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978-1-108-04313-7 - *Annales Monastici: Volume 3: Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia (A.D. 1-1297) Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia (A.D. 1042-1432)*

Edited by Henry Richards Luard

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# Annales Monastici

VOLUME 3:

ANNALES PRIORATUS DE DUNSTAPLIA

(A.D. 1-1297)

ANNALES MONASTERII DE BERMUNDESEIA

(A.D. 1042-1432)

EDITED BY HENRY RICHARDS LUARD



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Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,  
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781108043137](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108043137)

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This edition first published 1866  
This digitally printed version 2012

ISBN 978-1-108-04313-7 Paperback

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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He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be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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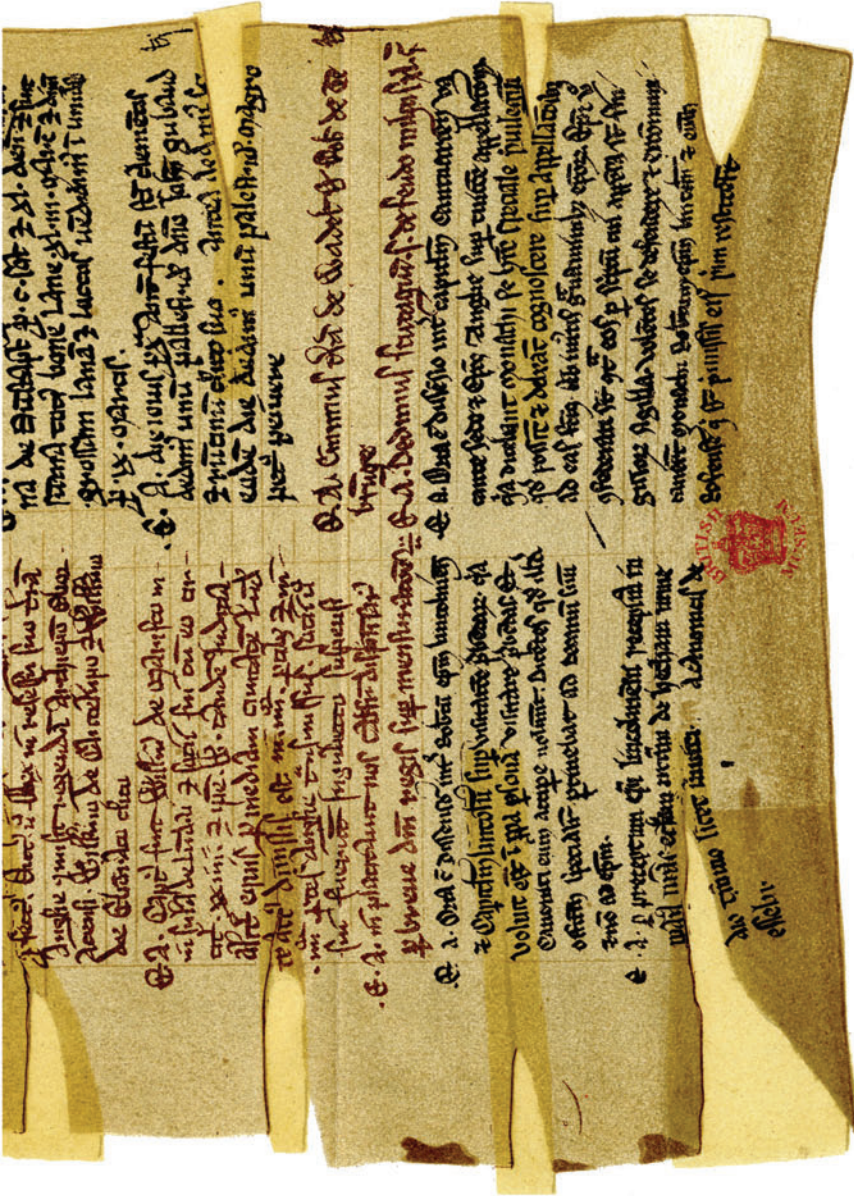
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M S. COTTON, TYBERIS, X. X, fol 33 b.

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# ANNALES MONASTICI.

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(A.D. 1—1297.)

ANNALES MONASTERII DE BERMUNDESEIA.

(A.D. 1042—1432.)

