

Yorkshire and the Crusades to the East, 1095–1291

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Ph.D. in Medieval Studies

University of Leeds, Institute for Medieval Studies

September 2023

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Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my grandmother, Beryl Edith Dyson, without whom this endeavour would not have been possible. Your interest in history and the many epic tales you told me of knights and castles planted the seeds which would inspire my own keen interest in the Middle Ages. It will always be a regret that you were never able to read this thesis in its final form, but I hope that you would have enjoyed reading it and would have been proud of the result.

I would like thank to Alan V. Murray, Emilia Jamroziak, and James Doherty who have all supervised this project. Your insights and advice have made this project immeasurably better than it otherwise would have been without your contributions.

I also extend my gratitude to my parents, Patrick and Fiona, and my brother, Robert, who have supported me unconditionally, always believed in me, and given me the best platform from which to succeed.

To Hannah, for being a constant source of encouragement and support. I cannot imagine writing this thesis without you being there at every step inspiring me to keep going. You will, I am sure, be happy to no longer have to hear about 'real history'.

Finally to all those who I have shared an office with for the past five years. Having people to share ideas, successes, and failures with has made this experience all the more enriching. I would like to mention in particular Florence and Charley with whom I have shared many laughs and happy moments, and Jacob with whom I spent many afternoons and evenings playing games without which my time in Leeds would have been severely lacking.

Abstract

This thesis analyses and assesses the relationship between Yorkshire and the crusading movement to the East from the call of the First Crusade in 1095 through to 1291, the year which marked the loss of the final Frankish state in the Holy Land. Many previous works have examined regions of England and their contributions and connections to crusading but none have focused on England's largest county, Yorkshire, and no regional study has focussed on the entire period covered in this thesis. This project examines the recruitment, preparations, and participation of individuals from Yorkshire who took part in crusades and evaluate their contributions to these campaigns. It also looks at how the participation of these crusaders influenced and affected the county of York.

This thesis focuses on participants from all backgrounds and parts of society, including the rich and the poor, the Church and the laity, and male and female crusaders to enable the fullest possible understanding of the county's relationship with crusading. This thesis takes a chronological approach to allow for each crusade to be discussed in full. This enables the project to highlight changes which occurred and to better show patterns and trends which developed through the period.

The thesis shows that within Yorkshire crusading networks developed which spanned multiple generations and linked different families together. It also demonstrates that participation was linked to social ties rather than through largescale coordinated preaching and was keenly motivated by the presence of an influential member of society, often a member of the royal household, being present on a particular venture. There is also a connection between crusading and reputation which individuals were keen to utilise to their advantage, either by restoring damaged reputations or forging new ones which allowed them to move up the social hierarchy.

The project concludes with a prosopographical catalogue of all recorded crusaders who were connected to Yorkshire who headed to the East during the period under investigation. This

includes short biographies of the individuals involved to show their links to both Yorkshire and crusading. In turn, the structure allows the findings of this project to be compared to other works of a similar nature to allow for a greater understanding of how both English regions and England as a whole contributed to, and was affected by, the crusading movement.

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Abbreviations

Ambroise: *The History of the Holy War: Ambroises's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. by Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber, 2 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), vol I

Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72: Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry III, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte, 6 vols (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1901), VI (1913)

Close Rolls, 1268–72: *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte and Alfred Edward Stamp, 14 vols (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902–38), 14 (1938)

EYC: Early Yorkshire Charters, ed. by William Farrer, vols I–III (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson, 1914–16) and Charles Clay, vols IV–XII, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, extra series (Wakefield: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1935–65)

Gesta Regis: Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis. The chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, 1169–1192, known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, ed. by William Stubbs, 2 vols, Rolls Series, 49 (London: Longman, 1867), II, pp. 72–252

Giffard: *The Register of Walter Giffard, Lord Archbishop of York, 1266–79*, ed. by W. Brown (Durham: Andrews, 1904)

Howden: Roger of Howden, *Chronica: Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. by William Stubbs, Rolls Series, 51, 4 vols (London: Longman, 1868–71)

Itinerarium: Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi, ed. and trans. by Helen J. Nicholson (London: Routledge, 2019)

Justices in Eyre: Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire being the Rolls of Pleas and Assizes for Yorkshire in 3 Henry III (1218), ed. by Doris Mary Stenton (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1937)

Meaux: *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, ed. by Edward A. Bond, 3 vols (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866–68)

Wendover: Roger of Wendover, *Roger of Wendover Chronica, sive Flores Historiarum*, ed. by Henry Cox, 5 vols (London: English Historical Society, 1841–44)

Wickwane: *The Register of William Wickwane, Lord Archbishop of York, 1279–1285*, ed. by William Brown (Durham: Andrews, 1907)

William of Tyre: William of Tyre, *Chronique*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, H. E. Mayer, and G. Rösch, 2 vols (Turnhout Brepols, 1986)

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine Yorkshire's contribution to crusades in the Levant from 1095 to 1291. Whilst individual crusaders have previously been recorded as being from Yorkshire, no study has been undertaken to systematically gather evidence of the large number of participants from the county and analyse the considerable participation on expeditions to the East. This thesis covers the period of 1095 to 1291, beginning with the call for the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont and ending with the loss of the final major stronghold of the Kingdom of Jerusalem with the fall of Acre in 1291. This will allow the thesis to encompass all of the major crusading expeditions to the East launched during the Middle Ages allowing for a full and complete analysis of Yorkshire's involvement across the entire period. The primary focus of the thesis is on the individuals who had a connection to the county of York who departed, or had the intention of departing, on crusades to the Holy Land during the period. It also examines how Crusades were promoted and how the potential and actual participants raised the necessary funds to facilitate their journey to the East.

The most notable studies which focus on the crusading and crusaders linked to England analyse the relationship between a geographical region and crusading at a country level, rather than focusing on a county or particular region. Furthermore, these studies do not take a uniform approach to a particular region's relationship with the crusading movement.

Monographs published by Christopher Tyerman and Simon Lloyd (both in 1988) are, perhaps, the best-known studies of England's contribution to crusading written in English.¹ The two monographs take different approaches to analyse the relationship between the country and crusading. Whilst Tyerman provided an overview of England and the crusading movement from 1095 to 1588, Lloyd produced a study focused on the thirteenth century, with an emphasis on Lord Edward's crusade. Lloyd's work also contained a prosopographical appendix

¹ Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades: 1095–1588* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1988); Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade 1216–1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

of crusaders from England who were present on the crusade, something which sets it apart from Kathryn Hurlock's *Britain, Ireland & the Crusades*, and Alan MacQuarrie's *Scotland and the Crusades*, which, like Tyerman, do not provide lists of identified individual crusaders.²

Tyerman and Lloyd were certainly not the first to tackle the subject of England's relationship with the Crusades; there are several much older studies. In 1850 James Cruikshank Dansey compiled a list of English men who were believed to have travelled to the East as crusaders.³ Although the book contains no analysis and offers little to a modern historian, it does show that prosopographical studies related to English crusading have been considered of interest for nearly two centuries. Between Dansey compiling his list and the publication of the work of Tyerman and Lloyd, several regional crusading studies were produced. In 1924, W. F. Mumford wrote a thesis on English participation in the crusading movement during the reign of Henry III. His study included an appendix that listed English crusaders. Similarly, in 1939, Beatrice Siedschlag also wrote a thesis on English participation in crusading, which focused on the period 1150–1220. Her work also included an appendix of English crusaders. Additionally, in 1975, Bruce Beebe wrote an article specifically focusing on the crusade led by Lord Edward from 1270 to 1274. Beebe's article compiled a list of crusaders who were documented as receiving letters of protection in the Patent Rolls which were granted to individuals to enable their participation in Lord Edward's crusade.⁴

Studies that explore crusaders from a particular geographical areas have explored other parts of the British Isles. Monographs of Alan MacQuarrie and Kathryn Hurlock explored the relationships of Scotland and Wales with the Crusades, respectively. Ireland has also been explored in *Ireland and the Crusades*, a volume of articles edited by Edward Coleman, Paul

² Alan MacQuarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades 1095–1560* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1997); Kathryn Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland & the Crusades, c. 1000–1300* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

³ James Cruikshank Dansey, *The English Crusaders* (London: Dickinson, 1850).

⁴ W. F. Mumford, 'England and the Crusades During the Reign of Henry III' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Manchester, 1924); Beatrice N. Siedschlag, *English Participation in the Crusades 1150–1220* (Menasha, WI: Collegiate Press, 1939); Bruce Beebe, 'The English Baronage and the Crusade of 1270', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 48 (1975), 127–148.

Duffy and Tadhg O'Keefe.⁵ Hilary Rhodes examined the historical French region of Burgundy between 1095 and 1223 and Simon Evans focused on the English Midlands for his thesis, *The Crusades and Society in the English Midlands, c.1160–1307* (1999).⁶ This has been taken a step further with Kathryn Hurlock's examination of Cheshire, and N. Orme and O. J. Padel's short article, 'Cornwall and the Third Crusade'.⁷ Prosopographical studies of localities and their links to crusading have also examined areas both outside England and beyond the time frame of this thesis. For example, Alan V. Murray focused on the settlement of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Hilary Rhodes covered Burgundy, and Timothy Guard compiled a list of English crusaders who went on crusades to the Baltic region in the fourteenth century.⁸

Date ranges chosen by historians undertaking regional studies often vary considerably. Whilst Tyerman focused on English crusading from the First Crusade in 1095 through to crusading in the Early Modern period, regional studies have tended to focus on shorter timespans. In works focusing on England, authors have often opted to start their surveys following the culmination of the Second Crusade, skipping both it and the First Crusade due to a perceived lack of evidence for the country being engaged with the movement. This has meant that there are no studies which focus on a single county for the entirety of the crusading period. Simon Evans, for example, chose 1160 as the start date for his thesis, and Beatrice Siedschlag began her 1939 study of English crusaders in 1150.⁹ Works which have focused on French crusading, such as Rhodes's Burgundian study, tend to focus on the early part of the crusading movement and

⁵ Macquarrie, *Scotland*; Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland & the Crusades*; *Ireland and the Crusades*, ed. by Edward Coleman, Paul Duffy and Tadhg O'Keefe (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2022).

⁶ Hilary Rhodes, *The Crown and the Cross: Burgundy, France, and the Crusades, 1095–1223* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021); Simon Evans, *The Crusades and Society in the English Midlands, c.1160–1307* (Unpublished doctoral Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1999).

⁷ N. Orme and O. J. Padel, 'Cornwall and the Third Crusade', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, 9 (2005), 71–77; Kathryn Hurlock, 'Cheshire and the Crusades', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 159 (2010) 1–18.

⁸ Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013).

⁹ Simon Evans, 'The Crusades and Society in the English Midlands, c.1160–1307' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Nottingham, 1999); Siedschlag, *English Participation*.

place the end date of their research well before the fall of Acre in 1291, often in the first half of the thirteenth century.

This thesis represents the first comprehensive study focusing on a specific county of England which encompasses the entirety of the crusading period to the East. By starting with the First Crusade in 1095, it will allow for an exploration of Yorkshire's participation across the entire movement allowing the genesis and development of trends to be analysed and understood. By continuing the study through to the fall of Acre, it will show not only how Yorkshire developed its connections to crusading and the East, but also how it maintained them throughout the period. It will allow for a full examination of the promotion, financing, and participation on crusades to the East and enable an exploration of the factors which drove these elements. The timespan will also help to better inform analysis of how the relationship between the Church and the Crusades developed. This will encompass the way in which the Church in the county helped to facilitate Yorkshire participation in the Crusades and the participation of members of the Church on crusading ventures. It will also help to identify any familial connections to crusading, and how any potential relationships were formed, continued, and broken across the entire period. Consequently, by examining the period 1095–1291 a clearer understanding of the motivations and obstacles influencing participation in the crusades to the Holy Land.

The social history of Yorkshire, with particular focus on the development of the county's lordships, has been the subject of several studies, most notably by Hugh M. Thomas and Paul Dalton, which have assessed the baronage and landholdings following the conquest to the beginning of the thirteenth century. *Early Yorkshire Families* (1973) provided notes on the developments of the families of the baronage of Yorkshire who held lands of the crown following the Conquest.¹⁰ Studies which have focused on one family, or lordship, have also been produced, such as Wightman's examination of the Lacy Family (1966), who held

¹⁰ *Early Yorkshire Families*, Diana E. Greenway and Charles Travis Clay, Yorkshire Archaeological and Historical Society Record Series, 135 (Wakefield: The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1973).

significant lands in the county, or Barbara English's study of the Lordship of Holderness (1991).¹¹ Yorkshire also had influential monastic houses which have been explored in several works.¹² Janet Burton has analysed monasticism in the county from 1069 to 1215, and studies of the development of individual monastic sites have also been popular.¹³ Whilst almost all of these works acknowledge crusading, none has a distinct focus on it. Crusades are often treated individually, rather than as part of a continuous series of events. This means that patterns and trends between crusades in their participants, promotion, and fundraising are missed and ties between family members from different generations who travelled to the East are often not explored in any detail. This is often exacerbated by the date ranges covered in these studies. Hugh Thomas's study of Yorkshire spans 1154–1216, and only includes substantial analysis of the Third Crusade. However, Thomas's work is presented in a thematic way meaning there is no part of his work which is solely dedicated to the Third Crusade. Further to this, the Fourth Crusade and the independent ventures, such as the 1177 crusade of the count of Flanders, are left out of his analysis. Crusading is generally presented as something that happened during the Middle Ages, rather than a central feature of Yorkshire society. By highlighting the county's extensive participation, this thesis aims to show that Yorkshire had a continued relationship with crusading to the East throughout the entire period.

This thesis enables the participation and engagement from Yorkshire to be compared to, and analysed alongside the work done by previous scholars, such as Tyerman, Lloyd, and Hurlock, on England as a whole. This study of Yorkshire and its contributions to the Crusades shows that analysis of an individual county is not only feasible but is also beneficial and should be

¹¹ W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066–1194* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966); Barbara English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086–1260: A Study in Feudal Society* (Hull: Hull University Press, 1991).

¹² Hugh M. Thomas, *Vassals Heiresses, Crusaders and Thugs: The Gentry of Angevin Yorkshire, 1154–1216* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); Paul Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire 1066–1154* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

¹³ Janet Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire 1066–1215* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); For example: Emilia Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and Its Social Context, 1132–1300: Memory, Locality, and Networks* (Turnhout : Brepols, 2005).

undertaken for each of the counties of England to get a fuller more complete understanding of the kingdom's engagement with the crusading movement. By undertaking further studies of this nature focusing on other English counties and their European equivalents, it would allow for the identification of region-specific patterns. These patterns would allow for differences and similarities to be identified between different parts of England, such as the North and South, and how these compared to trends and patterns seen on the Continent.

Yorkshire is one of the six counties in the north of England to have been shired before 1066 and had several unique features when compared to other English counties.¹⁴ Primary among these was its size. Indeed, Yorkshire was the largest county in England by some distance, and was split into three Ridings: the North, West, and East Ridings. Due to Yorkshire's size, types of land varied greatly across the county. Holderness and the Vale of York included large areas of marshland that could be drained and used for pasture. The West Riding had large swathes of land that, after clearing, was perfect for farming. Meanwhile the North Riding contained the North Yorkshire Moors and the Wolds which were ideal for pasture.¹⁵

Despite its size and varied landscapes Yorkshire was slow to develop in comparison to other English counties, especially those in the south. Indeed, the lands in Yorkshire were deemed to be of low value at the time of the Domesday survey so the lordships that were established following the Conquest were very large but lacked fiscal income.¹⁶ It was not until the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries that Yorkshire began to develop. This can be seen clearly in the West Riding which, after a period of decline prior to the Conquest, started to develop and turn large areas of land into farmland, encouraging growth in both the population and the wealth of during the period.¹⁷

¹⁴ F. R. Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', in *The Yorkshire Domesday*, ed. by G. H. Martin and Ann Williams (London: Alecto Historical Editions, 1992), pp. 39–70 (p. 40).

¹⁵ Thomas, *Vassals*, p. 89.

¹⁶ For the lordships established in Yorkshire following the Norman Conquest see, Dalton, pp. ;Thomas, *Vassals*, p. 88.

¹⁷ Thomas, *Vassals*, pp. 87–8.

The initial lordships of Yorkshire, which were formed in stages following the Norman Conquest, had already undergone a significant revision in their composition before the First Crusade departed in 1096 following a failed rebellions in 1086 and 1095. More changes to the composition of Yorkshire occurred at the start of the twelfth century following a rebellion against Henry I which began in 1101 and was not fully settled until 1106.¹⁸ It is also true that the large scale of the Yorkshire lordships meant that the lords who owned them had large amounts of lands to grant out to their followers meaning that there were changes not only in tenants-in-chief, but in their vassals too. It is the case, then, that through the second half of the reign of William Rufus and the first ten years of his successor Henry I's rule, Yorkshire saw a high turnover of landowners and a significant reordering and reconstruction of its lordships.¹⁹

This restructuring not only caused changes in the shape and makeup of the lordships within the county, but also significant changes to its borders. Initially the boundaries of Yorkshire included lands which comprised of the modern counties of Cumbria, Westmorland, and Lancashire, but these were separated from Yorkshire and shired into their own counties in 1092, 1129, and 1164 respectively. In fact, it was not until the shiring of Lancashire in 1164, almost a century after the Norman Conquest, that the borders of Yorkshire became fully set. This formed what is known as the historic county of York, the borders of which remained stable until 1974.²⁰ In its discussion of 'Yorkshire', this thesis references the historic county, which is bounded in the north by the River Tees, in the south by the Rivers Sheaf and Humber, and in the west by the Pennines.²¹

¹⁸ Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, p. 87; C. Warren Hollister, *Henry I* (London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 142–5; C. Warren Hollister, 'The Anglo-Norman Civil War', in *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (London: Bloomsbury, 1986), pp. 77–115 (pp. 77–115)

¹⁹ Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 82–3.

²⁰ Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, p. 4.

²¹ David Hey, *Yorkshire from AD 1000* (London: Longman, 1986), pp. 1–10. This definition follows the ones given in other studies of Yorkshire, for example, Paul Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire 1066–1154* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 4; Janet Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069–1215* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 2.

Another important feature of Yorkshire during the period examined in this study is that there is no consistent earl of York. This sets the county apart from those which border it, such as Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, and Lancashire, which all had earls who often passed the title down through hereditary lines. It is unclear as to why Yorkshire had no earl, but on the two occasions when efforts were made to establish one, the title quickly disappeared again.²² It is possible that the lack of an earl was prompted by Yorkshire's size. If someone were to control so much of the north of England, they would have been perceived to have too much power and thus pose a threat to the king. Indeed, it is the case that Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, can be quoted in the eleventh century as declaring that, 'fickle and treacherous Yorkshiremen' might crown a rival king.²³ Whilst the county's size did not lend itself to having a single earl, Yorkshire retained two earldoms within it: the earldom of Holderness in the East Riding and the earldom of Richmond in the North Riding.

The city of York was also the ecclesiastical centre for the north of England during the Middle Ages. This gave it a prominent place in the monastic history of England and saw it vying with Canterbury for influence. As with the development of the lordships and geography of the county, monastic expansion was at its most prevalent during the twelfth century.²⁴ Whilst there was continuous expansion through the period, there were two points at which it increased the most. The rate of monastic foundations in Yorkshire first increased during the reign of Henry I,

²² Hey, *Yorkshire*, pp. 36–7; Paul Dalton, 'William le Gros, Count of Aumale and earl of York (c.1110-1179)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47237>>; Howden, III, p. 86; Alan V. Murray, 'Richard the Lionheart, Otto of Brunswick and the Earldom of York: Northern England and the Angevin succession, 1190-91', *Medieval Yorkshire*, 23 (1994) 5-12. The first earl of York following the Conquest was William le Gros, who was given the title after his prominent role at the Battle of the Standard in 1138, but was forced to relinquish the position in 1155 to Henry II. The second earl of York was Otto of Brunswick who received the title from Richard I in 1190 but he was never able to assert any form of authority in the county.

²³ Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, p. 2; Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York 1066-1127*, ed. by C. Johnson, revised by M. Brett, C. N. L. Brooke, and M. Winterbottom, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 5.

²⁴ Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, pp. 1–2.

through there was a dip, this increased again during the reign of King Stephen following the conclusion of the Anarchy.²⁵

It is also important to define how a crusader will be linked to Yorkshire. All crusaders who held land in the county will be included. This extends to those who gained lands following the conclusion of their time on crusade, such as Robert of Turnham, Baldwin de Béthune, and Gerard de Furnival who would gain large Yorkshire holdings following the end of the Third Crusade.

Where possible crusaders will be assigned to the Riding which they had the greatest connection with. This will be determined by their landholding. For example, although Henry I de Lacy held lands in all three of Yorkshire's Ridings he will be connected to the West Riding as the majority of his possessions were concentrated in the south of the county. For other crusaders, it is possible to identify a connection with Yorkshire but impossible to connect them to a specific location within the county. For example, the Walter de Ros who gave the church in Cold Overton (Leicestershire) to the priory at Kirkham is probably the same Walter de Ros who was recorded as dying at the siege of Acre by Roger of Howden in the *Gesta Regis* and his *Chronica*.²⁶ Though his name is known, the lack of evidence relating to his holdings make it impossible to know exactly where he owned land. In some examples, it is not possible to be certain that a crusader is attached to the county. One such instance is Ralph, parson of Crosby, who could have been connected to Crosby in Yorkshire or Lincolnshire.²⁷ He will be included as being from the North Riding in the prosopographical appendix of crusaders as there is a strong chance that he was connected to the county due to being included in a list which contains a number of crusaders from Yorkshire.

²⁵ Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, pp. 189–90.

²⁶ *EYC*, II, p. 145. He is possibly the brother of Robert de Ros, bishop of Carlisle, from the prominent de Ros family in Yorkshire; *Gesta Regis*, p. 149, Howden, III, p. 89.

²⁷ *Gesta Regis*, p. 149, Siedschlag, p. 120. He is likely to be from either Yorkshire or Lincolnshire due to being included in a list of crusaders made up almost entirely of crusaders from these counties.

In other cases connections will be made to the county based on administrative or familial ties. Reiner of Waxham, for example, was originally from Norfolk but served as deputy to the sheriff of Yorkshire, Ranulf de Glanville, and spent time directly dealing with the administration of Richmond whilst it was in the king's hands until 1183.²⁸ He was deputy to Ranulf from 1175 until 1190, when they departed on the Third Crusade.²⁹ Despite his strong connection to Richmond via Ranulf de Galnville, it is not certain where, if anywhere, Reiner resided in Yorkshire. For this reason he will be credited to the North Riding due to his administrative connection to it. Edith of Warenne is not known to have held any lands in Yorkshire, but she was the daughter of the lord of Conisbrough and is connected to the West Riding via family ties.

This study will use a wide range of evidence for its analysis of Yorkshire crusading. For the identification of participants on the crusades which are examined within the scope of the research both narrative and administrative sources will be used. Chronicles written about individual crusades will be examined for references to individuals who can be connected to Yorkshire for evidence for their actions whilst in the East. This will be supplemented by the use of local chronicles, such as the one compiled by Meaux Abbey, which mentioned or commemorated both crusader's actions in the East and, at times, elements of their preparations. Crusaders will also be identified through their presence in administrative documents, such as the Close, Patent, Fine, and Pipe Rolls. Crusaders are included in these rolls for various reasons including, but not limited to, being exempt from taxation, being absent from court cases, applying for protections to facilitate participation on crusades, and notices of death in the East. Other documents, such as charters, will be crucial for understanding the perpetrations undertaken by crusaders as they can include information about fundraising and planning for family members left behind. Charters will also be a crucial

²⁸ *The Charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany and Her Family, 1171–1221*, ed. by Judith Everard and Michael Jones (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1999), p. 18.

²⁹ *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context*, ed. by David Rollason and others (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 104–5.

piece of primary evidence to consult when establishing an individual's connection to Yorkshire. Beyond charters, administrative documents pertaining to land holding and judicial practices will provide key evidence to allow for identification of individuals to Yorkshire. The thesis will also make use of ecclesiastical records. These will include confraternity books, such as the Durham Liber Vitae, and episcopal registers such as those of the archbishops of York which contain information related to crusade participation, fundraising, and promotion. Further to these, the papal registers will also be used to provide information about papal crusading policy and individual crusaders.

The thesis, which is organised in a chronological fashion to allow for a full exploration of each period, is split into five chapters followed by an appendix. Each of the chapters will contain an analysis of the promotion and fundraising related to each crusade which has evidence for Yorkshire participation. Each chapter will then analyse the participation from Yorkshire on the crusade. This will allow for an understanding of trends of participation which are apparent, both for each of the crusades individually and for the crusading movement as a whole. By examining the period in a chronological fashion it will enable evolution of, and changes to, crusading recruitment, fundraising, and participation to be clearly understood and explored. Although the central focus of this thesis is crusaders linked to Yorkshire going on crusade to the Holy Land, there will be instances where it will be important to examine instances where crusading was influencing other events which involved Yorkshire. This will include the records of the Battle of the Standard (1138), which was fought in Yorkshire, and the First Barons' War which had large numbers of participants from the county.

The first chapter covers the period from the call for the First Crusade in 1095 by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont, to the Frankish defeat at the Battle of Hattin in 1187. This chapter includes the First and Second Crusades (1095–1099 and 1144–49, respectively) and the independent crusades which were launched by the counts of Flanders in 1155 and 1177, as well as examples of individuals who headed to the East independently of major expeditions.

This chapter seeks to answer why the participation from Yorkshire was so much lower during the first century of crusading than it was during the next one-hundred years. This chapter will show how Yorkshire crusade participation in this period developed through the initial stages of the crusading movement by examining how and why crusading was adopted in Yorkshire. It will focus on the use of crusading to rebuild reputations, the initial connections between particular families and crusading, and how crusaders in the first century of the crusading movement financed their journeys to the East. Beyond this, it will also examine how crusading themes were used in the records of the Battle of the Standard and discuss the initial development of a culture of crusading in Yorkshire.

The Third Crusade will be examined in the second chapter. The crusade, which was led by the English King Richard the Lionheart, provided the first instance of large numbers of people from Yorkshire participating on a crusade. Individuals from all three Ridings were present on the crusade, as were members of both lay and ecclesiastical society. With the higher levels of participation from the county, it is possible to find more evidence of the connections which existed between crusade participants and how these ties influenced crusaders whilst they were in the East. This chapter will continue to explore how individuals prepared for their journey to the East by examining the steps crusaders took prior to their departure both in raising money to fund their participation and how they protected and provided for the family members and property they left behind. It will also assess the motivations behind an individual taking the cross and explore how trends, such as following in the footsteps of a predecessor, or an attempt to rebuild a tarnished reputation, could factor into the decision to depart for the East. In so doing, this chapter aims to demonstrate crusading played a crucial role in enhancing the social standing of individuals, or their families, and shed new light on this affected the lordships of Yorkshire during the period under investigation.

The following chapter of the thesis analyses the Fourth and Fifth Crusades. In stark contrast to the Third Crusade, the calamitous Fourth Crusade had very limited number of participants

from Yorkshire. However, the period of the did see a series of changes in fundraising which would become entrenched in the county for the remainder of the crusading period. The other crusade covered in this chapter is the Fifth Crusade. The Fifth Crusade marked a change in strategy for the crusading movement. Previous expeditions which had departed for the Holy Land had focused on reclaiming Jerusalem and the territory connected to the Crusader States. Instead, the Fifth Crusade was launched with the intended goal of conquering Egypt, the powerbase of the Ayyubids. The crusade marked the first time since the Third Crusade, over two decades previously, that the county of Yorkshire made a significant contribution to a crusade. This section will aim to illustrate why evidence for promotion and fundraising for the venture is so limited in the county and will analyse the effect that the First Barons' War had on this facet of crusading. More administrative documents from the period survive, making it possible to identify more crusaders from this type of record than for previous crusades. This shift in the evidence means the primary sources for identifying crusaders change from chronicles to documentary sources. Indeed, an investigation of these administrative documents reveals a higher number of poor and non-combatant crusaders than have been identified on previous expeditions to the East during the period. Using the charter of John de Lacy which was issued outside the walls of Damietta during the Fifth Crusade, it is possible to understand more about how a crusading contingent was formed. Furthermore, it highlighted the strong geographical ties which bonded crusaders together. It is also possible to identify a large number of roles beyond those individuals who would fight which a crusade contingent needed to function successfully.

The Fifth Crusade was followed by a lull in the number of crusade participants from Yorkshire, which is shown in the limited engagement seen in Yorkshire with the crusade led by the German emperor, Frederick II. It is not until the Barons' Crusade that there is another example of participants linked to Yorkshire taking the cross and heading to the East. The chapter will continue to examine the themes of family tradition as a motivation for participation, how

crusaders were funding their journeys to the East, and there will also be a focus on a letter sent by Pope Gregory IX which forbid the participation of individuals from Yorkshire on the Barons' Crusade. The chapter will seek to understand why a barrier was placed in front of Yorkshire participants which was not extended to their southern counterparts.

The final chapter focuses on the last fifty years of the traditional crusading period, following the culmination of the Barons' Crusade in 1242, and concluding with the fall of the one remaining major Frankish territory in the East, the city of Acre, in 1291. The chapter covers the period of the quixotic crusades of Louis IX, but the main focus of the chapter is centred on the crusade of Lord Edward (1270–74) which saw large levels of participation from Yorkshire. The chapter will analyse the changes in funding that were implemented for Edward's crusade, which saw knights being contracted for the venture, and the continued development of raising money to send to the Holy Land which were implemented following the crusade's conclusion. The continued relationship with crusading following Edward's crusade will be examined with a focused placed on the first example of organised crusade preaching occurring in Yorkshire during the period 1095-1291 in the form of a tour organised by the archbishop of York, John le Romeyn, in conjunction with the Dominican friars in Yorkshire which was to occur in September 1291. This chapter will aim to illustrate that crusading remained important in Yorkshire right through to the end of the crusading period.

The final section of the thesis is an annotated list of crusaders who can be identified to have a connection with both Yorkshire and the crusading movement. The editorial principles of the appendix are detailed in a separate introduction.

All translations will be my own, unless stated otherwise.

Chapter One: Establishing Crusading Precedents in Yorkshire: The First Crusade, the Second Crusade, and the Crusades of the Counts of Flanders, 1095–1187

Promotion of the First Crusade

Pope Urban II called what would become known as the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont in November 1095. The crusade aimed to wrest control of the holy places away from Muslim control and return them to the hands of Western European Christendom. Urban's call for crusade is written about in almost all sources of the First Crusade, but there is no evidence to suggest that the First Crusade was promoted in any way in Yorkshire. This is consistent with the lack of any evidence for preaching for the crusade being undertaken in any area of England. Two major factors contributed to the lack of preaching in England; notably, neither William Rufus, king of England, nor Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, had any interest in promoting crusading.¹ Firstly, Anselm was completely against the idea of the crusade.² To Anselm, Jerusalem could be viewed in two separate forms: the heavenly Jerusalem, representing a true vision of peace found in monastic life, and the earthly Jerusalem, symbolising destruction.³ This meant that the idea of a crusade with the goal of liberating the physical city of Jerusalem was of little interest to Anselm as he viewed the 'real' Jerusalem as a spiritual place which could only be reached by practising the observances of monasticism. This is reflected in the English attendance at the Council of Clermont in 1095. When the First Crusade was preached by Pope Urban II, this was done to an audience which was primarily composed of Italian and French clergy. The English clergy were not present at the council. Even

¹ Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades: 1095–1588* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1988) p. 18.

² Samu Niskanen, 'St. Anselm's Views on Crusade', in *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. by Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and others (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005), pp. 64–70 (p. 65).

³ R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 169.

Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, was represented by Boso, a monk from Bec in Normandy, rather than an individual from the English clergy.⁴ Secondly, William Rufus had his sights set on expanding his possessions on the continent, primarily through the conquest of Maine. A costly, and potentially dangerous journey to the East did not align with this aim. Instead, William was prepared to help his brother, Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, facilitate his crusade by paying him 10,000 marks in an agreement that saw the Duchy of Normandy mortgaged to the English king.⁵ Alongside helping to finance Robert's crusading, William taking control of the duchy also brought it under the protection of the English crown, keeping it safe from external threats.

The lack of interest in the crusade from both the king and the archbishop of Canterbury meant that when Urban II embarked on his preaching tour which followed the council, none of it was undertaken in England. Although the Preaching tour undertaken by Pope Urban following the Council of Clermont covered large amounts of France, it was not all encompassing. Urban visited southern, central, western, and north-eastern France, specifically large urban centres in Provence, Languedoc, the Rhône Valley, Burgundy, the Auvergne, the Limousin, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Poitou, and the Bordelais. The tour was careful, however, to avoid areas which Urban believed to be unsympathetic to him or his cause.⁶ Flanders and Lorraine were judged to be too far north and close to imperialist powers. Lands directly under the control of the French king, especially Orléannais and the Ile de France, were avoided as Urban excommunicated Philip I at the council.⁷ The other part of France he did not visit during his tour were the lands which belonged to William I, king of England, and his brother, Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy. Urban avoided the Norman lands due to the level of control they exerted over their clergy which

⁴ Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (London: Methuen, 1983), p. 361.

⁵ Charles W. David, *Robert Curthose: Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920), p. 97.

⁶ Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), p. 62; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1997), p. 75.

⁷ Robert Summerville, *Pope Urban's Council of Piacenza* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 118.

meant they were unlikely to be loyal to the Urbanist cause.⁸ The importance of the promotion of the crusade is highlighted by the fact that the majority of those who signed up for the First Crusade came from within one or two days ride from the preaching tour organised by Urban.⁹ As there was also no desire to organise any kind of promotion by bishops or clergy in England it was difficult for many of those in Yorkshire to find out about the upcoming crusade.¹⁰ Although important, preaching was not critical for the uptake of the cross. Despite Pope Urban's preaching not reaching Normandy, a major contingent was led by the Duke of Normandy, Robert Curthose. All three of the recorded individuals who participated on the First Crusade who had a connection to Yorkshire, William I de Percy and Stephen, count of Aumale, and Edith de Warenne, had strong connections to Normandy prior to the departure of the crusade and left with this contingent.

Though very little is known about him prior to his arrival in England following the Norman Conquest, it is widely accepted that William de Percy came from Percy-en-Auge located in the La Manche district of Normandy. William was probably a vassal of Hugh d'Avranches as Percy-en-Auge was located very close to St Sever (13km) and Vire (24km) which were both important fiefs of Hugh d'Avranches, later earl of Chester, who was William's lord in lands he held in the North Riding of Yorkshire.¹¹ At the Domesday survey William is recorded as being tenant-in-chief to lands in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, as well as lands at Hambledon in Hampshire, and lands in Cambridge, which had been passed to him through his marriage to Emma de Port.¹² William's Yorkshire lands recorded in Domesday are in blocks located on major Roads into

⁸ Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 62.

⁹ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 75.

¹⁰ Kathryn Hurlock, 'The Norman Influence on Crusading from England and Wales', in *Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. by Kathryn Hurlock and Paul Oldfield (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 65–80 (p. 72).

¹¹ *The Complete Peerage: Or a History of the House of Lords and all its Members From the Earliest Times, vol X Oakham to Richmond*, ed. by H. A. Doubleday, Geoffrey H. White and Howard de Walden (London: The St Catherine Press, 1945), p. 435; *ECY*, VIII, p. 20; *Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby, Ordinis s. Benedicti*, ed. by John C. Atkinson, Surtees Society, 69 (Durham: Andrews, 1879), p. 1.

¹² *ECY*, vol. XI, pp. 11-19; Paul Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire 1066-1154* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 34-39.

