshire* (Otley, 2003)
- Cameron, S. and Richardson, S., *Using Computers in History* (Basingstoke, 2005)
- Cantor, L.M. and Wilson, J.D., 'The Mediaeval Deer-Parks of Dorset', *Proceedings of the Dorset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 83 (1961), 109-16
- Cantor, L.M., 'The Medieval Parks of South Staffordshire', *Transactions and Proceedings of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*, 80 (1962), 1-9
- Cantor, L.M., 'The Medieval Parks of North Staffordshire', *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies*, 2 (1962), 72-7
- Cantor, L.M. and Wilson, J.D., 'The Mediaeval Deer-Parks of Dorset', *Proceedings of the Dorset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 84 (1963), 145-53
- Cantor, L.M. and Wilson, J.D., 'The Mediaeval Deer-Parks of Dorset', *Proceedings of the Dorset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 85 (1963), 141-52

- Cantor, L.M. and Wilson, J.D., 'The Mediaeval Deer-Parks of Dorset', *Proceedings of the Dorset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 86 (1964), 164-78
- Cantor, L.M., 'The Medieval Parks of North Staffordshire II', *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies*, 4 (1964), 61-7
- Cantor, L.M. and Hatherly, J.M., 'The Medieval Parks of Buckinghamshire', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 20 (1977), 431-7
- Cantor, L.M., 'The Medieval Hunting Grounds of Rutland', *Rutland Record*, 1 (1980), 13-8
- Cantor, L., 'Forests, Chases, Parks and Warrens', in Cantor, L. (ed.), *The English Medieval Landscape* (London, 1982), 56-85
- Cardigan, The Earl of, *The Wardens of Savernake Forest* (London, 1949)
- Carpenter, D., 'The Decline of the Curial Sheriff in England 1194-1258', *English Historical Review*, 91 (1976), 1-32
- Carpenter, D., 'The Fall of Hubert de Burgh', *Journal of British Studies*, 19 (1980), 1-17
- Carpenter, D.A., 'King, Magnates and Society: The Personal Rule of King Henry III, 1234-1258', *Speculum*, 60 (1985), 39-70
- Carpenter, D.A., 'Chancellor Ralph de Neville and Plans of Political Reform, 1215-1258', in Coss, P.R. and Lloyd, S.D. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England II* (Woodbridge, 1988), 69-80
- Carpenter, D., *The Minority of Henry III* (London, 1990)
- Carpenter, D.A., 'English Peasants in Politics, 1258-1267', *Past and Present*, 136 (1992), 3-42
- Carpenter, D.A., *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996)
- Carpenter, D., *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066-1284* (London, 2003)
- Carpenter, D., 'John, Sir, fitz John (c. 1240–1275), baronial leader', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 9 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/38272>
- Carpenter, D.A., 'The English Royal Chancery in the Thirteenth Century', in Jobson, A. (ed.), *English Government in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), 49-70
- Carpenter, D., 'Fines Made with Henry III for the Confirmation of Charters, January-February 1227' accessed online 16 September 2024 <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-07-2006.html>

Carpenter, D., 'The Bishop of Winchester's Fine in 1227' accessed online 16 September 2024

<https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-08-2006.html>

Carpenter, D.A., 'King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult', *English Historical Review*, 122 (2007), 865-91

Carpenter, D.A., 'The Career of Godfrey de Crowcombe: Household Knight of King John and Steward of King Henry III', in Given-Wilson, C., Kettle, A.J. and Scales, L. (eds.), *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150-1500: Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich* (Woodbridge, 2008), 26-54

Carpenter, D., 'John fitz Geoffrey (c. 1206–1258), justiciar of Ireland and baronial leader', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/38271>

Carpenter, D., 'Montfort, Peter de (c. 1205–1265), magnate', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 1 April 2025 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37845>

Carpenter, D. and Kanter, J., 'Henry III and Windsor' accessed online 8 May 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: Fine of the Month: November 2009](#)

Carpenter, D.A., *Magna Carta* (London, 2015)

Carpenter, D., Crook, D. and Wilkinson, L.J., 'Introduction', in Crook, D. and Wilkinson, L.J. (eds.), *The Growth of Royal Government under Henry III* (Woodbridge, 2015), 1-6

Carpenter, D., *Henry III: The Rise to Power and Personal Rule, 1207-1258* (London, 2020)

Carpenter, D., *Henry III: Reform, Rebellion, Civil War, Settlement, 1258-1272* (London, 2023)

Cassidy, R., 'Shuffling the Sheriffs, 1234 and 1236' accessed online 25 August 2021 [Fine Rolls Henry III: Fine of the Month: May 2008 \(finerollshenry3.org.uk\)](#)

Cassidy, R., 'The Reforming Council Takes Control of Fines of Gold, 1258-59' accessed online 8 May 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: Fine of the Month: October 2011](#)

Cassidy, R., 'Adventus Vicecomitum and the Financial Crisis of Henry III's Reign, 1250-1272', *English Historical Review*, 126 (2011), 614-27

Cassidy, R., 'The 1259 Pipe Roll' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, King's College, London, 2012)

Cassidy, R., "'Recorda Splendidissima": The Use of the Pipe Rolls in the Thirteenth Century', *Historical Research*, 85 (2012), 1-12

Cassidy, R., 'Heron, William (d. 1257/8), administrator', *ODNB* (2013) accessed online 25 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/105369>

Cassidy, R., 'William Heron, "Hammer of the Poor, Persecutor of the Religious", Sheriff of Northumberland, 1246-58', *Northern History*, 50 (2013), 9-19

