

The fall of the house of Crevequer

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In about the year 1250, on occasions when he had his children and grandchildren gathered around him at Leeds Castle, Hamo de Crevequer might have been excused for thinking that his family's future was secure. Hamo was in his sixties by this time, and had been lord of the barony of Crevequer for more than thirty years. He had been married twice. By his first wife, long since dead, he had three grown-up sons; the eldest of these, named Hamo like his father, was himself already married and the father of three sons. Hamo's second wife, Matildis, was the only daughter of Willelm de Averanches, lord of the barony of Folkestone, or, as it was often called, the barony of Averanches. When Willelm died, in 1230, he left an under-age son – Matildis's younger brother, named Willelm like *his* father – as the prospective heir; but the son died, still under age, in 1235–6, and Matildis at once became the sole heir to her father's barony. Since then, in right of his wife, Hamo had been in possession of the barony of Averanches, together with his own. This second marriage produced a second brood of children, including a son named Willelm (like his grandfather). Sooner rather than later, Hamo would have to die; but he seemed to have done more than enough to perpetuate the family name. The younger Hamo stood ready to inherit the barony of Crevequer. Of course he would have no claim on his step-mother's inheritance, the barony of Averanches; but his half-brother, Willelm, stood in line for that. Two branches of the family, so it seemed, would carry the Crevequer name into the future, each enjoying possession of a respectably large and respectably ancient barony.

Within twenty or thirty years, Hamo was dead, and his dynastic ambitions had come to nothing. The barony of Averanches had been broken up and divided between the husbands of Matildis's four daughters. The barony of Crevequer had been sold to queen Eleanor, Edward I's first wife; upon her death in 1290 it reverted to the crown. When Hamo's grandson died, in about 1315, he had nothing at all to pass on to his heirs, with the dubious exception of a small piece of land in north Wales.

How had the family's fortunes declined so far, in such a short space of time? The story is a complicated one; but there is, by now, enough information available in print for the outlines of an answer to the question to be worked out. And that is what this paper tries to do.

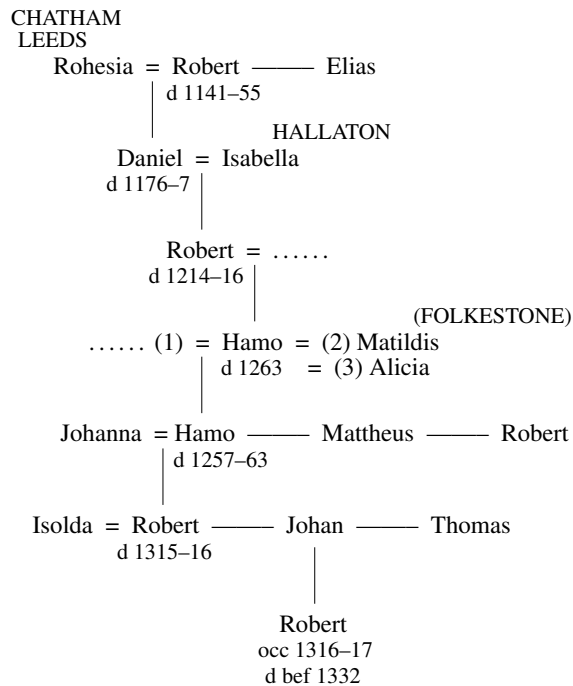


Figure 1. Descent of the barony of Crevequer.

Since the 1120s, the barony of Crevequer had been a conspicuous feature in the feudal landscape of Kent.¹ Its centre, historically speaking, was the manor of Chatham: even in the thirteenth century people did sometimes still call it the barony of Chatham. But Leeds castle had long since become the actual head of the barony, and in the fourteenth century, after the entire holding had reverted to the crown, people came around to calling it the honour of Leeds. In the 1260s, the manors held in domain were Leeds, Chatham, West Farleigh, Teston, and Bockingfold.² One of the assets which went with the barony was the patronage of Leeds priory, a house of Augustinian canons founded by Hamo's great-grandfather, the first Robert de Crevequer. There is no Leeds chronicle; but documents preserved in the priory's archive are an invaluable source of evidence about the history of the Crevequer family.

