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978-1-108-04311-3 - *Annales Monastici*: Volume 1: *Annales de Margan* (A.D. 1066-1232)

Annales de Theokesberia (A.D. 1066-1263) *Annales de Burton* (A.D. 1004-1263)

Edited by Henry Richards Luard

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Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or *The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*, usually referred to as the 'Rolls Series', was an ambitious project first proposed to the British Treasury in 1857 by Sir John Romilly, the Master of the Rolls, and quickly approved for public funding. Its purpose was to publish historical source material covering the period from the arrival of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII, 'without mutilation or abridgement', starting with the 'most scarce and valuable' texts. A 'correct text' of each work would be established by collating 'the best manuscripts', and information was to be included in every case about the manuscripts used, the life and times of the author, and the work's 'historical credibility', but there would be no additional annotation. The first books were published in 1858, and by the time it was completed in 1896 the series contained 99 titles and 255 volumes. Although many of the works have since been re-edited by modern scholars, the enterprise as a whole stands as a testament to the Victorian revival of interest in the middle ages.

Annales Monastici

Originally published in 1864–9, and still a standard reference work, this five-volume collection contains editions of key source texts for medieval English history, focusing mainly on the thirteenth century. Compiled in monasteries over many years, they record local, national and international events in chronological order, sometimes surprisingly briefly and at other times in great detail. The coverage includes aristocratic marriages and deaths, royal visits, appointments and acquisitions, astronomical observations, conflicts and power struggles, natural disasters, crimes, 'diabolical appearances' and excommunications. The editor, Henry Richards Luard (1825–91), an influential Cambridge clergyman and university administrator, provided introductions to the Latin texts, and sidenotes in English indicating their content. Volume 1 (1864) contains the *Annals of Margan* (Glamorganshire) for 1066–1232, *Tewkesbury* (Gloucestershire) for 1066–1263 and *Burton-on-Trent* (Staffordshire) for 1004–1263. As was usual, the earlier parts of each text closely follow older sources.

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Annales Monastici

VOLUME 1:

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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

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The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,
December 1857.*

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**ANNALES MONASTICI.**

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**VOL. I.**  
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ANNALES DE BURTON.

MS. COTTON. VESPASIAN. E. iii. f. 60.

Dez & Son, Libraires to the Queen, London. W.C.

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ANNALES DE BURTON.

(A.D. 1004—1263.)

EDITED

BY

HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A.

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REGISTRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY;
AND PERPETUAL CURATE OF GREAT SAINT MARY'S, CAMBRIDGE.

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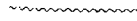
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**P R E F A C E.**  
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P R E F A C E.

THE chief sources for the history of the thirteenth century are contained in the various Annales preserved in the different monasteries, and bearing their names. It is the object of the present collection of ANNALES MONASTICI, of which the first volume is now published, to embrace all the most important of those written during that period; so that the historical student may have them before him in a small compass, and connected by one general index, each chronicle being printed in extenso. Several of these have already appeared in Fulman's *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*, and in Gale's *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores*; but the rarity and high price of these volumes prevent their being generally accessible; and the carelessness with which they were edited has for long made new editions of each chronicler among the chief desiderata of historical students;¹ while others, such as the Dunstable Annals, edited by Hearne, are so rare as scarcely to be obtained at any price.

¹ Both Fulman and Gale seem to have employed transcribers, without afterwards collating their transcripts. There are frequently sentences and sometimes even whole paragraphs omitted from carelessness, while the errors arising from ignorance or careless reading of the MSS. are

very many. In the Margan annals, as they appear in Gale, and the Burton, as in Fulman, are many sentences which are absolute nonsense. Not unfrequently the editors suggest a reading as an emendation of what appears in their text, which is really the reading of the MSS.