EDITED

BY

HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A.,

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE; REGISTRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY;  
AND PERPETUAL CURATE OF GREAT ST. MARY'S, CAMBRIDGE.

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

LONDON:  
LONGMANS, GREEN, READER, AND DYER.

—  
1866.

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Printed by  
EYRE and SPOTTISWOODE, Her Majesty's Printers,  
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

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

THE present volume contains the ANNALS of DUNSTABLE and the ANNALS of BERMONDSEY.

The single MS. of the ANNALS of DUNSTABLE is preserved among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum, marked Tiberius A. 10. It is a folio, on parchment, the annals occupying ff. 5-89 *b.*, in double columns down to f. 66, and single for the remainder of the MS. After this miscellaneous extracts are inserted. The hand is the same to the middle of 1210; then various hands are employed, but none later than the thirteenth century: after the year 1221 the entries in each year were probably made during the course or at the end of the year itself. The volume has been very much injured by the fire in the Cotton Library in 1731, but has been mended with great skill and care, though in some places words and even sentences are lost. There are occasionally later insertions (a specimen of which may be seen in the page selected for fac-simile, where the bottom of both columns has been added), though probably of nearly the same date as the rest. Besides this the Dunstable Charulary (Harl. 1885), contains on one leaf (f. 40 *b.*) the beginning of the annals down to the year 552 (pp. 3-7). This is also in a thirteenth century hand, not improbably the compiler's own.

Of the Cotton MS. there exists among the Harleian MSS. (4886) a carefully executed transcript made by Humphrey Wanley; and from this, in the year 1733, Hearne printed at Oxford his edition of the Dunstable Annals. He never saw the original MS., which was

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then supposed to have been hopelessly injured by the fire of 1731 ; but has followed Wanley's transcript in the minutest details, the spelling and punctuation and obvious errors being always reproduced. *On the whole*, Wanley may be called a careful copyist of his original ; and his transcript is valuable as preserving several words and passages which the fire since has rendered illegible. Hearne made little attempt at editing his author or investigating his authorities, confining himself to printing the text. His notes do not show much antiquarian<sup>1</sup> or historical knowledge. Of the edition there were printed only 150 copies on small and fifty on large paper, and it is one of the rarest and most sought after of Hearne's publications.

Extent of  
the chro-  
nicle.

The chronicle extends from the Incarnation to the year 1297. The earlier portion, down to the year 1201, when it becomes original, is fortunately very brief, and occupies only twenty-five pages of the present edition. After the year 1297, when the annals stop, there have been several entries made at different times on the blank leaves of the volume, evidently written contemporaneously with the events described. The first of these is the account of the expenses of the installation of John de Cheddington as prior in 1302 ; the last of them was written as late as 1459,—a proclamation in English made at Dunstable by Henry VI. I have arranged them in chronological order, and printed them as an Appendix to the annals. There are also a few other documents relating to the property of the priory, but which would be out of place if printed among the annals.

Richard de  
Morins,  
prior of  
Dunstable,  
the author  
of the

Of the author, of the earlier portion of the *Annals of Dunstable* we are able to speak with greater confidence than in almost any of the other monastick annals. This portion, from the beginning to the end of the year 1241,

<sup>1</sup> An extraordinary specimen may be seen in the note to p. 22. He mistakes the ordinary abbreviation for *Obiit*, for the Greek  $\theta$ , and observes, "*id est*, mortua est. *Nam*  $\theta$

"*signum mortis*." And throughout his two volumes this  $\theta$  is prefixed to the name of the person whose death is mentioned by the annalist!

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pp. 3-158, was compiled by Richard de Morins, prior of the monastery from 1202 to his death in 1242. The words he uses at the beginning of his chronicle (p. 3)—where, after copying Diceto's words as to the date of the Incarnation, he adds, "Et exinde usque ad octavum annum nostrum 1210"—distinctly claim the authorship as his, when they are compared with the statement, in p. 28, that Richard, canon of Merton, was made prior of Dunstable in 1202. We conclude also that he began the compilation of his annals in the year 1210, and then carried it on from year to year till his death. With this the evidence from the handwriting agrees exactly, as a fresh hand begins in the year 1210 (p. 33).