Hamo de Crevequer was born (as nearly as we can tell) in about 1190,³

¹ The original estate was all in Kent, but a small second-tier barony based at Hallaton in Leicestershire got itself attached to the barony of Crevequer. It seems to have been brought into the family by Hamo's grandmother.

² *Cal. inq. post mortem*, vol. 1, pp. 171-2.

³ Hamo's father starts appearing in the records in 1190, having just recently come of age; hence he was probably born in about 1169. Hamo's grandson – his eldest son's eldest son – was stated to be 24 years old in 1263 (*Cal. inq. post mortem*, vol. 1, p. 171): hence

and inherited the barony in about 1217. His eldest son was born at around that time. Not much later (but not until after giving birth to two more sons), Hamo's first wife died; her name went unrecorded. After some interval Hamo got married again, to Matildis de Averanches.⁴ The son they had together was himself grown up and married by the time that Matildis died, probably in the 1250s. Because the marriage had produced children, Hamo was entitled to retain possession of Matildis's inheritance, during his own lifetime, under the rule which the lawyers called the courtesy of England. Some time later, Hamo got married yet again; his third wife's name was Alicia.

The closing years of Hamo's life saw three significant deaths – not just the death of his second wife, but also the deaths of both prospective heirs. These events did not arouse the interest of central government, and the dates are accordingly unknown: we know how things stood at the time of Hamo's own death, but not exactly how they had come about. Hamo's eldest son, Hamo the younger, died,⁵ leaving a widow and three sons; the eldest of the three, Robert by name, was now in line to inherit the barony of Crevequer. Provided that Robert came of age before his grandfather died (as in fact he did), no difficulty was to be expected on that front. Willelm, Matildis's son, died too, leaving a widow but no children – not even a baby, not even a baby daughter. That spelt the end of the barony of Averanches as a single holding. The inevitable consequence was that Matildis's inheritance would have to be split up, as soon as Hamo died, and shared out among Willelm's sisters.

When Hamo did finally die, central government sprang into action. On 5–6 April 1263 writs were issued ordering the king's officers to take temporary possession of all his property, and to conduct the necessary inquiries. As it turned out, the facts were clear and straightforward.⁶ With regard to the barony of Averanches, four heirs came forward, each of them entitled to an equal share.⁷ Of Matildis's four daughters, three were

he was probably born in about 1239. That gives us seventy years for three generations, a fairly tight fit. I take it that Hamo was born in about 1189×94 (i.e. 20–25 years after his father), his eldest son in about 1214×19 (i.e. 20–25 years before his son, Hamo's grandson).

⁴ Hamo's third daughter by his second marriage is stated to have been of age for thirty years past by 1283 (*Cal. inq. post mortem*, vol. 2, p. 293), to have reached her sixties by 1297 (vol. 3, p. 274): this suggests that she was born in or before 1232, and hence (given that there were at least two older children) that her parents got married in 1229 at the latest. The youngest son of Hamo's first marriage is said to have been 30 years old in 1263 (vol. 1, p. 171): if we take that to mean that he was still in his thirties, he would have been born after 1223. So probably Hamo and Matildis got married during the 1220s.

⁵ He was still alive in 1257 (*Cal. patent rolls 1247–58*, p. 597); he and his father were about to join the king's army for an expedition into Wales.

⁶ *Cal. inq. post mortem*, vol. 1, pp. 171–3; *Arch. Cant.*, vol. 3 (1860), pp. 253–64. But there is no report from Leicestershire, as there certainly ought to be.

⁷ The only complication was that some property in Bedfordshire had been granted to

living, and their respective husbands each put in his claim; one daughter, Isolda, was dead, but had left a son, twelve years old, whose father put in a claim on the boy's behalf. After 1263, the barony of Averanches passed out of Crevequer hands and was broken up.