Cassidy, R., 'Bad Sheriffs, Custodial Sheriffs and Control of the Counties', in Burton, J., Schofield, P. and Weiler, B. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England XV* (Woodbridge, 2015), 35-49

Cassidy, R., 'Simon de Montfort's Sheriffs, 1264-5', *Historical Research*, 91 (2018), 3-21

Cassidy, R., *Approaching the Pipe Rolls: The Thirteenth Century* (London, 2024)

Cazel, F.A., 'Intertwined Careers: Hubert de Burgh and Peter Des Roches', *Haskins Society Journal*, 1 (1989), 173-81

Church, S., 'Brewer [Briwerre], William (d. 1226), administrator and justice', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 31 January 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3369>

Church, S., 'Lisle [Insula], Sir Brian de (d. 1234), soldier and administrator', *ODNB* (2007) accessed online 5 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47250>

Clanchy, M.T., *England and its Rulers, 1066-1307* (4th edition, Chichester, 2014)

Clasby, M., 'The Abbot, the Royal Will and Magna Carta: The Amercement of the Abbot of St Albans for Non-attendance at the Common Summons of the Yorkshire Forest Eyre in 1212' accessed online 8 May 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: Fine of the Month: September 2009](#)

Clough, T.H.M., 'Peter de Neville and his Wrongdoing as Warden of the Forest of Rutland', *Rutland Record*, 18 (1988), 333-41

Cole, V.A., 'Ritual Charity and Royal Children in Thirteenth-Century England', in Rollo-Koester, J. (ed.), *Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Formalized Behaviour in Europe, China and Japan* (Brill, 2002), 221-43

Collingwood, J.A., 'Royal Finances in the Period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion, 1255-1270' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, King's College, London, 1995)

Coss, P.R., 'Sir Geoffrey de Langley and the Crisis of the Knightly Class in Thirteenth Century England', *Past and Present*, 68 (1975), 3-37

Coss, P., *The Knight in Medieval England 1000-1400* (Stroud, 1993)

Coss, P., *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003)

Coss, P., 'Beauchamp, William de, ninth earl of Warwick (c. 1238–1298), magnate', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 3 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47242>

Coss, P., 'Langley, Sir Geoffrey (c. 1200–1274), administrator and landowner', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37651>

Coss, P., 'Marmion, Sir Philip (d. 1291), baron', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 9 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18080>

Coss, P., 'Retinues, Agents and Garrisons during the Barons' War', in Jobson, A. (ed.), *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England, 1258-1267* (Woodbridge, 2016), 183-98

Cowling, G.C., *The History of Easingwold and the Forest of Galtres* (Huddersfield, 1967)

Cox, E.L., *The Eagles of Savoy: The House of Savoy in Thirteenth Century Europe* (Princeton, 1974)

Cox, J., *The Royal Forests of England* (London, 1905)

Creighton, O., *Designs Upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2009)

Crook, D., 'Clipstone Park and "Peel"', *Transactions of the Thorton Society of Nottinghamshire*, 80 (1976), 35-46

Crook, D., 'The Struggle over Forest Boundaries in Nottinghamshire, 1218-1227', *Transactions of the Thorton Society of Nottinghamshire*, 83 (1979), 35-45

Crook, D., 'The Early Keepers of Sherwood Forest', *Transactions of the Thorton Society of Nottinghamshire*, 84 (1980), 14-20

Crook, D., *Records of the General Eyre* (London, 1982)

Crook, D., 'The Establishment of the Derbyshire County Court, 1256', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 103 (1983), 98-106

Crook, D., 'The Records of Forest Eyres in the Public Record Office, 1179 to 1670', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 17 (1996), 183-93

Crook, D., 'The Development of Private Hunting Rights in Derbyshire, 1189-1258', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 121 (2001), 232-43

Crook, D., 'The Development of Private Hunting Rights in Nottinghamshire, c.1100-1258', *Transactions of the Thorton Society of Nottinghamshire*, 105 (2001), 101-9

Crook, D., 'The "Petition of the Barons" and Charters of Free Warren, 1227-1258', in Prestwich, M., Britnell, R. and Frame, R. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England VIII* (Woodbridge, 2001), 33-48

Crook, D., 'The Development of Private Parks in Medieval Nottinghamshire', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*, 106 (2002), 73-80

Crook, D., 'King and Lord: The Monarch and his Demesne Tenants in Central Nottinghamshire, 1163-1363', in Jobson, A. (ed.), *English Government in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), 125-40

Crook, D., 'Lexinton, Robert of (d. 1250), justice and administrator', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 6 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16616>

Crook, D., 'Maud de Caux and the Custody of the Forests of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire' accessed online 25 January 2024 <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-01-2006.html>

Crook, D., 'The Forest Eyre in the Reign of King John', in Loengard, J.S. (ed.), *Magna Carta and the England of King John* (Woodbridge, 2010), 63-82

Crook, D., 'Roger of Wendover, Prior of Belvoir and the Implementation of the Charter of the Forest, 1225-7', in Crook, D. and Wilkinson, L.J. (eds.), *The Growth of Royal Government under Henry III* (Woodbridge, 2015), 166-78

Crook, D., 'Neville, Hugh de (d. 1234), royal forester', *ODNB* (2016) accessed online 4 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19942>

Crouch, D., 'The Last Adventure of Richard Siward', *Morgannwg: Transactions of the Glamorgan History Society*, 35 (1991), 7-30

Crouch, D., *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London, 1992)

Crouch, D., 'Siward, Sir Richard (d. 1248), mercenary and courtier', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 15 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37971>

Crouch, D., 'Giffard, John, first Lord Giffard (1232–1299), baron', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 3 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10651>