Of Richard de Morins (with the exception of a single mention of his name by Matthew Paris) nothing is known but what he tells us himself in the course of these annals. It is clear, however, that he was a personage of considerable importance. In the year after that in which he was moved from Merton to Dunstable,<sup>1</sup> though till then only a deacon, he was sent by king John to Rome in order to obtain the Pope's aid to arrange peace with France, and he brought back with him to England John, the cardinal of S. Maria in Via Lata (abbat of S. Giovanni di Casamario) as ambassador for that purpose. The cardinal made him visitor of the religious houses in the diocese of Lincoln three years after. In 1212 he was sent through the diocese to investigate into the losses brought on the church by John; and the same year, when three preachers were sent into England by Innocent III. to preach up the crusade, he acted for them in the counties of Huntingdon, Bedford, and Hertford. In 1214 we find him at the fourth Lateran Council; and he took advantage of his absence from England to remain for a year at Paris in the theological schools. He speaks of the danger and difficulty which many of the bishops and abbats who had attended the council suffered on their

<sup>1</sup> He was the fourth prior of the House (v. p. 410), his three predecessors being Bernard and two persons each named Thomas.

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return. In 1223 Matthew Paris<sup>1</sup> tells us that he was one of the commissioners who settled the question of the freedom of the Abbey of Westminster from the Bishop of London,—and the same year he was appointed visitor of the order in the province of York in company with the abbat of Derley; and in 1228 again of the monasteries of the order in Lincoln and Lichfield dioceses. In 1239 the much vexed question as to the archbishop's right of visiting the monasteries in the sees of his suffragans came before him, and he drew up the case for submission to the Pope. The form this question took on the occasion was a request to the Pope that he would define whether the metropolitan could visit the monasteries of his suffragans in cases when the bishops are not negligent (p. 151). In 1241, when, after the death of S. Edmund and his burial at Pontigny, two of the Canterbury monks were sent to Rome to obtain absolution from the sentence of excommunication which the late archbishop had pronounced against them, in order that there might be no hindrance on that score to the election of his successor, the letters of absolution were sent to the prior of Dunstable and the abbat of S. Alban's, joined also with the power of dispensation in case the monks had contracted any irregularity by celebrating after their sentence. His death, as has already been remarked, occurred soon afterwards in 1242. There are many allusions to his government of the abbey; and especially he gives a full account of the quarrel between the canons and the townspeople of Dunstable in 1227-1229, the rights of the priory being disputed on various points. The most important of these, which chiefly had to do with questions of taxation, after a considerable amount of quarrelling, (mass even being left off in the church from August 1 to October 9, 1228,) were submitted to the king in 1229, and peace arranged chiefly through the influence of Hubert de Burgh. But that was broken as soon as the king had left, and the prior took the course of sum-

Quarrel  
between  
the priory  
and the  
townspeople  
of Dunstable.

<sup>1</sup> P. 316, ed. 1640. This is one of Paris's additions to Wendover.

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moning twelve of the more important citizens to Westminster by writ ; this led to an award from the judges at Westminster. But the townsmen still refused to comply unless they had a special order from the king ; and when this was sent, and the prior began to tax his tenants in accordance with it, the burgesses employed to collect the tax perjured themselves, rating their own friends at an unjustly low rate, and giving a very unfair advantage to the richer townsmen. The people in fury then proceeded to withdraw their tithes and offerings, offering only a penny on the occasion of funerals and churchings. Nor were they content with merely negative opposition ; but proceeded to abuse and defame the monks, slandering them through the whole country. They prevented any townsmen under a curse from using the prior's mill, trampled down his corn, shut up his horse, &c. While this was going on, the chancellor (Ralph de Neville) and the justiciary (Stephen de Segrave) passed through Dunstable, and threats from them followed the prior's appeal. But as soon as they were gone the malice of the people broke out again, and although the bishop of Lincoln ordered the offenders to be excommunicated, all they said was that excommunicated they were, and that they would rather go to hell than give way in this question of taxation (*se velle potius ad infernum descendere quam in causa tallagii succumbere*). They went even so far as to determine to leave the town, and to enter into a treaty for forty acres in the neighbourhood, where they might transfer themselves free from all kinds of taxation (*a tallagio et teloneo quieti*). The author says that the judges were wearied out by the frequency of the prior's complaints, and conquered by laziness, were afraid to offend (*scandalizare*) so large a body of people ; and thus that from the numbers both of bribes and persons (*tam munerum quam populorum*), engaged in the quarrel an infinite number of crimes went unpunished. The quarrel was, however, at length made up through the intervention

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PREFACE.

of John Houghton, archdeacon of Bedford (to whom there are frequent allusions in the annals), and the final agreement, which is given at length in pp. 122-124, settled the differences between the priory and the town.