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In such a collection there must of necessity be a difficulty as to what is to be included or what rejected. All of these annalists more or less copy one from the other, or from the same source. There would obviously be no advantage in printing twice or three times over in the same volume, or collection of volumes, passages identically the same, or nearly so, even though the common source from which they are derived be not forthcoming. On the other hand, there is almost always in every collection of annals, however meagre, some additional information to be obtained, which will not be found elsewhere, and which will illustrate local history, and often clear up dark points in a very remarkable and unexpected way. Thus, in the Winchester and Worcester annals, extracts from which are published in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, large portions are common to both and to the chronicle called *Matthew of Westminster*; and yet much matter is obtained relative to the history of these two dioceses which will not be found elsewhere. Moreover, though I believe all the chronicles published in the present volume to have been actually compiled during the thirteenth century, yet the writers begin from early times, copying, with scarcely any attempt at correction, some former annalist borrowed for the purpose. Facts which in former times had concerned the particular monastery or particular locality in which the chronicle was compiled will be found to be occasionally introduced; but the bulk of the chronicle, the portion for which it deserves to be considered as one of the sources of English history, is entirely contained within this century.

Compila-
tion of
monastick
annals.

I have already spoken at some length, in the preface to the *Historia Anglicana* of Bartholomew de Cotton, as to the manner in which these annals were probably compiled. A monastery, in beginning its own volume of annals, borrowed the chronicle of a neighbouring monastery, and copied it out, with all errors for the most

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part unchanged, and with few additions excepting what related to the history of the religious house itself, or local allusions derived from its immediate neighbourhood. Thus we frequently find the chronicles which proceeded from monasteries near each other contain the same facts, stated in the same way, and almost in the same language; a Norwich chronicle, for instance, speaking of St. Edmund's-bury, or the reverse.¹ But of course the great value of each annalist begins when the original record is left, having been sent back to its owners, and the contemporary record is carried on from year to year, as the events occurred. Doubtless this was what was done in many instances, as the appearance of the ink and manner of writing shows, in cases where the original MS. is preserved.² In most cases, however, all we have is a transcript by a single scribe of later date, from which, of course, all trace of the original composition, as far as external evidence goes, is swept away. Internal evidence will, however, not unfrequently in these cases lead to the same result.

But besides the general and local facts that come under the notice of the monastick compilers, one chief feature in many of these chronicles consists in the number of valuable documents sent down to the monasteries to be copied and preserved in each, and which in many cases appear inserted in the history. Sometimes only an abridgement of them is given; but more often they were transcribed in extenso; and many of the most important documents have thus been preserved to us, by being copied into the volume of annals of a single monastery. In none is this more remarkable than in the Burton Annals, published in this volume.

Documents
sent to the
different
monas-
teries.

¹ See the preface to Bartholomew de Cotton, pp. xxxix., lv.

² See, for instance, the Norwich

MS. of Bartholomew de Cotton's history, preserved in Norwich Cathedral.

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It is difficult to say whether these Annals were the production in each instance (I mean, of course, in those portions which were written contemporary with the events narrated) of a single writer, or of several appointed from time to time to take that part of the duties of the great religious houses. Internal evidence rather, I think, points to the latter supposition: for though in some cases names are attached to the chronicles, *e.g.*, Bartholomew de Cotton, Everisden, Richard de Morins, &c., yet they rarely speak in the first person; and the difference of style that is frequently traceable in successive paragraphs of the same chronicle, points rather to a variety of writers than to a single one; while the accuracy at one moment, and the carelessness at another, with which an event is stated,—the fulness with which some facts of little importance are given, and the scantiness of detail in many cases where we should have expected the reverse, forbid us to look upon the whole as the production of a single responsible author. This is, however, a point which would require separate investigation in each individual chronicle.

Manner in
which the
Chronicles
are edited.

With regard to the manner of editing these chronicles, I have so fully explained it in my preface to the History of Bartholomew de Cotton, that little need be stated here. The portions copied from an earlier chronicler are printed in small type, all additions being in type of the ordinary size, while any omissions from the chronicler who is being copied are indicated by a row of points. Besides this, all letters, documents, &c., whether known to exist in other places or not, are printed in small type.

The order in which the chronicles are printed in the present collection is intended to be chronological; that is, according to the date of the last year which each contains. This, though the best arrangement, as approximating with the greatest amount of probability to the true order, is not certain, as many of the MSS.

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of the annals preserved in different monasteries are imperfect at the end, and really therefore went on to a later period than some which apparently terminate in subsequent years; besides it is not improbable that one monastery owed the bulk, if not the whole, of its annals to a chronicle borrowed from some other house, the latter being afterwards carried on farther after its return, while the former stopped with the year when the MS. was borrowed.

The present volume contains the Annals preserved in the monasteries of Margan, Tewkesbury, and Burton. Contents of the present volume.