Crump, J.J., 'The Mortimer Family and the Making of the March', in Prestwich, M.C., Britnell, R. and Frame, R. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England VI* (Woodbridge, 1997), 117-27

Crump, J., 'Mortimer, Roger de, lord of Wigmore (1231–1282), magnate', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 18 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19352>

- Dace, R., 'Bois, du, family (per. c. 1071–1313), barons', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/54500>
- Davies, S. 'Giffard, Godfrey (1235?–1302), administrator and bishop of Worcester', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 14 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10649>
- Denholm-Young, N., *Richard of Cornwall* (New York, 1947)
- De Ville, O., 'John Deyville: A Neglected Rebel', *Northern History*, 34 (1998), 17-40
- Dixon-Smith, S., 'The Image and Reality of Alms-Giving in the Great Halls of Henry III', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 152 (1999), 79-96
- Donkin, R.A., 'The Cistercian Settlement and the English Royal Forests I', *Cîteaux*, 11 (1960), 39-54
- Donkin, R.A., 'The Cistercian Settlement and the English Royal Forests II', *Cîteaux*, 11 (1960), 117-32
- Donkin, R.A., 'The English Cistercians and Assarting c.1128 - c.1350', *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 20 (1964), 49-75
- Dru Drury, G., 'The Constables of Corfe Castle and Some of their Seals', *Proceedings of the Dorset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 65 (1944), 76-91
- Drury, J.L., 'Durham Palatinate Forest Law and Administration, specially in Weardale up to 1400', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 6 (1978), 87-105
- Durham, B., 'The Infirmary and Hall of the Medieval Hospital of St John the Baptist at Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, 56 (1991), 17-75
- Dyer, C., *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989)
- Eales, R., 'Henry III and the End of the Norman Earldom of Chester', in Coss, P.R. and Lloyd, S.D. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England I* (Woodbridge, 1986), 100-13
- Eales, R., 'Ranulf (III) [Ranulf de Blundeville], sixth earl of Chester and first earl of Lincoln (1170–1232), magnate', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 10 December 2025 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2716>
- Eales, R., *Pevensey Castle* (English Heritage, 2018)
- Eckenrode, T.R., 'The English Cistercians and their Sheep during the Middle Ages', *Cîteaux*, 24 (1973), 250-66

Farley, M., *An Illustrated History of Early Buckinghamshire* (Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, 2010)

Faulkner, K., 'Clifford, Sir Roger de (b. c. 1221, d. in or before 1286), baron and soldier', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5659>

Faulkner, K., 'Leybourne [Leyburn], Sir Roger of (c. 1215–1271), soldier and landowner', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 26 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16624>

Fernandes, M.J., 'The Role of the Midland Knights in the Period of Reform and Rebellion 1258-67' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, King's College, London, 2000)

Fernandes, M., 'The Midlands Knights and the Barons' War: The Warwickshire Evidence', in Jobson, A. (ed.), *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England, 1258-1267* (Woodbridge, 2016), 167-82

Fisher, W.R., *The Forest of Essex: Its History, Laws, Administration and Ancient Customs* (London, 1887)

Foard, G., 'Medieval Woodland, Agriculture and Industry in Rockingham Forest, Northamptonshire', *Medieval Archaeology*, 45 (2001), 41-95

Forey, A., *The Military Orders from the Twelfth Century to the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1992)

Frame, R., 'Clare, Thomas de (1244x7–1287), magnate and administrator', *ODNB* (2005) accessed online 3 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/50023>

Fry, Miss, 'Some Account of Robert Gernon and his Successors, the Barons Montfichet', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, 5 (1873), 173-207

Goodall, J., *Portchester Castle* (English Heritage, 2003)

Grant, A., 'Animal Resources', in Astill, G. and Grant, A. (eds.), *The Countryside of Medieval England* (Oxford, 1988), 149-87

Grant, R., *The Royal Forests of England* (Stroud, 1991)

Green, H., 'Lenton Priory', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*, 40 (1936), 29-90

Haines, R., 'Gray, Walter de (d. 1255), archbishop of York', *ODNB* (2024) accessed online 10 December 2025 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11566>

Hanawalt, B.A., 'Men's Games, King's Deer: Poaching in Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 18 (1988), 175-93

Harding, A., 'Walerand, Robert (d. 1273), administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28455>

Hart, C.E., *The Verderers and Speech-Court of the Forest of Dean* (Gloucester, 1950)

Hart, C.E., *The Commoners of Dean Forest* (Gloucester, 1951)

Hart, C., *Royal Forest: A History of Dean's Woods as Producers of Timber* (Oxford, 1966)

Hart, C., *The Industrial History of Dean* (Newton Abbot, 1971)

Hart, C., *The Verderers and Forest Laws of Dean* (Newton Abbot, 1971)

Hartshorne, P., *Windsor Castle: An Illustrated History* (London, 2022)

Harvey B., 'The Aristocratic Consumer in England in the Long Thirteenth Century', in Prestwich, M.C., Britnell, R. and Frame, R. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England VI* (Woodbridge, 1997), 17-38

Harvey, I.M.W., 'Bernwood in the Middle Ages', in Broad, J. and Hoyle, R. (eds.), *Bernwood: The Life and Afterlife of a Forest* (Preston, 1997), 1-18

Harvey, K., *Episcopal Appointments in England, c.1214-1344: From Episcopal Election to Papal Provision* (London, 2014)

Hatherly, J.M. and Cantor, L.M., 'The Medieval Parks of Berkshire', *Berkshire Archaeological Journal*, 70 (1979-80), 67-80

Hawkins, D., *Cranborne Chase* (London, 1980)