York. He was tenant-in-chief to lands at Topcliffe (North-Riding) and Spofforth (West-Riding) which were both located on the Great North Road. He also possessed lands on the East coast located close by to a road running through York and a group of lands to the west located at the foot of the Pennines. Alongside these lands William had tenants in manors located close by to York, Wheldrake to the east and Tadcaster to the west. He also had tenants in manors to the south, again located close by to the Great North Road, along the River Don. It is likely that William acquired his lands soon after the conquest due to them being well developed agriculturally and economically by the time of Domesday.¹³ In England William also held lands as a tenant of Hugh, earl of Chester, notably on the east coast located in the North-Riding which he gave to Reinfred for the re-founding of Whitby abbey.¹⁴ William himself had enfeoffed seventeen tenants at the time of Domesday, a number that compares favourably with the much larger lordships of Richmond (approx. 28), Holderness (approx. 33) and Pontefract (approx. 38).¹⁵ This combination of a large number of tenants and the well-developed lordship coupled with its location within Yorkshire point to it possessing the capability to support a large number of soldiers.¹⁶

Stephen, count of Aumale, was the son of Odo of Champagne, lord of Holderness, and the cousin of both William Rufus, king of England, and of Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy. Stephen had been count in Aumale, located in the Seine-Maritime district of Normandy, since 1089.¹⁷ Although his family lost control of the Holderness lordship in 1095 due to involvement in a plot that would have seen Stephen replace William Rufus as king of England, Stephen would be granted the Yorkshire lordship by Henry I in 1101. Edith de Warenne, who can be connected to Yorkshire because of her father, William I de Warenne, who was lord of

¹³ Dalton, p. 35.

¹⁴ *Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby*, p.1.

¹⁵ Dalton, pp. 37 and 300.

¹⁶ Dalton, p. 37. Unfortunately, the evidence to prove this claim no longer exists. Records of Knights fees are not available for the period meaning it is impossible to go further than looking at the number of tenants and resources William I de Percy had in examining this point.

¹⁷ David Crouch, *The Normans: The History of a Dynasty* (London; New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), p. 147.

Conisbrough (West Riding), was a participant alongside her husband, the French knight Gerard of Gurnay-en-Bray. Edith's family, and husband, were from Normandy, and came to England with William the Conqueror following the Norman Conquest.¹⁸ It is likely, then, that it was their connections to Normandy rather than any promotion from Yorkshire or England which influenced their decision to take part in the First Crusade.

First Crusade Participation

Although three participants initially seems a low number, it compares favourably to the number of participants from other counties in England on the First Crusade. It is difficult to find a source which accurately collects all of the English participants on the First Crusade together, as many English crusaders also held lands in the continent. The database *Crusaders to the Holy Land, 1095–1149*, for example, lists the number of recorded participants from England on the First Crusade as five, but individuals are generally listed by their French holdings with no reference to lands in England.¹⁹ Due to the small sample size it is hard to draw significant conclusions regarding any trends or patterns around the crusaders from Yorkshire for the First Crusade. However, the three identified participants with Yorkshire connections does make Yorkshire the highest contributor from England to the crusade. The second highest were Dorset and East Anglia, each with two recorded participants. The two crusaders from each of these regions travelled to the East together. Ralph I de Gael went on crusade with his wife Emma of Hereford, and the two individuals from Dorset were clerics from Cerne. Yorkshire's three crusaders were all independent of one another showing that crusading was important to three separate families who had connections to the county.

¹⁸ C. P. Lewis, 'Warene, William de, First Earl of Surrey [Earl Warenne] (d. 1088)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28736>>.

¹⁹ Jonathan Riley Smith and others, '1st Crusade (1096–1099)', *Crusaders to the Holy Land, 1095–1149* (2015) <<https://www.dhi.ac.uk/crusaders/expedition/?id=1>> [accessed 06 May 2023]. The database records Edith de Warenne, Stephen, count of Aumale, Emma of Hereford, and Ralph I de Gael, who, prior to the 1075 rebellion, had been earl of East Anglia, as being solely connected to France rather than both England and France.

Alongside the lack of promotion for the campaign in England, the numbers of participants from Yorkshire may have also been influenced by continued unrest in Yorkshire following the Norman Conquest in 1066. It was only with the appointment of Roger de Mowbray as earl of Northumberland in 1080, fourteen years after William's invasion, that the county could be deemed as fully under royal control.²⁰ The efforts to subdue the county and suppress ongoing rebellions reached their destructive peak in the winter of 1069–70 with a campaign into the county known as the 'Harrying of the North'. According to the contemporary and near contemporary chronicles, the result of the Harrying was the almost complete devastation of Yorkshire.²¹ The idea that Yorkshire was completely decimated is seemingly supported in the Domesday Book where large swathes of the county are classed as 'waste', signifying that the land had no value. This could have made any potential fundraising for the venture within the county difficult as prospective crusaders might have little land of value to sell. It is, however, unlikely that the Harrying had anywhere near the impact that is described in the chronicles as it is unlikely that William the Conqueror would have had the time, manpower and appropriate weather to cause the levels of devastation indicated by Orderic.²²

Furthering this point is the argument of 'waste' in the *Domesday Book*. Though the term waste can mean land which had no value, or was completely destroyed, this was not always the case. The term 'waste' can be used when there is contention around the administrative organisation of the area in question. For example, it occurred when there were doubts over who owned a particular tract of land, or when a tenant had not yet been found for the land.²³ The term 'waste' is not limited to the *Domesday Book* and appears again during the civil war fought between Stephen and Matilda from 1135 to 1153. It has been suggested that in this case the

²⁰ John Le Patourel, 'The Norman Conquest of Yorkshire', *Northern History*, 6 (1971), 1–21 (p. 9).

²¹ Orderic Vitalis, *Orderici Vitalis Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), II, p. 230–3; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. and trans. Michael Swanton (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), p. 204.

²² Dalton, p. 24.

²³ W. E. Wightman, The Significance of 'Waste' in Yorkshire Domesday, *Northern History*, 10 (1975) 55–71 (pp. 62–3).

term 'waste' is used as way of describing land from which tax was not forthcoming.²⁴ This interpretation suggests that by the time of the First Crusade, Yorkshire would not have been the deserted wasteland that it has previously been suggested to have become following the 'Harrying'. The 'Harrying of the North' would not have had an impact on a large enough scale to prevent potential participants from joining the First Crusade.

Although the Harrying likely did not have the impact that is described by Orderic Vitalis, the ongoing rebellions could have been preventative to anyone who wanted to go on crusade. Despite being brought under closer royal control during William the Conqueror's reign, Yorkshire continued to be a problem for William Rufus. In 1088 and 1095 there were rebellions in the county which caused a large upheaval in which landowners possessed important Yorkshire fees and lordships. Following the rebellion in 1095, five individuals would inherit large lordships in the county after lordships were confiscated from rebels.²⁵ Major fees, including Holderness and Tickhill, were amongst those redistributed. This would have had a significant impact on the numbers of crusaders who could have potentially travelled to the East as those who were given lordships would have found it difficult to undertake the necessary preparations, such as fundraising, required for departure. All three of Yorkshire's participants were connected to the baronage, fitting with a wider trend for English participants on the First Crusade, and disruption at the highest level would have affected others who may want to travel to the East. This upheaval is perhaps best represented by the fact that of the three individuals connected to Yorkshire who participated on the First Crusade, only William de Percy was a landowner in the county when the crusade departed.

There is also a lack of evidence for those who travelled with the Yorkshire crusaders to the East. Unlike later crusades where evidence for retinues and ties between individual crusaders exists, the First Crusade does not have much information about who travelled together from

²⁴ Edmund King, 'The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 34 (1984) 133–53 (p. 143).

²⁵ Dalton, pp. 85-7.

England. Edith de Warenne was one of only eleven women who are recorded by name as participating on the First Crusade, and one of only two with links to England.²⁶ Although seven of the eleven known women travelled the East with their husbands, Edith's participation alongside her husband is a rare occurrence for individuals connected to Yorkshire. As this thesis will show, very few married couples from Yorkshire departed for the East together; Edith and her husband form one of two known examples, and the only one until Julianna de Goer as part of the crusade led by Lord Edward nearly two centuries later in 1270.²⁷ There is no evidence to suggest that Emma de Port or Hawise, daughter of Ralph de Mortimer, lord of Wigmore, accompanied their husbands, William de Percy and Stephen, count of Aumale, respectively, to the East. Edith's participation is notable as she is the first woman with a connection to Yorkshire to be involved in the crusading movement, and the only recorded woman to be involved until Margaret of Beverley who was in the Holy Land from the siege of Jerusalem in 1187 to the siege of Acre in 1189.²⁸

Information relating to the activities of the Yorkshire participants on the First Crusade is also limited which negatively influences the number of crusaders it is possible to identify. Narrative sources of the campaign are usually focussed on recording the exploits of the leaders of the expedition or those who were prominent figures prior to the crusade's departure. This is reflected in the records of Yorkshire's crusaders. William I de Percy's participation is not recorded in any of the main narrative sources for the crusade, but is contained in a short passage in the narrative history of Whitby Abbey which prefaces the abbey's cartulary. This history recorded William going to the Holy Land and reaching Jerusalem where he died prior to

²⁶ Orderic Vitalis, II, p. 318. The other is Emma of Hereford.

²⁷ *Close Rolls 1268–72*, pp. 288–9.

²⁸ Paul Gerhard Schmidt, 'Peregrinatio Periculosa: Thomas von Froidmont über die Jerusalem-Fahrten seiner Schwester Margareta', in *Kontinuität und Wandel. Lateinische Poesie von Naevius bis Baudelaire. Franco Munari zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by U. J. Stache, W. Maaz, F. Wagner (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1986), pp. 461–85.

the siege and was subsequently buried.²⁹ This is the only source written in Yorkshire which contains details about a Yorkshire participant in the First Crusade. Although it does not give an account of his entire journey to the East, this cartulary entry does imply that William lived through the major engagements of the crusade prior to the siege of Jerusalem and died as the army reached the city. The account of Edith de Warenne's participation on the First Crusade is even more limited, as the record of her time in the East is confined to a sentence in the chronicle of Robert of Torigni, which states that she travelled on the crusade with her husband.³⁰ There is no further information about her time in the East, but, unlike her husband, she survived the crusade and is recorded as remarrying, possibly in 1104.³¹

The participation of Stephen, count of Aumale, is documented in more detail. His time in the East is recorded in four of the main chronicles of the First Crusade which makes his activity on the crusade the easiest to track of any of the individuals who are examined in this chapter. His inclusion in these chronicles is likely due to him being the cousin of Robert Curthose.³² Three of these sources, Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*, William of Tyre's *History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, and the *Chanson d'Antioche* mention Stephen by name. Although Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi* only makes a reference to men from Aumale (*Albamarensis*), this is almost certainly in reference to Stephen and men travelling with him due to its similarity to passages in both the *Antioche* and Albert of Aachen which mention Stephen by name.³³ The chronicles claim Stephen was with Robert Curthose as the crusaders approached Constantinople, and suggest that Robert sent a message to his cousin to inform him of their

²⁹ *Cartularium Abbathiae*, p. 2. 'Denique nobilissimus Willielmus de Perci Ierosolimam petens, apud locum qui vocatur Mons Gaudii, qui est in provincial Ierosolimitana, migravit ad Dominum, ibique honorifice sepultus est.'

³⁰ *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and trans. by Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), II, p. 214. 'Et tandem Ierusalem petens cum uxore sua Edithua, sorore Willelmi comitis de Warenna, in ipso itinere mortuus est.'

³¹ *Gesta Normannorum*, p. 214.

³² Stephen was the son of William the Conqueror's sister, Adelaide of Normandy.

³³ *Radlphi Cadomensis Tancredus*, ed. by Edoardo D'Angelo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), p. 48; Albert of Aachen, p. 98.

approach to the city.³⁴ Stephen is also recorded as being at the siege of Nicaea, taking up his position to surround the city.³⁵ He is later recorded as being involved at the siege of Antioch. First during the surrender of the city, where he is again described as taking up a position.³⁶ Secondly, he is recorded as being part of the army which left Antioch to fight Kerbogha, the atabeg of Mosul.³⁷ During the battle, William of Tyre writes that Stephen was part of the third division which was under the command of Robert Curthose. His actions during the battle, and for the remainder of the crusade are unknown.

Stephen's motivations for taking the cross are not recorded, but it is possible that he took the cross either as penance or in an attempt to rebuild his reputation. In 1095, a year before he departed on the First Crusade, Stephen was involved in a plot which aimed to have him replace William Rufus as the king of England. It is unfortunate that the date on which Stephen took the cross is unknown, as had Stephen taken the cross before Robert Curthose mortgaged the duchy of Normandy to William Rufus then it would be possible to assert that Stephen had done this as a form of penance for his part in the plot, or he was using his status as a crusader to protect himself from being tried for treason. Two other members of the plot are recorded as being on the First Crusade. Ernulf of Hesdin, who is said to have been at the same trial as William of Eu and Roger Mowbray, died at the siege of Antioch in 1098.³⁸ Philip the Clerk, a son of Roger Montgomery, also died at Antioch, and appears to have been spared any punishment for his part in the rebellion.³⁹ The idea of going on a pilgrimage as penance for a crime was a well-established one at the time of the First Crusade. During the tenth century there are examples of distinguished criminals, especially ones convicted of murder, being sent on a

³⁴ William of Tyre, I, p. 191.

³⁵ *Antioche*, p. 133.

³⁶ Albert of Aachen, p. 99; *Antioche*, p. 178; Gesta Tancredi, p. 74. The *Antioche* states that Stephen was accompanied by 15,000 peerless knights.

³⁷ William of Tyre, I, p. 330; *Antioche*, p. 311.

³⁸ *The Warenne (Hyde) Chronicle*, ed. and trans. by Elisabeth M. C. van Houts and Rosalind C. Love (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013) pp. 38–40; Tyerman, p. 15; David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 95, 222; Tyerman, p. 25.

³⁹ David, *Curthose*, p. 226.

pilgrimage as punishment.⁴⁰ Pope Urban himself preached the crusade as a way of gaining salvation, and the crusading movement as a whole became a way for people to atone for their sins.⁴¹

If he had taken the cross after Robert, then Stephen's decision to join the crusade could have been an attempt to rebuild his reputation. A restoration of reputation through participation in the First Crusade, at least in the eyes of English chronicler Orderic Vitalis, is seen when looking at another member of Robert Curthose's contingent, Ralph de Gael. Ralph was a Breton who was disinherited of his English lands and domains by William the Conqueror in 1075 for his part in the revolt of the Earls.⁴² Ralph returned to his lands in Brittany following the revolt as it is likely that his rebellion against William would not have been against him there. He seemingly did hold a desire to regain influence in the Anglo-Norman sphere as he returned to Normandy 1093.⁴³ It is possible that Ralph saw the First Crusade as was of repairing his relationship with Robert Curthose, who was the son of William the Conqueror, or possibly as a means of doing penance for his earlier transgression. Ralph ultimately died on the crusade, but Orderic Vitalis claimed he died 'a penitent and a pilgrim.'⁴⁴ Despite his involvement in a major English revolt against the king of England, he is remembered in favourable terms in the by Orderic suggesting his reputation had been repaired. This suggests that his reputation had been, at least partially, rebuilt by his time spent on crusade. Continuing this theme, Orderic also states that Robert Curthose himself 'took the cross to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem to make amends to God for his sins.'⁴⁵ Whatever Stephen's motivations were for going on the crusade, it appears that his participation positively affected his reputation as in 1101 he was granted his father's English

⁴⁰ S. Runciman, 'The Pilgrimages to Palestine Before 1095', in *A History of the Crusades: The First Hundred Years*, ed. K. M. Setton, 2nd edn, 6 vols (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969–89), I (1969), pp. 68–80 (p. 73).

⁴¹ J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), p. 137.

⁴² David Crouch, *The Normans*, p. 111.

⁴³ Orderic Vitalis, II, p. 83.

⁴⁴ Orderic Vitalis, II, p. 83.

⁴⁵ Orderic Vitalis, V, p. 26. 'Et cruce Domini sumpta pro peccatis suis Deo satisfactorius in Ierusalem pergere'.

holdings, including the lordship of Holderness.⁴⁶ For the lordship to be given to him so soon after the culmination of the crusade suggests that it played a large part in redeeming his reputation and seeing him forgiven for committing treason.

Development of a Crusading Culture

In the years following the conclusion of the First Crusade there was a development of crusading culture in Yorkshire. There are two examples of this during the first half of the twelfth century. Firstly, Gerard, archbishop of York, who attempted to depart for the Holy Land with Bohemond, prince of Antioch, in 1105 to join his war against the Byzantines, but was unable to depart due to an intervention from Henry I.⁴⁷ Though he wrote to Bohemond the following year to reassure him that he was still planning to travel to the East, Gerard never departed. How serious Gerard was about heading to the East is unknown, as is whether he took a formal crusading vow, but his interest in joining Bohemond's venture shows that the events in the Holy Land were appealing to those still in Yorkshire.

Secondly, in the cartulary of Bridlington priory, a charter issued by Walter de Gant, dated to 1130-1139, discloses the donation of a phylactery (*philacterium*) and all the relics contained within it, which were sent to Walter from Jerusalem, to the priory upon Walter's death:

I, Walterus de Gaunt offer greetings to all the faithful of the holy church. Let it be known to you that after my death I give to the church of Saint Mary of Bridlington this phylactery with all the relics which are contained within it which my brother-in-law Baldwin sent to me from Jerusalem. Witnessed by Matilda my wife, H son of Laurence, Wymund the chaplain, Henry, and others.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Barbara English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086–1260: A Study in Feudal Society* (Hull: Hull University Press, 1991), p. 15.

⁴⁷ *Quadripartitus*, ed. by, F. Liebermann ([n.p.]:Halle, 1892), pp. 160–62; Norman F. Cantor, *Church, Kingship, and Lay Investiture in England 1089–1135* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 248.

⁴⁸ *EYC*, II, p. 429, no. 1136. 'Omnibus fidelibus sancte ecclesie Walterus de Gaunt salutem. Notum sit vobis me dedisse philacterium quod Baldwinus sororius meus de Ierosolima mihi transmisit, ecclesie Sancte Marie de Bridlington post obitum meum, cum omnibus reliquiis qui in eo continentur. Hiis testibus: Matilda uxore mea, H[] filio Laurentii, Wymundo capellano, Henrico, et aliis.' In the note following the charter, the editor raised the possibility that Baldwin, who is identified as Walter de Gaunt's brother-in-law, is Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem. This idea is highly unlikely as Baldwin is not known to have any connections to England. Furthermore, although Baldwin is known to have a sister

The contents of the reliquary are never specified, so it is impossible to know what was donated, but it is possible they were connected to St Katherine of Alexandria who had links to crusading. A later donation to the priory by William Pulayn is record as being given to ‘God and the altar of the Blessed Katharine Virgin of all that toft’ suggesting that the priory was connected to the saint.⁴⁹ The cult of St Katherine of Alexandria was introduced to the Frankish States in the Near East by travellers and the men and women of the First Crusade.⁵⁰ Prior to the First Crusade, it had been difficult for Christian pilgrims to visit Mount Sinai, the place where her body was said to have been rediscovered, due to divisions in the Muslim power bases.⁵¹ Due to the establishment of the Frankish States in the wake of the crusade, pilgrims were again more easily able to access the Christian sites in Sinai and a small number of relics did begin to move from the East to the West.⁵² St Katherine’s cult also appears to have begun to steadily grow in popularity in the Frankish States following the culmination of the First Crusade and the time that Walter donated the relics to Bridlington. In 1116, Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem, had expressed a desire to visit the monastery of St Katherine, but had been dissuaded by the monks, and her feast day is included in the *Queen Melisende Psalter* which was composed in one of the states in the 1130–40s.⁵³ Although not a widely popular saint in England, St Katherine was not completely unknown. Her earliest appearance in England is found in the Winchester Calendar which is thought to be composed in the mid-eleventh century and served as an inspiration for the *Psalter* highlighting that there was an interest in

called Matilda, she is only known to have married Odo, castellan of Vitry. It is also impossible to find a link between Walter’s immediate family and Baldwin II. Walter’s known sisters, Emma, Agnes, and one with no known name, married Alan de Percy, William fitz Neal, constable of Chester, and Ivo de Grandmesnil respectively. Alan V. Murray, ‘Kingship, Identity and Name-giving in the Family of Baldwin of Bourcq’, in *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, presented to Malcolm Barber*, ed. by Norman Housley (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 27–38 (p. 31).

⁴⁹ *Abstracts of the Charters and Other Documents Contained in the Chartulary of the Priory of Bridlington in the East Riding of the County of York*, ed. by William T. Lancaster (Leeds: J. Whitehead and Son, 1912), p. 22.

⁵⁰ Tina Chronopoulos, *The Passion of St Katherine of Alexandria* (Oxford: The Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2021), p. xvii.

⁵¹ Christine Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine in Early Medieval Europe*, Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 43.

⁵² *The Cult of St Katherine in Early Medieval Europe*, p. 43.

⁵³ *The Cult of St Katherine in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 44, 45.

Katherine in both England and the East.⁵⁴ It is eminently possible then, that the relics were given to Walter, who had founded Bridlington, due to Baldwin knowing about the priory's links to Katherine and Walter may have felt compelled to donate them to the priory.

Though it is not known why Walter de Gaunt's brother-in-law Baldwin chose to give the gifts to Walter and not donate them to a religious institution himself, they provide an interesting insight into the value of these relics to the institutions to whom they were donated. Their continued use long after Walter's death in 1139 is testament to their enduring importance. In two later charters from the Priory relics are mentioned. The first comes in the reign of King John where oaths were sworn on the relics during a quitclaim.⁵⁵ The second mention of the relics again sees them being sworn upon during a land transaction.⁵⁶

Battle of the Standard

In the period leading up to the Second Crusade, England became embroiled in a civil war which would become known as the Anarchy. This war was fought between Stephen of Blois, king of England, and the Empress Matilda, the daughter of Stephen's predecessor, Henry I, and lasted for fourteen years from 1138 to 1153.⁵⁷ Pitched battles during the war were rare, with the notable exception coming at the battle of Lincoln in 1141, and most of the major engagements were sieges, such as the sieges of Winchester (1141) and Oxford (1142).⁵⁸ Although none of the major conflicts related to the civil war occurred in Yorkshire, the county was under a threat of invasion from Scotland. In 1138, shortly after war had broken out, opportunistic campaigns were launched by Geoffrey V, count of Anjou, (the husband of Matilda) into Normandy, and by David I, king of Scotland, into the North of England. David I held important lands in Yorkshire through his marriage to Matilda de Senlis in 1113. The marriage was arranged by Henry I, king

⁵⁴ *The Cult of St Katherine in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 45, 101-6.

⁵⁵ Lancaster, *Abstracts*, p. 244.

⁵⁶ Lancaster, *Abstracts*, p. 366.

⁵⁷ For overviews of the Civil War see: David Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135–1154* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000), pp. 105–290; King, *Stephen*, pp. 115–300; Jim Bradbury, *Stephen and Matilda: The Civil War of 1139–53* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009).

⁵⁸ King, *Stephen*, pp. 167–79, 187–8.

of England, who was married to David's elder sister, Edith, and with whom David enjoyed a close relationship. Matilda was the daughter of Waltheof, earl of Northumbria, and Judith, a niece of William the Conqueror, and the widow of Simon I de Senlis, a knight who, through continued service William the Conqueror and William Rufus, had managed to rise through the ranks to become earl of Northumberland. Through this marriage came large amount of lands in England, including holdings in Yorkshire.⁵⁹ The most prominent of these lands was the town of Doncaster over which he was able to exert some form of control.⁶⁰ David had previously made two raids into England with the intention of expanding his kingdom in the winters of 1135-36 and 1136-37.⁶¹ His invasion in 1138 followed a similar pattern to this previous campaigns and the Scots destroyed large parts of Northumbria as they marched south. This prompted Thurstan, archbishop of York, to call a council where it was agreed that all the barons of the province of York would join together to oppose David at a battle which has been named the Battle of the Standard.⁶² King David attempted to take advantage of heavy fog in the morning of 22 August and attacked the English forces who had deployed on a ridge about two miles north of North Allerton.⁶³ The conflict ended quickly, however, with the English force causing the Scots to retreat by mid-morning, and David quickly decided to fall back to Carlisle.⁶⁴

The battle received a large amount of attention from contemporary chroniclers and was recorded in detail by a large number of English sources, most notably the chronicles of John of Hexham, Richard of Hexham, and Aelred of Rievaulx. Descriptions of the battle can also be found in the chronicles of John of Worcester, who out of all the chroniclers provides the most

⁵⁹ G. W. S. Barrow, 'David I (c. 1085-1153)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7208>>.

⁶⁰ Dalton, p. 220.

⁶¹ Donald Matthew, *King Stephen* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002), p. 79.

⁶² *The Chronicle of John of Worcester: Volume III the Annals From 1067 to 1140 with the Gloucester Interpolations and the Continuation to 1141*, ed. and trans. P. McGurk (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 253.

⁶³ *John of Worcester*, III, p. 253.

⁶⁴ Edmund King, *King Stephen* (London: Yale University Press), p. 93.

detail about the events prior to the battle than any other chronicler, and Henry of Huntingdon. The Battle of the Standard can be linked to a developing crusade culture in England in two ways. Firstly, the records of the battle describe several instances of crusading ideology or rhetoric. Secondly, of the Yorkshire landowners who are recorded as participating in the battle three of them, William le Gros, William III, de Warenne, and Roger de Mowbray, would take the cross to join the Second Crusade.

The Battle of the Standard derives its name from a large standard that was erected by the English forces prior to the beginning of the battle. This standard is described by both John of Hexham and Richard of Hexham who recorded it as a ship's mast mounted on a frame. From the top of the mast a pyx was hung, which contained a consecrated wafer. Alongside it were hung the banners of the three saints related to the churches of York, Beverley, and Ripon (St Peter, St John, and St Wilfred respectively).⁶⁵ The standard itself was not dissimilar to other standards deployed during the battles in the Middle Ages. Indeed, Richard I used a very similar standard during the Third Crusade to which he attached his royal banner.⁶⁶ It may have been the case that the banners of the saints were attached to the standard at Cowton Moor as there was no clear figurehead leading the army. Instead of disagreeing about which nobles would have their banners attached to the standard, possibly causing dissention, the saints' banners would have served to unify the English army. It is also the case that the use of religious banners in medieval warfare was not an alien concept. For example, the kings of France would regularly carry the *Oriflamme* banner into battle which was formed by combining the French

⁶⁵ Richard of Hexham, 'The Chronicle of Richard of Hexham' in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II., And Richard I*, ed. by Richard Howlett, 4 vols (London: Longman, 1884–89), III (1886), pp. 162–3. 'Mox autem aliqui aliqui eorum in medio cujusdam machinae, quam ibi adduxerant, unius navis malum erexerunt, quod Standard appellaverunt, Unde Hugo Sotevagina, Eboracensis archidiaconus, 'Dicitur a stando Standardum, quod stetit illic Militiae probitas, vincere sive mori.' In summitate vero ipsius arboris quondam argenteam pixidem cum corpore Christi, et sanctorum Petri Apostoli, et Johannis Beverlacensis et Wilfridi Ripensis confessorum ac pontificum, vexilla suspenderunt.'; For a description of the three banners see: Richard Sharpe, 'The Banners of the Northern Saints' in, *Saints of North-East England, 600–1500*, ed. by Margaret Coombe, Anne Mouron, and Christiania Whitehead (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 245-303.

⁶⁶ *Itinerarium*, p. 237. Richard's standard is described as being a long timber beam, much like a ship's mast, which was covered in iron and mounted on a frame which had four wheels.

Royal banner (the *Mountjoui*) with the banner of the abbey of St Denis.⁶⁷ The *Oriflamme* was present at many important battles and was taken on crusade on three separate occasions.⁶⁸ The standard served two distinct purposes. Firstly, it acted as a meeting point if any of the army became detached. Secondly, and more importantly in a crusading context, the standard seems to have served as additional motivation for the English soldiers, much like the True Cross was used by the armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Richard of Hexham describes this dual use of the standard, but it is his reference to the second part which is the most intriguing and worthy of analysis:

Indeed they had done this for this reason that our lord Jesus Christ might be, through the presence of his body, their leader in the battle which they had undertaken for the defence of his church and their homeland.⁶⁹

By having God as the leader of the army, in the form of consecrated bread held in a pyx, the battle was legitimised by the writer of the chronicle as the battle was fought under the direction of Jesus.⁷⁰ This is a theme which is seen in the narrative sources of the First Crusade. Baldric of Bourgueil, for example, records Urban II as saying that the armies of the First Crusade would be ‘under the leadership of Jesus Christ, our general’, and Guibert of Nogent referred to God as the leader of an attack by the Christians on the town of Talamina during the First Crusade.⁷¹ This signifies that this is not a battle which is being fought to defend Yorkshire, and by extension England, against an invading Scottish army; it is instead being fought for the protection of the Church and Christian lands overall. It showed that the crusading ideology was permeating the records of different battles outside of the Holy Land.

⁶⁷ Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066–1217* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 66.

⁶⁸ Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, p. 66. The *Oriflamme* went on the Second and Third Crusades as well as the Crusade of Louis IX.

⁶⁹ Richard of Hexham, p. 263. ‘Hoc autem ideo fecerant, ut Jesus Christus Dominus noster per praesentiam sui corporis eis dux belli esset, quod pro ejus ecclesia ac sua patria defendenda susceperant’.

⁷⁰ Elizabeth Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), p. 5.

⁷¹ Baldric of Bourgueil, *Baldric of Bourgueil: “History of the Jerusalemmites”: A Translation of the Historia Ierosolimitana*, trans. by Susan Edington with an introduction by Steven Biddlecombe (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2020), p. 48; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God Through the Franks: Gesta Dei per Francos* trans. by Robert Levine (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), p. 113.

Relics are also recorded as being involved in the battle. In his account of the battle, Aelred makes two references to the presence of relics. In his first, he draws a comparison between the actions of the Scottish army and the English army prior to the beginning of the fighting: 'before them go actors, dancers, and dancing girls; before us the cross of Christ and relics of the saints.'⁷² His second describes priests walking around the battlefield as the combat was in progress using the relics to inspire the soldiers and also motivating them using the relics along with prayers, 'The priests dressed in white in their sacred garments, with crosses and relics of the Saints, walked among the army and at the same time both by comforting words and by prayer they strengthened the men in a most fitting way.'⁷³

This use of the relics mirrors the way in which were used on the battlefields in the East during the Crusading movement. The most famous of these relics was that of the True Cross. Upon their capture of the city of Jerusalem in 1099, the Christian army had discovered what they claimed to be a lost part of the cross upon which Jesus had been crucified. Alan Murray has shown that, between its discovery in August 1099 and its capture by Saladin following the Battle of Hattin in 1187, the True Cross featured on the battlefield thirty-one times.⁷⁴ The True Cross became something the armies in the kingdom of Jerusalem relied on. William of Tyre, for example, references it when discussing a fight between the army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Turks near Antioch in 1119. William describes the True Cross twice around the battle, first, Ebremer, archbishop of Caesarea, preached a sermon with the Cross to motivate the soldiers in preparation to attack the enemy at day break.⁷⁵ William then goes on to mention

⁷² Aelred of Rievaulx, 'The "Relatio de Standardo" of st. Aelred of Rievaulx', in *Chronicles*, ed. by Richard Howlett, 4 vols (London: Longman, 1884–89), III (1886), p. 189. 'Illos histriones, saltatores et saltatrices, nos crux Christi et reliquiae Sanctorum antecedent'.

⁷³ Aelred of Rievaulx, p. 192. 'Sacerdotes sacris vestibus candidate, cum crucibus et reliquiis Sanctorum, exercitum ambiebant, et sermone simul et oratione populum decentissime roborant'.

⁷⁴ Alan V. Murray, 'Mighty Against the Enemies of Christ: The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton* ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Farnham: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 217–38 (pp. 232–8).

⁷⁵ William of Tyre, II, p. 560.

the True Cross again, stating that the strength of the army came from their faith and having the ever victorious True Cross with them.⁷⁶

The Battle of the Standard was also preceded by a speech given to the army. The speech is recorded in the accounts of Aelred of Rievaulx and Henry of Huntingdon. However, the two accounts differ on who gave the speech. Aelred states that it was delivered by Walter Espec, who was the Sheriff of York and would later go on to found Rievaulx Abbey. Henry states it was done by Ralph Nowell, archbishop of Orkney, and Thurstan's representative at the battle. Despite their differences in reporting who gave the speech, its content retains a large number of similarities. In Henry's version of the speech, Radulf reminds the Anglo-Normans of great victories they had won in the past, making reference to the First Crusade and the conquest of Jerusalem: 'Jerusalem, the celebrated and famous Antioch, both submitted to you'.⁷⁷ The soldiers are also reminded that if they are to fall in the battle, then their sins will be forgiven: 'If any of you fall in combat, as your archbishop's deputy we absolve you from all penalty for sin.'⁷⁸ Aelred also mentions this, stating that:

[the bishop] of the Orkney Islands (Ralph Nowell), whom the archbishop had sent from that place, standing in a more prominent place, with the people around who were about to fight, had declared as the situation demanded there would be full remission of their sins, and beating their breasts, they begged for divine help with raised hands; and absolution having been given to them, the bishop in a solemn voice gave a blessing, with all responding in a deep voice saying Amen, Amen.⁷⁹

The terminology used in the recounting of this speech is similar to that seen in the records of speeches before battles on the First Crusade. Robert the Monk recounts the speech given by

⁷⁶ William of Tyre, II, p. 562.

⁷⁷ Henry, *Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by Diana Greenway (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 714.

⁷⁸ Henry of Huntingdon, p. 714.

⁷⁹ Aelred of Rievaulx, pp. 195–6. 'Orchadensis, quem illo miserat archiepiscopus, stans in eminentiori loco, cum populo proeliandi necessitate in remissionem peccatorum indixisset, tundentes pectora, erectis manibus divinum auxilium precabantur; factaque super eos absolution, episcopus benedictionem sollempni voce adjecit, cunctis alta voce respondentibus Amen, Amen.' The English all joining together to shout 'Amen! Amen!' at the end of the speech is also found in Henry of Huntingdon, 'Respondit omnis populus Anglorum, et resonuerunt montes et colles, 'Amen! Amen!'. *Henry, Huntingdon*, p. 716.

Ademar of Le Puy at the battle of Antioch ending with the crusading army responding 'Amen!'.⁸⁰

This is not language which is used when recounting all battles and shows that the chronicles were intentionally drawing on language which was used by the authors of First Crusade narratives. Using Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* it is possible to compare the speeches given before the Battle of the Standard and the Battle of Lincoln. The Battle of Lincoln was fought in 1141 outside the town of Lincoln between an army led by King Stephen and a force made up of rebels who supported Empress Matilda, a rival claimant to the English throne.⁸¹ Both descriptions contain records of speeches given before their respective battles which remark on the idea of drawing strength from God, which the description of the Battle of the Standard really emphasises. Both speeches describe the misdeeds of the enemy. In the case of the Battle of Lincoln, the speech is rooted in personal attacks on the character and integrity of those in the army of the king such as William le Gros, Simon, earl of Northampton, and William of Ypres.⁸² The tone of the speech suggests that by fighting against the king they will be righting the wrongs committed by the king and those closest to him and that is the reason God will support and back them through the battle. The speeches conclude with the motivations of the participants in the two battles. At Lincoln, the rebels are fighting to overthrow a king who they believe should not be in place at all. At the Battle of the Standard, however, the rhetoric is aimed more at defending Christian lands and peoples. This was a fight for Christendom first and a fight for the defence of their own lands second. The speech before the Battle of Lincoln ends with the army declaring they will not run away by raising their hands to heaven and letting out a blood-curdling cry.⁸³ The speech which is stated as being delivered by Ralph Nowell, bishop of Orkney, at the Battle of the Standard ends with the soldiers being

⁸⁰ Robert the Monk, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana*, ed. and trans. by Carol Sweetenham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 170.

⁸¹ King, *Stephen*, p. 151–4.

⁸² Henry of Huntingdon, p. 730.

⁸³ Henry of Huntingdon, p. 733. 'Vix finierat, et omnes extensis in celum magnibus terribili clamore fugam abiurauerunt.'

reassured that if they are to fall in battle then their sins will be absolved.⁸⁴ The response from the army was to shout, 'Amen! Amen!'⁸⁵ Though both speeches end with a similar theme of the army joining together to shout in unison, only the speech from the Battle of the Standard can be said to be similar to crusade orations.