Hamo's own inheritance passed to his grandson Robert, 24 years old. There were some small pieces of land attached to the manor of Bockingfold which were held 'in gavelkind', and which accordingly had to be partitioned among all of Hamo's heirs. That is why it was necessary to record the fact that Robert had two uncles (each entitled to a one-third share) and two younger brothers (each entitled to a one-ninth share).⁸ But the bulk of the property passed, as a matter of course, to the eldest son's eldest son. Robert de Crevequer thus became the fifth – and the last – holder of the barony.⁹

What condition the estate was in when Robert acquired it we have no way of knowing. His mother, Johanna, was presumably in possession of some share of it, assigned to her at the time of her marriage.¹⁰ Now there was another widow to be provided for, his grandfather's wife Alicia. In theory a widow was entitled to a one-third share of her husband's property by way of dower; but the details were a matter of negotiation. We know what terms were agreed between Robert and Alicia,¹¹ but not what strain they imposed on Robert's finances. Before 1268, Robert got married; but nothing is known about his wife, except that her name was Isolda. Apparently they never had any children; but they stayed married and stayed together for forty years or so.

Before Robert had had much time to enjoy his inheritance, he found himself caught up in larger events. During the civil war of 1264–5, he backed the side which was going to lose. Without playing any prominent role, he made himself conspicuous enough to be marked down by the royalists as one of the rebel barons. At one point, in May 1264, it was thought that he might be ready to reconcile himself with the king, and a safe conduct was issued, so that he could come in and make his peace.¹²

Willelm and his wife, Mabilia, at the time of their marriage. Mabilia was entitled to keep this land for her own lifetime, even if she got remarried, as she did. (She married Johan Tregoz; widowed again, she died in 1297 (*Cal. inq. post mortem*, vol. 3, p. 274), and the land reverted at last to Matildis's heirs.)

⁸ Two uncles, I think, not three: I read 'Hamo de Crevequer, sons of the foresaid Hamo' as a blunder for 'sons of the foresaid Hamo de Crevequer'.

⁹ *Exc. fine rolls* vol. 2, p. 397 (6 May 1263).

¹⁰ Johanna was alive in May 1263 – she is mentioned in the agreement between Robert and Alicia (see next note) – but I can find no other trace of her.

¹¹ Alicia was given the manors of West Farleigh and Teston, plus a few other assets (*Close rolls 1261–4*, pp. 228–9 (10 May 1263)). She was still alive in 1269, when there some possibility that she might get married again (*Cal. patent rolls 1266–72*, p. 316), but probably died within a few years after that. West Farleigh and Teston seem to have been back in Robert's possession by 1274 (*Rot. hund.*, m. 8d).

¹² *Close rolls 1261–4*, pp. 383–4 (9 May 1264).

But a few days after that, at the battle of Lewes, Robert fought on the baronial side. Late in 1265, after the tide had turned decisively in the royalists' favour, he was listed as a defeated enemy, and retribution fell on him, as on many others. All his lands were forfeited. In November that year they were given by the king to one of his steadiest supporters, Roger de Leyburne.¹³ Shortly after this, Roger is found treating Leeds castle as his home.

Robert de Crevequer drops out of sight for a while; perhaps like others he went abroad, waiting for the storm to subside. By 1268, he had made his peace with the king, and was trying to regain possession of his inheritance. This was a matter of negotiation between him and Roger de Leyburne. The agreement eventually arrived at was for the barony to be divided: Roger was to keep the castle and manor of Leeds (but not the patronage of Leeds priory, which reverted to Robert), and the service from half the knight's fees belonging to the barony; Robert was to have the remainder. In exchange for Leeds, Roger agreed to give Robert and his wife (this is where we first learn of Isolda's existence) an equivalent amount of land elsewhere. Specifically he gave them two manors, Trottscliffe and Fleet;¹⁴ because this was still not enough, he promised them an annual payment of £10, charged against the manor of Ridley. Broad agreement had been reached by October 1268, when Robert and Roger exchanged charters setting out the terms;¹⁵ but haggling over the details seems to have continued, and was still continuing in 1271, when Roger de Leyburne died. His son Willelm succeeded him.