Hershey, A., 'Success or Failure? Hugh Bigod and Judicial Reform during the Baronial Movement, June 1258 - February 1259', in Coss, P.R. and Lloyd, S.D. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England V* (Woodbridge, 1995), 65-87

Hinnebusch, W.A., *The Early English Friars Preachers* (Rome, 1951)

Hodgson, J., *History of Northumberland* (Newcastle, 1835)

Hogg, R., 'Basset, Philip (d. 1271), justiciar and royalist nobleman', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 17 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1643>

Holt, J.C., *The Northerners: A Study in the Reign of King John* (Oxford, 1961)

Holt, J.C., *Magna Carta* (2nd edition, Cambridge, 1992)

- Hoskin, P., 'Poor [Poore], Richard (d. 1237), bishop of Salisbury', *ODNB* (2009) accessed online 16 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22525>
- Howell, M., *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1998)
- Hoyle, R., 'The Medieval Forest Landscape', in Broad, J. and Hoyle, R. (eds.), *Bernwood: The Life and Afterlife of a Forest* (Preston, 1997), 19-34
- Hudson, P., *History by Numbers: An Introduction to Quantitative Approaches* (London, 2000)
- Hunt, J., 'Families at War: Royalists and Montfortians in the West Midlands', *Midland History*, 22 (1997), 1-34
- Hunt, W. and Ridgeway, H., 'Mohun, Sir Reginald de (c. 1206–1258), baron', *ODNB* (2005) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18886>
- Huscroft, R., 'Robert Burnell and the Government of England, 1270-1274', in Prestwich, M.C., Britnell, R. and Frame, R. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England VIII* (Woodbridge, 2001), 59-70
- Hutton, E., *The Franciscans in England, 1224-1538* (London, 1926)
- Ingamells, R.L., 'The Household Knights of Edward I' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Durham University, 1992)
- Jacques, D., 'Early Staffordshire Forests, Chases, Hays and Parks', *Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society Transactions*, 55 (2024), 16-27
- Jamroziak, E., 'Networks of Markets and Networks of Patronage in Thirteenth Century England', in Prestwich, M., Britnell, R. and Frame, R. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England X* (Woodbridge, 2005), 41-9
- Jewell, H., 'Neville, Sir Robert de (d. 1282), baron', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 6 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19961>
- Jobson, A., 'Introduction', in Jobson, A. (ed.), *English Government in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), 1-16
- Jobson, A.L., 'The Oxfordshire Eyre Roll of 1261' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, King's College, London, 2006)
- Jobson, A., 'John of Crakehall: The "Forgotten" Baronial Treasurer, 1258-60', in Burton, J., Lachaud, F. and Schofield, P. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England XIII* (Woodbridge, 2011), 83-99

- Jobson, A., *The First English Revolution: Simon de Montfort, Henry III and the Barons' War* (London, 2012)
- Jobson, A., 'Royal Government and Administration in Post-Evesham England, 1265-70', in Crook, D. and Wilkinson, L.J. (eds.), *The Growth of Royal Government under Henry III* (Woodbridge, 2015), 179-95
- Jobson, A., 'Introduction', in Jobson, A. (ed.), *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England, 1258-1267* (Woodbridge, 2016), 1-12
- Jones, G., 'A "Common of Hunting"?: Forests, Lordship and Community Before and After the Conquest', in Langton, J. and Jones, G. (eds.), *Forests and Chases of Medieval England and Wales c.1000 - c.1500* (Oxford, 2010), 36-67
- Jones, R. and Page, M., 'Characterising Rural Settlement and Landscape: Whittlewood Forest in the Middle Ages', *Medieval Archaeology*, 47 (2003), 53-83
- Julian-Jones, M., 'The Land of the Raven and the Wolf: Family Power and Strategy in the Welsh March c.1199-1300 – The Corbets and Cantilupes' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Cardiff University, 2015)
- Julian-Jones, M., 'Family Strategy or Personal Principles? The Corbets in the Reign of Henry III', in Burton, J., Schofield P. and Weiler, B. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England XV* (Woodbridge, 2015), 69-79
- Kanter, J., 'The Relationship between Business Transacted in the Fine Rolls and the Royal Itinerary in 1252' accessed online 8 May 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: Fine of the Month: March 2010](#)
- Kanter, J.E., 'Peripatetic and Sedentary Kingship: The Itineraries of the Thirteenth Century English Kings' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, King's College, London, 2011)
- Kanter, J., 'Peripatetic and Sedentary Kingship: The Itineraries of John and Henry III', in Burton, J., Lachaud, F. and Schofield, P. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England XIII* (Woodbridge, 2011), 11-26
- Kingsford, C. and Turner, R., 'Moulton [Muleton, Multon], Sir Thomas of (d. 1240), landowner and justice', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 27 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19521>
- Kjaer, L. and Watson, A.J., 'Feasts and Gifts: Sharing Food in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 37 (2010), 1-5
- Kjaer, L., *The Medieval Gift and the Classical Tradition: Ideals and the Performance of Generosity in Medieval England, 1100-1300* (Cambridge, 2019)

Knowles, C.H., 'The Resettlement of England After the Barons' War, 1264-67', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 32 (1982), 25-41

Knowles, C.H., 'Provision for the Families of the Montfortians Disinherited after the Battle of Evesham', in Coss, P.R. and Lloyd, S.D. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England I* (Woodbridge, 1986), 124-7

Knowles, C., 'Dispenser, Sir Hugh (c. 1223–1265), justiciar', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 12 December 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7552>

Knowles, D. and Hadcock, R.N., *Medieval Religious House: England and Wales* (London, 1971)

Langton, J. and Jones, G. (eds.), 'Forests and Chases of England and Wales c.1000 – c.1850' website: [Forests and Chases of England and Wales](#)