Second Crusade Overview

The Second Crusade was called by Pope Eugenius III in 1145 following the loss of the County of Edessa to the forces of the Turkish atabeg Zangi in 1144.⁸⁶ Both the French king, Louis VII, and the German king, Conrad III, took the cross for the Crusade which was preached across Europe by Bernard of Clairvaux.⁸⁷ The two armies travelled to the Holy Land independently of one another, though both took land routes which took them through Constantinople.⁸⁸ The journey to Jerusalem was fraught with problems for the two armies which were both separately defeated by Turkish forces as they attempted to cross Asia Minor.⁸⁹ The two armies finally managed to reach Jerusalem in 1148 and, after much deliberation, the decision was made that the crusade would attack the city of Damascus. After a short siege, the Christian forces withdrew and the Second Crusade ended in total failure.⁹⁰ Also connected to the Second Crusade was the capture of Lisbon by a force which included men from England. The diversion of a section of the crusading force to Lisbon is recorded in the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*. Despite the references to crusaders from England, such as seven youths from Ipswich who

⁸⁴ Henry of Huntingdon, p. 716.

⁸⁵ Henry of Huntingdon, p. 716.

⁸⁶ Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 46–8.

⁸⁷ Conor Kostick, 'Social Unrest and the Failure of Conrad III's March through Anatolia, 1147', *German History*, 28 (2010), 125–142 (p. 125).

⁸⁸ Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem: The Journey of Louis VII to the East*, ed. and trans. by Virginia G. Berry (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1948), pp. 20–120. Odo describes the march of the French contingent through Europe to Constantinople and then into Asia Minor. He also discusses the march of the Germans, who were undertaking the journey ahead of them, and the problems this created for the French army.

⁸⁹ Odo of Deuil, p. 122. The French contingent was defeated at Mount Cadmus (see below); Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, p. 179. The German contingent was defeated at Dorylaeum.

⁹⁰ Alan J. Forey, 'The Failure of the Siege of Damascus in 1148', *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 (1984), 13–23.

were inside a piece of siege equipment known as a Welsh cat, there is no evidence for participation from Yorkshire in the siege of Lisbon.⁹¹

The Second Crusade

The crusade attracted little attention from England and there is no evidence to suggest it was preached in the country. The lack of enthusiasm for the venture is shown through there only being evidence for two participants from England.⁹² Both of these participants, Roger de Mowbray, who held lands at Melton (North Riding), and William III de Warenne, lord of Conisbrough (West Riding), held lands in Yorkshire.⁹³ They travelled to the East with the French king, Louis VII, who was William's second cousin.⁹⁴ William took the cross with Louis at Vézelay in 1146, and, as there is no evidence for William undertaking any fundraising for the expedition it is possible that the French king provided the money necessary to facilitate William's participation.⁹⁵ Roger's preparations are not recorded at all and there is no record of when or where he took the cross. It is possible that Roger and William would have taken the cross together as they were first cousins once removed and Roger, like William, held lands in Normandy.⁹⁶

The low participation from Yorkshire, and England as a whole, was likely determined by the ongoing war being fought by King Stephen and the Empress Matilda as the conflict made it difficult for individuals to leave Yorkshire to fight on crusade. Even in times of peace, a crusader was taking a risk leaving their lands for an extended period, with the threat of theft or

⁹¹ *The Conquest of Lisbon: De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. and trans. by Charles W. David, 2nd edn (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), p. 160.

⁹² Jonathan Riley Smith and others, '2nd Crusade (1147-1149)', *Crusaders to the Holy Land, 1095–1149* (2015) <<https://www.dhi.ac.uk/crusaders/expedition/?id=6>> [accessed 21 June 2023].

⁹³ *EYC*, VIII, p. 3. William inherited the lordship in 1138 from his father, William II de Warenne.

⁹⁴ Riley Smith and others, '2nd Crusade (1147-1149)', <<https://www.dhi.ac.uk/crusaders/expedition/?id=6>> [accessed 21 June 2023].

⁹⁵ Katharine Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: a Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066–1166* (Woodbridge: Suffolk, 1999), p. 371; Odo of Deuil, p. 54. William and Louis were both great-grandsons of Henry I, king of France.

⁹⁶ Roger's lands were in Montbray.

danger to family members who remained behind.⁹⁷ During peacetime in Yorkshire inter-baronial conflict was common, as highlighted by the ongoing tussle between Henry I de Lacy and his neighbour, Gilbert de Gaunt, earl of Lincoln, over lands in Pontefract.⁹⁸ This would have been heightened during the war, and members of Yorkshire society would have been wary of leaving their lands unguarded during a period when the political landscape was so turbulent. Although barons were able to put aside squabbles to fight for a common cause during the war, as evidenced by Henry and Gilbert, who were both supporters of King Stephen through the Anarchy, the threat of losing contested lands to a rival would have been very real.

As with the participants on the First Crusade, establishing the deeds of the crusaders from Yorkshire whilst in the East is difficult as detailed records of their journeys do not exist. Both Roger and William are recorded in contemporary chronicles. Odo of Deuil records William III de Warenne taking the cross and his death at the Battle of Mount Cadmus in 1148.⁹⁹ Roger de Mowbray's presence on the Second Crusade is recorded in the chronicle of John, Prior of Hexham, who discusses both the death of William III de Warenne and the heroics of Roger de Mowbray:

William de Warenne, the count, perished in this expedition, intercepted by pagans while guarding the rear of the Christian army. Noble princes from overseas also perished, along with a great multitude. Roger of Mowbray earned renowned glory, triumphing in a singular contest against a certain pagan tyrant.¹⁰⁰

The events of the Second Crusade which John is describing is probably the Battle of Mount Cadmus which was fought on 6 January 1148 between the French section of the crusading army and the Turks of the Sultanate of Rum. The battle occurred when the vanguard, which

⁹⁷ Tyerman, *England*, pp. 215–17.

⁹⁸ W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066–1194* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 78.

⁹⁹ Odo of Deuil, pp. 54, 122.

¹⁰⁰ Simeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, ed. by Thomas Arnold, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1882-1885), II (1885), p. 319. 'Periit in hac profectioe Willelmus de Waren comes, a paganis interceptus, qui custodiam posteram Christiani exercitus observabat. Perierunt et nobiles principes de transmarinis partibus et multitudo plurima cum eo. Promeruit celebrem gloriam Rogerus de Mulbrai, singulari certamine de quodam pagano tyranno triumphans.'

had ignored orders to camp at summit of the mountain, became completely detached from the baggage train and the rear contingent of the army, which contained the French king, Louis VII, leaving them lacking the manpower to discourage attacks. The baggage train and rear contingent of the crusading army were set upon by the Turks and was forced to retreat into a narrow gorge where, after heavy fighting, it was able to repel the attack.¹⁰¹ The comment of Roger de Mowbray fighting a 'pagan tyrant' in single combat is likely fictitious but does give an example of how the participation of Yorkshire men on crusade was being memorialised back in England.¹⁰²

Even as early as the Second Crusade, a web of interconnected crusaders was forming with earlier generations influencing their descendants to take the cross in an effort to emulate their ancestor's experiences in the East. In this case the model for emulation was Edith de Warenne who participated on the First Crusade. It is not necessarily surprising that Edith's pilgrimage was imitated by subsequent members of her family. As Jonathan Riley-Smith has shown, women often had a significant impact on men positively responding to crusade appeals.¹⁰³ Indeed, both Edith's son, Drogo II of Mouchy-le-Chatel, and her nephew, William III de Warenne, lord of Conisbrough, followed in her footsteps and took the cross and headed to the East.¹⁰⁴ Her influence likely extended further, and served as an example to William's half-brother, Waleran of Meulan, and another one of William's cousins, Roger de Mowbray.¹⁰⁵ As is shown in the rest of this thesis, this is just the first example of different generations of a Yorkshire family taking part in individual crusades to the East.

¹⁰¹ Phillips, pp. 199–202.

¹⁰² *Historia Regum*, p. 319. *Pagano tyranno*.

¹⁰³ Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Family Traditions and Participation in the Second Crusade', *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians* ed. by Michael Gervers (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992) pp. 101–109 (p. 103).

¹⁰⁴ Drogo II was the son of Drogo de Mouchy, a fellow veteran of the First Crusade, and Edith de Warenne. It is possible that Drogo's participation on the First Crusade played an important role in determining his suitability to marry Edith. *Gesta Normannorum*, p. 214.

¹⁰⁵ Riley-Smith, 'Family Traditions', (p. 103).

A further instance of attempted emulation led to the foundation of Meaux Abbey. The abbey's chronicle, composed in c.1397, reported that William le Gros founded the monastic settlement of Meaux Abbey in 1151 because he was unable to redeem his crusade vow. William was the son of Stephen, count of Aumale and lord of Holderness, and had taken a vow to join the Second Crusade, possibly in an attempt to follow in the footsteps of his father. After taking his vow, William realised that he would be unable to fulfil his vow due to his obesity: 'And that same man made a vow to go to Jerusalem, which because of his age and the weight of his body he was not at all able to fulfil.'¹⁰⁶ In response to this problem a monk from the monastery of Fountains named Adam, who would later go on to become the first abbot at Meaux, suggested that William should redeem his vow by building a monastery for the Cistercian Order at Meaux:

And when he [Adam] had found this count to be anxious on account of the fulfilment of his promised vow, he [Adam] suggested that same count should found a certain monastery of the Cistercian Order in redemption of his vow. If he should accomplish this in accordance with his ordinance he [Adam] would beg absolution for his vow from the lord pope.¹⁰⁷

Two of the three participants on the First Crusade had descendants who took the cross with the intention of departing on the Second Crusade. This shows that there was a strong crusading culture beginning in Yorkshire and it shows that having a family member who was a participant on an earlier venture was a significant factor for those deciding whether to take the cross for the Second Crusade.

¹⁰⁶ Meaux, I, p. 76. 'Idemque iter Ierosolomitatum in voto habebat, quod propter aetatis et corporis gravitatem minime valebat adimplere.'

¹⁰⁷ Meaux, p. 76. 'Et, cum comperisset ipsum comitem propter voti sui praemissi solutionem anxium esse, suggestit eidem ut monasterium aliquod Cisterciensis ordinis in redemptionem voti sui fundaret, adjungens quod, si hoc secundum ordinationem suam perficeret, ipse voti sui absolutionem a domino papa impetraret.'

Along with William le Gros, Roger de Mowbray's crusading can also be linked to the monastic history of Yorkshire. In 1147, the same year in which Roger departed for the Second Crusade, Byland, his first monastic foundation, became a Cistercian house and was moved to a new site in Coxwold (North Riding).¹⁰⁸ It was not unusual for crusaders to give lands to religious foundations before their departure to the East as a means of gaining spiritual benefits which would help to ensure their time on crusade was successful.¹⁰⁹ The decision to convert Byland to a Cistercian institution may also have been reflective of the growing connection between this religious order and the Crusades more generally. The Cistercians had become increasingly intertwined with the crusading movement following their foundation in the late-eleventh century, and by the middle of the twelfth century their ties had become so strong that the preaching for the Second Crusade was led by Bernard of Clairvaux, a Cistercian abbot who had previously championed the Templars and had extolled the spiritual benefits of crusading in sermons, treatises, and letters.¹¹⁰ Bernard was recruited to preach the crusade by Pope Eugenius III, a fellow Cistercian and former pupil of Bernard, and led a three year campaign (1145–8) to raise support for the venture.¹¹¹ Although he was the dominant voice, Bernard was not alone in preaching the Second Crusade. He was able to use the extensive network of Cistercian monasteries and the clerics that worked within them to extend his crusading message beyond his physical reach.¹¹² The decision to convert Byland to a Cistercian institution

¹⁰⁸ Janet E. Burton, 'Fundator Noster: Roger de Mowbray as Founder and Patron of Monasteries', in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000–1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, ed. by Emilia Jamroziak and Janet E. Burton (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 23–39 (p. 31).

¹⁰⁹ Anne E. Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women's Religious Movement and its Reform in Thirteenth Century Champagne* (London: Cornell University Press, 2011), p. 163.

¹¹⁰ Bernard was a strong proponent of the Templars and supported them through his 1130 treatise, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, which was instrumental in establishing the Templars as protectors of the Holy Places Evelyn Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2004), p. 16; Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, trans. by M. Conrad Greenia, Monastic Studies Series, 25 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010); For the connection of Bernard to the formation of the Templars, Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, 'The Influence of St Bernard of Clairvaux on the Formation of the Order of the Knights Templar', in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. by Michael Gervers (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992) pp. 57–65; Christopher Tyerman, *The World of the Crusades* (London: Yale, 2019), p. 170.

¹¹¹ Tyerman, *World of the Crusades*, p. 170.

¹¹² Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, M.A., Medieval Academy of America, 1991), p. 47; Tyerman, *World of the Crusades*, p. 170.

and endow upon them a new site, therefore, may have been a deliberate move to bring Roger closer to those extolling the virtues of the crusading movement, as well as a means of gaining favour before his departure to ensure the monks would pray for him whilst he was in the East.

Independent Crusades

In the period between the Second and Third Crusades, there are the first instances of individuals departing for the Holy Land independently of large scale expeditions and evidence for five further individuals departing for the East on the crusades led by the counts of Flanders in 1157 and 1177, respectively. The period also marks the first cases of crusaders returning to the East to participate on further crusades. Additionally, the time between the Second and Third Crusades provides the first evidence of individuals raising money to participate on crusades.

Little is known about Henry of Goxhill, or his time in the East, but he represents the first instance of an individual from Yorkshire who is known to have travelled to the Holy Land independently of a larger expedition. It is likely that Henry was connected to the East Riding as he appears to have a link to Bridlington Priory. In a charter from 1152 in which Henry states that he is about to set forth to Jerusalem, he states that Robert of Sproatley (East Riding) will owe him four shillings in rent for two bovates of land at Goxhill (East Riding) for seven years.¹¹³ Henry's journey to the East coincides with Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem, deciding to attack the city of Ascalon. With the siege underway, a large number of pilgrims arrived in the Holy Land from the West. William of Tyre reports that these pilgrims were offered money to join the army at Ascalon and help with the siege which they accepted and travelled to the city in large numbers.¹¹⁴ Although he is not mentioned in any sources, Henry was in the East at the point that the siege was ongoing so it is possible that he could have been involved in it.

¹¹³ *EYC*, III, p. 62, no. 1342.

¹¹⁴ William of Tyre, II, p. 793.

Henry could have been joined in the East by a second man related to Bridlington, Ernisius of Bridlington.¹¹⁵ Ernisius issued a quitclaim with the monks of Bridlington Priory which outlined that they were to receive lands in Edenham (Lincolnshire) if he was to die on the journey to Jerusalem.¹¹⁶ The dating of the journey can only be narrowed down to between 1147 and 1156 because Master Robert of Bridlington, a theologian and the fourth prior of Bridlington Priory, witnessed the charter. This means that Eustace could conceivably have taken part in the Second crusade, journeyed to the East independently of a larger force, or have been preparing to depart with the count of Flanders. Whilst it highlights the issue with accurately connecting crusaders to specific ventures, it also shows that crusading was becoming more popular with those who were not members of the baronage. Henry of Goxhill and Ernis of Bridlington were not individuals of the same social standing as previous crusade participants who were all large landowners and members of the baronage. Although Henry of Goxhill and Ernisius of Bridlington were landowners, they did not possess the same power, wealth, and influence as previous crusaders attached to Yorkshire but despite this, they were able to go to the East.

The 1157–58 crusade led by Thierry of Alsace, count of Flanders, marked the count's third visit to the Holy Land.¹¹⁷ The crusade arrived in Beirut in early September 1157, and, allying with Raymond III, count of Tripoli, launched an attack on Chastel Rouge which was ultimately unsuccessful.¹¹⁸ The crusading army then allied with Reynald of Châtillon, prince of Antioch, and laid siege to Shaizar in November.¹¹⁹ Although the crusaders were successful in breaking into the lower town, they did not capture the citadel as Thierry refused to pay homage for the town to Raymond in the event that the town was taken, so the siege was abandoned.¹²⁰ The crusaders were, however, able to recapture Harim in January 1158.¹²¹

¹¹⁵ Possibly Ernis of Bridlington.

¹¹⁶ Lancaster, p. 411.

¹¹⁷ Malcolm Barber, *The Crusader States* (London: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 211.

¹¹⁸ William of Tyre, II, pp. 833–34; Barber, *Crusader States*, p. 211.

¹¹⁹ William of Tyre, II, pp. 836–37; Barber, *Crusader States*, p. 211.

¹²⁰ William of Tyre, II, p. 837; Barber, *Crusader States*, p. 212.

¹²¹ William of Tyre, II, pp. 841–42; Barber, *Crusader States*, p. 212.

Although the crusade received very little attention in English sources, it is possible to identify two participants with connections to Yorkshire.¹²² Henry I de Lacy's participation is recorded in a notice sent by Henry to Roger, archbishop of York, dated to 1154–59. It stated that the canons at Nostell Priory were unhappy due to not being left in seisin of Henry's lands after he 'was moved to go to Jerusalem'.¹²³ The notice helps to identify the period Henry was on crusade. As there is no other documentation for Henry's crusade it is impossible to say with certainty the exact date he departed for the East and at what point he returned, but when the notice is used in conjunction with other evidence, it is likely Henry went on crusade with the count of Flanders in 1157. Henry was exempted from taxation for a year in 1158, for example, suggesting that he did at least depart for the East, and was back in Yorkshire in 1159, and the notice has been dated to being produced between 1154 and 1159 which brings his time on crusade in line with the dates of the crusade of Thierry, count of Flanders in 1157.¹²⁴ Whilst highlighting the displeasure of the Augustinian canons, the notice may indicate that Nostell Priory had provided the funds Henry needed to participate on the crusade. The notice states that the dispute with the monks had been resolved through an agreement that Henry paid them 20s twice per year, once at Easter, and once at Martinmas (11 November). Whether the agreement was put in place to pay the canons of Nostell as a sign of good faith because Henry had broken a pre-existing agreement and entrusted his lands to another party, or because he had accepted money to fund his crusade from them and was required to pay it back is unclear. As there is no specified time frame for how long Henry would have to continue to make payments to Nostell, it is possible he borrowed a sum of money that was comparable to the amounts raised by Roger de Mowbray (120 marks) and Joscelin of Louvain (100 pounds of silver) in order to facilitate their participation on the 1177 crusade of Philip of Alsace and it

¹²² Beatrice N. Siedschlag, *English Participation in the Crusades 1150–1220* (Menasha, WI: Collegiate Press, 1939), pp. 109–12.

¹²³ *EYC*, III, p. 195, no. 1503. *Quo ire movi Jerosolimam*.

¹²⁴ Wightman, *Lacy Family*, p. 84.

was deemed that it would take the remainder of his life to make the repayment.¹²⁵ What is certain is the canons were being paid which suggests their claim that they were entitled to be left in control of Henry's lands whilst he was in the East was legitimate. This highlights the potentially complex nature of the planning crusaders would have to undertake before departing for the East.

The final crusader with links to Yorkshire who departed for the East as part of the 1157 crusade was Geoffrey of Fougères, son of William of Fougères. Little is known about Geoffrey, but his father held lands in the county.¹²⁶ Geoffrey is recorded in a list of those who followed the count of Flanders to the Holy Land in 1157 in the *Ex Gestis (a) Pontificum Cenomannensium*.¹²⁷

Motivations for crusade participation are difficult to discern, but Henry I de Lacy could have been using the 1157 crusade as a way of rebuilding his reputation whilst simultaneously removing himself from England, much like how Stephen, count of Aumale, had used the First Crusade. During the civil war between Stephen, king of England, and the Empress Matilda, Henry I de Lacy, who sided with Stephen, is said to have used his power to treat the religious houses in the north of England with great severity. He abused his power and seized lands which had been given to the religious houses by people who had sided with Matilda and rebelled against Stephen.¹²⁸ This hostility is shown through two pardons he received in 1154 from Henry II, king of England. The first, which was witnessed by the Empress Matilda and listed her as the injured party, restored him to his father's lands and forgave him for any

¹²⁵ *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, ed. by D. E. Greenway (London: Oxford University Press: 1972), p. 83, no. 111; *EYC*, XI, pp. 66–7, no. 68; *Transcripts of charters relating to the Gilbertine houses of Sixle, Ormsby, Catley, Bullington, and Alvingham*, ed. by Frank M. Stenton (Horncastle: Morton and Sons, 1922), pp. 6–7.

¹²⁶ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. by Hubert Hall, 3 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1896), I, pp. 40, 53, 77.

¹²⁷ '*Ex Gestis (a) Pontificum Cenomannensium*' in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. by Benedictines of the order of Saint-Maur, 15 vols (Paris: Les Libraires Associés, 1743–1828), XII (1781), pp. 539–57 (p. 556, n. (a)).

¹²⁸ *EYC*, III, p. 149.

crimes which he had committed before paying homage to Henry II.¹²⁹ The second pardoned Henry for whatever he had done in the war before peace had been made between Henry and Stephen.¹³⁰ Following his return from crusade, Henry was present with King Henry II on the Toulouse campaign of 1158–59.¹³¹ He would serve in person with the king again in Wales in 1165, and in Normandy during 1173 as part of the force attempting to quell the rebellion of Henry the Young King.¹³² This suggests that any differences he may have had with the king prior to departure had been resolved and it is eminently possible that being on crusade played a significant role in that. Henry using the crusade as a means of rebuilding his reputation in the same way that Stephen, count of Aumale, had done shows that this was becoming an increasingly common, legitimate, and reliable way for an individual to atone for a past transgression.

Twenty years after the departure of the 1157 crusade, Thierry's son, Philip of Alsace, the count of Flanders, led his first crusade to the Holy Land. The 1177 crusade was the largest of the independent crusades which were launched during the period between the Second and Third Crusades and was partially funded by a subsidy of 500 marks provided by the English king, Henry II.¹³³ The 1177 crusade features the highest number of individuals from Yorkshire being present on any crusade during the period covered in this chapter with four: Roger de Mowbray, Joscelin of Louvain, and Robert of Pirou, all connected to the North Riding, and Henry de Lacy, who perished during the crusade on 25 September 1177, from the West Riding.¹³⁴ These four crusaders represent the highest number of participants of any English

¹²⁹ *EYC*, III, pp. 147–48, no. 1449; Wightman, *Lacy Family*, p. 79.

¹³⁰ *EYC*, III, pp. 148–49, no. 1450; Wightman, *Lacy Family*, p. 79

¹³¹ Wightman, *Lacy Family*, p. 84. He was excused from paying tax that year. That could have either been because he was on crusade or that he had joined the king's Toulouse campaign in person. Henry was certainly back in England by 1159, when he was present for the dedication of the new church at Pontefract.

¹³² Wightman, *Lacy Family*, p. 84.

¹³³ Eljas Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World 1066–1216* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 261.

¹³⁴ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. by William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, 7 vols (London: Bohn, 1846), V, p. 533.

county present on the count of Flanders' crusade in 1177; no other county was represented by more than one crusader in extant records.¹³⁵

Very little is known about the deeds of the individuals linked to Yorkshire on this crusade as, similarly to the 1157 expedition, English chroniclers only reference the expeditions in passing, generally only mentioning that the crusade departed. For example, Roger of Howden does not mention any participants by name for the 1177 expedition beyond Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders, and William Mandeville, earl of Essex; this is also true of the *Gesta Regis Henrici* which also does not discuss the events of the crusade, but does refer to some of the English participants including the Yorkshire landowners Henry de Lacy and Robert of Pirou.¹³⁶

The main source for the identification of crusaders is through their attempts to raise money to participate on crusade. The 1177 crusade provides examples of this as both Roger de Mowbray and Joscelin of Louvain are recorded as raising significant sums of money to facilitate their participation. Roger is documented in the records of Fountains Abbey between August 1174 and June 1175 as receiving 120 marks from the monks of the abbey in exchange for the rights to Nidderdale and its resources as a way of facilitating his journey to the Holy Land.¹³⁷ There are also examples of fundraising being undertaken on a smaller scale. Roger de Mowbray, for instance, was recorded as receiving small grants for property around the time of his pilgrimages. He enfeoffed his manor at Askham Richard (North Riding), with the advowson of the church, to William de Tickhill in return for one mark yearly.¹³⁸ The charter states that the grant was made when Roger was about to depart for Jerusalem, suggesting that the money raised was being used to fund his pilgrimage.¹³⁹ The grant does not state whether William

¹³⁵ Siedschlag, pp. 109–12.

¹³⁶ *Gesta Regis Henrici*, I, p. 159. The *Gesta* incorrectly writes Hugh de Lacy instead of Henry de Lacy.

¹³⁷ *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, ed. by D. E. Greenway (London: Oxford University Press: 1972), p. 83, no. 111. The agreement stated again in charters 112, 113, 120, 121, 122, and 126. Roger's journey to the East is mentioned in charter 388, and possibly in 174.

¹³⁸ *EYC*, I, p. 427, no. 547.

¹³⁹ *EYC*, I, p. 427, no. 547. 'Hoc ei dedi et concessi quando iter arripui versus sanctam terram repromissionis'.

agreed to pay Roger a fixed amount upfront. It is also unclear as to whether Roger enfeoffed the manor permanently or for a specified amount of time, meaning it is difficult to assess how much money, if any, Roger was able to gain to take to the East. The grant has been dated to between 1175 and 1177 meaning that Roger would have been acquiring further fundraising beyond 120 marks which he received from Fountains Abbey for his trip to the Holy Land in 1177.¹⁴⁰ Joscelin of Louvain is recorded as raising a similar amount of money to Roger; he received 100 pounds of silver from Sixle Priory in Lincolnshire for his manor of Ludford in Shropshire in c.1174.¹⁴¹ There is no surviving evidence for Henry I de Lacy undertaking any fundraising for the venture. Judging by the amounts of money being raised by Roger de Mowbray and Joscelin of Louvain, it is unlikely that Henry would have had the money to facilitate the venture to hand, suggesting that the evidence for his fundraising has been lost. The large sums of money which were raised by crusaders show the difficulties that came with departing for the Holy Land and highlights one of the major hurdles faced by those who wanted to take part in crusading but did not have the capital to do so. Those who took part in crusading during this period were predominantly large landowners who had the ability to alienate property to cover their costs.

Roger's decision to raise such a large amount of money may have been influenced by experiences he had on the Second Crusade. Experience of the East likely helped him plan for his second journey. Roger and Henry de Lacy are the first two examples of crusaders connected to Yorkshire making multiple trips to the Holy Land. Yorkshire is also the only English county with a representative who visited the Holy Land on more than one occasion during this period. This demonstrates that there were individuals from Yorkshire who were so committed to the crusading cause, that they were willing to undertake multiple journeys to the East. There was also a continuation of familial attachments to crusading. Whilst the period

¹⁴⁰ *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, p. 248, no. 388.

¹⁴¹ *EYC*, XI, pp. 66–7, no. 68; *Transcripts of charters relating to the Gilbertine houses of Sixle, Ormsby, Catley, Bullington, and Alvingham*, ed. by Frank Merry Stenton (Horncastle: Morton and Sons, 1922), pp. 6–7.

shows that sons were keen to emulate direct ancestors, such as the Lords of Holderness, or the Warenne family, there is also the example of Joscelin of Louvain who inherited the lands held by the Percy family through his marriage to Agnes de Percy, the daughter and coheir of William II de Percy, between 1154 and 1161. Although Joscelin was not a blood descendant of William de Percy, his participation in the 1177 crusade with the count of Flanders meant that the Percy family had a representative on a crusade to the East. Joscelin may also have been trying to emulate Walter de Percy, who had died in the East during the First Crusade, in an attempt to establish himself as an equal to his predecessor.¹⁴²

Crusading was also becoming a useful tool for legitimately leaving Yorkshire when an individual found himself in hot water. Roger de Mowbray was involved in the revolt of 1173–74, rebelling against King Henry II.¹⁴³ Henry defeated Roger in Lincolnshire, at Kinardferry, and in Yorkshire at Kirkby Malzeard and Thirsk (both North Riding).¹⁴⁴ The 1177 crusade would have provided Roger with an opportunity to leave England and possibly rebuild his reputation much as Stephen, count of Aumale and lord of Holderness, had done during the First Crusade, following his rebellion against William Rufus and Henry I de Lacy had done with his participation on the 1157 crusade.

The growing influence of the military orders in Yorkshire is highlighted by the presence of Robert of Pirou, preceptor of Temple Hurst (North Riding), on the 1177 expedition.¹⁴⁵ Robert's participation marks the only recorded case of a member of the military orders based in Yorkshire who would take the cross and depart for the Holy Land. In Yorkshire there is evidence for crusaders donating money and giving gifts to the military orders. Roger de Mowbray is recorded, in 1138, as giving the Hospitallers one mark per annum in York.¹⁴⁶ Between 1154 and September 1162, Roger also granted to the lepers of St Lazarus two

¹⁴² *Charters Relating to the Gilbertine Houses*, p. 6.

¹⁴³ *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, p. xxx.

¹⁴⁴ Howden, II, p. 101.

¹⁴⁵ *Gesta Regis*, I, p. 159.

¹⁴⁶ *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, p. 124 no. 170.

carucates, a message, and the site of a mill in Leicestershire.¹⁴⁷ Finally, he is recorded as confirming his donations of materials from his forests to the Templars for the building of three Yorkshire preceptories at Penhill, Cowton, and Stanghow (all North Riding) at some point between 1155 and 1184.¹⁴⁸ His fellow participant in the 1177 crusade, Henry de Lacy, also gave gifts to the military orders in Yorkshire. Following his return from the Second Crusade Henry gave the Order of St Lazarus the church at Castleford in the West Riding.¹⁴⁹ The date of the gift is not known, but it was confirmed by Henry II between 1178 and 1184.¹⁵⁰ Henry also confirmed a grant to the Templars at Temple Hurst in Yorkshire from William of Hastings in c.1155, suggesting a link between Temple Hurst and Henry.¹⁵¹ The donations to the military orders shows that individuals were keen to connect or maintain existing connections between themselves and crusading. It shows that a culture of crusading was continuing to grow in Yorkshire and that there was a desire to be a part of it.

Roger de Mowbray would once more make a journey to the Holy Land in 1186, independent of any larger movement. Whilst in the East he was involved in the Battle of Hattin in 1187. He was captured at the battle and would die in the Holy Land after being ransomed by the Templars the following year.¹⁵² This final journey does not appear to have been prompted by any need to rebuild a reputation, and does suggest that he felt a genuine commitment to the Holy Land. It may also be representative of a movement for more individuals to make individual pilgrimages to the East in the period following the 1177 Crusade. This increase in the number of pilgrims could have been influenced by the passage to Jerusalem from the West becoming easier, or by the growing threats to Christian territory in the East by the Ayyubid Sultan, Saladin, which caused a sharp increase in the number of appeals made to the West for

¹⁴⁷ *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, p. 22, no. 23.

¹⁴⁸ *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185 With Illustrative Charters and Documents*, ed. by Beatrice A. Lees (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 269–70, no. 5,

¹⁴⁹ *EYC*, III, pp. 156–7, no. 1460.

¹⁵⁰ *EYC*, III, pp. 156–7, no. 1460.

¹⁵¹ *Records of the Templars in England*, p. 1.

¹⁵² Howden, II, pp. 316, 325.

help.¹⁵³ Following the culmination of that crusade there is evidence for two or three individuals from the period who are listed in the Pipe Rolls who could have possibly been pilgrims in addition to Roger de Mowbray. All three entries in the Pipe Rolls record an individual with a surname of Palmer, a name that was often given to pilgrims.¹⁵⁴ A Walter *Palermo* is listed in the roll for 1178–79 as being fined half a mark for *defectus appellatio*. The timing of Walter's fine hints at the possibility that he could have been a member of the crusade of Philip, count of Flanders.¹⁵⁵ A *Walterus Palmer de Hornebi*, possibly the same individual as the *Waltero Palmero* recorded in 1178–79, is also recorded in the 1185–86 Pipe Roll as being fined a mark for a false claim.¹⁵⁶ A *Willelmus Palmer de Hornebi* is noted in the roll for 1184–85.¹⁵⁷ Although none of these individuals can be conclusively linked to crusading, or even a journey to the East, their names indicate that pilgrimage, or being someone who had been on a pilgrimage, was something that was considered noteworthy in Yorkshire.

The most prominent pilgrim from Yorkshire who departed for the East during the period examined in this thesis is Margaret of Beverley. She is the first example of a woman heading to the East without a male companion, and the only one to do so outside a larger crusading expedition. Margaret's life and travels are documented in a *vita* composed by her younger brother, Thomas of Froidmont.¹⁵⁸ The information about Margaret's life in the prose section is generally superficial and it only provides detail on her time spent as a nun in the Cistercian convent of Montreuil-les-Dames, located near Laon in northern France, following her return

¹⁵³ Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The Crusades, 1095–1198' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, IV: c.1024–c.1198*, ed. by D. Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) pp. 534–563 (p. 556).

¹⁵⁴ Lawrence S. Cunningham, *A Brief History of Saints* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), p. 50.

¹⁵⁵ *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the twenty-third year of the reign of King Henry II A.D. 1178-1179*, ed. by J. H. Round (London: The Pipe Roll Society, 1907), p. 22.

¹⁵⁶ *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the twenty-ninth year of the reign of King Henry II A.D. 1185-1186*, ed. by J. H. Round (London: St Catherine Press, 1914), p. 96.

¹⁵⁷ *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry II A.D. 1184-1185*, ed. by J. H. Round (London: St Catherine Press, 1913), p. 68.

¹⁵⁸ Paul Gerhard Schmidt, 'Peregrinatio Periculosa: Thomas von Froidmont über die Jerusalem-Fahrten seiner Schwester Margareta', in *Kontinuität und Wandel. Lateinische Poesie von Naevius bis Baudelaire. Franco Munari zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by U. J. Stache, W. Maaz, F. Wagner (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1986), pp. 461–85 (pp. 472–85).

from the Holy Land. This is followed by a verse section, which is written in the first person and is prominently concerned with Margaret's time in the East. Despite the lack of focus on her early life, it is possible to learn that she was born in the Holy Land whilst her parents, Hunlo and Sabilla, were undertaking a pilgrimage.¹⁵⁹ Shortly after her birth, her father had to defend both Margaret and Sabilla, who were riding a donkey, from a wolf attack using only a palm branch.¹⁶⁰ Although he does not discuss his relationship with his sister in any detail, Thomas does explain that Margaret, who was eleven years his senior would take him to, and pick him up from, school. Thomas also notes that Margaret was a frequent traveller and states she made nine sea voyages during her lifetime.¹⁶¹ In describing Beverley, Thomas comments on what Bede said about the town, this indicates that he was proud of his home town.¹⁶²

By using both the prose and the verse it is possible to learn that Margaret arrived in the East shortly before the siege of Jerusalem in 1187 and was involved in the defence of the city. She is recorded as wearing armour and using a cooking pot as a helmet as she helped in fighting on the walls. Following the siege she was taken as a slave and was forced to undertake forced labour for fifteen months until a citizen from Tyre purchased her freedom, along with twenty-four others. Margaret then headed to Antioch, where she worked as a laundress but was washed into the sea and lost all of the clothes she had purchased with her earnings. Whilst she was in Antioch, there was a battle in which a Muslim army was defeated by a force led by the prince of Antioch.¹⁶³ Following the battle's culmination Margaret looted the corpses of dead Muslims. She then headed to Tripoli and then on to Acre in the summer of 1191 before returning to Beverley to find her brother. She found out that he had travelled to France and was now in the service of Louis, count of Clermont and Blois, and she travelled to France to

¹⁵⁹ Thomas of Froidmont, pp. 461–85 (p. 477); Schmidt, 'Peregrinatio Periculosa', pp. 461–85 (p. 461). Although her parents' names are not mentioned in the text, Thomas recorded their names in other works.

¹⁶⁰ Thomas of Froidmont, pp. 461–85 (pp. 477-8).