Minor events connected with the prior.

Besides the accounts of the law proceedings in which the prior was engaged on behalf of his monastery, there are frequent allusions to minor events connected with himself; on one occasion (p. 33) he mentions a dream of two Jews, who prophesied Antichrist should be born in forty years; on another his claim of certain fines, and tithes of hay from the parishioners (p. 58). In p. 66 is a curious story of a forgery committed by a Jew, Mossy Fitz-Brun, who attempted to defraud the priory of a large sum by means of a spurious deed. Its falsity was proved by its having been washed, and also being full of false grammar. The Jew's life was saved at the expense of a heavy fine paid to the king by the Jews. The only portion of the fabrick which is mentioned as being built by this prior is the Lady chapel in the canons' cemetery (pp. 113, 410).

Authorship of the rest of the chronicle.

There is nothing to lead us to a conjecture as to the authorship of the rest of the chronicle; there can be no doubt that it was written in the priory, and for the most part, if not entirely, from year to year, contemporary with the events described. Whether by the priors who succeeded Richard de Morins or by any of the other canons, is of course impossible to say.

Sources of the chronicle. R. de Diceto to 1201.

The sources of the earlier portion of the chronicle are easily told. The whole down to the year 1201 is abridged from the *Abbreviationes Chronicorum* and the *Imagines Historiarum* of Radulfus de Diceto, whose words are closely followed, though there are many omissions. There are a few extracts from Martinus Polonus, Florence of Worcester, and from some source which I have not been able to trace, which are sufficiently indicated by the marginal references and the change of type. For the portion of Diceto which is published by Twysden, I have, of course, referred to his edition; for the earlier



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years down to 589, which have not been printed, to the MS. Cott. Claud. E. iii. Diceto is for the most part correctly copied, though sometimes the copyist has blundered by altering his sentences. (See an instance pointed out in the note to p. 14.) From the year 1201, the year before Richard de Morins became prior, the chronicle is original.

A large portion of the annals is occupied by the details which concerned the internal and external affairs of the priory. There were suits constantly going on respecting its property; and these and the legacies of lands that were received from time to time are given in many cases with full details. But the authors have by no means confined themselves to detailing the events immediately before them. Very few contemporary chroniclers throw so much light on the general history of the country, and what would scarcely be expected, on foreign affairs as well as those of England. Many historical facts are known solely from this chronicle.

Thus, in the account of the interdict in 1208 (p. 30), there is mention of the marriages and churchings taking place at the church doors, and of a sermon being preached to the people outside the church, the "panis benedictus" and holy water being given to them there, and oil mixed with the chrism at baptism by the Pope's especial licence, while even the altars were open to those who wished to offer. Under the year 1210 (p. 33) will be found the mention of a rumour of the conspiracy of the barons against John, the report going so far as to state they had elected Simon de Montfort (the elder) king, — which led to John's seizure of the castles of the barons, and to the well known murder of Geoffrey of Norwich. The place where, in the beginning of the war, the barons renounced their allegiance to John by a defiance given by a canon of Dereham, which is stated to be *Reading* in the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, is here (p. 43) said to be Wallingford.<sup>1</sup> The way in which the crusade was

<sup>1</sup> See Pauli, *Geschichte von England*, iii, p. 419.