Langton, J., 'Medieval Forest and Chases: Another Realm?', in Langton, J. and Jones, G. (eds.), *Forests and Chases of Medieval England and Wales c.1000 - c.1500* (Oxford, 2010), 14-35

Langton, J., 'Royal and Non-Royal Forests and Chases in England and Wales', *Historical Research*, 88 (2015), 381-401

Langton, J., 'Forest Vert: The Holly and the Ivy', *Landscape History*, 43 (2022), 5-26

Laughton, J., 'Catesby in the Middle Ages: An Interdisciplinary Study', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 54 (2001), 7-32

Lennon, B., *Savernake Forest: Continuity and Change in a Wooded Landscape* (Oxford, 2022)

Liddell, W.H., 'The Private Forests of South West Cumberland', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 66 (1966), 106-30

Liddell, W., 'The Bounds of the Forest of Essex', in Neale, K. (ed.), *An Essex Tribute: Essays presented to Frederick G. Emmison as a tribute to his life and work for Essex history and archives* (London, 1987)

Liddiard, R. (ed.), *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield, 2007)

Lightfoot, K.W.B., 'The Household Knights of King Henry III, 1216-1236' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Swansea University, 2006)

Lloyd, S., 'St Amand, Sir Amaury de (d. 1240/41), soldier and administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 24 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24475>

MacDermot, E.T., *A History of the Forest of Exmoor* (Newton Abbott, 1973)

- Maddicott, J.R., 'Magna Carta and the Local Community, 1215-1259', *Past and Present*, 104 (1984), 25-65
- Maddicott, J.R., 'Edward I and the Lessons of Baronial Reform: Local Government, 1258-80', in Coss, P.R. and Lloyd, S.D. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England I* (Woodbridge, 1986), 1-30
- Maddicott, J.R., *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge, 1994)
- Maddicott, J., 'Ferrers, Robert de, sixth earl of Derby (c. 1239–1279), magnate and rebel', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 19 August 2025 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9366>
- Maddicott, J., 'Montfort, Sir Simon de, the younger (1240–1271), soldier', *ODNB* (2006) accessed online 6 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19050>
- Maddicott, J.R., *The Origins of the English Parliament, 924-1327* (Oxford, 2010)
- Maddicott, J.R., 'Politics and the People in Thirteenth-Century England', in Burton, J., Schofield, P. and Weiler, B. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England XIV* (Woodbridge, 2013), 1-13
- Mason, E., 'The Mauduits and their Chamberlainship of the Exchequer', *Bulletin of The Institute of Historical Research*, 119 (1976), 1-23
- Mason, J., 'Lestrange [Le Strange], John (c. 1194–1269), marcher lord', *ODNB* (2005) accessed online 12 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16510>
- McEwan, J.A., 'Civic Government in Troubled Times: London c.1263-1270', in Jobson, A. (ed.), *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England, 1258-1267* (Woodbridge, 2016), 125-38
- Meekings, C.A.F., 'The Pipe Roll Order of 12 February 1270', in Conway Davies, J. (ed.), *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson* (Oxford, 1957), 222-53
- Meekings, C.A.F., *Studies in Thirteenth-Century Justice and Administration* (London, 1981)
- Meisel, J., *Barons of the Welsh Frontier: The Corbet, Pantulf and Fitz Warin Families, 1066-1272* (London, 1980)
- Mileson, S.A., *Parks in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2009)
- Mitchell, S.K., *Studies in Taxation Under John and Henry III* (Yale, 1914)
- Moore, T.K., 'Government and Locality in Essex in the Reign of Henry III, 1216-1272' (Unpublished DPhil Thesis, Cambridge University, 2006)

- Moore, T., 'The Fine Rolls as Evidence for the Expansion of Royal Justice during the Reign of Henry III', in Crook, D. and Wilkinson, L.J (eds.), *The Growth of Royal Government Under Henry III* (Woodbridge, 2015), 55-71
- Moore, T., 'Local Administration during the Period of Reform and Rebellion', in Jobson, A. (ed), *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England* (Woodbridge, 2016), 71-88
- Moore, T., 'The Crisis of 1227' (Unpublished paper)
- Moorhouse, S., 'The Medieval Parks of Yorkshire: Function, Contents and Chronology', in Liddiard, R. (ed.), *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield, 2007), 99-127
- Morris, M., *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2005)
- Mortimer, I., 'The Medieval Mortimer Family: An Outline Lineage' accessed online 10 March 2025 [Outline-Lineage-V7.2.pdf](#)
- Oakes, F., 'King's Men without the King: Royalist Garrison Resistance between the Battles of Lewes and Evesham', in Burton, J., Schofield, P. and Weiler, B. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England XV* (Woodbridge, 2015), 51-68
- Oakes, F., 'The Barons' War in the North of England, 1264-1265', in Jobson, A. (ed.), *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England 1258-1267* (Woodbridge, 2016), 199-217
- Oggins, R.S. and Oggins, J.B., 'Royal Consumption and Gifts of Deer in Thirteenth-Century England', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 17 (2023), 63-83
- Oram, R., 'Quincy, Roger de, earl of Winchester (c. 1195–1264), constable of Scotland', *ODNB* (2023) accessed online 10 December 2025 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22966>
- Orme, N. and Webster, M., *The English Hospital 1070-1570* (London, 1995)
- Ormrod, W.M., 'Royal Finance in Thirteenth Century England', in Coss, P.R. and Lloyd, S.D. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England V* (Woodbridge, 1995), 141-61
- Ormrod, W.M., 'England in the Middle Ages', in Bonney, R. (ed.), *The Rise of the Fiscal State in Europe, c.1200-1815* (Oxford, 1999), 19-52
- Painter, S., *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony* (Baltimore, 1943)
- Painter, S., *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949)
- Parker, F.H.M., 'Inglewood Forest', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 5 (1905), 35-61