See PS

Left to themselves, Robert and Willelm might have resolved any remaining differences between them more or less amicably. But other parties were beginning to take an interest. The manor of Trottscliffe, given to Robert in exchange for Leeds, was held from the bishop of Rochester, and some dispute arose, after 1274, between Robert and the incoming bishop, Walter de Merton (1274–1277). The case was taken to court, and Robert was adjudged to have forfeited his right to this manor. Bishop Walter died before the dispute had been settled; but in June 1278 his successor bought Robert out with a payment of 50 marks (plus a palfrey),

¹³ Here and in the next two paragraphs, I cover the same ground that was covered long ago by Larking (1868, pp. 334–8). Some of the documents refer to Leeds castle as 'la Mote'; though Larking was doubtful about it, the identification is certain.

¹⁴ The manor called Trottscliffe here – not to be confused with the manor held in domain by the bishop of Rochester – is the place which appears on the map as Wrotham Water; Roger had only just acquired it. Fleet is certainly the place in Wingham hundred (Rot. hund., m. 3d), but I cannot say which particular part of it is meant.

¹⁵ Robert's charter, inspected and confirmed by the king, survives as a copy – partly illegible – on the charter roll (*Cal. charter rolls*, vol. 2, p. 113). Roger's charter, for reasons which will appear, passed into the archive of the bishops of Rochester, and survives as a copy in a fourteenth-century register (Thorpe 1769, p. 660, from Reg. temp., fo. 31r; Larking 1868, p. 337).

and Robert put his seal to a charter admitting that he had been at fault, and renouncing any right he might have thought he had.¹⁶

Meanwhile a larger threat began to loom. Perhaps as early as 1274, it became known that queen Eleanor had her eye on Leeds castle, and on the barony of Crevequer too. Though she did not get possession till some years later, a batch of charters from the archive of Leeds priory, all dating from 1274–6, suggests that some sense of urgency had taken hold.¹⁷ In short, it looks as if Robert de Crevequer and the prior of Leeds had already seen the writing on the wall, and were attempting to put their affairs in order while they still had time. The most important document is a charter regulating the relationship between the canons of Leeds and their patron: the canons have their liberties and possessions confirmed to them; they are allowed to have control of their property during the interval between the death or resignation of one prior and the election of the next (control which would otherwise pass to Robert himself, or to whoever might become the priory's patron); and they are given the fair which was one of the assets belonging to the manor of Chatham.

By June 1278, the queen's officials had gained their objective. Willelm de Leyburne relinquished possession of Leeds castle, and of all the rest of his share of the barony of Crevequer;¹⁸ Robert de Crevequer did the same for the share which he had redeemed.¹⁹ A year later, the king issued two letters, for Willelm and Robert respectively, cancelling certain debts of theirs, at the request of the queen.²⁰ Though neither letter says so, it seems clear that they follow from the acquisition of the barony of Crevequer, and that the debts in question were the leverage which the queen had applied in order to get what she wanted. As far as Robert is concerned, the contemporary records are rather vaguely worded;²¹ it only becomes clear from the sequel that this was the moment when Robert lost

¹⁶ Thorpe 1769, p. 661, from Reg. temp., fo. 30v; Larking 1868, p. 338. A subsequent charter of Robert's, dated 5 June 1293, clarifies some of the facts: Thorpe 1769, p. 660, from Reg. temp., fo. 31r.

¹⁷ *Cal. charter rolls*, vol. 2, pp. 296–7, 301–2; vol. 5, pp. 198, 199, 203–4. At about this time, the manor of West Farleigh was bought from Robert by Sir Roger Loveday (d. 1287). It is possible that Roger was speculating – hoping to be able to sell the manor back to the queen for a higher price. The queen did indeed buy it back (see next note); whether Roger made any profit does not appear.

¹⁸ *Cal. close rolls 1272–9*, p. 499; cf. *Cal. close rolls 1279–88*, p. 80, from which it appears that the queen paid Willelm 500 marks and wrote off a debt of 1020 marks (the bond for which had passed into her hands). She also bought West Farleigh from Roger Loveday (see previous note), for £200.

¹⁹ Including the property in Leicestershire.

²⁰ *Cal. patent rolls 1272–81*, pp. 334–5 (15 Nov. 1279).