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preached in 1212 is curious; the three preachers sent by Innocent III. and their coadjutors placing boxes (*truncos*) in the churches for the reception of money. Of the campaign between John and Louis in 1215 there are several details to be found nowhere else, especially of Louis's landing in the isle of Thanet (p. 45), of John's march to Winchester after meeting the legate Gualo (p. 46);<sup>1</sup> while the subsequent unpopularity of Louis is put down in a great measure to the tyranny exercised by the Count de Nevers in the two counties of Hampshire and Sussex, which had been committed to him. The prior seems to have had ample means of judging of the conduct of their party; and the way he speaks of their ravages in the neighbourhood of Dunstable, sparing neither widows nor churches, although they had passed through the town itself without doing much harm (*satis innocenter*, p. 49), shows what side he embraced in the struggle. The name of the noble lady who defended Lincoln castle against the barons (Nicola) is given, as well as other details of the defeated party after the battle. The splendour of the translation of S. Thomas of Canterbury, which is apparently described from report, not from ocular testimony, is dwelt upon (p. 58), as also that of the second coronation of Henry III. (p. 57). The same year (1220) was remarkable in Dunstable annals for the establishment of vicarages in the churches belonging to the priory by bishop Hugh of Lincoln; the value of them is duly set forth (p. 59). Some facts about the sieges of Fotheringay and Biham castles (compare Wendover, iv. p. 67), which are not found elsewhere, are given in p. 64. The account of the inquiry into

<sup>1</sup> He is described as destroying the castles of Eunesheye and Hastings. I have suggested Pevensey as that which is most likely to be meant by the former. But it has been pointed out to me that he would probably have been at Hast-

ings before Pevensey, as his route had been changed from Winchelsea to Winchester. Mr. Hardy's *Itinerary* affords no assistance here, as in it no place at all like "Eunesheye" appears.

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the conduct of Richard Marsh, bishop of Durham, in 1221 (p. 67), and of the various artifices by which he was absolved at Rome, is a different one from Wendover's. Soon after this is the very curious letter sent to Henry III. from cardinal Pelagius, then at Damietta, with the history of Prester John. The account of the murder of the bishop of Caithness in 1222 (p. 77) by the earl of Caithness, and the punishment of the murderer, show that the affairs of Scotland were not beyond the reach of the prior of Dunstable. The riot in Westminster against the abbat in 1223 gives details not found elsewhere (p. 79), as is the case also with the threatened attack of some of the barons on London, with the object of removing Hubert de Burgh (p. 84). The quarrel between the townsmen of Dunstable and the scholars (p. 85) is the only allusion to the school which existed there in connexion with the great abbey of S. Alban. The account of the defence of Rochelle by Savary de Mauleon, in 1224, before it was surrendered (p. 86), may be next noticed; and this is followed by a very full and interesting account of the seizure of Henry de Braibroc, the justiciary, by Fawkes de Breauté, and the consequent siege and destruction of Bedford castle by Henry III. The siege is apparently described by an eyewitness; and as the Dunstable people were there, and secured a large and valuable amount of plunder, there must have been many from whom the prior could obtain full and accurate information. The reason of the enmity of Fawkes de Breauté against this judge is given afterwards (p. 90)—a want of arrangement being manifest here as in several other portions of the annals. There is a full account (p. 94) of the appearance and death by torture of the impostor who simulated the emperor Baldwin, which may be compared with the account with which Matthew Paris has supplemented Wendover (Coxe, *Append.* p. 234). This year (1225) is mentioned (p. 95) as a very unhappy one in England, from the amount of robbery throughout the

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Foreign  
events  
mentioned.

country. The prior says, “*nemo securus in villis dormiebat, neque de burgo in burgum tutus incedebat.*” The severity of the justices itinerant seems, however, to have put a stop to it, many of the robbers being hanged, and many leaving the country at their approach. The mention of the murder of Engelbert, archbishop of Cologne, is a proof of the writer’s knowledge of foreign affairs; and the account of the seizure of Waldemar II., king of Denmark, which immediately follows, though full of errors as to names and persons, is given at considerable length, and is another very curious instance of this; as is also that of the stoppage of the English fleet in Rochelle roads by Savary de Mauleon in the same year (pp. 98, 99). As other instances we may mention the account of the answer of Raymond of Toulouse to the legate Romanus in 1226 (p. 100); the details of the siege of Avignon in the same year by Louis VIII. (p. 101); and the arrangements of S. Louis with those who had opposed him at first (p. 103). Of the great quarrel between the priory and town of Dunstable, which began in 1227, when the priory had the mayoralty of the town in their hands, and which is, as is to be expected, very fully narrated, I have spoken above.