The MARGAN ANNALS were published by Gale very incorrectly, from the only MS. known to exist, which is preserved among the Gale collection in Trinity College, Cambridge. This is a small quarto on parchment, consisting now of sixteen leaves, one or two at the end being lost, written in a clear hand of the thirteenth century. The Annals are now printed from the MS. Margan Annals. MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. Gale, O. 2, 4.

The monastery of Margan, in Glamorganshire, was founded, as we learn from the Annals themselves (p. 14), in 1147 by Robert, earl of Gloucester, in the last year of his life, and was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. The Annals begin with the death of Edward the Confessor in 1066, and end (the MS. being, as has already been said, imperfect) with the king's quarrel with Hubert de Burgh in the year 1232. The chief source for the earlier portion of the chronicle is William of Malmesbury's history, unless both he and the Margan annalist derive their facts and legends from a common origin. Thus the prowess of Waltheof at the battle of York (p. 4), the storms at Winchcombe and London and their consequences, in the year 1091, the famine in consequence of the exactions of William Rufus in 1094, the diabolick appearances in 1100, the murrain in 1131, are all narrated in nearly the same words as they appear in Malmesbury. The early portion of the chro- Monastery of Margan. Account of the Annals.

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nicle is very meagre before the date of its own foundation, but afterwards the notices of publick events are fuller, and especially of those relating to Wales and the immediate neighbourhood of the abbey. Between 1100 and 1130 there are more references to Winchester than to any other place. After 1184 the chronicle becomes fuller. Both before and after this date very much of a local nature is added to the general history of the times. Thus mention is made of the murder of Roger Ymor in 1127, the ravages of the Welsh in 1137, the burning of the barn of the abbey by the Welsh in 1161, the pacification of the country by Henry II. in 1163, the burning of Kenvig in the year 1167, the invasion of Glamorganshire, with the siege of Neath Castle, in 1185, the loss of the sheep of the abbey by fire in 1223, and other ravages of the Welsh the following year, the burning of three towns in Glamorganshire in 1226, Llewellyn's invasion of Brecknock in 1231, &c. Some of the events of the general history of the time are fully described,—we find (p. 15) a description of the fanatical sect in Perigord, taken apparently from the letter of the monk Heribert *de hæreticis Petragoricensibus*; the account of the discovery of the bones of king Arthur, very similar to that in Bromton (p. 21); a mention of the battle of Navas de Tolosa, as described by the archbishop of Narbonne (p. 32), &c., all showing that the compilers had access to various sources of information.¹

The succession of abbats of Margan is of course mentioned, as also the foundation of various Cistercian abbeys, Dunkeswell, Faringdon, Beaulieu, with the successions of some of the bishops and abbats. Among these last occur the names of several of the abbats of Waverley. The chronicle does not, however, seem

¹ Among the authorities made use of is a certain "libellus qui inscribitur de Symonia," to which reference is made in speaking of the quarrel between John and Innocent III. (p. 28).

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to have been derived from that source. King John's persecution of the Cistercians is mentioned, with the remarkable fact that two of their monasteries were exempt from his exactions: the one, Margan, because he had been hospitably received there on his expedition to Ireland with his army, and on his return; the other, Beaulieu, because he himself had founded it. The account of St. Anselm's visit to Rome (p. 8), with the chronicler's reasons for it, and his anger at the "diabolicæ adinventiones ad subvertendam ecclesiasticam libertatem," to which he traces the quarrels between Anselm with William II. and Henry I., and later the murder of Becket, is very curious.¹ The chronicler's dates are not always to be depended upon. Thus, Robert, bishop of Chester, is represented as dying in 1116, instead of 1117; Maurice, bishop of London, in 1117 instead of 1107; prince Henry, too, is called "Henricus secundus" instead of tertius (p. 17).

I pass on to the second chronicle contained in the present volume, the ANNALS OF THE MONASTERY OF TEWKESBURY. The single MS. which contains them is in the Cotton collection in the British Museum, Cleopatra A. vii. It is a small quarto, bound up with other MSS., extending from ff. 7-67 of the volume, written in various hands of the thirteenth century. At first there is a large margin for the years, marked off with a red line. In the later portions are occasionally rubricated headings. The Annals are followed by the Cartulary of the monastery, which occupies ff. 68-95; this is followed by the curious account of the discussion of the right of the abbat of Tewkesbury to try thieves in his own court, ff. 96-98, which will be found in

¹ It is rather singular to find these "regiæ consuetudines" or "pro-fanæ illæ consuetudines," twice spoken of with the same contempt, "quas vocant avitas leges et regias libertates," pp. 8, 28.