²¹ The letters issued to Robert in November 1278 (below, note 28) speak only of 'the lands whereof he has enfeoffed the king and his consort'. But a letter for the abbot of Robertsbridge, dated 1293, states the facts more plainly: the abbot's manor of Lamberhurst is part of 'the barony of Ledes, whereof the king and Eleanor, the late queen-consort, were enfeoffed by Robert de Crevequer' (*Cal. patent rolls 1292–1301*, p. 21).

the whole of his inheritance, without even a glimmer of a hope of regaining it in the future. In exchange he was given some land in north Wales; but he was not allowed to keep it for very long (see below). By April 1279 Leeds castle was being stocked with wine, for the queen's use;²² in June the king spent a day or two there himself, for the first time.²³

The new relationships created by these transactions shook themselves down over the next few years. By stepping into Robert's shoes, the queen became the archbishop's tenant with respect to a number of knight's fees; in 1281 she escaped from this undignified position by simply giving all these fees to the archbishop.²⁴ (In other words, she removed herself from the chain of tenure: the sub-tenants were informed that from now on they were to hold their lands directly from the archbishop.) Other repercussions followed from the fact that the patronage of Leeds priory had passed from Robert de Crevequer to the king. By and large, the arrangements worked out between Robert and the prior were allowed to remain in place. The king drew the line at the grant of Chatham fair; that had to be given back. But he agreed to respect the promise made by Robert, that the patron would not interfere in the priory's affairs during times when the priorate was vacant.²⁵ He also gave the priory a gift, in the shape of West Peckham church.²⁶

Between 1278 and 1304, several grants were made to Robert de Crevequer, all of them arising out of the recognition that he was entitled to some compensation for the lands which he had surrendered to the king and queen. I list the transactions here as briefly as possible, simply to establish the fact that in every case the beneficiary is the same Robert de Crevequer.²⁷

16 November 1278: grant to Robert de Crevequer and his heirs of land in (the district of) Maelor Saesneg and elsewhere to the value of £80, to be held as one knight's fee, in exchange for the lands which he has given to the king and queen.²⁸

²² *Cal. close rolls 1272–9*, p. 526.

²³ *Cal. patent rolls 1272–81*, p. 317; *Cal. close rolls 1272–9*, p. 532.

²⁴ *Cal. patent rolls 1272–81*, p. 436 (23 May 1281), confirming the queen's letters patent (16 May). West Farleigh and Teston were not thought to be worth keeping. In 1285 the queen granted them for life to Johan Ferre (*Cal. patent rolls 1281–92*, p. 180); in 1290 she gave them to the prior and convent of Canterbury, in perpetuity (*Cal. charter rolls*, vol. 2, p. 357). Bockingfold was kept.

²⁵ *Cal. charter rolls*, vol. 2, p. 302 (12 June 1285). The promise was put to the test in 1299, after the resignation of prior Adam de Maydenestan. The escheator moved in – but then he was ordered to move out (*Cal. close rolls 1296–1302*, pp. 236–7; cf. *Cal. patent rolls 1292–1301*, p. 401).

²⁶ *Cal. charter rolls*, vol. 2, p. 292 (25 Oct. 1286).

²⁷ As distinct, for instance, from a Bedfordshire man of the same name, dead by 1302 (*Cal. close rolls 1296–1302*, p. 515).

²⁸ *Cal. patent rolls 1272–81*, p. 283; cf. *Cal. patent rolls 1313–17*, pp. 372–3 (below).

5 June 1283: grant to Robert de Crevequer, for life, of the manors of Soham and Ditton in Cambridgeshire, in exchange for his land in Maelor Saesneg.²⁹

1 July 1285: grant to Robert de Crevequer of an annuity of £40, namely £20 out of the farm of the town of Hereford and £20 out of the farm of the hundred outside the north gate of Oxford, in exchange for the manor of Ditton.³⁰

8 November 1289: grant to Robert de Crevequer of an annuity of £45, including £5 for the keepership of Beeston castle, out of the revenue of the king's mills and bridge of Chester, in exchange for his half of the manor of Soham.³¹

14 October 1301: grant to Robert de Crevequer of an annuity of £65, out of the farm of the town of Northampton, in place of two annuities previously granted to him, namely £45 out of the revenue of the mills and bridge of Chester and £20 out of the farm of Hereford.³²