- Phillips, K., 'The Leper and the King: The Patronage and Perception of Lepers by King Henry III of England and King Louis IX of France' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Reading, 2018)
- Pollard, A. and Church, S., 'Neville, Geoffrey de (d. 1225), baron', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 6 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19932>
- Pollard, A. and Davies, R., 'Monmouth, John of (c. 1182–1248), baron', *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 5 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18959>
- Powicke, F.M., *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1947)
- Powicke, M., *The Thirteenth Century 1216-1307* (2nd edition, Oxford, 1962)
- Rackham, O., *Ancient Woodland: Its History, Vegetation and Uses in England* (London, 1980)
- Rawcliffe, C., *Leprosy in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2006)
- Ray, M., 'Alien Courtiers of Thirteenth-Century England and their Assimilation' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 2003)
- Ray, M., 'Three Alien Stewards in Thirteenth Century England: The Careers and Legacy of Matthias Bezill, Imbert Pugeys and Peter de Champvent', in Prestwich, M., Britnell, P. and Frame, R. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England X* (Woodbridge, 2005), 51-67
- Reed, M., *A History of Buckinghamshire* (Chichester, 1993)
- Remfry, P., 'St Briavels Castle, 1066 to 1331' accessed online 26 March 2024 [\(99+\) Saint Briavels Castle, 1066 to 1331 | Paul Remfry - Academia.edu](#)
- Richardson, A., *The Forest, Park and Palace of Clarendon c.1200-c.1650: Reconstructing an Actual, Conceptual and Documented Wiltshire Landscape* (Oxford, 2005)
- Richardson, A., "'The King's Chief Delights": A Landscape Approach to the Royal Parks of Post-Conquest England', in Liddiard, R. (ed.), *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield, 2007), 27-48
- Richardson, A., 'Putting the "Royal" back into Forests: Kingship, Largesse, Patronage and Management in a Group of Wessex Forests in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in Langton, J. and Jones, G. (eds.), *Forests and Chases of Medieval England and Wales c.1000 - c.1500* (Oxford, 2010), 125-40

- Ridgeway, H.W., 'The Politics of the English Royal Court 1247-65, with Special Reference to the Role of the Aliens' (Unpublished DPhil Thesis, Oxford University, 1983)
- Ridgeway, H., 'The Lord Edward and the Provisions of Oxford (1258): A Study in Faction', in Coss, P.R. and Lloyd, S.D. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England I* (Woodbridge, 1986), 89-99
- Ridgeway, H., 'King Henry III and the "Aliens", 1236-1272', in Coss, P.R. and Lloyd, S.D. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England II* (Woodbridge, 1988), 81-92
- Ridgeway, H.W., 'Foreign Favourites and Henry III's Problems of Patronage, 1247-1258', *English Historical Review*, 104 (1989), 590-610
- Ridgeway, H., 'William de Valence and his Familiares, 1247-72', *Historical Research*, 65 (1992), 239-57
- Ridgeway, H., 'Sherborne and Corfe Castles in 1260-61' accessed online 8 May 2025 [Fine Rolls Henry III: Fine of the Month: December 2010](#)
- Ridgeway, H., 'Dorset in the Period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion', *Historical Research*, 87 (2014), 18-42
- Ridgeway, H., 'What Happened in 1261?', in Jobson, A. (ed.), *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England 1258-1267* (Woodbridge, 2016), 89-108
- Robinson, S., 'The Forests and Woodland Areas of Herefordshire', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 24 (1923), 193-220
- Roffe, D., 'The Hundred Rolls of 1255', *Historical Research*, 69 (1996), 201-10
- Rowberry, R., 'Forest Eyre Justices in the Reign of Henry III (1216-1272)', *William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, 25 (2016), 513-48
- Salt, W., *The Visits of King Henry III to the Northern Counties of England, as shown by a MS Itinerary in the Possession of William Salt, Esq., F.S.A., compiled from materials communicated by Thomas Duffus Hardy, Esq., one of the keepers of the Public Records* (London, 1856)
- Sanders, I.J., *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent 1086-1327* (Oxford, 1960)
- Schumer, B., 'Assarting in the Medieval Forest of Wychwood', in Langton, J. and Jones, G. (eds.), *Forests and Chases of Medieval England and Wales c.1000 - c.1500* (Oxford, 2010), 101-8

- Stamper, P.A., 'Medieval Hampshire: Studies in Landscape History' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Southampton, 1983)
- Stamper, P.A., 'The Medieval Forest of Pamber, Hampshire', *Landscape History*, 5 (1983), 41-52
- Stamper, P., 'Woods and Parks', in Astill, G. and Grant, A. (eds.), *The Countryside of Medieval England* (Oxford, 1988), 128-48
- Steane, J.M., 'The Medieval Parks of Northamptonshire', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 5 (1975), 211-33
- Stewart-Brown, R., 'The End of the Norman Earldom of Chester', *English Historical Review*, 35 (1920), 26-54
- Stewart-Parker, W.J., 'The Bassets of High Wycombe: Politics, Lordship, Locality and Culture in the Thirteenth Century' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, King's College, London, 2013)
- Strange, W., *Notley Abbey* (Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, 2024)
- Studd, J.R., 'The Lord Edward's Lordship of Chester', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 128 (1979), 1-25
- Summerson, H., *Medieval Carlisle* (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1993)
- Summerson, H., 'Gurdun [Gurdon], Sir Adam (c. 1220–1305), soldier and rebel', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 10 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11754>
- Summerson, H., 'Moels [Meulles, Molis], Sir Nicholas de (d. 1268/9), soldier and diplomat', *ODNB* (2021) accessed online 9 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18873>
- Sweetinburgh, S., *The Role of the Hospital in Medieval England: Gift-giving and the Spiritual Economy* (Dublin, 2004)
- Sykes, N., 'The Impact of the Normans on Hunting Practices in England', in Woolgar, C.M., Serjeantson, D. and Waldron, T. (eds.), *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition* (Oxford, 2006), 162-75
- Thomas, H., 'Percy, William de (1191x3–1245), baron', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 31 January 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21961>
- Thomas, H.M., *Power and Pleasure: Court Life under King John, 1199-1216* (Oxford, 2020)