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the Appendix at the end of the present volume, pp. 511–516; some letters and other matter relating to the crusade of St. Louis; and the “*libertates et liberæ consuetudines de Kerdif et de Teokesberia*,” which is printed from this MS. in the new edition of Dugdale. An entirely different MS. begins at f. 104. These Annals, which are now for the first time published, begin with the death of Edward the Confessor, and end abruptly, the MS. being imperfect, in 1263.

Abbey of
Tewkes-
bury.

The abbey of Tewkesbury, or Theokesberia, is said to derive its name from Theokus, a hermit who established himself in early times near the Severn, seven miles from Gloucester. Here, in 715, Oddo and Doddo, dukes of Mercia, built a monastery in his honour. It soon found various patrons, but suffered grievously during the Danish wars, and after being twice consumed by fire, was subjected as a cell by its patron, Haylward Mere, in 980, to his priory of Cranborne, in Dorsetshire. It remained thus for above 120 years, and the connexion with Cranborne, as we shall have occasion to observe afterwards, was never lost. In the year 1102, Robert Fitz-Haimon, one of the barons who came to England with the Conqueror, enlarged the buildings and increased the possessions so much that the monks of Cranborne removed to Tewkesbury, making it the head house; the annalist remarking under this year, “*Hic primum in novum monasterium ingressi sumus*” (p. 44). Their first abbat, Giraldus, died soon afterwards, in 1110, and was succeeded by Robert, a chaplain of Robert Fitz-Haimon. The church was dedicated in 1123. In later times, the chief benefactors to the monastery were the Clares, earls of Gloucester. An account of the foundation, which is preserved among the Cotton MSS., Cleopatra C. iii., is printed in the new edition of the *Monasticon*, vol. ii., p. 59.

Account of
the Annals.

These Annals are very meagre from the commencement till the year 1200, their chief value up to this

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time arising from the mention of the succession of a large proportion of the bishops and abbats of the country, especially of the abbats of the monasteries in the neighbourhood of Tewkesbury. After the year 1200 they become more diffuse and interesting, although a considerable portion is taken up with the affairs of the monastery;—the vindication of its claim to certain lands, the quarrels with the bishops of Worcester, the visits of royal personages, and the birth, death, and burial of its great patrons, the Clares, are naturally more fully described than other events. But it is by no means a mere chronicle of monastick life,—the events of the general history of the time being mixed up with what more immediately concerned the monks, and some being described at length. In many passages it is identical with the *Annales Wygorniaë*, published by Wharton; but though these are carried on as late as the year 1308, they do not appear to be taken from the Tewkesbury MS. Thus, in p. 59, mention is made of a penance imposed on a certain person for a great crime, *ut omni die Veneris carnibus vesceretur*; the real point of the penance, *et aliis diebus abstineret*, which is given in the Worcester annals, is omitted by the Tewkesbury. So again, p. 63, in the mention of the restoration of Worcester castle to the monks, the word *Wygorniaë* is omitted, and a blank space left, as if the scribe could not read it. On the other hand, the Worcester MS. is certainly not the original, as the Tewkesbury MS. is frequently much fuller, even on matters relating to Worcester. They probably have both derived what matter they have in common from a third original used by both. Some of the chief events of the time are passed over with singular brevity; for instance (p. 61) the battle of Bovines, perhaps the greatest battle of the time, is dismissed without the mention of the name, and as if it were little more than a skirmish.

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The fuller accounts of the affairs of the abbey begin in 1219, during abbat Peter's life, the first event that is mentioned being the vindication of the claim of the monastery to a manor against Fulk de Breauté, who then, according to the chronicler, was "plusquam rex in Anglia;" and under the same year is the mention of an accident in the dormitory, evidently written by one who had witnessed it. Then we have (p. 76) the account of the funeral of Gilbert de Clare, his body being brought from Penros, in Brittany, where he died, and buried at Tewkesbury, in the presence of the abbats of Tewkesbury, Tintern, Flexley, Keynsham, and Dureford, and a large concourse of people of all classes. The importance of the monastery, and its close connexion with the earls of Gloucester, is soon after even more clearly seen in the account (p. 78) of the marriage of Isabella, countess of Gloucester, the widow of Gilbert de Clare, with Richard of Cornwall. They were married at Fawley, in Buckinghamshire, by abbat Peter.