17 October 1304: grant to Robert de Crevequer of an annuity of £20 out of the farm of the town of Derby, in place of the annuity previously granted to him out of the farm of the hundred outside the north gate of Oxford.³³

From 1289 onwards, Robert had an income of £85 a year (including £5 for the keepership of Beeston castle, or, later, as compensation for the loss of it); from 1304 onwards, that income consisted of £65 receivable from the mayor of Northampton and £20 receivable from the bailiffs of Derby. In addition, as was only discovered later, he continued to own a

note 36). On the strength of this letter Robert got possession, for himself and his heirs, of the manor of Overton (SJ 3741) in Flintshire (cf. *Cal. charter rolls*, vol. 2, p. 270); but he lost it five years later.

²⁹ *Cal. charters rolls*, vol. 2, p. 266; cf. *Cal. patent rolls 1281–92*, p. 60. For the manors in question see *VCH Cambridgeshire*, vol. 10 (2002), pp. 500–7 (half of Soham TL 5973) and 86–90 (part of Woodditton TL 6559); from the sequel it appears that they were valued at £40 each. The charter was reissued, for Soham alone, in 1285, and then cancelled in 1289 (*Cal. charter rolls*, vol. 2, p. 270).

³⁰ *Cal. patent rolls 1281–92*, p. 180; cf. *Cal. close rolls 1279–88*, p. 360. A few instructions relating to the payment from Hereford occur on the rolls from 1285 (*Cal. patent rolls 1281–92*, p. 180) till as late as 1309 (*Cal. close rolls 1307–13*, p. 181), when the bailiffs of the town were belatedly trying to settle their account for 1301. There are numerous instructions relating to the payment from Oxford: they begin at the same date and continue till 1304 (*Cal. close rolls 1302–7*, p. 181).

³¹ *Cal. patent rolls 1281–92*, p. 328; cf. *Cal. close rolls 1288–96*, p. 56. This letter made Robert the keeper of Beeston castle (SJ 5359); presumably he and Isolda went to live there. Several instructions relating to this payment from Chester occur on the rolls, the latest in 1300 (*Cal. close rolls 1296–1302*, p. 368).

³² *Cal. patent rolls 1292–1301*, p. 610. The changes became necessary because the king had granted the county of Chester to his son and the farm of Hereford to his new wife, queen Margaret. Instructions relating to the payment from Northampton occur till 1314 (below, note 35).

³³ *Cal. patent rolls 1301–7*, p. 264. A change became necessary, once again, because the hundred had been given to queen Margaret.

year	1278	1283	1285	1289	1301	1304	1314
Maelor Saesneg	80	–	–	–	–	–	–
Soham	–	(40)	(40)	–	–	–	–
Woodditton	–	(40)	–	–	–	–	–
Hereford	–	–	20	20	–	–	–
Oxford	–	–	20	20	20	–	–
Chester	–	–	–	45	–	–	–
Northampton	–	–	–	–	65	65	–
Derby	–	–	–	–	–	–	20
Robert's age	39	44	46	50	62	65	75

Table 1. The sources of Robert de Crevequer's income, 1279–1314.

small amount of land in north Wales (valued at £7), awarded to him in 1278 and not surrendered (as it ought to have been) in 1283. If it was still rightfully his, this land was held in fee, and ought accordingly to pass to his heirs when he died; the annuities, of course, would lapse.

Robert and his wife Isolda were both still alive in 1306;³⁴ Robert himself was still alive as late as June 1314, when the mayor of Northampton was instructed to pay him the usual annuity.³⁵ Not long after that, at the age of 76 or 77, he died – his wife having died before him, so it seems.

In October 1315 somebody applied to Chancery for an exemplification (i.e. an authenticated copy) of the letters patent issued to Robert de Crevequer in November 1278, 'the originals having been accidentally burnt'.³⁶ Probably this means that Robert was dead, and that somebody was planning to put in a bid for the inheritance, if there was one. Certainly Robert was dead by May 1316: by that time his nephew – his brother Johan's son Robert – was claiming the land which his uncle had owned in north Wales. This land had not been specifically named in the grant of 1278. There was, however, a clause in that document allowing that some additional land might have to be awarded, following a proper survey, to bring the total value up to £80, and this clause was claimed to cover the land in question.