¹⁶¹ Schmidt, 'Peregrinatio Periculosa', pp. 461-85 (p. 463).

¹⁶² Thomas of Froidmont, pp. 461–85 (p. 473).

¹⁶³ The text does not specify who the leader of the army was, but the prince of Antioch at this time was Bohemond III.

meet him. After finding her brother in France, Margaret made the decision to devote the remainder of her life to Mary, and joined a Cistercian convent which was dedicated to the Virgin. Margaret stayed as a member of the monastery until her death twenty-two years later.¹⁶⁴

Despite the length of the account, it does not discuss why Margaret decided to undertake her pilgrimage, or any of the preparations that she completed before departing for the East. It is also unknown how she reached the East, though it is likely that she would have travelled by sea. Due to the timing of her visit, she was not travelling as part of a large crusading army, but could have travelled to the East alongside Yorkshire landowner Roger de Mowbray, who fought at the Battle of Hattin. Her visit to the East does demonstrate that individuals were able to get from Yorkshire to the Holy Land.

Whilst there is evidence for other women from Yorkshire departing for the East, such as Edith de Warenne on the First Crusade, or Julianna de Goer with Lord Edward in 1270, Margaret is the only example of a woman from Yorkshire who is recorded as being involved in any of the battles or sieges in the East. Margaret's involvement in the siege of Jerusalem has prompted discussions from historians as the descriptions of Margaret fighting presented her in both masculine and feminine roles.¹⁶⁵ First, though there is no description of her being involved directly in fighting, she is described in the text as being a woman who 'pretended to be a man', patrolling the defences using a cooking pot as a makeshift helmet for protection.¹⁶⁶ When the text does mention fighting directly, Margaret is pushed back into the supporting role which is

¹⁶⁴ Thomas of Froidmont, pp. 461–85 (p. 475).

¹⁶⁵ Examples include: Christoph T. Maier, 'The Roles of Women in the Crusade Movement: A Survey', *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004), 61–82 (pp. 66-7); Michael R. Evans, 'Unfit to Bear Arms': The Gendering of Arms and Armour in Accounts of Women on Crusade', in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. by Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), pp. 45-58 (p. 46).

¹⁶⁶ Thomas of Froidmont, pp. 461–85 (p. 478). 'In cervice lebes cassidis instar habet... Femina fingo virum.'

more regularly associated with women on crusades – providing fresh water for the men involved in the fighting.¹⁶⁷

Whilst the description of Margaret's time in the East contains factual information, it is interlaced with records of various miracles which were brought about by Margaret's continued devotion to the Virgin Mary throughout her time in the East.¹⁶⁸ Mary saves Margaret from freezing in the desert and from being taken captive for a second time at Tyre, and her freedom from slavery is secured on Candlemas (2 February) which is also a Feast of the Virgin.¹⁶⁹ This element of the text suggests that it was written with the intention of having a hagiographical use, possibly commemorating her life or to inspire other to follow her example of suffering for God, or to create a cult.¹⁷⁰ This certainly fits with the idea presented by Thomas that although Margaret set out for the East as a pilgrim, her suffering for Christ, seen both in her role defending the walls of Jerusalem which left her physically scarred, and her time spent in slavery turned her into a crusader.¹⁷¹

Margaret's time in the Holy Land fits into a new trend of commemoration seen in the West. Whilst this thesis demonstrates that individuals emulated their predecessors by taking on crusading journeys like their ancestors, Margaret's *vita* fits into a growing trend of commemorating crusaders by the Cistercians.¹⁷² Although Margaret's *vita* did not make it back to Beverley, or even beyond Laon in northern France, it fits into a pattern seen in other religious houses, such as Meaux, which were careful to include the deeds of crusading patrons

¹⁶⁷ Thomas of Froidmont, pp. 461–85 (p. 478).

¹⁶⁸ Christoph T. Maier, 'The Roles of Women in the Crusade Movement: A Survey', *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004), 61–82 (p. 66).

¹⁶⁹ Thomas of Froidmont, pp. 461–85 (p. 474).

¹⁷⁰ Anne E. Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women's Religious Movement and its Reform in Thirteenth Century Champagne* (London: Cornell University Press, 2011), p. 148.

¹⁷¹ Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns*, p. 150.

¹⁷² Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns*, p. 149.

in their chronicles as a way of connecting themselves to crusading through the deeds of crusaders.¹⁷³

Conclusions

The first century of the crusading movement shows an adoption of the phenomenon of crusading in Yorkshire. Alongside participants in crusades to the East, Yorkshire supported the establishment of the military orders, wove crusading into the monastic fabric of the county, and housed relics from the Holy Land. Although the numbers of individuals who travelled to the East who can be connected to the crusades which were launched during the period are low when compared to France or Germany, the eleven individuals from Yorkshire heading to the East is significant when compared to other counties in England. For every crusade that individuals from Yorkshire participated in, it was the county which provided the highest number of participants. The majority of Yorkshire's crusaders from this period visited the East as part of a larger force, but there were examples of individuals heading to the East alone, showing that it was possible to travel from Yorkshire to the Holy Land. None of the crusaders examined in this chapter were the head of a crusade or even a contingent. This is probably a result of the limited power and resources that Yorkshire landowners experienced when compared to their neighbours across the channel. The most active crusaders of the period included the counts of Flanders, Champagne, or Blois, whose wealth and power were comparable to that of the king himself rather than a high ranking noble and far outstripped that of any potential English crusader.¹⁷⁴ The lack of comparable wealth and power meant that those from Yorkshire were simply unable to get close to the amount of money and resources needed to front up a venture of their own to the East. Where the counts of Flanders, Champagne, or Blois, were able to call on their own followers to raise a crusading army, in

¹⁷³ Meaux, for example, linked their founding to the redemption of William le Gros's crusading vow and included details about patrons Robert, constable of Halsham and Robert of Turnham's contributions to the Third Crusade, *Meaux*, I, pp. 76, 220, 258–61.

¹⁷⁴ Tyerman, *England*, p. 37.

England that ability lay solely with the king making it simply impossible for anyone from Yorkshire to front up a major independent venture or large contingent to the East.¹⁷⁵ Major crusades in this period were also launched at times when England, and Yorkshire, were simply not in a position to contribute, further reducing the possibility of a Yorkshire led venture to the East.

During this period, the emergence of familial connections to crusading becomes evident, with crusaders serving as models for emulation for subsequent generations. Unlike other conflicts and battles, such as the Norman Conquest, the Crusades offered the potential for emulation and for imitation of those who were involved, whether they were family members or those whose legacies had become parts of the narrative accounts of a crusade.¹⁷⁶ This became a key motivating factor in Yorkshire as demonstrated by the fact that all three of the participants who went on the First Crusade had a family member take the cross in a crusade during the period examined in the chapter; Edith de Warenne was emulated by her nephew, William III de Warenne, who participated in the Second Crusade, William de Percy was emulated by Joscelin of Louvain in 1177, and the son of Stephen, count of Aumale and lord of Holderness, William le Gros, took the cross with the intention of departing on the Second Crusade.

Individuals who were part of the independent crusades from the period also served as the point of emulation for later generations. Ralph II, lord of Fougères and seneschal of Brittany, a descendant of Geoffrey of Fougères participated, and died, on the Third Crusade,¹⁷⁷ Roger de Mowbray's son Nigel would also perish on the Third Crusade, and Henry I de Lacy, whose descendant John would be involved in the Fifth Crusade. This pattern of descendants of crusaders travelling to the East suggests an attempt to emulate crusading family members from prior generations.

¹⁷⁵ Tyerman, *England*, p. 37.

¹⁷⁶ Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012), p. 43.

¹⁷⁷ Stephen Bennett, *Elite Participation in the Third Crusade* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2021), p. 337.

The Crusades had a strong impact on the monastic history of Yorkshire formed from a strong desire from both the crusaders from Yorkshire and religious institutions in the county tying themselves to each other during the period explored in this chapter. This is a feature which is tightly linked to crusaders who visited the Holy Land during the period of the First and Second Crusades, though it is not clear why this is the case. It is possible that crusaders who departed during the first century of the crusading period found a greater level of religious motivation when compared to their later counterparts. This could be borne from crusading becoming more established and centralised as the period progressed. That is to say, crusading became more of a quantifiable event and participants knew more what to expect the further into the period they were. Earlier crusaders were quite literally taking a leap of faith by participating and this could have driven them to desire a closer bond with the Church and fostered a situation in which they felt a desire to express this faith leading to the foundation or largescale endowment of religious institutions. However, it is quite possible that the reason for this trend being found in connection to early crusaders may be more straightforward and simply be the case that those individuals taking the cross were doing so during periods of rapid and fertile development of the monastic landscape in Yorkshire. It is the case that the foundation of Meaux and the movement and conversion of Byland were done in one of the peak periods of foundations for monastic institutions in Yorkshire. Byland was moved to a larger site and converted to a Cistercian institution by Roger de Mowbray in 1147 shortly before he departed for the East. This move was possibly motivated by the act of taking the cross or, at the very least, making the decision that he would head to the East. Meaux was founded in 1151 by William le Gros who had exchanged his vow to go on the Second Crusade for founding the abbey. Both of these events fall in the reign of King Stephen, a time when there was a large number of Yorkshire foundations.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ Janet Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069–1215* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 189–90. The rate of monastic foundations in Yorkshire initially increased during the reign of Henry I and increased again during the reign of King Stephen.

The period also shows evidence for those connected to Yorkshire using crusading to their advantage. Crusading provided a legitimate means for individuals to leave the country if they found themselves in a challenging situation and presented a distinct opportunity for rebuilding damaged reputations. Across the period examined in the chapter there is evidence for the Crusades being used by individuals to leave Yorkshire when they found themselves in potentially difficult situations. Stephen, count of Aumale, managed to regain his father's Yorkshire possessions and become lord of Holderness in 1102 following his participation in the First Crusade. This is despite being involved in a plot to have himself installed as King of England less than a decade before in 1095. Henry I de Lacy was able to use the crusade of Thierry, count of Flanders, in 1155 to leave the country following the accession of King Henry II following his ardent support of Stephen during the Anarchy to be forgotten. Upon his return from crusade, Henry swiftly entered the king's service, demonstrating that he had been able to successfully rebuild his reputation. Finally, Roger de Mowbray was able to find his way back into favour with Henry II following his participation of the 1177 crusade with Philip of Alsace, despite rebelling against the king during the 1170s. Crusades would later evolve into expeditions that knights and barons used to enhance their reputations, amass wealth, and increase their power, as demonstrated by the Third, Fifth, and Lord Edward's Crusade.

Chapter Two: King and County: The Third Crusade, 1188–1204

Third Crusade Preparation

The Third Crusade (1189-92), called by Pope Gregory VIII on 29 October 1187 in his papal bull *Audita Tremendi*, was a response to the Christians' defeat at the battle of Hattin on 4 July 1187 and the subsequent capture of Jerusalem by Muslim forces led by the Ayyubid sultan, Saladin, on 2 October 1187.¹ In response, King Richard I of England, King Philip II of France, and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa of the Holy Roman Empire all took the cross. Whilst the period of the Third Crusade continued a trend which saw no evidence for crusade preaching or promotion in Yorkshire, it is a period which saw large numbers of individuals take the cross. Due to this, there is a large amount of surviving evidence for individuals preparing for the crusade when compared to previous crusading ventures.

There are three examples of fundraising. Walter le Nair is recorded as selling two bovates of land in Skirlington (East Riding) to the nuns of Swine priory for five marks, William Fitz-Aldelin is recorded as selling five bovates of land in Thorpe Audlin and additional land of an unspecified amount in Went (West Riding)² to his serjeant Durand, son of Drew, for 10 marks, and Robert, constable of Halsham gave his lordship of Tharlesthorpe to Meaux Abbey for 160 marks.³ The period saw a development in the individuals fundraising for the crusade. For previous crusades, the majority of fundraising undertaken by Yorkshire Crusaders had been large amounts of land in return for large sums of money. For the Third Crusade, two of the three landowners selling land to facilitate their crusading, William Fitz-Aldelin and Walter le Nair, sold comparatively small amounts for much lower fees. The Cistercians continued to play an important role in funding crusaders as two of the land sales, Walter le Nair, and Robert, constable of Halsham, were made to Cistercian institutions in Yorkshire. To fully analyse the

¹ Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), p. 138.

² Likely Wentbridge, Pontefract.

³ *EYC*, III, p. 116, no. 1409; *EYC*, III, pp. 298–99, no. 1641; *EYC*, III, pp. 79–80, no. 1364; *Meaux*, I, p. 220.

fundraising efforts taking place in Yorkshire for the Third Crusade, several points need to be addressed. Firstly, it is crucial to establish the nature of what the crusaders were selling and what they were receiving. Secondly, it is necessary to examine both who they were entering into transactions with and when they were entering into them. Finally, how the money was being utilised needs to be explored.

Of the three fundraising examples, the value of the sale made by Robert, the constable of Halsham, far outstrips the value of the sales of Walter le Nair and William Fitz-Aldelin, but it is the hardest to accurately interpret. The charters of Walter and William both directly state that they are selling the land to finance journeys to Jerusalem.⁴ The charter detailing a transaction between Robert and Meaux makes no reference to Robert departing on crusade, any money being paid for the lands, or to any prayers being given in return. It simply records that Robert gave Meaux lands in Tharlesthorpe, East Riding, to the abbey.⁵ It is not until the charter is viewed alongside the chronicle of Meaux, that the full details of the transaction are revealed. The abbey's chronicle explains that Robert, who is described as 'old and full of days', sold his land to facilitate a journey to the East alongside King Richard.⁶ The chronicle was compiled roughly 200 years after the charter was composed, raising several questions around the validity of the suggestion that Robert received money to facilitate going on crusade. The initial charter is dated to Whitsuntide (Pentecost) 1188, which was 5 June, a year before Richard the Lionheart became king, meaning that if Robert sold the land as the chronicle suggests then he was determined to go on crusade several months before Richard was crowned and pushed the preparations for the Third Crusade into overdrive.⁷ This is eminently possible as it is known that Robert did depart, since he is recorded by Roger of Howden as dying at Acre in 1191.⁸ The

⁴ *EYC*, III, p. 116, no. 1409. 'Pro quinque marcis argenti quas michi proinde dederunt ad peregrinationem meam faciendam in Ierosolimam'; *EYC*, III, pp. 298–99, no. 1641. 'quas prefatus Durandus dedit mihi ad iter meum de Jerusalem'.

⁵ *EYC*, III, pp. 79–80, no. 1364.

⁶ *EYC*, III, pp. 79–80, no. 1364; *Meaux*, I, p. 220. 'Senex et plenus dierum'.

⁷ C. R. Cheney, *A Handbook of Dates*, rev. edn by M. C. E. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 86.

⁸ *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 149.

160 marks he received for his lands is consistent with the large sums of money raised by Roger de Mowbray and Joscelin of Louvain who raised 120 marks and £100 respectively through the sale of property to facilitate their participation on the 1177 crusade with the count of Flanders.⁹ It is likely then, that the transaction was for a large sum of money, which enabled Robert to join the Third Crusade.

The reason for the monetary value of the transaction being omitted from the charter detailing the transaction, but being included in the chronicle is obscure. It could be the case that further charters pertaining to the transaction that the scribe compiling the chronicle had access to have been lost, or that the abbey was keen to attach itself more closely to an important crusader. This can also be seen in the case of fellow Third Crusader Robert of Turnham, who rose to prominence on the Third Crusade, and who is recorded in the abbey's chronicle as being buried at Meaux Abbey.¹⁰ It may also have been done with the intention of protecting the land that had been gained through the sale and including it in the chronicle legitimised the abbey's possession of the lordship. The original charter had been issued at Lambeth, and there may have been a fear that the charter could be contested by Robert's descendants.

The sources from which the crusaders received their funding are also important. Both Robert, constable of Halsham, and Walter le Nair are recorded as selling land to Cistercian institutions.¹¹ In the twelfth century the Cistercians had established themselves as a primary choice for Yorkshire landowners who wanted to raise money to go to the East as all recorded sales of land in Yorkshire to facilitate crusading were between crusaders and Cistercian houses. Although the Cistercians had, as demonstrated in the first chapter of this thesis, moved to intertwine themselves with the crusading movement, the decision to use them as a funding source was more likely driven by more practical means. The Church was a more compelling

⁹ *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, ed. by D. E. Greenway (London: Oxford University Press: 1972), p. 83, no. 111; *EYC*, XI, pp. 66–7, no. 68.

¹⁰ *Meaux*, I, p. 160.

¹¹ *EYC*, III, p. 116, no. 1409; *EYC*, III, pp. 79–80, no. 1364; *EYC*, III, pp. 298–99, no. 1641.

place to alienate lands to than fellow landowners. Sales to the Church would be more palatable to other parties such as family members, neighbours, and local rivals as it and kept patterns of land holding intact. It had the further benefit of not increasing the holdings of neighbours which would prevent rivals gaining power.¹²

The Church, especially the Cistercians, also had greater access to funds than anyone else. In the north of England, the wealthiest of the institutions were the Cistercians who had large sheep ranches which made them incredibly rich and, essentially, allowed them to act as bankers.¹³ The wool trade was central to this and the Cistercians had been pivotal in turning the process of selling excess produce at local markets into an organised international trade network which was the primary source of income for the order.¹⁴ Indeed, English wool was particularly popular in both Flanders and Italy.¹⁵ One of their primary areas of operation was in Yorkshire where the Cistercians had large sheep ranches in all three ridings.¹⁶ The effect of their large and incredibly profitable wool trade was the Cistercians were easily able to collect and raise the funds required by crusaders and were able to move money around to enable the purchase of crusader lands in the event that a particular institution did not have the available funds.¹⁷

It is also the case that the Cistercians saw the value of crusaders as a way of increasing their property and they specifically sought out and targeted crusaders, in Yorkshire this is evidenced by Adam of Fountains who persuaded William le Gros to exchange his crusade vow in return for founding the abbey in 1151.¹⁸ It highlights that the desire for the two parties to deal with each other was mutual. Cistercians were not reluctant buyers and clearly made themselves

¹² Tyerman, *England*, p, 206.

¹³ Tyerman, *England*, p, 206.

¹⁴ Janet Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 257–60.

¹⁵ Janet Burton, *The Religious Orders in the East Riding of Yorkshire in the Twelfth Century*, East Yorkshire Local History Series, 42 (Beverley : East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1989), p. 35.

¹⁶ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 257.

¹⁷ Tyerman, *England*, p, 206.

¹⁸ Tyerman, *England*, p, 206.

known to crusaders. Inversely, crusaders would have known that the Cistercians were the best institution to visit to raise money quickly.

This dependency on the Cistercians for crusade funding increased following the massacre of the Jews at York on 16 March 1190.¹⁹ The Jews, who were the only other group who had the capability to lend money on a scale required by crusaders, and did so regularly throughout the crusading period, were entirely wiped out in Yorkshire following the attack.²⁰ It is unclear how great an impact the attack would have had on the overall fund raising by individuals for the venture as it occurred only months before the English contingents departed for the East, but any individuals who needed to raise funds in the final weeks before departure would have few options outside the Cistercians.

William Fitz-Aldelin's sale of five bovates to his serjeant, Durand, son of Drew, for ten marks is the first example of a sale of land in Yorkshire to facilitate a crusade between two lay parties with no reference to a religious institution. Religious institutions were often regarded as the best place to sell lands because they were one of the few reliable sources of money, and crusaders could also claim spiritual as well as financial benefits through the sale.²¹ When a sale to a religious organisation could not be undertaken, crusaders would look to alienate property to individuals they felt they could trust. In William Fitz-Aldelin's case, he sold his lands to his serjeant, a party he likely knew well and trusted. None of the three sales were completed with parties that the seller was unfamiliar with, suggesting that crusaders were being careful about who they surrendered their lands to. A further security is added through the presence of family members and lords at the sales of the lands. Robert's sale to Meaux was done with his

¹⁹ For more on the massacre of the Jews, Barrie Dobson, *The Jews of Medieval York and the Massacre of March 1190*, Borthwick Papers, 45 (York : St. Anthony's Press, 1979).

²⁰ Michael Lower, *The Barons' Crusade: A Call to Arms and Its Consequences* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 146.

²¹ Christopher Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (London: Allen Lane, 2015), p. 205.

lord, William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, who would also take part on the Third Crusade, and Robert's brother present.

The amount of money crusaders were required to take on crusade is difficult to determine and the lack of complete records of a crusader's finances whilst away on crusade only make things more problematic to estimate. The range of figures in the sales mentioned above, 5 to 160 marks, does little to help gauge the costs. It has been shown by Alan Murray that German crusaders were advised to bring a minimum of 3 marks to fund a two-year expedition, which is 18*d* a month, or approximately $\frac{2}{3}$ *d* per day.²² In a charter issued by Ralph de Chall to the abbot and canons of Easby Abbey, Ralph's crusade is estimated to last three years, with administrative processes to begin if he does not return in that time frame.²³ If the time frame in this charter is used as a guide and three years was the expected duration of the crusade and a crusader was required to have a minimum of $\frac{2}{3}$ *d* per day, then a Yorkshire crusader would need to raise at least 4½ marks for his journey.²⁴ This would be the minimum amount, however, and taking extra would be advised, meaning that the five marks raised by Walter le Nair would be in line with what a crusader would be expected to bring to finance their own journey. It is possible that crusaders raising larger sums of money were doing so to support knights or other men who would travel with them to the East. A knight at the time of the First Crusade would have expected to travel with one squire, one groom, and three footmen, as well as a riding horse and a warhorse.²⁵ The knight would be expected to cover some of the costs of his men, meaning his outlay for the crusade would be higher. Walter le Nair's five

²² Alan V. Murray, 'Finance and Logistics of the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa', in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, ed. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 357–67 (pp. 358–59). This estimate is worked out using a German mark which equals 144*d* per mark, an English mark was worth 160*d*.

²³ *EYC*, V, p. 122, no. 215. 'Et si dictus R[adulfus] non redierit a peregrinacione Jerusalem infra dictos tres annos reddent'.

²⁴ Using the English mark which was worth 13 shillings 4 pence, or 160 pence.

²⁵ John H. Prior, 'Modelling Bohemond's March to Thessalonikē', in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades: Proceedings of a Workshop held at the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Sydney, 30 September to 4 October 2002*, ed. by John H. Prior (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 1–24 (p. 7).

marks may have been to support him, and him alone, for the duration of his journey, but William Fitz-Aldelin and Robert, constable of Halsham, had to alienate bigger tracts of land to raise more money to support more followers. What this shows is that despite the lack of any evidence for the promotion or organisation of the crusade, crusaders from Yorkshire were acutely aware of the resources they required in order to take part in the crusade and were raising funds accordingly.

Family and possessions left at home were also provided for by those heading to the East. In Yorkshire there are three examples of these preparations occurring before the outset of the Third Crusade. In surviving charters there is evidence for Ralph de Chall, Roger, son of Richard Touche, and John de Penistone making preparations for the family members and lands they left behind when they travelled to the Holy Land. A crusader was often the head of their household and the lands and family they left behind were often in an exposed state.²⁶ Incidents of the property of an absent crusader being seized, or a family member being killed whilst they were away were not uncommon. Although the wife of a crusader was often the person tasked with holding together a crusader's estate, their wives were vulnerable to acts of violence and financial disinheritance.²⁷ In Yorkshire, the charters of Ralph de Chall and Roger Touche highlight how aware of this problem crusaders were and the steps they put in place to stop these issues occurring. Ralph de Chall went to great lengths to ensure that, in his sale of two bovates of land in Carperby to Easby Abbey, his family would be provided for during his time in the East and also should he die on crusade. He stated that the abbey should supply his wife with three loaves of bread every day for three years and provide a quarter of flour each of those years.²⁸ There is no mention of the monks at Easby paying any money to Ralph for the land, so the specified loaves of bread and flour may have been given as rent in exchange for the land. If he was not to return from his crusade within three years, it would be the

²⁶ Tyerman, *England*, p. 210.

²⁷ Tyerman, *England*, p. 208–15.

²⁸ *EYC*, V, p. 122, no. 215.

responsibility of the abbey to administer his wife's dowry and to manage his estate to support his daughter until either he returned, or she reached the age at which she was able to claim her inheritance.²⁹

In Roger Touche's case, a gift of land was given to his daughter, Matilda, on the day he departed for the Third Crusade which was also the day Matilda was married.³⁰ The charter not only confirms the gift of Roger's manor in Overshitlington,³¹ but carefully outlines that the land is to be used to support Matilda if the marriage dissolved, acting as her dower. This was most likely done for two reasons. First, it ensured that Matilda would receive an income if the marriage dissolved or failed to produce any offspring. Secondly, it protected the family's assets as it confirms that if Matilda were to die with no heir, then the land would pass over to Roger Touche's sister, Agnes, and be inherited by her children.³² In a charter issued by John de Penistone the practice of leaving a proxy in charge of a crusader's possessions is demonstrated. In John's case, it was his brother, William, who had been left in temporary charge of his lands whilst he was on crusade.³³

Deciding who should watch over a crusader's lands was difficult, especially if there was not an obvious candidate. Understandably, it was paramount to crusaders to leave lands and possessions under the protection of people they trusted. This was often family members as shown in the Yorkshire evidence; Roger and Ralph were able to leave lands with their wives, whilst John left his under the supervision of his brother. Creating a safe environment for a family and their lands could have been the reason that Roger Touche was keen to arrange a marriage between his daughter and fellow Yorkshire landowner, Roger de Birkin. A marriage would serve as a way of increasing ties between the two families and, in turn, reduce any

²⁹ *EYC*, V, p. 122.

³⁰ *EYC*, III, pp. 375–76, no. 1748.

³¹ Now known as Overton, Wakefield, West Yorkshire.

³² Natasha R. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), p. 59.

³³ *EYC*, III, p. 405, no. 1787.

threat to his family's lands which would have been left under the control of his wife. Marriages were often used to protect the lands of crusaders from potential threats. For example, Count Hugh of Vermandois (often referred to as Hugh the Great), gave his daughter Isabel in marriage to Robert, count of Meulan, before departing for the First Crusade in 1096, and in 1120, Fulk of Anjou put his lands under the protection of King Henry I of England, with whom he had entered into a marriage alliance.³⁴

A crusade was, at its heart, a religiously motivated act, so it would be right to expect that crusaders would take on a crusade due to feelings of religious commitment. Before departing some crusaders made donations to local religious foundations. William de Percy, for example, probably increased the holdings of Whitby Abbey shortly before his departure for the First Crusade.³⁵ Whilst the large gifts of William de Percy were not matched by any of the participants on the Third Crusade, there is evidence for two individuals, Walter de Scotney and Fulk de Rufforth, making donations to religious institutions immediately prior to their departures. In a charter Walter de Scotney issued to Drax Priory, he confirmed that land he had given to the priory was to be free of military service. Even though Walter was no longer in possession of the land he would have still been responsible for making up the shortfall in manpower to the crown. The clause in the charter serves as a means of ensuring that no request is made of Drax Priory to provide military service.³⁶ The charter is confirmed as being for the souls of Walter, his wife and his heirs in readiness for his journey to Jerusalem.³⁷ Fulk de Rufforth leaves a gift of a yearly payment of 12d to St Peter's Hospital in York which was to be rendered from the township of Rufforth.³⁸ The money was to be paid in two instalments, half at Pentecost and the other half at the feast of St Martin (11 November). The charter also

³⁴ Hodgson, p. 62; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: The University of Cambridge Press, 1997), p. 137.

³⁵ *Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby, Ordinis s. Benedicti*, ed. by John C. Atkinson, 2 vols (Durham: Andrews, 1879), I, p. 1.

³⁶ *EYC*, VI, pp. 167–68, no. 78.

³⁷ *EYC*, VI, p. 168, no. 78. 'Est in procinctu itineris apud Jerosolimam... pro salute anime mee, uxoris mee et heredum meorum.'

³⁸ *EYC*, I, pp. 434–35, no. 556.

notes that Fulk laid 12d upon the altar of St Leonard's in York before his journey.³⁹ It is difficult to ascertain the motivations of the crusaders from these charters. Although Walter's charter contains reference to the gift being for the souls of his family, it is remarkably similar to the charter of Robert, constable of Halsham, in that it refers to a gift of land with no expected repayment. It suggests that, instead of recording a pious gift, the charter only records half the transaction and the part that details any money that Walter had received for the land has been lost. Unfortunately, Fulk de Rufford's charter no longer survives in its complete form. The charter, which is included in the Cartulary of St Leonard's Hospital, runs over two folios, the second of which is one of five which have been cut from the manuscript.⁴⁰ Whilst the charter does confirm that Fulk is making a journey, the information which confirms where the journey is to has been lost. As the charter is dated to 1190, the year the main contingents of English crusades departed on the Third Crusade the lost section of the charter probably confirms that Fulk is travelling to Jerusalem. If he did depart for the East, he survived his time on crusade as he died between 1214 and 1217.⁴¹ This marks the final time that crusaders connected to Yorkshire would make donations to religious institutions prior to their departure on crusade with no expectation of financial compensation.

Crusade participation was not always as straightforward as raising money and departing for the East. Often those who took the cross would find obstacles in their way or have a change of heart towards heading to the Holy Land.⁴² This seems to have been the case for Roger le Poitevin who arranged for his brother, Hugh, to travel to the East as his substitute on the Third Crusade:

To all those present and future let it be known that I Roger the Poitvin hereby confirm in this charter that I give, concede and present to Hugh my brother for

³⁹ *EYC*, I, p. 435, no. 556. 'Ad confirmationem autem redditus ppedicti et in saisnam solvi et obtuli duodecim denarios super altare Sancti Leonardi Eboracensis in aggressu itineris.'

⁴⁰ *The Cartulary of St Leonard's Hospital, York: Rawlinson Volume*, ed. by David X. Carpenter, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 163, 2 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2015), I, pp. 433, 459.

⁴¹ *Cartulary of St Leonard's*, I, p. 433.

⁴² *Meaux*, I, p. 76. An example of this from Yorkshire is William le Gros, count of Aumale and lord of Holderness, exchanging his crusade vow to build Meaux abbey in East Yorkshire.

his homage and service and for the journey he took up on my behalf to Jerusalem, all land that I held in Normanton with all its appurtenances. These being witnesses: Jordan of Saint Mary, John de Birkin, William the grammar teacher, William of Beaumont, Adam of Wanervill, Robert of Wales, Ivo of Lungvilers, William of Lungvilers, Thomas of Raynville, etc.⁴³

Unfortunately, the details behind why Roger was unable or unwilling to make the journey and why he selected his brother to go in his place to the East are unknown. The date on which either man took the cross is not possible to determine, so it is not known whether Hugh had already planned to take the journey or whether he took the cross as a direct result of being asked by his brother.

What is known is that Roger was prepared to compensate his brother for undertaking the pilgrimage on his behalf. Hugh received all of Roger's possessions in Normanton (near Wakefield, West Riding) for acting as his brother's substitute in the Holy Land. Due to the lack of details surrounding Hugh's journey to the East it is not possible to know whether the land was given to Hugh as a means of persuading him to go to the East, or if the land was intended to be used as means of compensating him for the fiscal outlay for the expedition. The charter was signed following his return from the East as it was issued between 1190 and 1215 and references his journey in the past tense. This indicates that Hugh had completed his crusade by the time the lands were put into his possession suggesting that they were not given to him to use to raise funds to pay for the journey before departure.⁴⁴

Although this was the first time that there is evidence for a substitute travelling to the East to fulfil another person's crusade vow in Yorkshire, the practice in England had already been established. Henry, the Young King, had entrusted his crusade vow to William Marshal on his deathbed in 1183.⁴⁵ Marshal fulfilled the vow; he departed in late 1183 and returned in late

⁴³ *EYC*, III, p. 248, no. 1573. 'Sciunt omnes presentes et futuri quod ego Rogerius Pictaviensis dedi, concessi et presenti carta confirmavi Hugoni fratri meo pro homagio et servitio suo, et pro itinere quod pro me suscepit Ierosolimam portando, totam terram quam tenui in Normanton cum omnibus pertinentiis. Hiis testibus: Jurdano de Sancta Maria, Johanne de Birkin, Willelmo Grammatico, Willelmo de Bellomun[te], Adam de Wanervill, Roberto Walensi, Yvone de Lungvilers, Willelmo de Lungvilers, Thoma de Raynvill, etc.'

⁴⁴ *EYC*, III, p. 248, no. 1573.

⁴⁵ Matthew Strickland, *Henry the Young King* (London: Yale University Press, 2016), p. 308.

1185 or early 1186.⁴⁶ The practice, although uncommon, is recorded as happening a second time involving a crusader from Yorkshire. Nearly a century after Hugh travelled to the East as a substitute for his brother, Richard de Styveton went on crusade in place of his lord, Peter de Percy, on Lord Edward's Crusade in 1270.⁴⁷ It is also possible that Ranulf, earl of Chester, departed for the Holy Land on the Fifth Crusade in 1218 to fulfil the crusade vow made by King John.⁴⁸ The desire to send a substitute to the East, possibly at great expense, demonstrates that fulfilling a crusading vow was very important to crusaders.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, crusaders from previous generations continued to influence individuals to take the cross and head to the East. On the Third Crusade, there is evidence to show two individuals who were related to participants of previous crusades. Nigel de Mowbray's father, Roger de Mowbray, had been to the Holy Land on three occasions during his life: in 1147 as part of the Second Crusade, in 1177 as part of the crusade led by the count of Flanders, and in 1187.⁴⁹ Ranulf de Glanville was the son or grandson of Hervey de Glanville who, like Roger de Mowbray, had been on the Second Crusade. Hervey never made it to the Holy Land. Instead he was part of the contingent which ventured to Portugal and was present for the capture of Lisbon in 1147.⁵⁰ The crusade also shows that family members could influence each other to take the cross. As head of the family, Ranulf may have influenced his brother, Henry, his son-in-law, Ralph of Arden, and his nephews, Hubert Walter and Alan of Valoignes, to take part on the Third Crusade.⁵¹ The familial connections highlighted above show that crusading was becoming established in prominent families connected to Yorkshire.

⁴⁶ David Crouch, 'Marshal, William [*called* the Marshal], Fourth Ear of Pembroke (c.1146–1219)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18126>>.

⁴⁷ *Close Rolls, 1268–72*, p. 281.

⁴⁸ Tyerman, *England*, p. 97.

⁴⁹ Howden, II, pp. 316, 325. Howden's account contains a letter from *Terricius*, Master of the Temple, which explains that Roger was taken prisoner following the battle of Hattin but was ransomed the following year by the Templars and Hospitallers. Unfortunately, Roger died soon after being ransomed.

⁵⁰ Christopher Tyerman, *Who's Who in Early Medieval England (1066–1272)* (London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1996), p. 145; *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon*, ed. and trans. by Charles Wendell David (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 54, 56, 96, 104, 164, 168.

⁵¹ Siedschlag, p. 92.

Third Crusade Participation

Most information about Yorkshire participants on the Third Crusade comes from chronicles written about the expedition. As the king of England was one of the leaders of the crusade and was accompanied by a large contingent, more focus is given to English actions in the East in contemporary chronicles of the crusade in comparison to previous ventures. The most notable of these chronicles for this thesis are those compiled by the Yorkshire parson and royal administrator, Roger of Howden, who travelled to the East with King Richard. Both of his chronicles have large sections dedicated to the events of the Third Crusade which contain information about individual crusaders. This means that members of Yorkshire society are mentioned with greater frequency in chronicles of the Third Crusade than they are in accounts of previous expeditions to the East. Although there are more mentions of crusaders connected to Yorkshire, the amount of detail in the accounts is often frustratingly low and it is difficult to accurately plot out any individuals entire time in the East.