In p. 112, under the year 1228, will be found mention of the curious rumour respecting the emperor Frederick II., that at the death of his empress, Yolande de Brienne, he took for his concubine the sister of Malek-el-Kamel, the sultan of Cairo. There is a letter among the Royal Letters (Shirley, i. p. 343), from the duke of Lorraine to Henry III., noticing the fact of the emperor’s having married the *daughter* of the sultan, which he states to have heard from the king of Bohemia. His proceedings on other occasions are related at considerable length; see especially the account of his campaign in Italy in 1240 (p. 153). Of the affairs of Palestine there is continual mention, especially under the year 1231 (p. 126), where, on the occasion of the return of the bishop of Winches-

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ter, Peter des Roches, what he accomplished in Palestine is related at length.<sup>1</sup> In p. 117 is a curious account of war between Bologna and Modena. The artifice mentioned in p. 133, by which the abbat of Evesham escaped the visitation of the abbat of Boxley and his colleagues, by pleading that it was not exempt, except from the bishop of Worcester, and therefore subject to Canterbury, adds an interesting detail to the history of the struggle of the same abbat, as detailed by himself in the Chronicle of Evesham (edited in this series by Mr. Macray) against the bishop of Worcester's right.<sup>2</sup> The story of Hubert de Burgh's imprisonment is told twice (pp. 129, 137). The account of the king's grief at the death of Richard Marshall is compared to that of David over Saul and Jonathan. In that of his reconciliation with Gilbert Marshall he is styled "rex piissimus" (p. 137). Just before this the mention of the 800 horses lost by the king at Gros-mont (p. 136), shows the writer's intimate knowledge of the facts of the campaign.

After the death of R. de Morins there is no very marked change in the character of the chronicle; its own affairs, those of the neighbourhood, the general history of the country, the succession of bishops and abbats, still continue to constitute its chief contents. There is, perhaps, rather less about foreign matters than will be found in the earlier portion; but the events that are described, whether concerning the priory or external matters, are given with greater fulness. Of Grosseteste, who was bishop of Lincoln during the latter portion of the life of Richard de Morins and for some years afterwards, there is much told which will be found no where else. The care and severity with which his visitations were carried on, the terror that they excited among those whose conduct told them they had reason for

Character  
of the later  
portion of  
the Annals.

Grosse-  
teste.

<sup>1</sup> See again the mention of the army "de militibus et balastariis" he led to Perugia in aid of the Pope in 1235 (p. 142).

<sup>2</sup> Compare the act of Submission to Canterbury given by Mr. Macray. Preface, p. xxxii.

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fear, causing abbats and priors frequently to give up their positions rather than await his coming, and his vast influence among the clergy, are very clearly brought out. His quarrel with his chapter, his journey to Lyons in defence of his right of visitation, and his final triumph, are told at considerable length. The opposition of the king to William de Raleigh, on his postulation to Winchester, and the refusal of the mayor to admit him into the city, are given fully (p. 162), though not so much so as in the *Waverley Annals*.

The Italian  
clergy in  
England.

Richard de Morins had mentioned the riots against the Italian clergy in 1231 and 1232. And the succeeding annalist enters more fully into the grievances of the church arising from the Italians. He mentions that the Pope prevented the patrons of the churches from presenting English clerks to them, but conferred them by his own authority on Italians, so that Italian followed Italian in regular succession (p. 169). One instance is especially mentioned in the case of the church of Stepingley; here an Italian, one Peter Vitella, who was presented, put it out to farm, and left the country (p. 182), returning only because his money was not paid, and to make a fresh arrangement (p. 197). The murder of the Italian who was presented to Rustand's prebend, in St. Paul's, in 1259, is narrated at length (p. 214). The conduct of Peter de Egeblank to get money out of the monasteries for the king is told with considerable feeling (p. 199), though not in quite such strong language as that which Matthew Paris uses.<sup>1</sup> In the year 1256 the king's embassy<sup>2</sup> to Rome excites the writer's indignation,—“*contra clerum et populum Angliæ*” is his expression (p. 199). Under the same year, the invasion of England by the Welsh gives occasion for a description of Llewellyn

<sup>1</sup> “*Cujus memoria sulphureum fetorem exhalat ac teterrimum,*” p. 910.

<sup>2</sup> Besides Rustand, Giles de Bridport, and the abbat of Westminster, who are mentioned by other chro-

niclers as forming this embassy, the Dunstable annalist adds “*dominus Henricus.*” I have not found him mentioned elsewhere, and cannot identify who is meant.