An inquiry held at Caernarfon in July agreed with that interpretation. The jurors reported that the vills of Penmaen and Llysfaen in the cantred of Rhos had been assigned to Robert, in accordance with the grant made to him by the late king 'in exchange for other lands in Kent', because

³⁴ *Cal. close rolls 1302–7*, pp. 417–18, an order for Robert's release from prison. He had been arrested in Northampton, for defaulting on a debt recorded in Chester.

³⁵ *Cal. close rolls 1313–18*, p. 59 (7–10 June 1314). The mayor was providing himself with the documents needed for his next appearance at the exchequer; among other things he would have to produce a writ which ordered him to make this payment.

³⁶ *Cal. patent rolls 1313–17*, pp. 372–3 (16 Oct. 1315).

one of the properties named in the grant, supposed to be worth £20, had been found to fall short of that value by £7.³⁷ The king's officials were justifiably dissatisfied (from this statement of the facts it followed that the land ought to have been handed back in 1283) and a further inquiry was ordered straight away. That inquiry returned the same illogical verdict,³⁸ and orders finally went out, in January 1317, for Robert de Crevequer, kinsman and heir of Robert de Crevequer, to be put in possession of his uncle's lands.³⁹

For the ending we have to wait till 1332, when the king's officials woke up to the fact that these lands had passed into the possession of Willelm de Montagu. (I take it that Robert had just died, and so just been discovered to have given away the lands which he should have been holding from the king.) Willelm now had to apply for letters patent pardoning him for acquiring these lands without licence, and authorizing him to keep them.⁴⁰ The suspicion arises that Willelm had played an unseen part in the proceedings of 1315–17 – that he had subsidized Robert's claim to his uncle's lands, in return for a promise that the lands would be sold to him, if the claim was successful. Whatever the circumstances, the moment when that change of ownership took place was the moment when the Crevequer family disappeared into obscurity.

References

- L. B. Larking, 'On the heart-shrine in Leybourne church, and the family of de Leybourne', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 7 (1868), 329–41.
C. T. Martin (ed.), *Registrum epistolarum fratris Johannis Peckham, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, 3 vols. (Rolls Series 77, 1882–5).
J. Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense* (London, 1769).

³⁷ *Cal. inq. post mortem*, vol. 5, p. 413 (writ dated 2 May 1316, inquiry dated 21 July). The places at issue are called 'Penmeyn and Lessemeyn', and similar spellings occur in subsequent documents (see below); a petition from a disgruntled Welshman, recounting how Robert got possession of these places, calls them 'Penmaen and Llysyaen' (Reg. Pecham, ed. Martin 1882–5, vol. 2, p. 459), with the proper consonant mutation in the latter name. I suppose that the places meant must be Penmaen-rhôs (SH 8778) and Llysfaen (SH 8977).

³⁸ *Cal. inq. post mortem*, vol. 5, p. 414 (writ dated 6 Aug. 1316, inquiry dated 26 Oct.); cf. *Cal. fine rolls 1307–19*, p. 294 (8 Aug. 1316).

³⁹ *Cal. fine rolls 1307–19*, p. 315 (17 Jan. 1317). The entry is printed in *Arch. Cant.*, vol. 3 (1860), pp. 199–200.

⁴⁰ *Cal. patent rolls 1330–4*, pp. 253, 330; cf. *Cal. fine rolls 1327–37*, p. 330.

Postscript (March 2014) - I do now know which portion of Fleet is meant (above, p 5): it was the portion which had come to belong to the de Veers, earls of Oxford. After being confiscated from Robert de Veer (the fifth earl) in 1265, it was given to Roger de Leyburne (Calendar of charter rolls, vol 2, pp 56-7), who gave it to Robert de Crevequer, who was in possession in 1274-5. I do not know how long he managed to hold onto it; but the earl's son, Robert de Veer (the sixth earl), appears to have been back in possession by 1305 (Calendar of various chancery rolls, p 380), and was definitely back in possession by 1330 (Calendar of charter rolls, vol 4, pp 190-1). His nephew John de Veer (the seventh earl) paid aid for this portion of Fleet in 1346.