The thirty-two individuals connected to Yorkshire who were present on the Third Crusade is the highest number of recorded participants for any English county. The numbers for the other counties of England are taken from the appendix of Beatrice Siedschlag's 1939 work, *English Participation in the Crusades, 1150-1220*.⁵² Whilst relatively short when compared to the works of Tyerman or Lloyd, Siedschlag offers useful analysis on a wide range of factors related to crusading including motivations of individuals, fundraising, contributions of the clergy, and royal engagement across the period. The most useful part of the work, however, is the first appendix, which details English crusaders from the period indicated in the title and gives a short biography of their connection to crusading. The appendix is well researched and includes the vast majority of crusaders connected to Yorkshire who appear in this thesis from the time period. It is unfortunate that the appendix only includes very short backgrounds of crusaders and rarely comments on connections between them as it would have helped to identify further

⁵² Siedschlag, pp. 109–30.

patterns in the participants across county borders. After Yorkshire, the next highest contributor to the Third Crusade was Lincolnshire, which had twenty-three recorded participants, followed by Suffolk with eighteen, and Norfolk with fourteen.⁵³ Yorkshire's participants were connected to all three Ridings, with nine being from the North, twelve from the East, and eight from the West, whilst only three of the crusaders could not be connected to a specific Riding. This shows that the crusade drew interest from across the county as participation was not confined to one area of Yorkshire.

Yorkshire's participants were drawn from across society. Nigel de Mowbray and William de Forz were members of powerful families who had large lordships in the county which had been established shortly after the conquest. Through records such as Roger of Howden's lists of those who died at the siege of Acre and the charters discussed above, it is clear that smaller landowners were also a part of the venture.⁵⁴ This was likely a sign that the Third Crusade was potentially more widely known about and financially more accessible than previous ventures. Although there is evidence for smaller landowners departing for the East in the pre-1190 period, the majority of crusaders then were from large powerful families. Although that group is still present on the Third Crusade, they are no longer the dominant group numerically.

Alongside the lay members of society there were four individuals who could be, in various ways, connected to the Church. This demonstrates that the crusade had a wide-reaching appeal and that it was not just people connected to large landowning families like those from Yorkshire recorded as going to the East. Whilst the Church had played an important role in facilitating the participation of crusaders in the near century prior to the Third Crusade through the purchasing of land, the Third Crusade is the first instance of clerics based in Yorkshire departing for the East as part of the crusading army. John of Morwic, a canon of York, Ralph, the parson of Crosby, and Roger of Howden were examples of secular clerics

⁵³ Siedschlag, pp. 109–30.

⁵⁴ *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 149.

taking part in the crusade from Yorkshire. Also present on the crusade was Ralph de Tilly, a layman who had served as the constable to Roger of Pont-l'Évêque, archbishop of York, in the episcopal household.⁵⁵ Of the 190 identified English participants, nineteen were members of, or connected to, the Church. The four participants from Yorkshire who were connected to the Church made up 12.5% of the overall number of crusaders from the county. This fits into a general trend which shows that of all the crusaders on the venture, 10% were linked to the Church in some capacity whether it be cleric, clergyman, or, as in the case of Ralph de Tilly, a layman serving in an episcopal household. Participation from Yorkshire's ecclesiastical ranks may, however, demonstrate a keener interest in crusading from this section of society than is seen in other counties. The four individuals from Yorkshire was the joint highest of any county, equal with both Lincolnshire and Kent. Yorkshire's participants appear to have travelled independently of one another, unlike the Lincolnshire crusaders – three of Lincoln's four participants were connected to St Botolf's Parish, located in the city of Lincoln, suggesting that they travelled to the East together.⁵⁶ The four Kent crusaders departed on crusade with the archbishop of their diocese, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury. Baldwin was joined on the crusade by Sylvester, his cook and steward.⁵⁷ Baldwin's influence could have informed a third cleric from Kent, William fitz Nigel, the steward of St Thomas of Canterbury, to head to the East as Baldwin would have been his diocesan.⁵⁸ The final recorded cleric from Kent, Benjamin, a chaplain of Robert de Crevecuer, travelled to the East in the retinue of his lord and departed at Easter 1191, a year after Baldwin's death at the siege of Acre.⁵⁹ As Robert held lands and was a patron of religious institutions, such as Leeds Priory, which were all under Baldwin's jurisdiction, it is possible that Baldwin could have influenced Robert and encouraged

⁵⁵ John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity, and Political Values* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), p. 74.

⁵⁶ Additionally, a victualler named Benedict was also linked to St Botolf's.

⁵⁷ Siedschlag, pp. 125-6.

⁵⁸ Siedschlag, p. 129.

⁵⁹ Siedschlag, p. 112.

him to the East, either by example or through preaching.⁶⁰ It is likely that Baldwin would have served as a figurehead who would have drawn in more crusaders than normally would have been seen. As shown in later chapters, English participation on crusading was generally motivated by the presence of a figurehead from the county. From Yorkshire, there was no obvious ecclesiastical figurehead for crusaders connected to the church to follow to the East. In light of the total number of Yorkshire crusaders, this indicates that Yorkshire was developing strong and wide reaching ties to the crusading movement. The inclusion of both lay and ecclesiastical participants on the Third Crusade from Yorkshire reflects the dual nature of crusading ideology that maintains that the venture was both militarily important in its defence of Christendom, but also represented a spiritually salvific enterprise.

Deeds of Participants

Where in the previous chapter crusaders from the county rarely appear in the narrative sources of the crusades, the records of the Third Crusade contain several mentions of individuals from Yorkshire. Whilst this increase in the records of crusaders is in line with the increase in the number of participants, it does show Yorkshire crusaders being involved in a range of different types of acts, not just military actions. These deeds were also included in different chronicles, not just Roger of Howden's works, suggesting that they were being recorded because they were deemed to be heroic or good, and not because these individuals were from Yorkshire or known to the author. In the case of Humphrey de Veilly and Ralph de Tilly, one can see Yorkshire men contributing to the fighting at the siege of Acre:

But Ralph de Tilly, Humphrey de Veilly, Robert de Lanlande, and Roger Glanville, climbed the English scaling ladder, and four times extinguished the Greek fire that had set it ablaze; and Ralph de Tilly approaching closer than the others, cut the ropes with his sword, and thus freed the ladder from the hands of the pagans.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Katharine Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066-1166: II Pipe Rolls to Cartae Baronum* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), p. 419.

⁶¹ Howden III, p. 73. 'Sed Radulfus de Tilli, et Humfridus de Veili, et Robertus de Lalande, et Roger de Glamvilla, ascenderunt super scalam Anglorum, et quater extinxerunt ignem Graecum superinjectum; et

Another example of a crusader with Yorkshire links involved at the siege of Acre is Robert Trussebut. Unlike Ralph de Tilly and Humphrey de Veilley, Robert distinguished himself through his efforts in an initiative to aid the poorest crusaders at the siege of Acre rather than through heroic deeds in the fighting. He arrived at the siege of Acre with, or at the same time as, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, in June 1190 amongst a group of Normans including Ranulf de Glanville, former justiciar of England.⁶² Upon seeing that the poor and needy were suffering, Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, started a campaign to collect money from the richer crusaders and distribute it amongst the poor according to the belief that if someone is able to save someone but refuses to do so, they are responsible for their death.⁶³ The collection of the money was led by Robert Trussebut along with a number of other high ranking crusaders such as the Henry, count of Champagne.⁶⁴

A further crusader with connections to Yorkshire mentioned in the narrative sources of the Third Crusade is William of Cornbrough. William was recorded as returning a belt to Richard I that had been lost in a skirmish outside Jaffa.⁶⁵ Richard had been sleeping under a tree outside the town walls when he was ambushed by a 'multitude of pagans'.⁶⁶ A melee ensued, and whilst Richard was able to escape, William de Pratelles, a member of his household, was taken prisoner and another man, Reginald, was killed.⁶⁷ Due to the fighting, Richard was unable to retrieve his horse or his jewelled belt which had been lost during the skirmish. The belt was found soon after the fighting had concluded by William of Cornbrough who returned it to the king.⁶⁸ This is another instance where Yorkshire men are seen close to the king. The scene

Radulfus de Thilli, caeteris propius accedens, abscidit cum gladio suo funes, et sic liberavit scalam illam a manibus paganorum.'

⁶² *Itinerarium*, p. 99. Robert held a fee of ten knights in Yorkshire with his *caput honoris* at Warter in the East Riding. PR, 2 R I, p. 73. He also held extensive fees in Normandy.

⁶³ *Itinerarium*, p. 135.

⁶⁴ *Itinerarium*, p. 135.

⁶⁵ Howden, III, p. 133.

⁶⁶ Howden, III, p. 133. 'supervenit multitudo paganorum et excitaverunt regem a somno.'

⁶⁷ Howden, III, p. 133.

⁶⁸ Howden, III, p. 133.

highlights the loyalty of Yorkshire men but it also contributes to our understanding of Yorkshire men's contribution to the campaign.

Each of these deeds was recorded on its own merit and not because the individual was connected to Yorkshire. They cover a range of different actions which highlight that the chronicles believed more than just victories won through fighting were important. The deeds of Robert Trussebut and William de Cornbrough were charitable acts that reflected well on the moral character of the crusading army. It shows that Yorkshire crusaders were involved at key points during the crusade and were an integral part of the crusading army.

Actions in the East were not confined to military matters as even whilst away on crusade gifts were given to institutions at home. John of Hesse gave land in Hesse and Ferriby to the Temple of the Lord at Jerusalem (the house of the Templars at North Ferriby).⁶⁹ This donation is similar to the gift given by John de Lacy to All Saints Church in Pontefract whilst on the Fifth Crusade in 1220.⁷⁰ It is unfortunate that the witness list of John of Hesse's charter was not copied by the scribe who copied the charter into North Ferriby's cartulary as this prevents the identification of further crusaders. The scribe who copied the charter into North Ferriby's cartulary simply recorded that the charter was witnessed by Roger of Howden and others who were present with John at Acre.⁷¹ Although it indicates that men from Yorkshire were sticking together whilst on crusade, the decision to omit the names of the 'others' who witnessed the charter makes this difficult to prove. The witness list of John de Lacy's charter reveals a number of other crusaders from his lands who had stayed together during the Fifth Crusade and it is eminently possible that the same thing is happening here. The charter regularly uses

⁶⁹ Doris M. Stenton, 'Roger of Howden and Benedict', *The English Historical Review*, 68 (1953), 574–582 (pp. 576–77). The charter survives in the cartulary of the house of North Ferriby but has been transcribed in full in the referenced article. *Testibus Rogero persona de Houden. etc. qui tunc presentes fuerunt cum domino Johanne de Hesel' in obsidione Acre.*

⁷⁰ *The Cartulary of St. John*, ed. by Richard Holmes, 2 vols (Leeds: The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1899), I, pp. 36–37.

⁷¹ Stenton, 'Roger of Howden and Benedict' (p. 577). 'Testibus Rogero persona de Houden. etc. qui tunc presentes fuerunt cum domino Johanne de Hesel'.

the phrase *'devers le west'* suggesting that it was initially written by a French scribe showing that crusaders from Yorkshire were interacting with their French counterparts at the siege of Acre.⁷²

Crusading was a highly dangerous venture and William of Newburgh suggested that a significant proportion, possibly three quarters, of those who embarked on the Third Crusade perished.⁷³ Although the available data on Yorkshire crusaders is incomplete and fragmentary, it indicates a high mortality rate among the participants. Newburgh's estimation was likely not precise, but rather an attempt to emphasise the perilous nature of the crusade. It is possible to say with certainty that ten of the thirty-two crusaders who departed to the East did not return. This is closer to 33%, rather than the 75% that Newburgh reported, but it does illustrate the dangerous nature of crusading. From the records of crusaders who were known to be from Yorkshire who perished in the East, seven are from a list of individuals who died at Acre recorded by Howden.⁷⁴ Most of the list contains the names of nobles and knights who would have been well known amongst the crusading army such as Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, Ranulf Glanville and Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders. Alongside these high ranking individuals is a list of lesser men, who were all from areas familiar to Howden: Ranulf, parson of Crosby, Richard of Legsby, and Berenger his brother, Robert the Huntsman of Pontefract, Robert Scrop of Barton-on-Humber, Ranulf of Tange, Henry Pigot seneschal of the count of Warenne, Walter Scrop, Walter of Kyme son of Philip of Kyme, John of Lambourne,⁷⁵ and

⁷² Doris M. Stenton, 'Roger of Howden and Benedict' (p. 577).

⁷³ William of Newburgh, 'The "Historia Rerum Anglicanarum" of William of Newburgh, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. by Richard Howlett, 4 vols, Rolls Series, 84 (London: Longman, 1884-89), I (1884), p. 374. 'Veruntamen eorum qui post Christianae in Terra Sancta plebia excidium propter Christum peregrinati fuerant, nec quarta pars ad propria rediit.'

⁷⁴ Lists can be found in works published under the names: *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene* and *Gesta Regis Henrici secundi Benedicti Abbatis*. The *Gesta Regis* which has previously been credited to Benedict of Peterborough, is understood as being, like the *Chronica magistri*, by Roger of Howden. Discussion of the two work and their relationships to each other can be found in: Doris M. Stenton, 'Roger of Howden and Benedict', *The English Historical Review*, 68 (1953) 574–582. The list found in the *Gesta Regis* is longer and will be referred to in this discussion. *Gesta Regis*, pp. 147–150; Howden, II, pp. 187–88.

⁷⁵ Lambourne is likely a reference to the parish in Essex or the village in Wiltshire.

Walter of Ros father of Peter of Ros.⁷⁶ The inclusion of these names in the list indicates an attempt by Howden to memorialise individuals he knew personally.⁷⁷ As these individuals were largely centred on Yorkshire and Lincolnshire it could be an indication that they travelled to the East as a group and were familiar with each other before the crusade departed.

Geographical ties between crusaders were a feature throughout the Third Crusade, and the crusading movement in general. Contingents were grouped together based on their location of origin as noted by various Third Crusade chroniclers who reported that crusaders from different regions were given different coloured crosses to identify themselves.⁷⁸ Travel to the East was also seemingly undertaken by crusaders who shared a common geographical origin.

Roger of Howden claimed that he travelled to the East on the Third Crusade with 1000 Londoners, and on the Second Crusade a group of crusaders from Ipswich are reported as using a Welsh cat (a large wooden framework mounted on wheels used to protect those inside from projectiles) at the siege of Lisbon.⁷⁹ This pattern of individuals travelling alongside crusaders they would have been familiar with prior to the outset of the crusade is reflected in other ventures. John de Lacy's charter from outside Damietta on the Fifth Crusade was witnessed by a number of his followers, all of whom originated from areas under his control.⁸⁰ This raises the possibility that all of the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire names included in the list were all part of the retinue of a knight with whom Howden was familiar.

Some individuals who departed for the East may have done so with the knowledge that their chance of return was slim. Robert, constable of Halsham, was 'an old man, full of days' when he took the cross and departed for Jerusalem.⁸¹ This could explain why he was prepared to sell

⁷⁶ *Gesta Regis*, p. 149. 'Radulfus persona de Croxebi, Richard de Lexebi, et Berenger frater ejus, Robertus le Venur del Pumfrait, Robertus Scro de Bartun; Ranulfus de Tange, Hericus Pigot senescallus comitis de Warena, Walterus Scrop, Walterus de Kyma filius Philippi de Kyma, Johannes de Lamburne, Walterus de Ros frater Petri de Ros.'

⁷⁷ Tyerman, *England*, p. 72.

⁷⁸ Howden, II, p. 335; *Gesta Regis*, II, 29–30; Ambrose p. 3, l. 113–54; Tyerman, *England*, p. 60.

⁷⁹ *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 117; Howden, III, p. 43; *The Conquest of Lisbon*, p. 160.

⁸⁰ *The Chartulary of St. John*, I, pp. 36–37.

⁸¹ Meaux, I, p. 220. 'senex et plenus dierum'.

so much of his land to pay for his journey, and with no heir listed in the charter related to the sale of the land, only his brother who died before him and his lord, raising such a vast sum may have indicated that he had no plans to return from the Holy Land. This idea suggests that there was a prestige linked to dying whilst on crusade. Robert's journey to the East was deemed important enough to include in the chronicle of Meaux Abbey two centuries later, so it certainly carried significance. Later works from religious institutions were keen to tie themselves to crusaders who had died whilst on crusade in the East. This is shown in narratives of the Mowbray family, probably written in the fourteenth century at the family's foundations of Newburgh and Byland, in which Nigel de Mowbray's death on crusade has been included but the details altered. Nigel is recorded by Roger of Howden as succumbing to disease in 1191, after which his body was thrown into the sea.⁸² A later recounting of Nigel's death composed at Byland Abbey reported that he died whilst at sea and he was buried at sea in a container bearing an inscription (or possibly containing an epitaph) describing, 'what kind of man he was'.⁸³ Despite the account altering details about Nigel's death and giving him a more dignified burial, it is clear that it was important that Nigel died whilst on crusade as this aspect was not altered. This fits into a pattern which showed that religious institutions were keen to attach themselves to crusaders, especially those who were their patrons and benefactors. It was important for the scribes at Meaux to mention that Robert the constable was going on crusade where it is implied he would die due to his age, and a later addition to the introduction of Whitby's cartulary, which already recorded that William de Percy died on crusade, stated that his heart was brought back to the abbey where it was buried, demonstrating that they wanted ensure there was a lasting connection between William and the abbey.⁸⁴

⁸² *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 149. 'In tertio anno obierunt apud Acram, Radulfus de Aubeni, Nigellus de Mumbray projectus in mare.'

⁸³ Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (London: Cornell University Press, 2012), p. 156; *Monasticon Anglicanum*, V, p. 346.

⁸⁴ *Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby, Ordinis s. Benedicti*, ed. by John C. Atkinson (Durham: Andrews, 1879), p. 1.

As discussed in the previous chapter, crusading was a tool individuals could use to restore damaged reputations. Stephen, count of Aumale and lord of Holderness, Roger de Mowbray, and Henry II de Lacy all took advantage of the redemptive powers of the crusade to restore their image in the eyes of their peers. It is likely that this trend continued into the period of the Third Crusade. It is eminently possible, for example, that Ranulf de Glanville joined the crusade with the hope that it would lead to the restoration of his former positions. Immediately prior to the crusade, Ranulf had been stripped of his titles, including Sheriff of Yorkshire, and fined a large sum of money for using his closeness to the former king Henry II to abuse his position for personal gain.⁸⁵ He could have regarded serving alongside Richard on the Third Crusade as a strategic approach to re-establishing a favourable standing with the king, as it would allow him to demonstrate his reliability to Richard in military campaign. The significance of being recognised as important by Richard on the Third Crusade is evident through Robert of Turnham, Baldwin de Béthune, and Gerard I de Furnival, who were rewarded for their loyalty to the king with marriages, either for themselves or their children, to an heiress with a large inheritances following the conclusion of the campaign. Ranulf's large fine, totalling 15,000 marks, would have put pressure on his resources, but going on crusade was something that he felt was worth further financial outlay. He was present with Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, as part of the advanced contingent which arrived in Tyre on 16 September 1190,⁸⁶ but Glanville had already perished at the siege of Acre before the kings of England and France left the island of Sicily meaning it is impossible to know if his decision to depart for the East would have restored him to any of his former positions, or reduced his fine.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ John Hudson, 'Glanville [Glanvill], Ranulf de', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10795>>; Newburgh, pp. 302–3. William of Newburgh states that Ranulf resigned and due to his age, because he had not be consulted regularly, and because he wanted to go on crusade.

⁸⁶ Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon Ricardi Divisiensis de Rebus Gestis Ricardi Primi Regis Angliæ: Nunc Primum Typis Mandatum*, ed. by Joseph Stephenson, English Historical Society Publications, 5 (London: Sumptibus Societatis, 1838), pp. 19–20; John Gillingham, *Richard I* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 129. Devizes explains how the fleet was split into two but claims this happened after the army had reached Sicily.

⁸⁷ *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 149.

The Third Crusade also provided an opportunity which had not been available to this point to Yorkshire crusaders: the ability to go on crusade alongside their king. This offered participants an excellent way of gaining favour and improving their social standing. From those who can be connected to Yorkshire who participated on the Third Crusade, there is evidence to show that three individuals improved their standing and gained possessions and status due to their actions in the East. Robert of Turnham, Baldwin de Béthune, and Gerard de Furnival, all gained prominence following the conclusion of the crusade. The three men were likely following a precedent by which Richard rewarded those who had fought with him in the wars he had fought both in the revolt against his father, Henry II, in 1173-74 and to suppress rebellions in Aquitaine prior to his coronation in 1189. William de Forz, lord of Holderness and count of Aumale, had likely been able to use these wars as a way of proving himself as during the Third Crusade he served as Richard's admiral, and was married to Hawisia, the heiress to the Holderness lordship, in Sicily in 1190.⁸⁸ Due to Richard appointing William as one of the admirals of the fleet and arranging his marriage to a very powerful heiress, it is likely that he would have developed a strong relationship with Richard in the years before the crusade departed.⁸⁹ It is clear that he was known for his prominence in battle as Richard of Devizes records him as being 'a proven soldier in warfare', highlighting the importance that Richard placed on men who were proficient in warfare.⁹⁰

Robert's, Baldwin's, and Gerard's rise to prominence all followed the same pattern. None of these men had any notable social standing or possessions in England prior to the departure of the Third Crusade, but the crusade provided an opportunity for them to demonstrate acts of arms and loyalty which brought them close to the king. Following the conclusion of the

⁸⁸ Howden, III, p. 36; English, p. 30; Divizes, p. 11.

⁸⁹ Barbara English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086–1260: A Study in Feudal Society* (Hull: Hull University Press, 1991), p. 30.

⁹⁰ Devizes, p. 11. 'Miles milies probatus in armis'.

campaign, all three were rewarded with marriages which secured sizable lordships for themselves, or their family in Yorkshire.

Prior to the outset of the Third Crusade, Robert of Turnham was a man of little standing. His family background is unknown and his rise during the crusade is one of the best examples of how crusade participation could positively influence social mobility. Whilst little is known of Robert prior to the crusade, he first appears in the narratives during the capture of Cyprus. When attempting to bring the island under his control, Richard I divided the galleys in his fleet into two, taking control of one half whilst giving control of the other to Robert. Richard instructed Robert to surround one half of the island, capturing any ships or galleys he encountered.⁹¹ Richard took the same approach with the remainder of the fleet on the opposite side of the island and this two-pronged attack captured all the coastal towns, ports and settlements, and caused the garrisons of the cities, harbours and castles to flee into the mountains. This led the people of Cyprus to, according to Roger of Howden, 'acknowledge themselves as his [Richard's] subjects, and [that they] held their lands of him.'⁹² The responsibility given to Robert demonstrates that Richard had a great amount of trust in him and his maritime ability.

After the coast had been secured, Richard was able to capture both the fortress of Kyrenia and the daughter of the island's emperor, Isaac Comnenos. This caused Isaac to surrender the island to Richard. After capturing Cyprus, Richard pressed on to Acre, arriving at the siege of the city in 1191. Robert was once again left in a position of responsibility as he was installed as one of the co-governors of the island along with Richard de Camville.⁹³ During his time as co-governor of Cyprus, Robert quelled a rebellion which threatened to reclaim the island. A follower of Isaac tried to ignite the island in rebellion against their new rulers, but he was

⁹¹ Howden, III, p. 109. 'medietatem illarum tradidit Eoberto do Turneham, et prsecepit ut ille circumdasset insulam ex una parte'.

⁹² Howden, III, p. 110.

⁹³ Howden, III, p. 205; *Meaux*, I, p. 258.

unsuccessful and was hanged by Robert.⁹⁴ Although Richard was displeased that Robert had hanged the leader of the rebellion, because he believed hanging someone who claimed to be king was still an affront to royal dignity, Robert had still successfully quelled the revolt and protected the island.⁹⁵

Indeed, it is clear that Robert's role in capturing and retaining Cyprus was well respected by Richard as Robert remained close to Richard from that point onwards and is even recorded as carrying the king's equipment back from the Holy Land.⁹⁶ Robert also found himself as a key part of Richard's release from captivity following the king's capture by the Duke of Austria. Robert was recorded, like Baldwin de Béthune, as being one of the men selected to be a hostage for Richard to ensure Richard's entire ransom payment would be made.⁹⁷ Robert's use as a hostage suggests that other people recognised that Robert was important to Richard. As a hostage, Robert had to be of enough value to the king to ensure the ransom would be paid.⁹⁸

In 1197, Robert was rewarded for his service to Richard with a marriage to Isabella Fossard, the daughter and heiress of the powerful Yorkshire baron, William Fossard. This inheritance was formed of the lordship of Mulgrave, the castle and the honour including the thirty-four and a half knight's fees (located near Whitby in the East Riding).⁹⁹ Robert also received the Surrey shrievalty at this time. Robert remained close to Richard for the rest of Richard's reign, and was with him in France shortly before Richard's death in 1199 as evidenced by a charter Robert witnessed on 1 March at Roche-Turpin near Vendôme.¹⁰⁰ The fact that Robert was rewarded by Richard with a large Yorkshire lordship and the lucrative position of sheriff of Surrey attests to his importance to the king. That he was able to gain these positions despite

⁹⁴ Howden, III, p. 116, 210; *Meaux*, I, pp. 260–61.

⁹⁵ *Meaux*, I, pp. 258–60; *Meaux*, I, p. 260; Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 152, n. 47.

⁹⁶ Henry Summerson, 'Thornham [Turnham], Robert of (d. 1211)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27884>>.

⁹⁷ Howden, III, p. 231–3; Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 248.

⁹⁸ Adam Kosto, 'Hostages During the First Century of the Crusades', *Medieval Encounters*, 9 (2003), 3–31 (p. 7).

⁹⁹ *EYC*, II, p. 328.

¹⁰⁰ *The Itinerary of King Richard I*, ed. by Lionel Landon (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1935), p. 144, no. 562.

being of little social standing before the departure of the Third Crusade suggests that his time on the campaign afforded him the opportunity to get close to Richard and earn his trust through his prominent role in the capture of Cyprus and the subjugation of the subsequent revolt.

Baldwin de Béthune, brother to the famous French poet Conan de Béthune, was a man renowned for his sense of honour and prowess and it benefited Richard to keep him as one of his closest companions.¹⁰¹ Prior to the Third Crusade, Baldwin had no English lands. While he had been granted Châteauroux and its heiress by Henry II, King Richard decided that the inheritance, and the heiress, would be better served being granted to Andrew de Chauvigny, a knight who had fought with Richard against Henry II in 1189 and was one of Richard's closest companions on the Crusade.¹⁰² Baldwin was heavily involved in the events leading to Richard's capture on his return from the Third Crusade, with several sources recording him being with Richard prior to the king's capture. Due to several storms, which wrecked many of the crusaders' boats on the return journey from the East, Richard decided that he wanted to return to land and, after coming to an agreement with pirates he met close to Corfu, he took a group of his most loyal companions and headed for the coast.¹⁰³ The chronicles do not agree on the exact chain of events from this point to Richard's capture, but Baldwin's closeness to Richard is not disputed. Roger of Howden detailed that although Richard and his followers were dressed as pilgrims, their lavish expenditure exposed them, and Richard and one other knight were forced to flee from the group. Whilst Richard was sleeping and his companion was buying food, the king was arrested in a village near Vienna by one of the Duke of Austria's officers who recognised him.¹⁰⁴ Howden goes on to explain that Richard's other followers, who

¹⁰¹ Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 102.

¹⁰² Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 32.

¹⁰³ *Itinerarium*, p. 382. The *Itinerarium* does not name Richard's companions, but states he travelled with four. Ralph of Coggeshall lists them as being Baldwin de Béthune, Philip the King's cleric, Anselm the chaplain, and an unknown number of templars,¹⁰³ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. by Joseph Stevenson, Rolls Series, 66 (London: Longman, 1875), p. 54; Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 232, n. 34. Pages 54–55 in Coggeshall's chronicle are a later addition to the text.

¹⁰⁴ Howden, II, p. 270.

he indicates were led by Baldwin de Béthune, were also captured.¹⁰⁵ Ralph of Coggeshall recounts a slightly different tale which states that, after being taken to the nearest land by the pirates, Richard and his group of companions, which included Baldwin de Béthune, went straight to a local lord dressed as pilgrims requesting safe passage. They offered him gifts which were of such value that the lord became suspicious and identified one member of the group as King Richard. Upon realising that it was Richard and not a pilgrim, he returned the gift and granted the group safe passage through his lands.¹⁰⁶ Unknown to Richard, the lord had sent a spy out ahead to pass word on to his brother so that Richard could be arrested as he entered his lands.¹⁰⁷ Richard left the group with a knight named Roger, who eventually gave the king's location away leading to his arrest. Meanwhile, Baldwin and the remainder of Richard's party were also arrested despite claiming they were just continuing their pilgrimage.¹⁰⁸ In both accounts of Richard's capture, Baldwin is named as one of the 'close companions' chosen to accompany the king to the mainland. His appearance in these narratives is testament to both how close to Richard he had become and how important he was to the king.

Like Robert, Baldwin was used as a hostage to ensure the entirety of Richard's ransom was paid, a position which demonstrated his importance to the king. After half of Richard's ransom had been paid, the king was allowed to leave for England with the understanding that the remaining half of the ransom, around 20,000 marks, would soon follow, and Eleanor of Brittany would be married to the son of the Duke of Austria.¹⁰⁹ Upon his return to England in 1194, Richard said that he owed more to Baldwin than to any other man because of his continued loyal service.¹¹⁰ This comment shows that Baldwin had become both incredibly important and close to Richard. The trust that had developed between Richard and Baldwin is

¹⁰⁵ Howden, II, p. 270.

¹⁰⁶ Coggeshall, p. 55. Richard gives gifts of three rubies, and two gold rings.

¹⁰⁷ Coggeshall, p. 55.

¹⁰⁸ Coggeshall, p. 55.

¹⁰⁹ Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 253.

¹¹⁰ Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 102.

shown again following Richard's release from captivity. After waiting for seven months for the conditions to be realised, Leopold, duke of Austria, threatened to kill the hostages, who included both Baldwin of Béthune and Robert of Turnham, if his demands were not met. Leopold sent Baldwin de Béthune back to England to deliver this news to Richard.¹¹¹ The news had the desired effect and Richard sent Baldwin back to the Duke with both Eleanor and the daughter of Isaac Komnenus, the former Emperor of Cyprus.¹¹² Upon his return, Baldwin found that the Duke had died and was able to return to England with the two women and the remaining hostages.¹¹³ Escorting two princesses was an immense responsibility and the fact that Baldwin was entrusted with this task shows that the king had a significant amount of trust in him. Following this, in 1195, Baldwin was married to Hawisa, the heiress to the lordship of Holderness, one of the largest and richest lordships in England, by Richard. He remained close to Richard for the remainder of his reign as we see from his presence in the witness lists of several of the king's charters, with the final example coming in 1198.¹¹⁴ Like Robert, Baldwin's time on the Third Crusade allowed him to prove himself as a key individual to Richard and following the culmination of the crusade and Richard's return to England, his importance to Richard was rewarded with a Yorkshire lordship.

A final example of an individual gaining a connection to Yorkshire after rising to prominence because of their actions on the Third Crusade is Gerard I de Furnival. Before the Third Crusade, Gerard appears to have been a follower of the French King, Philip Augustus, but changed his allegiance to Richard I following Philip's departure from the East in August 1191.¹¹⁵ He is recorded as a witness in charters issued by Geoffrey, duke of Brittany, at Angers in 1181,

¹¹¹ English, *Lords*, p. 34.

¹¹² Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 252.

¹¹³ The events are also interpreted in Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 253; English, *Lords*, pp. 33–34. English does not reference sources for her recounting, but it is likely she is using Coggeshall.

¹¹⁴ *The Itinerary of Richard I*, p. p. 133, no. 519.

¹¹⁵ James Doherty, 'The Crusading Furnivals: Family Tradition, Political Expediency and Social Pressure in Crusade Motivation', *Journal of Family History*, 0 (2022) 1–17 (p. 3).

Winchester in 1184, and finally in Paris during the summer of 1186.¹¹⁶ He then appears in the service of Philip Augustus, king of France, first, as an ambassador to Henry II in 1186, then as a witness to one of the French king's charters in 1190.¹¹⁷ After he changed allegiance to Richard he is noted as playing an important role on two separate occasions in the East. First he is recorded as fighting at the battle of Jaffa in 1192 alongside Richard I. This is recounted in two sources. The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* mentions that Gerard, who was one of only a few knights who still had horses at the battle, was a 'comrade' of the king.¹¹⁸ The French poet, Ambroise, also mentions Gerard at the battle of Jaffa, noting that he was 'accompanying the king'.¹¹⁹ Much like Robert and Baldwin, Gerard is placed close to Richard at crucial moments during the crusade by multiple sources. Gerard is also mentioned in these sources as being a member of an embassy alongside William des Roches (who would serve as Seneschal of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine) and Peter des Préaux (who would become governor of the Channel Islands). The three men were sent by Andrew of Chavigny to Jerusalem with a letter from King Richard, which requested that Saladin ensure the safe journey of a group of pilgrims to Jerusalem after the peace settlement of 1192.¹²⁰ Gerard and his two companions fell asleep en route and were overtaken by the remainder of the party. The three men were criticised for their carelessness when they re-joined the rest of the pilgrims as they had left the group without any form of protection as they crossed hostile territory.¹²¹ However, their carelessness was clearly not adjudged to be a big faux-pas as all three would later be rewarded by Richard with titles and landholdings.

¹¹⁶ *The Charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany, 1171–1221*, ed. by Judith Everard and Michael Jones (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1999), pp. 13 Ge4, 17 Ge8, 32 Ge30; Doherty, 'The Crusading Furnivals' (p. 3).

¹¹⁷ Ralph of Diceto, *Opera Historica*, ed. by William Stubbs 2 vols (London: Longman, 1876), II, p. 43; Doherty, 'The Crusading Furnivals' (p. 3)

¹¹⁸ *Itinerarium*, p. 361.

¹¹⁹ Ambroise, p. 454, l. 11396.

¹²⁰ *Itinerarium*, p. 374. Ambroise, p. 459, l. 11871.

¹²¹ *Itinerarium*, p. 375.

Gerard's participation on the Third Crusade allowed him to become close to Richard I and rise to prominence in the English court. Gerard's closeness and importance to Richard continued after the culmination of the crusade. He is regularly referenced in administrative documents as witnessing Richard's charters, being with Richard at La Suze on 3 February 1199, and in 1198 Gerard served as a tutor to Richard's nephew Otto of Brunswick.¹²² His importance continued into the reign of King John as evidenced by the fact that in 1200 he paid 400 marks in order for his son, Gerard II de Furnival, to marry Maud de Lovetot, the daughter and heiress of William de Lovetot, lord of Hallamshire.¹²³ Gerard held the manor of Munden (Hertfordshire), which he had gained from Duke Godfrey at some point between 1183–86, but it is possible that Gerard briefly oversaw the administration of the Hallamshire lands as in March 1201 both Gerard II and Maud are recorded as being underage.¹²⁴ This, in turn, placed him in a position to organise his son's marriage to Maud de Lovetot. By demonstrating himself to be loyal and reliable during the Third Crusade, Gerard was able to establish the Furnival family as one of the most powerful and important families in Yorkshire.

The lordships of Yorkshire were significantly influenced by the Third Crusade, as demonstrated by Robert of Turnham, Baldwin de Béthune, and Gerard I de Furnival. Whilst in previous years crusaders were able to redeem and reinvent themselves by going on crusade, Robert, Baldwin, and Gerard were able to use the Third Crusade to prove themselves as being useful to the king in a military setting which in turn helped to secure marriages for themselves, or their children, to the heiresses of powerful Yorkshire lordships. The Third Crusade was a theatre that allowed individuals to prove themselves directly to the king in a way that they may not have been able to do otherwise. As evidenced in the case of Robert of Turnham, it is possible to see an

¹²² *The Itinerary of Richard I*, p. 143, no. 560; Ralph V. Turner and Richard R. Heiser, *The Reign of Richard the Lionheart: Ruler of the Angevin Empire, 1189–99*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 204.

¹²³ *EYC*, VI, p. 209.

¹²⁴ *Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees, Commonly Called Testa de Nevill, Reformed from the Earliest MSS*, 3 vols (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1920–31), I, p. 124; Doherty, 'The Crusading Furnivals' (p. 3); *EYC*, VI, pp. 209–10.

individual rise up the ranks from obscurity to being one of the most powerful barons, not only in Yorkshire, but in the whole of England.