Thomas, R., 'Woodland and Woodland Management in Lowland Medieval Forests: An Illustration from Bernwood', in Langton, J. and Jones, G. (eds.), *Forests and Chases of Medieval England and Wales c.1000 - c.1500* (Oxford, 2010), 91-100

Todd, J., 'Seagrave [Segrave], Sir Gilbert of (d. 1254), administrator and justice', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25034>

Tout, T. and Davies, R., 'Zouche [Zouch], Alan de la (d. 1270), administrator and soldier', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 5 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30300>

Treharne, R.F., *The Baronial Plan of Reform, 1258-1263* (Manchester, 1971)

Treharne, R.F., *Simon de Montfort and Baronial Reform: Thirteenth Century Essays* (London, 1986)

Turner, G.J., 'The Justices of the Forest South of the Trent', *English Historical Review*, 18 (1903), 112-6

Turton, R.B., 'The Honour and Forest of Pickering,' *North Riding Record Society Volumes I-4* (1894-97)

Urwin, A.C.B., *Richard, Earl of Cornwall and King of Almayne, 1209-1272: Lord of the Manors of Isleworth and Twickenham* (Borough of Twickenham Local History Society, 1995)

Ville, O., 'Deyville [Daiville], Sir John de (c. 1234–1290/91), rebel', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 6 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/50769>

The Victoria County History:

A History of the County of Berkshire, (eds.) William Page, P.H. Ditchfield, 4 volumes (London, 1906-24)

A History of the County of Buckinghamshire, (ed.) William Page, 4 volumes (London, 1905-27)

A History of the County of Derbyshire, (ed.) William Page, 2 volumes (London, 1905-07)

A History of the County of Dorset, (ed.) William Page, 1 volume (London, 1908)

A History of the County of Essex, (eds.) William Page, J.H. Round, W.R. Powell, 3 volumes (London, 1903-56)

A History of the County of Gloucestershire, (eds.) William Page, N. Herbert, 2 volumes (London, 1907-96)

A History of the County of Hampshire, (ed.) William Page, 5 volumes (London, 1901-12)

- A History of the County of Herefordshire*, (ed.) William Page, 1 volume (London, 1908)
- A History of the County of Huntingdonshire*, (eds.) William Page, G. Proby, S. Inskip Ladds, 3 volumes (London, 1926-36)
- A History of the County of Lancashire*, (eds.) W. Farrer, J. Brownbill, 8 volumes (London, 1906-14)
- A History of the County of Leicestershire*, (eds.) William Page, W.G. Hoskins, R.A. McKinley, J.M. Lee, 5 volumes (London, 1907-64)
- A History of the County of Northamptonshire*, (eds.) William Page, W. Ryland, D. Adkins, R.M. Serjeantson, L.F. Salzman, 4 volumes (London, 1902-37)
- A History of the County of Nottinghamshire*, (ed.) William Page, 2 volumes (London, 1906-10)
- A History of the County of Oxfordshire*, (eds.) William Page, L.F. Salzman, 2 volumes (London, 1907-39)
- A History of the County of Rutland*, (ed.) William Page, 2 volumes (London, 1906-35)
- A History of the County of Shropshire*, (eds.) William Page, A.T. Gaydon, 2 volumes (London, 1908-73)
- A History of the County of Somerset*, (ed.) William Page, 2 volumes (London, 1906-11)
- A History of the County of Staffordshire*, (eds.) William Page, M.W. Greenslade, J.G. Jenkins, 3 volumes (London, 1908-70)
- A History of the County of Wiltshire*, (eds.) E. Crittall, R.B. Pugh, 4 volumes (London, 1955-59)
- A History of the County of Worcestershire*, (eds.) William Page, J.H. Willis-Bund, 4 volumes (London, 1901-24)
- A History of the County of Yorkshire, North Riding*, (ed.) William Page, 2 volumes (London, 1914-23)
- Vincent, N., *Peter des Roches, An Alien in English Politics, 1205-1238* (Cambridge, 1996)
- Vincent, N., *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge, 2001)
- Vincent, N., 'The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England 1154-1272', in Morris, C. and Roberts, P. (eds.), *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan* (Cambridge, 2002), 12-45
- Vincent, N., 'Mauclerk, Walter (d. 1248), bishop of Carlisle', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 18 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18355>

Vincent, N., 'Rivallis [Rivaux], Peter de (d. 1262), courtier and administrator', *ODNB* (2004) accessed online 4 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23688>

Vincent, N., 'Montfichet, Richard de (b. after 1190, d. 1267), baron and forest administrator', *ODNB* (2005) accessed online 19 September 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19044>

Vincent, N., 'Grey [Gray], Sir John de (d. 1266), royal councillor', *ODNB* (2006) accessed online 12 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11542>

Vincent, N., 'Plessis, John de, seventh earl of Warwick (d. 1263), royal councillor', *ODNB* (2006) accessed online 24 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22379>