The chronicle throughout is very varied in the character of the events described: the exchange of livings with the dean and chapter of Exeter, the presents of one of the abbats to the monastery, the order of another respecting the dresses of the monks, appear side by side with the general affairs of the country; such as the marriage of the royal princesses and the taxation that followed; the ravages and consequent destruction of the new heretical sect of Shepherds in France; or the absolution of R. de Cirencester, who had been suspended for seizing a Cornish deacon by the hair in St. James's, Bristol (p. 89).

Of course the neighbourhood of Tewkesbury to Wales causes us to hear a good deal of the ravages of the Welsh, and of the danger to which life and property were exposed by their sudden invasions; these frequently alternate with mention of the settlement of questions

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concerning tithes or a pasturage, or some petty private suit with another convent or landowner. Llewellyn's ravages seem to have been so unchecked by anything like law, that a neighbouring prior (that of Leominster) bought a peace from him at a heavy expense. One curious illustration of the state of the country, and the social condition of the time, occurs in the affair of the church of Llanblethian. This had been given to Tewkesbury by the bishop of Llandaff; the convent sent a certain monk to receive seisin of the church; on arriving there he found the keys carried off into the neighbouring mountains; and all he could do was to appeal against any one who opposed the privileges of the monastery, which had been confirmed by the bishops of Llandaff. The Welsh then seized the monk on the high road, and carried him off to the mountains, and kept him there three days. The bishop of Llandaff excommunicated them for this, and sent his sentence up to Hubert de Burgh; and abbat Peter also excommunicated the individual who had laid hands on the monk. This same church, however, gave them trouble again. Roger Meylok, probably a son of the Ralph Mailok who is mentioned (p. 80) as formerly holding it of the convent, went to the church, and not content with carrying off the corn, threatened to set fire to the property of the convent, both in England and Wales; and the abbat, in fear, arranged to give him twelve marks annually, until he could be provided for in some benefice in England or Wales.

A still more remarkable case is that of Fairford church. The prior, Robert of Forthampton, appealed for the privileges of the monastery in the church. On the death of the rector some of the monks were sent to the church to watch over and protect the rights of the convent. The proctors of the monastery appeared before the bishop of Worcester. At first he refused to see them; afterwards, when they were admitted to his

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presence and presented their letters, he scarcely looked at them, but handed them over to his clerks for their opinion. They gave their decision against the convent, and the bishop, stating that one Frederick was the parson of the church, refused to admit the Tewkesbury proctors, and sentenced all who attempted to enter the church on the part of the convent. Against this the monks appealed. "Valeat," said the bishop, "quod valere possit." Soon after this, Frederick, acting, as the chronicler believes, under the advice of the bishop, came to the church with a band of armed men, broke open the doors, and ill-treated the monks in a shameful manner, scarcely allowing them to escape alive,—an unheard of thing, says the chronicler, since the death of blessed Thomas the Martyr, archbishop of Canterbury. The death of abbat Peter occurred soon after this; and great were the persecutions, says the chronicler, afterwards endured by the monks at the hands of the bishop of Worcester, who wished to force the monks to bury their late abbat, as being an excommunicated person, outside the church. Their great anxiety was for a free election, and this was granted to them by Hubert de Burgh, who was then the guardian of their patron, Richard de Clare. The prior, Robert of Forthampton, above mentioned, was elected abbat; and peace was made with the bishop,—the convent, and then the dead abbat, being absolved by him. Hubert de Burgh's own ill-treatment and sufferings, of which an account is given at considerable length, follow.

In p. 93 will be found a curious mention of the heretical sect of the Städingers, of whom a large number were slaughtered in 1234; in p. 96 we observe the murder of a clerk of Maurice Fitzgerald, the Irish justiciary, whose name we learn, from a letter printed in Mr. Shirley's volume of Royal Letters of this reign, to be Henry Clement; in p. 97 the quarrel between Grosseteste and his canons; in p. 101 the visit of queen Eleanor