Conclusions

The period examined in this chapter had one of the highest levels of participation of any period examined in the thesis. This is mainly centred on the Third Crusade, which gives us evidence for thirty-two individuals participating in the crusade who had connections to the county. This makes Yorkshire the highest contributor to the crusade in terms of recorded manpower and, as such, follows a pattern of high involvement in the Third Crusade which is seen across all of England's counties.

The period highlights that many of the trends which had been established in the previous chapter continued. As with previous crusades to the Holy Land, there is evidence to show that strong familial ties with crusading were continuing. Nigel de Mowbray, who perished at the siege of Acre, was following in the footsteps of his father who had taken part on both the Second Crusade and an independent expedition led by the count of Flanders in 1177 and had died in the Holy Land in 1188 following the battle of Hattin.

Chapter Three: The Doctor, the Cook, and the Parson: The Fourth and Fifth Crusades, and a Change in Strategy, 1204–1222

Fourth Crusade Promotion and Preparation

The Fourth Crusade was called by Pope Innocent III in his papal bull *Post Miserabile* on 15 August 1198.¹ The decision to launch a new crusade appears to have inspired Pope Innocent III to send two letters to the Archbishop of York, copies of which were included in the chronicles of Roger of Howden. The first of these letters is dated to 13 August 1198 and contains reference to the plans for a preaching tour of Yorkshire which was to be undertaken by Master Vacarius and the Augustinian prior of Thurgarton (Nottinghamshire), who were to be assisted by a member of the Templars and a member of the Hospitallers.²

Whilst the content of the preaching and the places which were visited during the proposed tour are unknown, this marks the first time that a form of centralised preaching was ordered in Yorkshire. The letters show the pope was interacting directly with the affairs of Yorkshire and stand apart from the first hundred years of the crusading period where popes had given general orders for crusades to be preached, often to individual preachers. One such example was Bernard of Clairvaux who, prior to the Second Crusade, would be given the task of promoting the crusade. During this period, the responsibility for preaching in England had fallen on individual members of the clergy who were mandated in a general way to promote a crusade as they saw fit with there being no obvious signs of an organised chain of command.³ In 1188, during the lead up to the Third Crusade, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, led a preaching tour through Wales.⁴ The only account which provides any detail to the events of

¹ Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), p. 1.

² Howden, IV, pp. 71–77.

³ Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 46.

⁴ Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales/The Description of Wales* ed. and Trans. Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin Books, 1978); Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades, c. 1095–1291* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), pp. 58–91.

the campaign, Gerald of Wales's *Itinerarium Kambriae*, or *Journey Through Wales*, provides no information regarding the motivation for undertaking the tour.⁵ As this lack of information relating to motivation coincides with there being no record of contemporary organised preaching in England shows that the tour was an independent venture led by the archbishop and not part of coordinated movement. This idea had not completely disappeared by the time of the Fourth Crusade, when the possibility of preaching in the county may have been undertaken by Eustace, abbot of Flay, who Howden records as coming to England from Normandy with the intention of promoting the planned crusade.⁶ Howden records the abbot visiting England twice, once in 1198 and again in 1201.⁷ Eustace's first visit to England may have involved crusade preaching, but his sermons were also focused on discouraging the practice of usury. Any preaching which was undertaken by Eustace does not seem to have been endorsed by the papacy and, from the accounts of his time in England, his activity appears to have been concentrated in the south of the country.⁸ Howden records him performing miracles, such as restoring sight to the blind, the ability to walk to the lame, speech to the dumb, and hearing to the deaf in Wye, nearby to Canterbury, in 1200. This is a similar set of miracles that are attributed to Fourth Crusade preacher Fulk of Neuilly by Ralph of Coggeshall.⁹ This lack of papal endorsement appears to have caused Eustace problems and he returned to Normandy after being ignored by a large number of the English hierarchy.¹⁰

⁵ Huw Pryce, Gerald's Journey Through Wales, *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History*, 6 (1989), 17-34 (p. 18).

⁶ Howden, IV, p. 167. Going on to state that he visited many places throughout England (see: n.31 for named places he visited), p. 487. The preaching of Eustace is also discussed in: Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, M.A., Medieval Academy of America, 1991), pp. 88-89. Eustace's visit to England is also recorded in the chronicle of Meaux, but there is no reference to crusade preaching, only his miracles and charitable deeds, *Meaux*, I, p. 339.

⁷ Howden, II, pp. 123-4, IV, pp. 167, 169, 170; Christopher R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersmann, 1976), p. 241. The 1201 mission is analysed in James L. Cate, 'The English Mission of Eustace of Flay (1200-1201)', in *Études d'Histoire: Dédiées a la Mémoire de Henri Pirenne* (Brussels: Nouvelle Société d'Éditions, 1937) pp. 67-89.

⁸ Howden, II, pp. 123-4; Howden IV, pp. 167, 169, 170-71.

⁹ Coggeshall, p. 81. Howden also records Eustace as visiting Romney (Kent), and London, pp. 486-87.

¹⁰ Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, p. 241. Eustace's second visit to England in 1201 appears to have little to do with the Crusades and focused mainly on not conducting business on a Sunday, Howden, II, p. 526; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 89.

Although it is unlikely that Roger witnessed Eustace's preaching, the inclusion of crusade promotion in Roger's chronicle marks the only time during the entire period of 1095–1291 that a chronicler based in Yorkshire discusses crusade preaching. For all other expeditions to the Holy Land, any mentions of preaching are confined to short, often broad, entries which do not refer to specific areas or details of the preaching. It was, perhaps, Roger's own experience on the Third Crusade which prompted him to include a record of Eustace's preaching in his chronicle. His time in the East may have fostered a personal attachment to crusading, which meant he felt inclined to include as much information about crusading in his work as possible following his return from the East.

The glut of evidence for preparations made by individuals preparing to depart on the Third Crusade, did not continue in the Fourth Crusade. There is, however, evidence for attempted centralisation of generating funds for the proposed venture. In the second letter recorded by Howden, Innocent outlined new ways in which funds could be generated for crusading and how people should be encouraged to donate money to the cause. Innocent declared that in every church there should be a chest, which was to be locked with three locks, the keys to which were to be held by the bishop, the priest of the church, and a pious layman. People were encouraged to place money into the chest for remission of their sins.¹¹ Alongside this, a policy that allowed an individual to redeem their vow in return for cash or property based on their rank and means was introduced.¹² The money raised by these means would be used for the aid of the Holy Land. Innocent specified that if a person who had taken the cross could not afford to make the journey to the East, then they would be given money that had been collected to help fund their pilgrimage, so long as they were prepared to serve for one year or more.¹³ This marked a change in the aims of crusade preaching. Previously, the success of a

¹¹ Howden, IV, p. 74.

¹² Howden, IV, p. 75.

¹³ Howden, IV, p. 75.

sermon or preaching tour was measured by the number of individuals who had taken the cross. Now there was also a focus on the amount of money being raised.¹⁴

Fourth Crusade Participation

It is only possible to identify three participants on the Fourth Crusade who can be connected to Yorkshire: Gerard I de Furnival, a veteran of the Third Crusade (West Riding), Henry of Le Puiset, son of Hugh of Le Puiset, Bishop of Durham, and William, father of Stephen *Bruni* (both North Riding). The low numbers of participants for the Fourth Crusade from Yorkshire when compared to the Third Crusade reflects a pattern seen across England. For the Fourth Crusade there is evidence for fifty-two crusaders taking the cross from England.¹⁵ The three participants with connections to Yorkshire is the third highest recorded number for any county, only being exceeded by Lincolnshire with six and Northamptonshire with four. All of Yorkshire's participants were drawn from the laity, which fits a trend seen for the crusade from within England: of the fifty-two English crusaders, there is evidence for one cleric and one monk taking part, an anonymous priest from Norfolk and Roger, a monk of St Edmunds.¹⁶ The three recorded Yorkshire participants were all male, which again fits with the general trend of recorded participants from England which include only include one woman, Hersenta, wife of Reginald de Sugesaple, who travelled to the East alongside her husband.¹⁷

The exact reasons for this limited participation are unknown, but there are several factors which likely came together to form an environment which served to prevent crusade participation. The venture's proximity to the Third Crusade was certainly a large factor in the low turnout from Yorkshire. Preaching and promotion of the Fourth Crusade began less than a decade after the end of Richard the Lionheart's expedition to the East, and although it was possible for families to absorb the high cost of a crusade, the evidence for individuals from

¹⁴ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 83.

¹⁵ Crusaders from other counties have been calculated using the appendix of Beatrice Siedschlag: Siedschlag, pp. 131–37.

¹⁶ Siedschlag, pp. 131, 135.

¹⁷ Siedschlag, p. 133.

Yorkshire making multiple trips to the Holy Land during this period is limited. Roger de Mowbray made three journeys to the East during over forty years and Henry de Lacy went to the Holy Land twice with there being twenty years between his visits. Both the Mowbray and de Lacy families were major landowning families, with wealth that outstripped that of almost all other Yorkshire families. This would have allowed them to absorb the large financial commitment of crusading better than most. Ultimately, Roger and Henry stand out as exceptions to a rule which indicates that once an individual had gone on crusade it was difficult for them to commit to a second pilgrimage.¹⁸ The proximity of the end of Third Crusade and the beginning of the Fourth Crusade further increased the unlikelihood of participation. Beyond the costs, it may have been the case that many of those who may have decided to go to the East had already received indulgences for participating on the Third Crusade which would have removed motivation to head to the East. Only one of Yorkshire's participants in the Fourth Crusade, Gerard I de Furnival, was a participant on the Third Crusade. None of the other individuals connected to Yorkshire who had been on the Third Crusade are recorded as taking part on the Fourth Crusade, or even taking the cross to join the venture. This shows that that was a reluctance or inability to engage with the Fourth Crusade from Yorkshire.

The Fourth Crusade was planned in a period of turbulence in England, which did not allow anyone who may have aspired to depart for the Holy Land the opportunity to make arrangements to do so. Any potential figurehead to lead the crusade or a contingent was engaged in other more pressing activities. King Richard and, subsequently, King John, were involved in the defence of Normandy and their other French possessions against the French king, Philip II — an activity which required large amounts of man-power and fiscal outlay. In addition, funds had also been needed to pay the ransom of Richard I. Although no records

¹⁸ Roger travelled to the East as part of the Second Crusade, references to which can be found in: *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, ed. by D. E. Greenway (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 121, no. 155, and, p. 126, no. 174. He possibly travelled again with the count of Flanders in 1177: *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, p. xxxii. He made a final trip in the late 1180s which saw him fight at the battle of Hattin where he was captured, and died shortly after his release from captivity: Howden, II, p. 325.

survive detailing how the money for the ransom was raised, funds appear to have been collected outside of the normal recorded taxation found in the Pipe Rolls which was recorded as being about £25,000 per year.¹⁹ This in itself was a large increase on the previous three years which saw tax being collected at an average rate of just under £11,000 per year meaning that the vast amount needed would have placed a burden on all members of society.²⁰

This pressure did not relent following Richard's death in 1199. When John came to the throne, he took the traditional step of demanding that his men should seek confirmation from him for their privileges, adding a further financial burden to the aristocracy, following the similar payments demanded at the end of Richard's reign.²¹ John was still selling privileges in 1201 and when he visited Yorkshire in that year, he raised over 9,000 marks.²² For example, William Stuteville paid £1,133 for the shrievalty of Yorkshire, a fee that was equal to nearly five percent of revenue collected for the whole of England in that year. If the local landowners were trying to collect funds together to join the Fourth Crusade, any money they had managed to set aside would have been spent during this period to keep themselves in their positions. Although the continued financial pressures would have affected all of Yorkshire's inhabitants, it would have been felt especially keenly by those who had participated on the Third Crusade. The short timeframe between the two crusades coupled with the intensive fundraising for ransom payments and wars, and the necessity for individuals to have to purchase titles, would have made it incredibly difficult for Third Crusade participants to recover the outlays they had made to participate on the earlier expedition.

¹⁹ Nick Barratt, 'The English Revenue of Richard I', *The English Historical Review*, 116 (2001), 635–56 (p. 637); H. Ramsay, *A History of the Revenues of the Kings of England 1066–1399*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), I, p. 191.

²⁰ Barratt, 'The English Revenue of Richard I' (p. 637).

²¹ James C. Holt, *The Northerners: A Study in the Reign of King John* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 146.

²² Holt, *Northerners*, p. 196; *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Third Year of the Reign of King John Michaelmas 1201*, ed. by Doris M. Stenton (London: J. W. Ruddock, 1936), pp. 157–60.

The second key issue behind the dearth of participants from Yorkshire on the Fourth Crusade was a lack of individuals available to lead contingents. From Yorkshire, those who would have been most suited to lead crusading contingents were involved with Richard and John fighting against Philip for control of Normandy. This reduced any chance of a contingent leaving Yorkshire and travelling to the East. Men such as Robert of Turnham, Baldwin de Béthune and Gerard de Furnival were recorded in charters as serving with Richard right up until his death in France.²³ This trend of prominent figures from Yorkshire serving the king abroad continued in the reign of King John with Third Crusade veteran Roger de Lacy, lord of Pontefract, being placed in command of the defence of Château Gaillard.²⁴

The need for Yorkshiremen to protect the king's possessions can also be found closer to home with provisions being made for the defence of the north of England from a possible attack from Scotland following Richard's death. The king of Scotland, William the Lion, had been on good terms with Richard I, and had contributed 2,000 marks to the payment of Richard's ransom in 1193.²⁵ He had initially offered his support to John in 1199, sending ambassadors who stated that William would swear fealty to John in return for the earldom of Northumberland, but any response to this offer was delayed until John's coronation on 27 May 1199. William's ambassadors were told that their king must be present which led to William declaring that if the earldom was not handed over to him, he would take it by force.²⁶ He gave John forty days, during which time he assembled an army, but the deadline came and passed,

²³ Charters of these men being with Richard in France can be seen in *The Itinerary of Richard I*. Baldwin de Béthune can be seen as being with Richard as late as 1198, p. 133, no. 519, with Richard paying for his travel to France, along with soldiers and treasure, in 1195, p. 105; Gerard de Furnival is with Richard at La Suze on 3 February 1199, p. 143, no. 560; Robert of Turnham is with Richard as late as 1 March 1199 at Roche-Turpin near Vendôme, p. 144, no. 562. Baldwin de Béthune was sent by Richard to be his representative in Germany during the elections to crown a new German king, Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 311. A further hostage was William de Mowbray, who was the son of Nigel de Mowbray who had died at Acre during the Third Crusade.

²⁴ Paris, II, pp. 483, 488-89.

²⁵ Archie A. M. Duncan, 'John King of England and the Kings of Scots', in *King John: New Interpretations* ed. by Stephen D. Church (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), pp. 247-71 (p. 251). William also declined to take part in the rebellion launched by John whilst Richard was on crusade.

²⁶ Duncan, p. 251. The Liberty of Tynedale, an area in the south-west of Northumberland, was the only area that the Scottish kings were able to hold in England, G. W. S. Barrow, *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London: The Hambleton Press, 1992), p. 82.

and William did not act on his threat.²⁷ Despite John's lack of action in dealing with the Scottish king, the latter was a genuine threat. Provisions had been made for the garrisoning of castles in Yorkshire and Lancashire on the death of Richard I, with William de Stuteville being placed in charge of both the defence of the border and its administration.²⁸ John's lack of response may have been prompted by a feeling that the threats to his possessions in France were more pressing and more serious than the threat offered by William to the north of England.

For the period surrounding the Fourth Crusade, there are a series of entries in the Pipe Rolls in the section for Yorkshire under the heading *De cruisiatis in rotulis precedentibus*.²⁹ These lists are unique to the Yorkshire sections of Pipe Rolls and appear to show members of Yorkshire society who were on crusade during previous years or, who had taken on a crusading vow and been exempt from paying debts.³⁰ The entries are found in the rolls for the years, 1202, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1208, 1211 and 1212. These lists contain the names of 213 men and 10 women. Also contained within the lists are the names of 9 Yorkshire locations.³¹ Two of these entries, the ones for the years 1207 and 1208, have been commented on by Christopher Tyerman who questions whether the fines could be for the collection of the 1207 tax of a thirteenth on movables from which crusaders would have been exempt, or that the fines came from missed taxes from the 1201 crusade fortieth.³² Despite the use of the term *cruisiatis* (and variants) which has strong links to crusading and crusaders, as it means those who have been signed with the cross, the entries are not in fact linked to crusaders as Tyerman suggests. Instead, the lists of names relate to members of Yorkshire society who had debts in previous rolls which had been paid in full. In Yorkshire, there was a practice to note a small cross next to entries

²⁷ Duncan, p. 251. This is despite John being absent in France for the second half of 1199.

²⁸ Holt, *Northerners*, p. 205.

²⁹ There is some variation in the titles of these lists, for example the 1202 list is titled, *De hiis qui cruisiati sunt in rotulo precedenti*, but they are all similarly titled.

³⁰ The letter from Innocent III to Geoffrey, archbishop of York, records the terms for crusaders being free from paying debts and accruing interest on loans, Howden, IV, pp. 446–47.

³¹ The total number of entries is 241 but there are several entries where names and/or fines are illegible.

³² Tyerman, *England*, pp. 169–70. Tyerman failed to comment on the rolls which pre and post-dated the 1207 and 1208 rolls.

which had been paid (dating as far back as the 1194 roll). Therefore, the *crusiatis* next to these entries is a reference to those with crossed off debts and not one linked to crusaders or crusading in general.

First Barons' War

In the period between the Fourth and Fifth Crusades England became embroiled in a civil war. Following the loss of Normandy in 1204, John, king of England, had begun to frequently clash with the English baronage.³³ A major point of disagreement was the financial strain that was being put on the baronage by John. By 1214, this position had become untenable and a group of barons, largely from the north of England, refused to undertake overseas military service in Poitou and claimed it was unlawful for John to demand a scutage.³⁴ The result was the outbreak of what would become known as the First Barons War. The war was initially brought to a halt with the issuing of Magna Carta on 15 June 1215, but Magna Carta was declared unlawful by Innocent III and the conflict erupted again.³⁵ The rebel barons opened up negotiations with Louis, prince of France (later Louis VIII), who had a very remote claim to the English throne via his wife, Blanche of Castile, who was John's niece.³⁶ Louis invaded England in May 1216, and quickly managed to gain control of a large amount of the Southwest and the city of London, by the summer.³⁷ King John died in night of 18–19 October 1216 and many of the rebel barons abandoned Louis. The war realistically came to a conclusion following the defeat

³³ An analysis of the events that led to Magna Carta focussing on the north of England can be found in: James C. Holt, *The Northerners: A Study in the Reign of King John* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961).

³⁴ James C. Holt, *Magna Carta*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 294. Only four of those who had openly resisted paying the Poitevin scutage, Eustace de Vescy, William de Mowbray, Roger de Montbegon and Richard de Percy, were part of the Twenty-Five who signed Magna Carta; Of the nearly two-hundred rebels linked to Yorkshire recorded in the close rolls, thirty-four of them appear in the 1214 Pipe Roll owing money to John: The Great Rolls of the Pipe for the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of King John Michaelmas 1212, ed. by Patricia M. Barnes (London: J. W. Ruddock, 1955), pp. 16–18, 26–40; Thomas, *Vassals*, p. 190.

³⁵ Wendover, II, pp. 330–33; A translation of the 1215 version of Magna Carta can be found in: W. L. Warren, *King John* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 265–77; The annulment of Magna Carta is discussed in: Richard Helmholz, 'Pope Innocent III and the Annulment of Magna Carta', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 69 (2018), 1–14.

³⁶ Wendover, II, pp. 357–59; Jan Maly, 'The Invasion of Prince Louis of France to England, 1216–1217', *Prague Papers on the History of International Relations*, 2 (2016), 7–20 (p. 10).

³⁷ For Louis's journey to England: Wendover, II, pp. 364–65, and for his capture of the southeast of England: Wendover, II, pp. 373–77.

of a force led by Louis at Lincoln on 20 May 1217. It was not, however, until 24 August when the French navy, which was carrying the troops to reinforce prince Louis, was defeated by English royal forces that Louis was forced to make peace at Lambeth on 12 September 1217.³⁸

From the outset, there were clear influences from the crusading sphere on the conflict. One of the names the rebel barons used to refer to themselves took inspiration from the crusading movement, for example. The rebels were called by many names during their rebellion including, 'the Northerners', or simply, 'barons', but the rebels also attempted to call themselves 'the army of God and the Holy Church'.³⁹ This name was not used widely, but can be seen used in the treaty regarding the custody of London from 1215.⁴⁰ After John had taken the cross in 1215, the leaders of the rebel barons responded by calling themselves the marshals of 'the army of God'.⁴¹ Although the rebel barons did not attach crosses to themselves or directly refer to themselves *crucesignatus*, they clearly felt their cause aligned with that of a crusade, a divinely sanctioned conflict. The name they chose for themselves, 'an army of God', is one that was used frequently in chronicles of the First Crusade to refer to the crusading army. Examples of this practice are found in the chronicles written by Robert the Monk and Baldric of Bourgueil, who use the term regularly throughout their accounts of the expedition.⁴² The use of the terminology in relation to the barons reinforces the connection between the baronial rebellion and the idea of crusade. Whilst the rebels attempted to describe themselves as crusaders and thus legitimise their cause as divinely sanctioned, the royalists were also described in crusading terms by the contemporary chroniclers. This practice

³⁸ Wendover, II, pp. 401–04.

³⁹ Matthew Paris, II, p. 586. 'exercitus Dei et sanctae ecclesiae'; Holt, *Northerners*, p. 8. For a discussion of all names used to describe the rebels and the prominence of the term 'Northerners' see: Holt, *Northerners*, pp. 8–16.

⁴⁰ Matthew Paris, II, p. 586. Paris records the rebels referring to Robert fitz Walter as the marshal of the army of God.

⁴¹ Ralph of Coggeshall, p. 171. *exercitum Dei*; Tyerman, *England*, p. 135.

⁴² Examples can be seen in: Robert the Monk, p. 38; Baldric of Bourgueil, p. 18.

became more common in the early months of 1217 after the papal legate Gualo had declared that those fighting against the rebels could, like crusaders, claim indulgences.⁴³

It is almost certain that during late 1216 or early 1217, formal crusading was authorised against the rebels in England as indulgences were offered to royalist troops by Honorius III in September of 1216. It was likely that as early as 1215 crusading themes were being used to promote participation in the war. Ralph of Coggeshall reports Hugh de Boves was raising mercenaries for the king of England with papal letters which promised the remission of sins for those who fought in the war in England.⁴⁴ This was highlighted by the pope extending protection to the royalist mercenary Savaric de Mauleon who had taken the cross to defend England on 7 October 1216.⁴⁵ This was not the first time a war within a Christian nation had become intertwined with the ideas of crusading. Crusades were becoming an increasingly common method for dealing with internal threats as they could be very effective at stirring up a quick response.⁴⁶ Pope Innocent III had attempted to call domestic crusades previously, offering crusading privileges to a group of French soldiers who he enlisted to help wrest control of the March of Ancona away from Markward of Annweiler (*d.* 1202) from 1199, and more successfully against the Cathars of Southern France from 1209.⁴⁷ The First Barons' War can be viewed as building on these ideas as it used the crusade, or crusade privileges, as a method to suppress a troublesome social situation.⁴⁸ With England being a vassal state of the papacy at this time, papal interest in the civil war was likely higher than it would be under

⁴³ Tyerman, *England*, p. 137.

⁴⁴ Tyerman, *England*, p. 137.

⁴⁵ *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Britain and Ireland*, ed. by W. T. Bliss and others, 14 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1893–1960), I (1893), p. 41; Tyerman, *England*, p. 137.

⁴⁶ Joseph R. Strayer, 'The Political Crusades of the Thirteenth Century', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. by Kenneth Setton and others, 2nd edn, 6 vols (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969–1989), II, pp. 343–75 (p. 358).

⁴⁷ Strayer, 'The Political Crusades', II, pp. 343–75 (pp. 346–7).

⁴⁸ Christopher Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (Milton Keynes: Allen Lane, 2015), p. 54. Other examples of this can be seen in the Netherlands (1228–1232), and Bosnia (from 1241). The most famous political crusade is the anti-Hohenstaufen Crusade which was launched against Frederick II and his descendants by Gregory IX in 1229.

other circumstances, which possibly increased the willingness of the papacy to involve crusade privileges in the fighting.

There is no evidence to suggest that there was any preaching in England which aimed to raise participants to fight against the rebels, despite the war being papally sanctioned and participants received crusade indulgences. Although this is consistent with the evidence from Yorkshire throughout the period which shows little record of any crusade preaching, it does not fit with the trend seen in other domestic crusades which were fought in Latin Christendom during this timeframe. Preaching was often utilised to increase support to help the crusade achieve its aims, as seen with the Albigensian Crusade.⁴⁹ It may indicate that, as shall be demonstrated later, the civil war had been disruptive to the point that it was not possible to organise or implement a cohesive and unified campaign promoting participation in the war against the rebels.

The civil war reached its culmination at the Battle of Lincoln on 20 May 1217. At the battle there were several men with links to the county of Yorkshire. Due to fighting on the royalist side at the battle, Ranulf, earl of Chester, Brian de Lisle, William II de Forz, earl of Aumale, and Robert de Vieuxpont would have claimed crusading indulgences as a reward. There is the possibility the war was used by some in Yorkshire to redeem existing crusade vows. Although the civil war marked the first time that the opportunity to fight within England in return for a redeemed crusade vow, it was not the first time that a vow had been redeemed without the need for an individual to travel to the East. At the time of the Second Crusade, William le Gros was able to exchange his crusading vow for building Meaux Abbey, and from the Fourth Crusade onwards people had been able to exchange vows for a monetary donation.⁵⁰ This could explain why the baronage connected to Yorkshire, and England as a whole, who fought

⁴⁹ For examples of the preaching of political and internal crusades, see: Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 52–59.

⁵⁰ *Meaux*, I, p. 76. For more on William le Gros, see the first chapter of this thesis.

on the royalist side of the war did not show much engagement with the Fifth Crusade; they had already fought on a crusade and gained the spiritual benefits which it could offer.⁵¹

More direct crusading symbolism can be found at the battle of Lincoln, where the soldiers fighting in the royalist army attached white crosses to their armour to help identify them during battle.⁵² Although the crosses were attached to the chests of the participants at the Battle of Lincoln, rather than to the shoulder as was the norm for crusading, the white cross was a symbol associated with English crusaders since the Third Crusade, as seen in Ambroise's account of the venture.⁵³ Before the battle, the papal legate had given the royalists a plenary absolution for their sins to that day and had confirmed that those who died fighting against the rebel barons would go directly to heaven.⁵⁴ This is comparable to the events of the Second Barons' war where, before the Battle of Lews in May 1264, the participants on both sides attached crosses to their armour and performed mass.⁵⁵ To a lesser extent this could also be applied to the Battle of the Standard, fought in the North Riding of Yorkshire in 1138, which contained a large amount of religious symbolism.⁵⁶

The First Barons' War shows that crusading ideas, both from the participants and those describing the events, had crept into domestic warfare. Initially the civil war does not appear to be a crusade when judged against the idea of crusading which had been established with the calling of the First Crusade in 1095 as it was a war fought between two Christian armies in England. However, by the early thirteenth century, crusading had evolved and was being used as a tool to reduce dissent in Western Europe. The definition of what a crusade is, or was, has

⁵¹ Thomas W. Smith, *Curia and Crusade: Pope Honorius III and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1216–1227* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), p. 107; *The Crusades: An Encyclopaedia*, ed. by Alan V. Murray, 4 vols (Oxford: ABC Clío, 2006), II, p. 396.

⁵² Tyerman, *England*, p. 148.

⁵³ Tyerman, *Invention*, p. 78; Tyerman, *England*, p. 141.

⁵⁴ David Crouch, *William Marshal* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 164.

⁵⁵ The rebel barons attached white crosses to their armour, which was the traditional colour for English crusaders, whilst the royalist soldiers used red crosses.

⁵⁶ For the Battle of the Standard and its links to crusading see the first chapter of this thesis.

been debated intensively.⁵⁷ The First Barons' War is one of the earliest examples of what has become known as a political crusade. Political crusading became increasingly popular in the course of the thirteenth century and was used to justify using force to neutralise an internal threat. For historians, the First Barons' War would fit into the school of thought which Giles Constable has defined as pluralist.⁵⁸ For a pluralist, the defining feature of a crusade was its authorisation by the papacy; the campaign's intended destination and goal have no bearing on whether it was considered a crusade.⁵⁹ As the civil war was promoted as a crusade in England by those who wished to recruit individuals to fight on the side of King John and participants were able to redeem vows, the First Barons' War fits within the scope of this definition. This shows that by the early thirteenth century, men from Yorkshire could be involved in crusading without ever having to leave England. The war also highlights that individuals were very keen to attach themselves to the crusades, whether through the rebels describing themselves as 'an army of God', or through the adoption of crusading symbols, as evidenced through the attaching of white crosses to armour before battle. This desire to be attached to crusading demonstrates that crusading was becoming entrenched in English society and its tropes were understood well enough by those involved in the events and by those who were recording them to accurately apply them to a domestic war. The civil war also demonstrates how domestic warfare could be a significant hindrance to crusading to the Holy Land. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, crusades were a unique way of earning spiritual rewards, most notably remission of sin, but that was now being shared with other conflicts. When combined with other changes which had been made to crusading, such as redemption of vow through monetary payment, the draw of taking part on a crusade was potentially being chipped away

⁵⁷ Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1998); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1977); Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. by William W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977).

⁵⁸ Giles Constable, 'The Historiography of the Crusades', in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C., 2001), pp. 1–22 (p. 12).

⁵⁹ Constable, 'historiography' (p. 12).

as shown by the low numbers of barons and knights from Yorkshire who were present on the Fifth Crusade.

The Fifth Crusade

The events of the Fifth Crusade were centred on the Egyptian port of Damietta, which is located on one of the eastern branches of the Nile Delta, and marked a turning point in the strategy of the crusading movement. This was the first time a major crusading army was deployed with the intention of capturing Egypt to disrupt and conquer the Ayyubid power base which would make the task of reclaiming and retaining Jerusalem far easier for the armies of the West.⁶⁰ The crusade was called by Innocent III in 1213 when he issued the papal bull *Quia Maior*, followed by a second bull, *Ad Liberandam*, in 1215.⁶¹ Innocent died in 1216 and the final preparations for the crusade were overseen by his successor, Pope Honorius III.⁶² Unlike the previous crusades to the Holy Land, which were headed by kings or high-ranking nobles, no clear or defined leader can be established for the Fifth Crusade. Instead, a committee governed the expedition.⁶³

The crusade also differed from previous ventures because the composition of the army was ever-changing. The Fifth Crusade was characterised by the crusaders' short periods of service, which often amounted to about a year.⁶⁴ Examples of crusaders joining an army after the

⁶⁰ The decision for the Fifth Crusade, as well as the Seventh Crusade, to focus on Damietta rather than the more important port of Alexandria is discussed by Alan V. Murray in Alan V. Murray, 'The Place of Egypt in the Military Strategy of the Crusades, 1099–1221' in, *The Fifth Crusade in Context: The Crusading Movement in the Early Thirteenth Century*, ed. by E. J. Mylod and others (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 117–134, and by Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), p. 628. Egypt had been the focus of previous plans and expeditions for both crusades and the Christians living in the East. For example, in 1118 Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, launched an expedition into the Nile Delta, and the Fourth Crusade which originally planned to attack Damietta.

⁶¹ Tyerman, *England*, pp. 153, 339.

⁶² For Honorius's involvement in crusading, Smith, *Curia and Crusade*; James M. Powell, 'Honorius III and the Leadership of the Crusade', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 63 (1977), pp. 521–36; Thomas W. Smith, 'The Role of Pope Honorius III in the Fifth Crusade', in *The Fifth Crusade in Context: The Crusading Movement in the Early Thirteenth Century*, ed. by E. J. Mylod and others (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁶³ Powell, p. 107; Thomas W. Smith, 'The Role of Pope Honorius III', p. 16. This group was everchanging and included, at different points, King John of Jerusalem, King Andrew II of Hungary, Leopold VI, duke of Austria, Ludwig, duke of Bavaria, and the papal legate, Pelagius.

⁶⁴ Smith, 'The Role of Pope Honorius III', p. 16.

crusade had departed, or leaving before a crusade concluded are not uncommon. Genoese crusaders joined the First Crusade shortly before the siege of Jerusalem in 1099, and Philip Augustus, king of France, left the Third Crusade after the fall of Acre in 1191. Most crusaders joined a crusade with the expectation of fighting for the duration of the venture, however. The short terms of service on the Fifth Crusade led to a lack of continuity both in terms of the fighting force and leadership.

Fifth Crusade Promotion and Preparation

There is limited evidence for promotion of the Fifth Crusade in England and, as with previous crusading ventures, there is no evidence of the preaching occurring in Yorkshire. Any preaching or promotion for the crusade that did occur in Yorkshire would have only been possible after King John submitted to the papacy in May 1213.⁶⁵ In 1214, John came to a peace settlement with King Philip II of France; John claimed that it was made so 'that relief may be brought more quickly to the Holy Land'.⁶⁶ John's actions did enable some promotion for the crusade to take place. Initial crusade promotion was ordered in April of 1213, a month before John submitted to the papacy, and a trio of local executors (Walter, archdeacon of London, Master John of Kent, and Master Philip of Oxford) were instructed to preach the upcoming crusade.⁶⁷ Walter and John both died before they could begin preaching and were replaced by Master William of London and Leo, dean of Wells.⁶⁸ The preaching is recorded as having been successful in both recruitment and in raising large sums of money.⁶⁹ The preachers are documented as convincing many people, both male and female, to take the cross in 1214.⁷⁰ There is no evidence for this preaching occurring in Yorkshire, and most recorded promotion

⁶⁵ Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, p. 260.

⁶⁶ Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, p. 261; *Selected Letters of Innocent III Concerning England 1198–1216*, ed. by Christopher R. Cheney and W. H. Semple (London: Nelson, 1953), p. 192.

⁶⁷ *Annals of Dunstable*, in *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, 5 vols, Rolls Series, 36 (London: Longman, 1864–69), III (1866), pp. 3–408 (p. 264).

⁶⁸ Penny J. Cole, *Preaching the Crusades to the Holy Land 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1991), pp. 109–112.

⁶⁹ *Annals of Dunstable*, (p. 40).

⁷⁰ *Annals of Waverley*, in *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, 5 vols, Rolls Series, 36 (London: Longman, 1864–69), II (1866), pp. 129–412 (p. 281).

was undertaken in the south of the country. There is also evidence for Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, promoting the crusade at the second coronation of Henry III held in Westminster Abbey on Whitsunday (17 May) 1220, but this did not spark any further preaching to occur in England.⁷¹

Despite the examples of preaching occurring in England, there is no evidence for any of it happening in the north of the country. Penny J. Cole has stated that the possibility of the promotion of the Fifth Crusade being the result of a well-coordinated preaching tour undertaken by preachers who were deeply committed to the idea of promoting the crusade is nothing more than an 'imaginative hypothesis'.⁷² Christopher Robert Cheney argued that the promotion of the Fifth Crusade in England was not done via a coordinated preaching tour, but instead, through Innocent III's promotion of a new crusade at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. According to Cheney, the council was attended by many influential laypeople and clergymen from England, who would have returned to England and disseminated the ideas from the council to their peers and followers.⁷³ However, the situation in Yorkshire is slightly more nuanced. During the build-up to the Fifth Crusade, the Church in Yorkshire was in a state of flux. Following the interdict, the English clergy struggled with problems related to lost possessions, filling vacant sees, and trying to restore discipline, which all contributed to crusade promotion taking a reduced role.⁷⁴ This disruption is very clear in Yorkshire. The pontificate of Geoffrey Plantagenet, 1191-1212, was defined by constant struggles both within and outside his archdiocese. From the outset he quarrelled relentlessly with Hugh de Puiset of Durham, and set the tone for struggles within York when he infuriated his own chapter in 1193 by, amongst other things, selling treasures from York Minster to help fund King Richard's

⁷¹ Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland & the Crusades, c. 1000–1300* (London: Palgrave Macmillan 2013), p. 36.