Vincent, N., 'Ros, Robert de (d. c. 1270), baron and royal councillor', *ODNB* (2006) accessed online 6 October 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24078>

Vincent, N., 'Henry of Almain [Henry of Cornwall] (1235–1271), courtier', *ODNB* (2008) accessed online 26 March 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12958>

Vincent, N., 'Bohun, Humphrey de, second earl of Hereford and seventh earl of Essex (d. 1275), magnate', *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 17 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2775>

Vincent, N., 'Basset, Gilbert (d. 1241), knight and rebel', *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 15 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1639>

Vincent, N., 'Lacy, John de, third earl of Lincoln (c. 1192–1240), magnate', *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 12 February 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15855>

Vincent, N., 'Plugenet, Alan de, first Lord Plugenet (d. 1298), baron and royal councillor', *ODNB* (2010) accessed online 29 January 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22392>

Vincent, N., 'Maulay [Malo Lacu], Peter de (d. 1241), knight and royal councillor', *ODNB* (2012) accessed online 15 May 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18375>

Vincent, N., 'An Inventory of Gifts to King Henry III, 1234-5', in Crook, D. and Wilkinson, L.J. (eds.), *The Growth of Royal Government under Henry III* (Woodbridge, 2015), 121-46

Vincent, N., 'Cigogné, Engelard de (d. 1244), sheriff and administrator', *ODNB* (2024) accessed online 10 December 2025 <https://doi.org/10.1093/odnb/9780198614128.013.39498>

Wait, H.A., 'The Household and Resources of the Lord Edward, 1239-1272' (Unpublished DPhil Thesis, Oxford University, 1988)

- Walker, R.F., 'The Anglo-Welsh Wars, 1217-1267, with Special Reference to English Military Developments' (Unpublished DPhil Thesis, Oxford University, 1954)
- Walker, R.F., 'The Supporters of Richard Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, in the Rebellion of 1233-34', *Welsh History Review*, 17 (1994), 41-65
- Warren, W.L., *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England 1086-1272* (London, 1987)
- Watts, K., 'Wiltshire Deer Parks: An Introductory Survey', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 89 (1996), 88-98
- Waugh, S.L., 'Reluctant Knights and Jurors: Respites, Exemptions and Public Obligations in the Reign of Henry III', *Speculum*, 58 (1983), 937-86
- Waugh, S.L., 'The Origins of the Office of Escheator', in Crook, D. and Wilkinson, L.J. (eds.), *The Growth of Royal Government under Henry III* (Woodbridge, 2015), 227-65
- Webster, P., *King John and Religion* (Woodbridge, 2015)
- Weiler, B.K.U., *Henry III of England and the Staufen Empire, 1216-1272* (Woodbridge, 2016)
- West, J., 'The Administration and Economy of the Forest of Feckenham during the Early Middle Ages' (Unpublished MA Thesis, Birmingham University, 1964)
- Wild, B., 'Secrecy, Splendour and Statecraft: The Jewel Accounts of King Henry III of England, 1216-72', *Historical Research*, 83 (2010), 409-30
- Wild, B., 'A Gift Inventory from the Reign of Henry III', *English Historical Review*, 125 (2010), 529-69
- Wild, B.L., 'A Captive King: Henry III between the Battles of Lewes and Evesham, 1264-5', in Burton, J., Lachaud, F. and Schofield, P. (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England XIII* (Woodbridge, 2011), 41-56
- Wild, B.L., 'Royal Finances under King Henry III 1216-72: The Wardrobe Evidence', *Economic History Review*, 65 (2012), 1380-1402
- Wild, B.L., 'Reasserting Medieval Kingship: King Henry III and the Dictum of Kenilworth', in Jobson, A. (ed.), *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England, 1258-1267* (Woodbridge, 2016), 237-58
- Wilkinson, L., 'Women as Sheriffs in Early Thirteenth Century England', in Jobson, A. (ed.), *English Government in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), 111-24
- Wilkinson, L.J., 'The Imperial Marriage of Isabella of England, Henry III's sister', in Oakley-Brown, L. and Wilkinson, L.J. (eds.), *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval to Early Modern* (Dublin, 2009), 20-36

- Wilkinson, L.J., *Eleanor de Montfort: A Rebel Countess in Medieval England* (London, 2012)
- Wilkinson, L.J., 'Women in English Local Government: Sheriffs, Castellans and Foresters', in Crook, D. and Wilkinson, L.J. (eds.), *The Growth of Royal Government under Henry III* (Woodbridge, 2015), 212-26
- Wilkinson, L.J., 'Reformers and Royalists: Aristocratic Women in Politics, 1258-1267', in Jobson, A. (ed.), *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England, 1258-1267* (Woodbridge, 2016), 152-66
- Winchester, A.J.L., 'Baronial and Manorial Parks in Medieval Cumbria', in Liddiard, R. (ed.), *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield, 2007), 165-84
- Winters, J.F., 'The Forest Eyre, 1154-1368' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, King's College, London, 1999)
- Woolgar, C.M., *The Culture of Food in England 1200-1500* (London, 2016)
- Woolgar, C.M., 'Gifts of Food in Late Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 37 (2011), 6-18
- Wrottesley, G., 'Pleas of the Forest, Staffordshire', *Collections for a History of Staffordshire, William Salt Archaeological Society*, 5 (1884), 123-80
- Wrottesley, G., 'Forest Tenures of Staffordshire', *Collections for a History of Staffordshire, William Salt Archaeological Society*, 10 (1907), 189-243
- Young, C.R., *The Royal Forest of Medieval England* (Leicester, 1979)