⁷² Cole, p. 111.

⁷³ Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, p. 267.

⁷⁴ Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, p. 263.

ransom.⁷⁵ Richard eventually fell out with Geoffrey in 1195, and the archbishop was exiled.⁷⁶ Following Richard's death in 1199, Geoffrey returned, initially on good terms, but quickly fell out with John, his own chapter, and other religious houses in the archdiocese. Geoffrey, died in Normandy in 1212 after spending the previous five years in another period of exile due his refusal to pay royal taxation.⁷⁷ Following his death, the see remained vacant for a further three years until Simon Langton was elected in June 1215.⁷⁸ Simon only remained as archbishop-elect until 20 August 1215 as Pope Innocent III, upon request from King John, quashed the election.⁷⁹ Although candidature was opposed by the dean and chapter at York, Walter de Gray was translated from Worcester to take on the post. Walter was promoted to the position of archbishop at the Fourth Lateran Council with the support of both the Pope and King John in 1215.⁸⁰ Whilst it is likely that Walter would have been keen to encourage preaching and general promotion for the crusade, there is no evidence for this being done, which may indicate that, due to the disruption in the church prior to the council, it was difficult for the Yorkshire clergy to effectively undertake this task. Equally, at the time of council, the resistance in the north of England had flared up again after Innocent III declared Magna Carta unlawful.⁸¹ This ruling led to a situation which would have made it almost impossible for a layman to attend the council as the risk to his property and possessions would have been incredibly high, so leaving the country would have been unadvisable. Simultaneously, the war involved a high number of influential barons from Yorkshire. Their focus would have been drawn to participating in that, rather than travelling to Rome to attend the council. Indeed, there is no evidence to suggest that any Yorkshire layman participated in the Fourth Lateran

⁷⁵ A detailed breakdown of the disputes at York can be found in, *English Episcopal Acta*, 27: York 1189-1212, ed. by Marie Lovatt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. xlii-lvii.

⁷⁶ *English Episcopal Acta*, pp. xlv-li.

⁷⁷ *English Episcopal Acta*, pp. lvi-lvii.

⁷⁸ Fred A. Cazel Jr, 'Langton, Simon (d. 1248)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16043>>.

⁷⁹ Wendover, p. 341.

⁸⁰ Wendover, p. 342.

⁸¹ J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 261; *Selected Letters of Innocent III*, p. 215.

Council. Cheney is therefore correct in so far as the participation in the Fifth Crusade from barons with links to Yorkshire would not have been motivated by a largescale, co-ordinated preaching tour. Due to the political climate, disruption within the church prior to 1215, and the general unrest in Yorkshire specifically, however, it would have been hard to disseminate the proposals and ideas which had been heard at the council to prospective crusaders.

Whilst there is evidence for thirty one participants connected to Yorkshire being involved in the Fifth Crusade, there are only five members of the Yorkshire baronage who are documented as taking part. These individuals were connected to two of Yorkshire's Ridings; Ranulf de Blundeville, earl of Chester, Saer de Quincy, and Brian de Lisle held lands in the North Riding, and John de Lacy and Gerard de Furnival held lands in the West Riding. Ranulf was also connected to Saer de Quincy as he was the uncle of Saer's granddaughter, Margaret, and would have also been familiar with Brian de Lisle, as they both regularly appear as gambling companions of King John.⁸² A familiarity between the individuals connected to Yorkshire on the Fifth Crusade and the king prior to the venture's departure may also have been influential in their presence in the East. As all three men had close relationships to John, it is plausible that they would have taken the cross together, along with the king in 1215. The crusade also highlights the interconnected nature of the members of the baronage who were present. From Yorkshire, it is possible to see John de Lacy travelling to the East with his lord Ranulf, earl of Chester and earl of Richmond. John was the constable of Chester, and a direct tenant of Ranulf.⁸³ John may have felt an obligation to travel to the East with Ranulf due to his prominent part in the rebellion. This idea is perhaps best illustrated through the fact that the greatest success in recruiting participants for the Fifth Crusade came in areas where there had recently been a peace settlement.⁸⁴ Ranulf had remained loyal to the king throughout and

⁸² Hugh M. Thomas, *Power and Pleasure: Court Life Under King John, 1199–1216* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2020), pp. 87, 144.

⁸³ Nicholas Vincent, 'Lacy, John de, Third Earl of Lincoln (c. 1192–1240)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15855>>.

⁸⁴ James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), p. 109. There was also great success in recruiting for the crusade from

John de Lacy could have seen the crusade as an opportunity to prove his loyalty Ranulf to prevent himself from being disposed of in favour of others who were deemed more suitable.

Although it has been theorised that that rebellious barons wanted to use the crusade as a way of protecting themselves from some of the consequences of their actions during the insurrection, it is more likely that barons saw the Fifth Crusade as a way of repairing damaged reputations.⁸⁵ Both John de Lacy and Saer de Quincy had been prominent rebels against the king during the civil war, and their decision to leave for the East may have been motivated by an attempt to restore their relationship with the king. The restoration of reputations through participation on a crusade is a recurring theme throughout the crusading period.⁸⁶ The use of the crusade to potentially restore relationships is also seen outside Yorkshire, as a section of high ranking French Crusaders on the Fourth Crusade were men who had recently angered king Philip II.⁸⁷ From Yorkshire, John de Lacy was able to repair his reputation and increase his social standing following the crusade. After returning from the East, John, who was a prominent rebel during the civil war, married Margaret de Quincy, daughter of fellow crusader Saer de Quincey, in 1221, and became earl of Lincoln in 1232 showing his reputation had been rehabilitated.

There is also evidence for the continuing importance of following in the footsteps of crusading family members from previous generations. Indeed, three of the crusaders connected to Yorkshire in the Fifth Crusade were the descendants of crusaders. Saer de Quincy was the son of Robert de Quincy, a Scottish noble who gained the trust and respect of Richard whilst they were in the East together.⁸⁸ John de Lacy was a blood relation of both Richard fitz Eustace, constable of Chester, and Robert de Lacy, who were both present on the Third Crusade. He

northern Italy, Champagne, and the Rhineland-Frisia region. Along with England, these regions produced both the leaders and main contingents of the crusading army.

⁸⁵ Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, p. 265.

⁸⁶ For the example of Stephen, count of Aumale, see above, pp. 24–5.

⁸⁷ Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, p. 265.

⁸⁸ Macquarrie, *Scotland*, pp. 28–30.

was also related to Henry I de Lacy who had participated on the independent ventures of the counts of Flanders in the twelfth century.⁸⁹ Finally, Gerard II de Furnival was the son of Gerard I de Furnival who had participated in both the Third and Fourth Crusades.⁹⁰ This highlights the continued importance of following in family traditions found in Yorkshire during the crusade movement. According to James Powell's observations, a considerable portion of the crusaders on the Fifth Crusade were accompanied by their family members. Particularly relevant to this study, Powell has shown that twenty percent of English crusaders had a documented family member accompanying them during the journey.⁹¹ Whilst this does not hold true for Yorkshire, it does show that both kinship and personal ties were important to crusaders, and that wider family traditions were important to those who decided to take part.⁹²

Royalist barons may also have been motivated to go on crusade as a way of holding onto estates and property they had taken from rebellious barons during the war.⁹³ On 23 July 1216 King John sent a letter to the barons 'and others' of Yorkshire requesting that all castles, lands, prisoners and chattels which had been claimed during the war be restored to their owners.⁹⁴ The fact this letter had been distributed indicates that those who had claimed property during the rebellion were refusing to relinquish it.⁹⁵ Bruce Beebe has presented a similar argument for the Ninth Crusade (1271–72), suggesting that barons who had managed to accumulate property during the Second Barons' War took crusading vows in order to delay court cases. By doing so, the barons were able to sell off or lease property gained during the Second Barons'

⁸⁹ The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Second Year of the Reign of King Richard the First Michaelmas 1190, ed. by Doris M. Stenton (London: J. W. Riddock, 1925), p. 73; *EYC*, III, p. 195, no. 1503; *Gesta Regis*, I, p. 159.

⁹⁰ *Itinerarium*, pp. 361, 374, 375; Ambroise, pp. 454, l. 11396, 459, l. 11871; G. E. M. Lippiatt, 'The Zaran Company in the Holy Land: An Unknown Fourth Crusade Charter From Acre', *Historical Research*, 94 (2021) 869–85 (p. 885).

⁹¹ Powell, *Anatomy*, pp. 82–3.

⁹² Powell, *Anatomy*, p. 82; Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (London: Cornell University Press, 2012), p. 9.

⁹³ Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, p. 265.

⁹⁴ Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp. 417–8.

⁹⁵ Holt, *Magna Carta*, p. 294.

war to help finance their crusading, or at least hold these lands for a term of up to five years with the crown collecting the revenue from them on the behalf of the absent crusader.⁹⁶

In Yorkshire, land was taken from rebel barons around Knaresborough by a royalist force under the command of Brian de Lisle.⁹⁷ Brian also refused to hand over custody of Peak Castle (also known as Peveril Castle or Castleton Castle) in Derbyshire to Ranulf, earl of Chester, and subsequently William de Ferrers, earl of Derby. John gave William permission to use force to regain control of the castle, which demonstrated Brian's reluctance to relinquish the material gains he had made during the war.⁹⁸ Brian departed for the crusade sometime after 1217, with his absence causing disruption in three court cases brought before the Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire.⁹⁹ It is possible that Brian was using the privileges which came with being a crusader to protect the lands he had gained during the civil war.¹⁰⁰ Henry Bracton, an English cleric and jurist, wrote in his *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae* (c. 1235) that crusaders were able to claim the right of essoin (the delay of judicial privileges) until they returned from their crusade, rather than the one year from departure and a further fourteen days after returning home which was extended to pilgrims.¹⁰¹ This suggests that the practice was in use during the Fifth Crusade and could have been used by barons, such as Brian de Lisle, to retain property gained during the civil war. With the exception of Brian de Lisle, it is unclear what land, if any, was

⁹⁶ Bruce Beebe, 'The English Baronage and the Crusade of 1270', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 48 (1975), 127–148 (p. 138).

⁹⁷ Thomas, *Vassals*, p. 188. Quite how much land was claimed by Brian de Lisle and his followers is difficult to estimate, but some of the land he is listed as being in possession of previously belonged to rebel barons. indicating certain manors near Knaresborough were seized; There is also evidence for rebel land being held by rebels being distributed by and to William II de Forz, Barbara English, 'Forz [Fortibus], William de, count of Aumale', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29476>>.

⁹⁸ Church, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47250>>; William de Forz, who also gained land during the First Barons' War, refused to return it when commanded, but there is no evidence he went on crusade to protect his gains, English, 'Forz [Fortibus], William de, count of Aumale'.

⁹⁹ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, p. 72, no. 174; p. 88, no. 208; p. 282–83, no. 762; p. 412, no. 1131; Siedschlag, p. 138.

¹⁰⁰ Beebe, p. 142. At the time of the Edward's Crusade claims for dispossession and damage would be suspended until the crusades could return to England.

¹⁰¹ James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (University of Wisconsin Press: London, 1969), p. 173.

gained by loyalist barons during the civil war, and even in Brian's case, it is hard to be sure of his gains during the period.¹⁰²

For Yorkshire, it is hard to substantiate the claim that barons were using the Fifth Crusade as a way of evading judicial processes. Most men and women from the county who participated on the Fifth Crusade were not from the right social level to have benefited from the civil war. As a large number are drawn from the Justices in Eyre for the county, there is no way of knowing which side of the war they fell on or if they had any opinion on the war at all.¹⁰³ Of the barons with connections to Yorkshire who were present on the Fifth Crusade, there is not enough evidence to draw a conclusive correlation between going on the Fifth Crusade and sides taken in the civil war. Additionally, although laws were in place to protect the property and families of crusaders, there was no guarantee that these laws would be followed. This left possessions and family members vulnerable whilst an individual was in the East.

With the country recently coming out of a turbulent period, the desire to claim lands from neighbours would have been heightened and potentially easier than it would have been during times of prolonged peace. Evidence from the Third Crusade shows the steps crusaders took to ensure the safety of their family and possessions they left behind whilst they were in the East. Ralph de Chall ensured that Easby Abbey would provide food for his wife whilst he was on crusade and Roger Touche married his daughter to a neighbouring land owner on the day he departed for the East.¹⁰⁴ The evidence from the Fifth Crusade highlights why these steps were so important. Hawisia, the wife of Peter of Duffield, for example, was strangled whilst he was in the East.¹⁰⁵ It is not known what steps, if any, Peter had taken to ensure the safety of his family and property whilst he was on crusade – it is even possible that Hawisia had been left in

¹⁰² *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati 1204–1224*, ed. by Thomas Duffus Hardy, 2 vols (London: The Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom, 1833), I, pp. 245b, 249b, 285b, 326a.

¹⁰³ It is difficult to be precise with exactly what social rank people in court records are from, Thomas, *Vassals*, p. 189.

¹⁰⁴ *EYC*, V, p. 122, no. 215; *EYC*, III, pp. 375–76, no. 1748.

¹⁰⁵ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, pp. 289–99, no. 823.

charge. Ultimately, whatever protection Peter had, was not been enough to prevent his wife's murder by an opportunistic neighbour. Incidents like this would have served as a deterrent for taking up the cross and any feelings of concern for property may have been magnified with the crusade coming so soon after the civil war. The lasting implications of the death of Peter's wife are unknown, but the whole of the case – the murder, the apprehension of the culprits, and the implementation of punishment – took place whilst Peter was in Egypt. The case makes little mention of Peter being on crusade, only mentioning it once to explain why he was absent, and all punishments which are administered to the accused party are done so because of the crime they had committed, not for any transgressions against the property of a crusader. It also does not explain what would happen to Peter's property, or who had been left to oversee it whilst he was in the East, meaning that any preparations to prevent this situation are unknown as are the steps taken afterwards to ensure that Peter's possessions were protected until his return. This is the only recorded example of harm to the family of a crusader connected to Yorkshire while the individual was in the East which is recorded during the period, but it underscores why crusaders went to such lengths to protect that which they were leaving behind.

Protection for a crusader connected to Yorkshire can be seen in the preparations made by Saer de Quincy, earl of Winchester. Saer is recorded in a letter as having a ship prepared in Galloway to transport him to the Holy Land with both arms and the other equipment he would need to complete his pilgrimage.¹⁰⁶ It is unfortunate that the exact details of what he took to Egypt were not recorded, but the letter is clear that ship was to remain unimpeded as it sailed

¹⁰⁶ *Patent Rolls*, 1216–25, p. 185. 'Rex omnibus baillivis et fidelibus suis, ad quos littere presentes pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis nos recepisse in salvimi conductum nostrum, usque ad festum nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste, anno rogni nostri tercio, navem, quam dilectus et fidelis noster S. comes Wintonie sibi parari fecit in partibus Galweie, ad eundum in partes Bristoll, pro victualibus et armis et aliis sibi necessariis ad iter poregrinacionis sue, quod facere disponit in terram Jerosolimitanam. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod navi illi, sive ducentibus eam, nullam faciatis, vel fieri permittatis, molestiam vel gravamen, in eundo, redeundo, morando, usque ad terminum predictum. Et in hujus rei testimonium, has litteras nostras patentes ei fieri fecimus. Teste comite, apud Westmonasterium, ut supra. Per eundem et P. Wintoniensem et justiciarium, anno eodem.'

from Scotland to Bristol, and then on to the Holy Land. Saer's ship being prepared in Scotland before travelling to Bristol shows that crusaders were using all available resources to prepare for the journey to the East.

As he held substantial lands in both England and Scotland it is not possible to know how involved Saer was in these preparations or where he boarded the ship and this lack of clarity in the source leaves several possible interpretations open. It is feasible that Saer was not present at all in Galloway and entrusted the ship's preparation to others before boarding it himself as the vessel moved south. In this instance, it is possible that his departure point for the crusade was Bristol, as there are no mentions of any other stops. It may also have been the case that Saer was collecting Scottish supporters to take with him to the East. There is no record for any Scottish crusaders connected to Saer in any of the sources, but that does not fall outside the trend for the majority of identified crusaders coming from mainland Europe. It is also possible that Saer himself was overseeing activities in Scotland and the stop in Bristol was to collect English supporters or even additional supplies to take with him to the East. What is clear from the letter, however, is that crusaders were making their own plans for their journey to the East. Unlike the Third Crusade, where the main body of the English contingent departed from Dartmouth together, the staggered arrival times of the Fifth Crusade gave crusaders far more flexibility in regards to departing for the East, including the date and location. Evidence for individuals raising funds to finance their crusades is very limited, which is surprising as there is no evidence for a crusade tax being levied on England for the Fifth Crusade.¹⁰⁷ Before the Third Crusade, the Saladin Tithe had been collected in England to help to subsidise the costs of crusaders heading to the East.¹⁰⁸ The lack of a centralised tax may have been influenced by two factors. First, due to the upheaval caused by the rebellion, it would have been difficult to coordinate the collection of a tax throughout England. Furthermore, with the rebellion being partially motivated by anger directed towards spiralling taxation and other costs placed upon

¹⁰⁷ Powell, *Anatomy*, p. 94.

¹⁰⁸ Tyerman, *England*, pp. 75–7.

the barons, the decision to implement a further tax might have been received in unfavourable terms. Secondly, the Fourth Lateran Council saw the first time that the Church had laid down strict guidelines for the administration of crusade indulgences.¹⁰⁹ These indulgences allowed for any individual to take the cross and redeem the vow for a cash payment. This allowed for a stream of voluntary contributions to the crusading cause which circumvented the need for a centralised tax.

The absence of a centralised tax does, initially, make the dearth of evidence for individual fundraising surprising. For the period, there is only one piece of evidence from Yorkshire of an individual raising funds to facilitate crusade participation. The chronicle of Meaux Abbey records a man named *Willelmus medicus*, or William the doctor, who accepted twelve marks for a bovate of land because he was a crusader between 1210 and 1220.¹¹⁰ It is likely this exchange was undertaken as a means of raising funds to pay for William's participation in the Fifth Crusade as the amount is in line with the ten marks raised by William Fitz-Aldelin, who sold five bovates of land to facilitate his participation in the Third Crusade.¹¹¹

It would have been difficult for the northern rebels to raise the funds required to go on crusade. Members of the northern aristocracy had been financially targeted by John through the war, as evidenced by the fact many those who had rebelled all owed John large sums of money.¹¹² Through Richard and John's reigns, taxes and scutages had become more common and were collected at higher rates than during the government of Henry II. The Pipe Roll for 1213–14 shows John collecting over £700 from more than sixty named members of the

¹⁰⁹ Ane L. Bysted, 'Remission of Sins or of Penance?: The Meaning of Crusade Indulgences before and at the Fourth Lateran Council', in *The Fourth Lateran Council and the Crusade Movement: The Impact of the Council of 1215 on Latin Christendom and the East*, ed. by Jessalynn Bird and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 41–57 (p. 41). Canon 71 of the council outlined what would become the standard formula for crusade indulgences.

¹¹⁰ *Meaux*, I, p. 373. 'Alteri vero, qui vocabatur Willelmus medicus, dedimus aliam bovatom, in feo et hereditate tenendam. Sed ipse quia cruce signatus erat acceptis marcis, reddidit nobis praedictam bovatom.'

¹¹¹ *EYC*, III, pp. 298–99, no. 1641. For more on this sale, see the chapter on the Third Crusade.

¹¹² Holt, *Northerners*, p. 34.

Yorkshire gentry.¹¹³ On top of this, barons also had to pay the crown to keep hold of offices. For instance, the hereditary family of constables of Richmond had to pay both Richard and John to retain their constabship.¹¹⁴ These taxes quickly added up and the burden placed on these members of lay society caused debts to increase while the chance of family prosperity decreased. An extreme example was William of Cornbrough who built up debts of over one thousand marks during his time as a forester, due to which debts he was imprisoned until his death.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, in his efforts to subdue the rebellion following the dismissal of Magna Carta, John imposed large fines on places which had rebelled. York, being at the centre of the county which had, in many respects, led the initial stages of the rebellion, was dealt the huge fine of £1000.¹¹⁶ Individual barons were forced out of both their positions and possessions and had to pay large fines for their part in the rebellion in return for the king's mercy.¹¹⁷ During the civil war, King John had regularly launched campaigns into the north in an attempt to try and subdue Yorkshire which had a high number of rebellious barons.¹¹⁸ These campaigns were highly destructive. Roger of Wendover described the army that accompanied John as burning the houses of barons and stealing their property, and destroying everything that came in its way. He goes on to note that if this failed to get the required results then the king would order the burning of hedgerows and towns.¹¹⁹ This would have led to barons and landowners having little money available to spend on crusading and little property of value available to mortgage to raise the necessary funds to facilitate a journey to the East.

¹¹³ Hugh M. Thomas, *Vassals, Heiresses, Crusaders, and Thugs: The Gentry of Angevin Yorkshire, 1154–1216* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), pp. 177–8.

¹¹⁴ Thomas, *Vassals*, p. 183.

¹¹⁵ Thomas, *Vassals*, pp. 179–82; for the financial burdens: Holt, *The Northerners*, pp. 143–93.

¹¹⁶ Warren, *King John*, p. 249.

¹¹⁷ Austin Lane Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087–1216*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 481.

¹¹⁸ Holt, *Northerners*, p. 42. c.200 writs of seisin were issued to Yorkshire barons following the rebellion compared to the c. 150 which were issued in Lincolnshire and the 20 which were issued in Northumberland.

¹¹⁹ Wendover, II, p. 349.

Fifth Crusade Participation

The Fifth Crusade saw one of the largest numbers of individuals from Yorkshire heading to the East of any of the crusades examined during the period of 1095–1291, with thirty-one identified participants. The crusade marks the start of a period where a larger quantity of administrative documents have been preserved, unlike earlier crusades which primarily relied on chronicles for historical evidence. For example, of the thirty-one participants from Yorkshire who can be identified for the Fifth Crusade, eighteen are individuals who were recorded by the Justices in eyre for Yorkshire as being in the Holy Land at the time the Justices visited the county. The justices in Eyre were judges appointed by the king, or in the case of the 1218–19 justices, by the regent. They travelled round a circuit, known as an Eyre, with the intention of bringing royal, civil, and criminal justice to each of the counties of England.¹²⁰ The teams of justices, often led by bishops, travelled round the country between 1218–22 and visited thirty-five counties as well as London. They were tasked with both raising money for the crown and reasserting the royal authority, which had been lost during the troubles of John's reign.¹²¹ The high numbers of identified crusaders is surprising as the Fifth Crusade did not have a central figurehead from England like the crusades led by Richard I, Richard of Cornwall (1241) and the Lord Edward (1271–74). The recorded men and women on the Fifth Crusade were drawn from across society and provide an insight into the make-up of a crusade contingent beyond those who had travelled to be involved in the fighting. Yorkshire's participation dwarfs the participation from other counties in England and accounts for a third of all recorded English participation on the Fifth Crusade. Yorkshire's thirty-one recorded participants number over three times as many as the next highest, Lincolnshire, which had ten recorded participants.¹²²

¹²⁰ Paul Brand, 'Justices Itinerant', *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (2010), <<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662624.001.0001/acref-9780198662624-e-3251>> [accessed 06 May 2023].

¹²¹ Susan Stewart, 'Outlawry as an Instrument of Justice in the Thirteenth Century', in *Outlaws in Medieval and Early Modern England: Crime, Government and Society, c. 1066–1600*, ed. by John C. Appleby and Paul Dalton (Ashgate: Farnham, 2009), pp. 37–54 (p. 39).

¹²² Beatrice N. Siedschlag, *English Participation in the Crusades 1150–1220* (Menasha, WI: Collegiate Press, 1939), pp. 137–44.

The large number of participants from Yorkshire in the Fifth Crusade aligns with a trend which indicates that regions which had recently been affected by political unrest, contributed the highest numbers of participants for the crusade.¹²³ Much like Northern Italy, Champagne, and the Rhineland-Frisia region which had all experienced unrest in the years leading up to the Fifth Crusade, Yorkshire had been affected by the civil war which had gripped England in the years prior to the crusade's departure. This also fits with the large numbers of individuals from Yorkshire who are recorded as being part of Edward's crusade in 1270 which followed the Second Barons' War (1264–67). However, the numbers of participants from Yorkshire are probably a false positive for the county's actual levels of engagement with the crusade. For the Fifth Crusade, those present are generally drawn from lower down the social hierarchy. For the Third Crusade it is possible to identify thirteen crusaders, roughly forty percent of all Yorkshire participants, who held administrative positions, were parts of the baronage or large landowning families, or had known landholdings. This number drops to only five, or sixteen percent, for the Fifth Crusade. Whilst amongst the Fifth Crusade participants there is evidence for smaller landowners, such as Gospatric White or William *Medicus* who both alienated property before departing for the East, the evidence for influential figures is much lower than seen for other crusades with large levels of participation.

The smaller number of wealthier and more powerful members of Yorkshire society is more in line with the numbers seen for expeditions which had much lower participation from the county, such as the First Crusade with two or the independent crusade of Phillip of Alsace, count of Flanders in 1177, which had three individuals who could be included in this group. Neither the First of Philip of Alsace's Crusades can be considered as being popular in Yorkshire. The lower number of participants drawn from the upper classes of society is in line with the evidence found in the *Scotichronicon* a chronicle composed by Walter Bower during the fifteenth century in Scotland. The chronicle was likely quoting an earlier document and records that

¹²³ Powell, *Anatomy*, p. 109.

although the Fifth Crusade was popular with the poor, very few of the rich and powerful in the kingdom of Scotland took the cross and joined the expedition.¹²⁴

It may be the case that the civil war negatively affected the number of members of the aristocracy who were prepared to head to the East as those who fought for the king at the Battle of Lincoln were able to claim crusading indulgences through their participation. Despite having fought at Lincoln, Brian de Lisle still took part in the Fifth Crusade, as did Ranulf, earl of Chester, indicating that, despite having technically fulfilled their vow in England, there was a further draw attached to going to the Holy Land to redeem a crusading vow. Given the high profile of the war, the correlation between individuals being present at Lincoln and their potential crusading involvement is difficult to gauge and it is far more likely that other factors dictated decisions linked to participation. Throughout the period examined in this thesis, Yorkshire's engagement with crusading to locations other than Outremer is minimal. In the period under investigation in this chapter, there was no interest from Yorkshire in joining the Albigensian Crusade, and there was no interest in taking part in European crusading on the whole through the entire period analysed in this thesis. Engagement with crusading following the Second Barons' War, which itself was promoted as a crusade, was high, with large numbers of participants heading to the East with Lord Edward, suggesting that redeeming a crusade vow on English soil was not comparable to redeeming one for heading to the East.

With fewer barons and wealthy landowners connected to Yorkshire taking part in the Fifth Crusade, there would have been a lower number of crusaders linked to the county on the venture. As Roger of Wendover has highlighted, a large landowner would bring with him a large retinue of followers. These large retinues are largely obscured from the record, but would have made up significant parts of a crusading army. A poorer crusader, such as the ones identified in the *Justices in Eyre*, would likely have likely been travelling alone, possibly in the

¹²⁴ Alan Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades 1095–1560* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1997), p. 34.

service of a wealthier individual. The increased visibility of less influential crusaders does suggest that crusading was becoming more accessible to those further down the social hierarchy. Whilst poor crusaders had been able to join previous crusading campaigns, as evidenced by the large numbers of poor and non-combatant crusaders involved on the First Crusade, the change to travelling to the East via boat rather than over land had made it more difficult for poorer crusaders to join crusades due to the cost of securing a place on the boat.¹²⁵ The alterations to crusade recruitment, fundraising, and preaching that occurred in the early thirteenth century under Pope Innocent III could have been behind this change.¹²⁶ In his efforts to raise funds to support potential crusaders who would have been able to fight as part of crusading contingent, but could not necessarily afford the high costs of crusading, Innocent ordered that crusade preachers should allow anyone who was willing to take the cross in the expectation that they would later redeem their vow through a monetary payment rather than taking the journey to the East. This meant that it would have been far easier to take a crusading vow and, if crusading costs were supplemented or covered, depart for the East. Although she would not have been part of the fighting, the ability to easily get to the East may have influenced or enabled a Yorkshire woman named Lecia who had found the dead body of her son, William, who had drowned, to head to the East.¹²⁷ She was said to have departed Yorkshire so suddenly that some people believed her to be dead.¹²⁸

This increased availability of administrative records, such as The Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire and the Patent Rolls, allows for a greater identification of crusaders for the Fifth Crusade who would not have been visible in previous expeditions. Mentions of English crusaders in general are rare in the chronicles of the Fifth Crusade, and the main record of the crusade, from the German cleric, crusader, and chronicler, Oliver of Paderborn, only makes passing mentions of the English involvement. For the Third Crusade, the writings of participant and chronicler,

¹²⁵ Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade*, pp. 199–200.

¹²⁶ Hurlock, *Britain*, pp. 84–5.

¹²⁷ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, p. 183, no. 431.

¹²⁸ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, p. 183, no. 431.

Roger of Howden, and the chronicle of William of Newburgh provide narrative accounts of the crusade from Yorkshire. Similar accounts simply do not exist in Yorkshire for the Fifth Crusade. The result of this is that the deeds of the individuals present are largely unrecorded. Most of the limited focus on Yorkshire crusaders in the contemporary chronicles is confined to Ranulf, earl of Chester, who played a prominent role in the crusade whilst he was in the East. He was one of the crusade leaders who wanted to accept an offer made by the sultan that would have seen several key Christian cities, including Jerusalem itself, returned to the crusaders and he was involved in the attack and capture of Damietta in November of 1219.¹²⁹ The survival of administrative records is important for the understanding of the people who were engaging with crusading. For previous crusades it is sometimes the case that all known crusaders were drawn from chronicles and any who were recorded in administrative documents have been lost due to the documents failing to survive. If that were case for the Fifth Crusade, then the only crusaders who would have been linked to the expedition would have been Ranulf, earl of Chester, John de Lacy, and Saer de Quincy.

There are limitations to these records, however. A consequence of ongoing rebellion was the breakdown in royal administration, and, between 1215 and 1217, the Pipe Rolls were not compiled.¹³⁰ During this period, there is evidence for the chancery rolls continuing to be produced, though not to the same level of detail as before. Similarly, there was no attempt to have the exchequer perform its normal functions, though the exchequer was able to compile partial accounts for these years.¹³¹ These incomplete records potentially prevent identification of further crusaders. In previous rolls, especially around the time of the Third Crusade, there is

¹²⁹ Richard Eales, 'Ranulf (III) [Ranulf de Blundeville], Sixth Earl of Chester and First Earl of Lincoln (1170–1232)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2716>>; Kathryn Hurlock, 'Cheshire and the Crusades', *The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 159 (2010) 1-18 (p. 10).

¹³⁰ William E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England, to 1327* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1939), p. 141.

¹³¹ H. G. Richardson, 'The King's Treasurer (? 1195–1215)', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 15 (1932), 45–90 (pp. 55–56); Mabel H. Mills, 'Experiments in Exchequer Procedure (1200–1232)', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 8 (1925), 151–70 (p. 165).

evidence for crusaders being recorded in the Pipe Rolls as they were exempt from certain taxes and paying debts.¹³² This period, where the rolls were not being compiled, was immediately prior to the departure of the main English contingents for the Fifth Crusade, suggesting the possibility that certain Yorkshire crusaders, or people from the county who took the cross and were thus exempt from certain taxes, might have been recorded within them.

Nevertheless, through the examination of a charter issued by John de Lacy during the siege of Damietta, it is possible to gain an opportunity to understand the retinue of a crusader connected to Yorkshire. The charter, translated below, is a record of a grant given by John to All Saints' Church in Pontefract (West Riding) which states that a charnel house should be built on the east side of the church, and that a chapel should be erected on top of the charnel house. The grant goes on to state that the burial grounds of the church should also be extended at the expense of the shops which were positioned nearby. From the archaeological records of Pontefract, it is unclear as to how much the grant was acted upon, but it does show that while on crusade, John de Lacy was prepared to prioritise religious and ecclesiastical concerns at the expense of the economic and commercial aspects of Pontefract.¹³³

To all children of the holy mother church, both present and future, John de Lacy, constable of Chester, greeting in the Lord. Let it be known universally that we with the intention of divine charity and on for the soul of our father and our mother and predecessors and our successors, that we have given and granted and in this present writing confirm to God and St. Mary, and the church of All Saints of Pontefract, in clear and perpetual alms, certain land which lies beyond the cemetery of the said church, on the east side between two roads converging near there, to make there a common burial of the faithful dead, that is to say, a charnel house. And to erect a chapel upon the charnel house in honour of the Holy Sepulchre and the Holy Cross, for the souls of all the faithful. And, in addition, we have given and in the very same charity granted for the enlargement of the cemetery of the said church, certain land to the north of the said burying-ground, where the shops were sited, and near the wall of the cemetery, from the eastern end of the site of

¹³² The Pipe Rolls for 1190, 1191, and 1192 contain the names of fifty-nine crusaders, including Yorkshire landowner Robert de Lacy who was exempt from taxes along with his followers: Tyerman, *England*, p. 70.

¹³³ Ian Roberts and Christopher Whittick, 'Pontefract: A Review of the Evidence for the Medieval Town', *Yorkshire Archaeology Journal*, 85 (2013), 68–96 (p. 86). From preliminary archaeological excavations undertaken at the church there is no evidence for a cemetery, instead there is a large amount of evidence for tanning pits and other industrial activity dating from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries.

the charnel house and of the previously mentioned chapel, as far as the western end of the said burying ground in length. Yet preserving the width of the roads next adjoining on both sides, which they had on the very day on which I commenced my journey towards the Holy Land, Jerusalem. With these being witnesses, Robert de Kent, the steward at this time, Henry the German, his brother Baldwin, William de Southwell [canon of York], Jordan de Ranavilla, John de Estonia, Robert de Karleolo, Philip de Alta Ripa, master Roger the doctor, parson of Kippax, Robert Gramaticus, parson of Aberford,¹³⁴ Roger the porter of Pontefract,¹³⁵ William de Somerville, Hermer the cook, Martin de Selby, Hugh de Alta Ripa, and many others. At Damietta.¹³⁶

This charter is witnessed by sixteen of John's followers; from this witness list, it is possible to positively identify seven individuals with a connection to Yorkshire (other witnesses can be connected to areas in which John de Lacy held lands). The names in the witness list suggest that most of these men were familiar with either each other or with John de Lacy before the outset of the crusade and that they stuck together in their group for the duration of the expedition. The seven witnesses who were from Yorkshire are all connected to areas within John de Lacy's lands, demonstrating that strong geographical ties were important to crusaders. Individuals would not set out to the East alone; instead they would travel as part of a group connected by a common geographical origin.

What makes the charter witness list significant is the information gained about the roles and jobs of those recorded within it. Represented in the list are those who fulfil the jobs in a

¹³⁴ Possibly written more conventionally as *Grammaticus*.

¹³⁵ Also translated as Roger the door-keeper of Pontefract: Laura Slater, 'Finding Jerusalem in Medieval Pontefract', *Northern History*, 51 (2014), 211–20 (p. 212).

¹³⁶ *The Chartulary of St. John*, ed. by Richard Holmes, 2 vols (Leeds: The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1899), I, pp. 36–7. 'Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis, tam presentibus quam futuris, Johannes de Lascy, Cestrie constabularius, salutem in domino. Noverit universitas vestra nos divine caritatis intuitu et pro animabus patris et matris nostre et predecessorum et successorum nostrorum, dedisse et concessisse et hoc presenti scripto confirmasse deo, et ecclesie omnium sanctorum de Pontefracto, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, quandam terram, que jacet extra cimiterium dicte ecclesie, juxta cimiterium ex parte orientali, inter duas vias ibidem proximo convenientes, ad faciendum ibidem commune sepulchrum fidelium mortuorum, scilicet carnerium. Et ad quandam capellam super carnerium in honore sancti Sepulcri, et sancte Crucis, pro animabus omnium fidelium construendam. Et preterea dedimus et eadem caritate concessimus ad augmentationem cimiterii dicte ecclesie quandam terram ex parte septentrionali dicti cimiterii ubi selde site fuerunt, et ad murum cimiterii firmate, a capite orientali situs carnerii et capelle pretaxate usque ad capud occidentale dicti cimiterii in longitudine. Salva tamen amplitudine viarum ex utraque parte proximo adjacentium, quam habuerunt eodem die quo versus terram sanctam Jerosolimitanam iter arripui. Hiis testibus, Roberto de Kent, temporis tunc senescallo, Henrico Teutonico, Baldewino fratre suo, Willelmo de Sothull Jordano de Ranavilla, Johanne de Estonia, Roberto de Karleolo, Philippo de Alta Ripa, Magistro Rogero medico, persona de Kippeis Roberto Gramatico persona de Edburford, Rogero portario de Pontefracto, Willelmo de Sumervilla, Hermero coco, Martino de Seleby, Hugone de Alta Ripa, et multis aliis. Apud Damietam.'

crusading army beyond that of fighting, such as Roger the doctor and Hermer the cook, which reveal certain components of the makeup of a crusader's retinue. Going to the East was not simply an undertaking of those that could fight. They needed support from a wide array of skilled individuals to remain effective in the field. John de Lacy's charter demonstrates that knights were bringing these people with them, and not procuring their services whilst on crusade. The individuals chosen to witness the charter were likely drawn from John de Lacy's as well as his lands and were likely not people he had encountered in the East. Of the witnesses, only Roger, the porter of Pontefract, had any form of connection to Pontefract as he would have likely been in charge of the gatehouse of the castle.¹³⁷ He was the only member of the witness list with a connection to Pontefract, but it is likely that he was included as a witness due to holding a position of authority, rather than any specific links to All Saints Church. Along with Roger, John also brought individuals who were useful for the crusade and possibly members of his household. The witness list demonstrates that John was conscious of both the physical and the spiritual wellbeing of his retinue as he is recorded as bringing a doctor and three members of the clergy with him to the East.¹³⁸ It was likely Roger the doctor was at least known to John before the outset of the crusade as Kippax, where Roger was a parson, was one of the manors in the de Lacy honour.¹³⁹ The fact that a physician was brought to the East shows that John was making provision for the wounded and sick people on the campaign.

Hermer the cook may also have been of greater standing than one may expect due to the size of the Lacy household. Although his duties are not described, and there is little evidence for the specific duties of cooks during the crusade, it is possible that Hermer may have filled a role similar to that of a quartermaster and was responsible for overseeing the provisioning of John's household. These individuals highlight how John was careful to surround himself with

¹³⁷ *Portario* can also translate to gate-keeper.

¹³⁸ Joinville also notes that he had two chaplains with him whilst in the East: Joinville, *The Life of Saint Louis*, ed. by Margaret R. B. Shaw (London: Penguin, 1963), p. 291.

¹³⁹ Wightman, *Lacy Family*, p. 45.

trusted servants whom he could trust and rely on, and would be useful whilst on campaign. These were not individuals he had met by accident when in the East, but were people who had travelled with him from England.

There are a group of men listed as witnesses, such as Martin of Selby and Philip of Alta Ripa, whose roles and relationship to John de Lacy are harder to determine. It is likely, though, that these were other individuals who were connected to John de Lacy prior to his departure to the East. Robert de Karleolo's connection is also difficult to identify. Whilst Martin of Selby and Philip of Alta Ripa have clearer links to lands held by John de Lacy – Selby is in Yorkshire and Alta Ripa was a common name in the county – Robert's name indicates that he was from Carlisle, an area John de Lacy did not have any holdings. However, although Robert specifically does not appear in any other documents from the period, the name *de Karleolo* is present in Yorkshire during the twelfth century.¹⁴⁰ So it is possible that Robert of Carlisle was an individual who had managed to build a career away from the area he was born, bringing his into direct or indirect contact with John.

At first glance, the brothers, Henry and Baldwin *Tutonicus* are perhaps the most curious of these names as they suggest a German connection. Although *Tutonicus* literally translates to Henry the Teutonic or Henry the German, John had no connections to Germany and with the other names in the witness list being ones who were connected to John's lands it is more likely the brother were from England and had German ancestry.¹⁴¹ Beatrice Siedschlag has theorised that Henry was Henry of Tyes, a Lincolnshire knight, who is recorded in the books of fees.¹⁴² Although there is no other evidence to suggest the Henry of Tyes went on crusade, The name *Teutonicus* had been present in England since the Norman Conquest as descendants of a

¹⁴⁰ For example, *Cartularium Abbathae de Rievallae*, ed. by J. C. Atkinson, Surtees Society, 83 (Durham: Andrews, 1989), p. 92; *EYC*, II, p. 108, no 721; *EYC*, I, p. 298, no. 381.

¹⁴¹ Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources < <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/Teutonicus>>.

¹⁴² Siedschlag, p. 139. This is very likely as the name Tyes (also written Teyes, Tieys , Tyeis , Theys , Tyays) is a French form of *Teutonicus*.

certain Baldric *Teutonicus* settled in Lindsey in Lincolnshire.¹⁴³ Lincolnshire was a county in which John had significant holdings and, with the charter being witnessed by individuals who were from areas where John held lands, it adds further weight to Henry of Tyes being a correct identification.

Roger of Wendover records the English barons arriving at Damietta with large retinues and it is likely that those present in the witness list of the charter only make up a small sample of the number of people who would have accompanied John to the East.¹⁴⁴ It also implies that a large amount of planning was undertaken before departure. John had deliberately brought the necessary individuals with him to the East to ensure that he would be well supported and supplied.

From Yorkshire there is evidence for an abbot and three clerics taking part on the Fifth Crusade. Of these individuals, the most prominent amongst them was Robert de Longchamp, abbot of York, who was the brother of William de Longchamp, bishop of Ely and later chief justiciar of England, who had been a crusader in his own right as he had departed as part of the Third Crusade before being sent back to England to serve as regent in 1190.¹⁴⁵ When compared against other crusades from the period being examined in this thesis, four members of the ecclesiastical ranks of society indicate the importance of the Fifth Crusade to those in the Church in Yorkshire. Members of the church accounted for roughly 12.5% of the recorded Yorkshire participants on the Fifth Crusade, which compares favourably to other crusades. The Third Crusade, for instance, had 6.25% of Yorkshire participants held office in the Church, and for Edward's crusade, that number was only 5%. These four men demonstrate that, despite the crusade heading to Egypt rather than the Holy Land, being part of the venture still

¹⁴³ Katharine Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: a Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066–1166* (Woodbridge: Suffolk, 1999), p. 35.

¹⁴⁴ Wendover, IV, p. 44.

¹⁴⁵ Ralph V. Turner, 'William de Longchamp', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16980>>. Another one of Robert's brothers, Stephen, also served with Richard as part of the Third Crusade.

appealed to members of the Church. It is likely that William, Robert, and Roger travelled together as they were all included on the charter of John de Lacy. The lack of information relating to the journey of Robert de Longchamp makes it hard to identify which contingent he travelled to the East in. He is not mentioned in any chronicle in conjunction with the earl of Chester, but with Ranulf heading the most significant English contingent, and the inclusion of other members of Yorkshire society on the contingent, makes it likely that Robert would have travelled to Egypt with him.

Conclusions

The period 1204 to 1221 demonstrates the changing nature of crusading. The First Barons' War gave individuals the opportunity to earn the benefits of a crusade in their own country, without the need to undertake the financially strenuous and dangerous journey to the East. The war was declared a crusade by the papacy and those fighting on the royalist side were able to earn crusading indulgences for taking part in the war. The war also highlighted how both those fighting in the conflict and those recording it were keen to draw connections to crusading. The rebels named themselves as if they were a crusading army, showing an intimate knowledge of the terminology found in the literature and narratives of crusading. The Royalist barons went as far as to adorn themselves with the traditional symbols of crusaders during the Battle of Lincoln. The war also affected the promotion, preparation, and participation in the Fifth Crusade which began in 1217, the year the war concluded.

The lack of preaching for the Fifth Crusade in Yorkshire was driven by the disruption brought about by the civil war which prevented the central organisation of crusade preaching. The period also saw the Church in Yorkshire in a state of flux as there was no archbishop during the build-up to the Fifth Crusade. This would have made it difficult to organise preaching in the county as there was no one to oversee and organise the effort from a central position within the county. Due to there being no centralised preaching campaign, it is likely that the main driving factor for taking the cross was one of feudal obligation. If an individual's lord was going

on crusade, then they would choose to go with him in his company. The majority of those from Yorkshire's baronage who took to the cross to go to the East would have done so along with King John, or would have been connected to someone else of high status who joined the crusade. Ranulf, earl of Chester and John de Lacy are recorded as taking a crusading vow with their king. Brian de Lisle and Saer de Quincy were two of John's closest companions, meaning that it is likely they would have taken the cross with him too.

There is also little evidence for fundraising for the crusade. There was no central tax levied to support crusaders as there was in the form of the Saladin Tithe for the Third Crusade, and there is only one recorded instance of individual fundraising in Yorkshire for the period. The amount of land recorded as changing hands to facilitate participation on the Fifth Crusade was much lower than for the Third Crusade. This could have been influenced by greater successes in centralised funding for the crusade, but is more likely representative of fewer people attempting to raise money to facilitate a crusade. This could also be the reason behind the high price being received for the land sold at the time of the Fifth Crusade when viewed in the context of the sales for the Third Crusade. The higher price could have been driven by a scarcity of available property, unlike at the time of the Third Crusade when a large amount of land flooded the market. The civil war is also an important factor in the equation.

Contemporary chroniclers describe destructive raids into Yorkshire by John during the civil war. The damage to property would have devalued it and caused problems of displaced peasantry. It would also have opened up the possibility of land becoming more vulnerable as barons vied to redraw borders and expand their territory into the lands of their neighbours. This would have created an environment which would have made leaving the county to go on crusade difficult for the baronage as they would have been risking their possessions in England whilst they were away.

A large number of the thirty-one crusaders recorded for the Fifth Crusade who were connected to Yorkshire were those who, in previous crusades, have been hidden from the

record. With greater access to administrative documents, high numbers of poor and non-combatant crusaders are thrust into the record who, although present on crusades, have not been visible in accounts of previous crusades. The high numbers of these crusades fit within a wider picture for the Fifth Crusade which has over sixty percent of its recorded participants being drawn from this group – a marked departure from the nine percent recorded on the Third Crusade. Over half of Yorkshire's recorded participants are evidenced in the records of the Justices in eyre, and only Ranulf, earl of Chester, and John de Lacy, are recorded in chronicles. The high number of non-combatants heading to Egypt highlights that crusading was popular amongst the lower echelons of society and was not just an activity reserved for the wealthy.

The participation records do show that crusade contingents were organised based on feudal and geographical ties. The charter signed by John de Lacy at Damietta is witnessed by a group of individuals who were drawn from areas where he possessed land and proves that crusade contingents were organised through geographic and feudal ties before departure and remained together for the duration of the venture. John, who himself was travelling with his lord, Ranulf, earl of Chester, was accompanied for the duration of his time in the East by people who would have been familiar to him, not people who he encountered whilst away.

Chapter Four: Emperors, Kings, and Barons: The Sixth Crusade and the Barons' Crusade, 1223–41

Sixth Crusade Participation

The crusade of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen which departed in 1228 was the first major crusading expedition to launch following the conclusion of the Fifth Crusade and was the first to target the Holy Land since the Third Crusade (1189–92). Frederick's crusade was characterised by his poor relationship with the papacy, which eventually saw the German emperor excommunicated for his failure to depart on time, and a diplomatic approach, which saw him reclaim Jerusalem without entering into a single pitched battle.¹

The only named individual from Yorkshire who could possibly be connected with the crusade was Geoffrey, vicar of the church of St Felix.² On 6 May 1225, he was recorded as being '*cruce signatus*' when he was given permission by Walter Gray, archbishop of York, to lease out his vicarage for three years, beginning on the day on which he departed for the Holy Land.³

Although he gained his permission during a period when crusade preparations were beginning, Geoffrey's permission came before Frederick committed himself to going on crusade by 15 August 1227 in July 1225, which suggests that Godfrey had already planned to go to the East independently of any crusading venture. Geoffrey's desire to head to the East does show that there was appetite to go to the East in the periods between major crusades and the fact that he is being recorded in the same fashion as a crusader, *cruce signatus*, implies that he was redeeming a crusading vow rather than simply heading to the East as a pilgrim.

¹ Thomas W. Smith, 'Between Two Kings: Pope Honorius III and the Seizure of the Kingdom of Jerusalem by Frederick II', in 1225, *Journal of Medieval History*, 41 (2015), 41–59 (p. 44); Wendover, IV, pp. 148, 165; Hiroshi Takayama, 'Frederick II's Crusade: An Example of Christian-Muslim Diplomacy', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 25 (2010), 169–85 (p. 175).

² Likely in Felixkirk (North Riding).

³ Walter Gray, *The Register of Walter Gray, Lord Archbishop of York* ed. by James Raine (London: Surtees Society, 1870), p. 4.

The other example of possible participants on the Sixth Crusade connected to Yorkshire is a group of men, recorded as being 'cruce signati' in the Close Rolls, who drowned when the bridge at Ferrybridge (West Riding) collapsed as they attempted to cross it in 1228.⁴ Along with their bodies, £17 18s 10½d was recovered from the river. As this was such a large sum and the individuals carrying it were recorded as being crusaders, it is almost certain that this was money intended to fund their time in the East. As the incident occurred before 20 April of 1228, the rearranged departure date for the crusade of Frederick II, it is likely that this group of crusaders were attempting to join the crusade of the German emperor. The timing of the men's deaths suggests that they would have been recruited for the crusade during the preaching tour recorded by Roger of Wendover in 1227.⁵ The names of the men who drowned were not recorded, so it is impossible to know who they were or where they came from. The lack of information about the crusaders could imply that they were not from Ferrybridge or that they were of low social standing so their names were not deemed important enough to include. As Ferrybridge was located on the Great North Road which ran from London to Scotland it is possible those who drowned could have come from the North Riding, County Durham, Northumberland, or even as far north as Scotland.⁶ Due to the record of the drowning not including any information about the individuals who drowned, it is unlikely they were connected to Ferrybridge and were passing through on their way to depart for the East. It is also likely that the unfortunate crusaders were of low status as the record does not record any recognisable clothing or personal items which one might expect a higher status individual to be carrying. The men being of low status fits with Roger of Wendover's account of the

⁴ *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1227–1231*, ed. by Maxwell Lyte and Alfred Edward Stamp, 14 vols (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902–38), I (1902), pp. 34–5. 'De denariis concessis ad reparationem Portis Ferie. — Mandatum est vicecomiti Eboraci quod xvij libras xvij s. et x denarios et obolum, qui inventi fuerunt cum hominibus cruce signatis submersis ad Pontem Ferie, habere faciat magistro Waltero de Tany, cui dominus rex denarios illos concessit ad ejusdem Pontis Ferie reparationem. Teste rege apud West-monasterium, xx die Aprilis'; Tyerman, *England*, p. 188; Howden, III, p. 264.

⁵ Wendover, IV, pp. 143–4.

⁶ Paul Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire 1066–1154* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 6.

preaching which occurred for the crusade. Although his record gives little information about the specifics of the preaching, it does describe the preaching only being popular with those from the lowest social classes.⁷ This is supported in the records of the preaching from France and parts of Germany where Frederick accused the preachers of being too lax, as they implied that taking the cross would mean immunity from punishment for any type of crime.⁸ The result of this was a recruitment drive that only succeeded in drawing in the poor and undesirable members of society, such as those who committed serious crimes.⁹

The fact that the Close Rolls recorded the men as crusaders suggests two things. Firstly, they were identifiable as crusaders following their death, and secondly, that it was deemed important to record them as being crusaders. This perhaps indicates that they had a cross attached to their person when they drowned or that they were part of much larger group of crusaders who were travelling to a pre-arranged departure point together. If the money that was recovered was the total amount carried by the crusaders it could serve as an indication of the number of men who died. The £17 18s 10½d is roughly equal to 30 marks, meaning that if each man was bringing five marks with him to pay for crusading costs, which is in line with the amount raised by William fitz Aldelin and William Medicus from the Third and Fifth Crusades respectively, then there could have been six individuals who drowned.¹⁰ Ferrybridge marked an important crossing point of the River Aire, which could explain why the recovered money was not used to help fund the defence of the Holy Land as instructed by the 1194 ordinance, but was instead used to repair the bridge.¹¹

The lack of evidence for people from Yorkshire joining the crusade of Frederick II highlights the importance of an influential individual leading an English contingent. There are no records of

⁷ Wendover, IV, pp. 143–4.

⁸ *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, ed. by Huillard-Breholles, [U. V] (Paris: Excudebant Plon Fratres, 1852), II, p. 409; 'The Crusade of Frederick II' (p. 439).

⁹ 'The Crusade of Frederick II' (p. 439).

¹⁰ *ECY*, III, pp. 298–99, no. 1641; *Meaux*, I, p. 373.

¹¹ *Close Rolls, 1227–1231*, III, p. 34–5; Tyerman, *England*, p. 188; Howden, III, p. 264.

any high-ranking nobles from England taking the cross to head to the East with the German Emperor, and the highest profile individuals from England on the crusade were two bishops, Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and William Briwere, bishop of Exeter.¹² As seen in the crusading period engagement in the county was dependent on the presence of a high-ranking royal figurehead. This crusade follows this pattern. In this case, neither Peter nor William were of sufficient social standing to inspire large numbers of individuals from Yorkshire or England to take the cross and follow them to the East.

Barons' Crusade Promotion

On 17 November 1234, Pope Gregory IX called for a new crusade to aid the Holy Land in his papal bull *Rachel suum videns*, despite the fact that the ten-year truce arranged by Frederick II in 1229 still had five years remaining.¹³ Initially, there were proposals to redirect the crusade to aid John of Brienne, Latin Emperor of Constantinople, in his war against the Byzantines and Bulgarians, but this idea did not gain widespread support in Europe.¹⁴ In late 1234 and through 1235, the Franciscans and Dominicans preached the Barons' Crusade in England, as instructed by Pope Gregory IX in his letter to the mendicant orders titled *Pium et Sanctum* in 1234. The letter outlined that the mendicant orders were to select, from their own ranks, individuals they perceived to be best suited to preach the upcoming crusade.¹⁵ It marked the first time which the preaching of a crusade had been entrusted to the Mendicants, but they were still assisted by provincial deacons and archdeacons who were not part of a monastic order.¹⁶ Copies of *Pium et Sanctum* which were sent to the Franciscan minister of Lombardy, the Dominican provincial prior of Tuscany, and the Franciscan minister of the province of

¹² Wendover, IV, p. 145.

¹³ A version of the letter survives in Matthew Paris, III, pp. 280–7; an analysis of *Rachel suum videns* can be found in Penny J. Cole, *Preaching the Crusades to the Holy Land 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1991), pp. 159–61.

¹⁴ Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. by John Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972, repr. 1981), p. 248.

¹⁵ Maier, p. 35.

¹⁶ Paris, III, p. 312.

Ireland survive, and it is almost certain that it would have been sent to England too as Matthew Paris records the friars preaching the crusade in the country.¹⁷

The primary record for the preaching of the Barons' Crusade in England is Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*, which offers the most detailed English account of the promotion of the crusade in 1234–35. Paris recorded the preaching in broad strokes, rather than giving focused information about each county or diocese, and his description of the preaching presents a country which was reluctant to engage with the crusade. This is perhaps not surprising as Paris would have likely been unwilling to include information about a successful, well received, and wide-reaching preaching tour. He was critical of the papacy throughout his writings and a record of successful crusade preaching would partly undermine that viewpoint.¹⁸ This dislike of the papacy likely influenced his description of crusade preaching which was characterised by those entrusted with preaching the campaign pressuring large numbers of men and women to attend the sermons under threat of anathema, rather than crowds of people gathering en-masse to enthusiastically receive a sermon.¹⁹ His account of the preaching stands at odds with normal accounts of crusade preaching which often mimic the narratives of the preaching of the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont in which individuals being so moved by the words of Pope Urban II that thousands of people took the cross.²⁰ Examples of large numbers of individuals being inspired to take the cross in the same style as described in the First Crusade narratives are recorded throughout the account of preaching undertaken by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, in Wales as part of the promotion for the Third Crusade.²¹ Whilst

¹⁷ *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291*, ed. by Jessalynn L. Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 276–7.

¹⁸ Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew'.

¹⁹ Paris, III, pp. 312–313; Cole, *Preaching*, p. 162.

²⁰ For example: Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, ed. and trans. by John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia, PA: The American Philosophical Society, 1974), p. 16; *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. by Rosalind Hill (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), p. 2;

²¹ Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales/The Description of Wales*, ed. and trans. by Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin Books, 1978), pp. 80, 114, 126, 178, 184, 185, 200.

Paris's negative account of the preaching is likely a subversion of a common literary device, the lack of information in other chronicles about preaching suggests that it was limited in its scope and execution.

Matthew Paris writes that alongside the friars, provincial deacons and archdeacons assisted with the preaching.²² The inclusion of local churchmen in preaching the crusade indicates two things. Firstly, the preaching was moving between different areas that the mendicant preachers would be unfamiliar with so needed assistance from local clergy in determining the best locations and times to preach to ensure the maximum impact was obtained. It is likely that any preaching tour would follow a similar pattern to the tour which was recorded in Yorkshire in 1291.²³ The 1291 tour which was ordered by John le Romeyn, archbishop of York, was likely a response to the fall of Acre. Although it is not clear whether the tour intended to raise manpower or money, it was organised to guarantee that preaching was undertaken in different locations on different days to ensure that areas would not be missed or ignored, and that a wide area was covered by the preachers. Secondly, the fact that local expertise was sought by the friars indicates that the preaching was not undertaken by groups of friars from different counties, but by a group of individuals who were giving all of the sermons and were moving around the country. This may explain why the preaching is not recorded in any Yorkshire source unlike the plans for a preaching tour which was to be given in 1291 following the loss of Acre.²⁴ As the 1291 tour was organised by the Archbishop of York, information was recorded in his register about the plans. In the case of 1234–35, no record for preaching survives in the register of Walter Gray, archbishop of York, meaning it was unlikely that he had any influence over any preaching that may have occurred in the county. There is no evidence to confirm whether this preaching reached Yorkshire, or if it was confined to more southern areas of England. There are no surviving chronicles which were written in Yorkshire at the time

²² Paris, III, pp. 312.

²³ *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, ed. by James Raine, Rolls Series, 61 (London: Longman, 1873), pp. 93–6.

²⁴ *Historical Papers and Letters*, pp. 93–6.

at which the crusade was preached, which suggests that there was little motivation to record events in the county specifically.

Chronicles written in the years following, such as the chronicle of Meaux, make no reference to any preaching occurring in the county during the time-period. This is not unusual. Most records of crusading found in chronicles of religious institutions in Yorkshire, such as those connected to Meaux and Byland, are focused on an individual who was connected to that institution. The chronicles of specific foundations recounted how an individual's crusade was facilitated by the institution, such as Meaux recording how it bought large amounts of land from Robert, constable of Halsham, to facilitate his participation on the Third Crusade, or their deeds in the East, such as Byland's record of Nigel de Mowbray's death on the Third Crusade.²⁵ Evidence of this idea is seen in relation to participants on the Barons' Crusade in the form of the *Stemma Fundatorum Prioratus de Wyrksope* (Pedigree of the Founders of Worksop Priory). The *Stemma* is a poem which includes references to the three Furnival brothers, Gerard III, William, and Thomas, and their participation on the venture.²⁶ Much like the Byland account of Nigel de Mowbray's death, the poem changes the narrative around the events of the brothers' participation. It records that Thomas was killed and buried in the East and that, following his return to England, Gerard III was sent by his mother to retrieve his brother's remains from the East. Gerard was successful and his brother was buried, according to the poem, at Worksop (Nottinghamshire).²⁷ This differs from the records of the crusade from Matthew Paris, who records both brothers being present on the crusade and that it was Gerard who died in the East.²⁸ Thomas's fate remains unknown. Crucially, the poem makes no mention of the promotion of the crusade, and its main focus is on the actions of its patrons, the Furnival brothers.

²⁵ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, V, p. 346.

²⁶ James Doherty, 'Commemorating the Crusading Past in Late Medieval England: The Worksop Priory Tabula', *English Historical Review*, 136 (2021), 809–35.

²⁷ Doherty, 'Commemorating' (pp. 812–13).

²⁸ Paris, IV, pp. 45 & 175.

It is very likely that there were significant barriers placed in front of the preachers when it came to preaching the crusade in Yorkshire. Firstly, there was a large amount of indecision related to the location which the crusade should ultimately target. Whilst there was a clear desire to launch a venture to the Holy Land, there were constant murmurings that the crusade would be diverted away from the Holy Land to help in the defence of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. In 1237, Pope Gregory IX commissioned Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, to preach a crusade to send aid to Constantinople. There was a distinct difference between the instructions given to Peter when compared to the ones given to the archbishop of Bordeaux who was promoting the crusade in France. The preaching in France encouraged those who had taken the cross to travel to the Holy Land to exchange their vow to one to go and fight in defence of the Latin Empire. Meanwhile, there was no attempt to persuade English crusaders to exchange their vows, and instead the preaching tour targeted those who had yet to take up the sign of the cross.²⁹ This suggests two things. Firstly, the crusade preaching in England may have been limited in its scope when compared to the French efforts, resulting in a lower number of crusaders being drawn in. Consequently, allowing a change in vow would greatly weaken support for the East. Secondly, it is possible that there were very few people who had actually taken a vow, necessitating a new campaign to garner more substantial support. The consequence was the promotion of papal projects, such as funding both the defence of Constantinople and the crusade against Frederick II, combined with the attempts to divert the crusade to aid with the latter, caused the promotion of the Barons' Crusade to become uncoordinated which only served to confuse and irritate those who desired to go to the East.³⁰ The result of this is there is no evidence for any member of Yorkshire society taking

²⁹ Michael Lower, *The Barons' Crusade: A Call to Arms and Its Consequences* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), p. 133.

³⁰ Christopher Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (Milton Keynes: Allen Lane, 2015), p. 242.

a vow to crusade in support of the Latin Empire meaning that if the preaching for this venture did reach Yorkshire, no notable individuals were moved to take part.³¹

Alongside the attempts to divert aid away from the Holy Land and into the wars aimed at protecting the Latin Empire, there was an effort to prevent those from the diocese of York leaving the country for the Holy Land. On 5 February 1240, an order from Pope Gregory IX was sent to Walter de Gray, archbishop of York, which forbade any would-be crusaders from leaving the province on the grounds that people leaving the country to fight in the Holy Land would leave the kingdom in severe danger.³² This letter was sent only four months before the departure of Richard of Cornwall on 10 June 1240. From papal records it appears that this order was only sent to York with there being no evidence it was ever sent to Canterbury. In his analysis of the letter, Michael Lower has argued that Gregory intended to send the letter to both Canterbury and York, but due to finding himself essentially imprisoned in Italy because of the advances of the armies of the German Emperor Frederick II, Gregory simply forgot to send the order to both archbishops.³³ This theory, however, appears to be unlikely. When letters were sent to both the archbishop of Canterbury and the archbishop of York, the letters were recorded in the chancery registers as a letter being sent to Canterbury with a second letter, 'in the same fashion', having been sent to York.³⁴ In the case of the letter regarding the participation in the Barons' Crusade, there is no mention of a letter being sent to Canterbury in the chancery registers, meaning the intention was to only send a letter to York. Being only sent

³¹ Tyerman, *England*, pp. 106–07.

³² *Les registres de Grégoire IX: Recueil des bulles de ce pape publiées ou analysées d'après les manuscrits originaux du Vatican*, ed. by Lucien Auvray, 4 vols (Paris: Librairie Thorin et fils, 1896–1955), III, p. 176, no. 5050. 'archiepiscono Eboracensi. Etsi adeo necessaria sit voli solutio, ut sine proprie salutis dispendio alicui resilire auctoritate sua non liceat ab hiis que sollempniter ac sponte promisit: quia tamen dicendus non est voti transgressor, qui quod vovit, de auctoritate Sedis Apostolice, presertim ex justa causa, distulit adimplere, cupientes tam karissimi in Christo filii nostri. Anglorum regis illustris quam regni ejus indemnitatibus precavei, et attendentes nichilominus, consideratis circumstantiis universis, quod transfretatio cruce signatorum ad presens parvum esset vel nullum orientali terre comodum, et regi ac regno predictis grave periculum allatura, mandamus quatenus cruce signatos tue provincie moneas et inducas ut non prius iter arripiant transmarinum, quam a Sede Apostolica mandatum receperint transfretandi. Dat. Laterani, nonis februarii, anno tertiodecimo'.

³³ Lower, *Barons'*, p. 140.

³⁴ Lower, *Barons'*, p. 222, n. 59. 'In eundem modum'.

to York shows that the papacy saw York as distinct from Canterbury and that it was important and influential enough to target directly, rather than request that Canterbury attempt to enforce the order on York.

With this in mind, it seems more plausible that Gregory had fears which were concentrated specifically on the north of England. As the preparations were being made for the crusade, there was a growing feeling of dissatisfaction amongst England's barons. Henry III had drained the royal treasury through his marriage to Eleanor of Provence and through the marriage of his sister, Isabella, to Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor. This had led to the king taking back royal estates which had previously been granted as fiefs.³⁵ With the growing discontent, there may have still been a fear that the barons in the north could once again put themselves into revolt against the king as they had done against John, a revolt which had only fully been stamped out some twenty years previously.

Michael Lower has theorised that the ban would not have prevented the majority of crusaders leaving England as most resided under the jurisdiction of Canterbury.³⁶ Lower's argument is based on the records of crusaders who departed on the crusade which disregards any of those who did not depart for the East because of the letter. It is possible that a number of crusaders were directly influenced to not take part on the crusade because of the pope's ban on individuals departing for the East and Lower's argument completely neglects this possibility and downplays the potential ramifications of the contents of the letter. In cases where there was a large English presence on a crusade, Yorkshire was amongst the highest contributor of manpower. It is hard to gauge the Yorkshire participation against that of other English counties as to date there is no complete prosopographical list of English participations on the venture. Michael Lower did not include one in his study of the crusade and earlier are missing large numbers of participants. With this in mind, the impact of the letter could perhaps be

³⁵ Lower, p. 134; Robert C. Stacey, *Politics, Policy, and Finance Under Henry III 1216–45* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 99–103.

³⁶ Lower, *Barons'*, p. 140.

highlighted best by the absence of any clergy from Yorkshire on the crusade. It is the first time a crusade with a large number of participants from Yorkshire did not include any recorded members of the clergy from the county. This stands at odds with other crusades with significant participation; the Third Crusade, Fifth Crusade, and Crusade of Lord Edward all show substantial participation from members of ecclesiastical society.³⁷ Whilst this could be a symptom of the limited surviving evidence for the crusade, it more likely points to a reluctance to engage with the venture from the Church in Yorkshire.

It is possible that Gregory could have feared that the inclusion of northern barons on the Barons' Crusade would increase the chance that the crusade would be directed away from its intended target of the Holy Land, and instead be diverted to Italy and link up with the forces of the German Emperor, Frederick II, who was currently embroiled in a conflict with the papacy. A number of the Yorkshire barons involved in the crusade were descended from, or belonged to, the families who were part of the rebellion against John. For example, Peter de Brus II was the son of a former rebel and married to the sister of William of Lancaster, a family that had also rebelled against the king during the civil war.³⁸ Coupled with this, in the north of England, there was a growing resentment of the papacy which can be seen through the disagreement over the advowson of Kirkleatham (North Riding) between Robert de Thweng and Italian clergy.³⁹ Robert, who was excommunicated over the issue, was eventually able to gain an audience with Pope Gregory IX, and he travelled to Rome as a representative of the barons in the north of England as many had shared similar experiences.⁴⁰ Amongst those who backed Robert in his dispute were fellow crusaders Peter de Maulay and Peter de Brus. The result was

³⁷ Examples can be found in: *Gesta Regis*, II, pp. 148, 149; Howden, III, p. 73; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1216–1225*, p. 161; *The Chartulary of St. John*, ed. by Richard Holmes, 2 vols (Leeds: The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1899), I, p. 37; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1266–72*, p. 440; Giffard, pp. 64, 124.

³⁸ Ruth Margaret Blakely, *The Brus Family in England and Scotland, 1100–1295* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), p. 59.

³⁹ *A History of the County of York North Riding*, ed. by William Page, 2 vols (London: Victoria County History, 1923), II, <doi: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/north/vol2/pp371-383#fnn204>>.

⁴⁰ Nicholas Vincent, 'Thwing [Thweng], Sir Robert of [alias William Wither]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27418>>.

the lifting of Robert's excommunication, and the Italian clergy were instructed to cease interfering with the rights of lay patrons.⁴¹ Although the incident was resolved favourably for the barons, it highlighted a distrustful and potentially hostile relationship between the northern barons and the papacy. As each of the contingents contained northern representation, Gregory may have feared they could have influenced the contingent leaders to turn their focus to a war with the papacy. This would have weakened both his own position in his war against Frederick II and posed a serious threat to the successful execution of the crusade. It can be argued that by prohibiting individuals from Yorkshire from joining the crusade, Gregory would have eliminated the leadership of one of the contingents, which would have likely prevented the contingent leaving all together. With the de Forz contingent leaving so long after those of Richard of Cornwall and Simon de Montfort, it is possible that the delay was caused by disruption surrounding this order. While there is no surviving evidence regarding the funding for the de Forz contingent, it is possible that this order prevented him from obtaining the expected funds necessary for leading a contingent, or put an obstacle between him and the necessary funds which took time to navigate.

It could also have been the case that Gregory was not worried about those who were on the crusade, but rather about those who remained in Yorkshire. Although at the time of the crusade King Henry III appeared to be secure from external threats – he was at peace with Scotland, Wales, and France – there may have been some concern that if the barons went into revolt this peace could dissipate. Gregory would have been eager to prevent a conquest of England as Henry was a key ally for Gregory in matters surrounding the anti-Hohenstaufen Crusade. Henry was Frederick's brother-in-law, and this made him a good intermediary between the two parties, though this same relationship meant that it was important for the papacy to keep Henry on side.⁴² During the revolts in the reign of King John, the Scottish king,

⁴¹ Vincent, Thwing [Thweng], Sir Robert of [alias William Wither] <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27418>>.

⁴² Lower, *Barons*, p. 134.

Alexander II, had seized an opportunity granted to him through the disorder, and moved very quickly to claim large parts of northern England with an eye on taking control of Yorkshire.⁴³ During his push southwards, large numbers of rebel barons in Yorkshire had sworn allegiance to Alexander, and his grievances with John had been included in the first issue of Magna Carta.⁴⁴ There may also have been a perception that Alexander could break the Treaty of York that had been signed with King Henry III in 1237, which reaffirmed the border between England and Scotland.⁴⁵ With the English section of the crusade departing so soon after this treaty had been signed, Gregory may have perceived that there was a chance that Alexander might go back on the terms of the treaty, and take the opportunity to re-establish his gains from the civil war whilst the northern barons were occupied on the crusade. The potential for disruption caused by the King of Scotland invading shortly after the crusade departed could have destabilised the English part of the venture and caused a large part of the crusading army to return home. With the crusade being led by a member of the royal household, those choosing to join the venture would have been closer to the crown. As evidenced by crusades that immediately followed civil wars, the majority of crusaders were royalists. On Edward's crusade (1270–74) only fourteen of the 293 participants were known to have been rebels, despite the crusade being launched shortly after a large civil war in England.⁴⁶ This meant that the Barons' Crusade could have left a large number of potentially rebellious barons unchecked in Yorkshire.

⁴³ Richard D. Oram, 'Introduction: An Overview of the Reign of Alexander II', in *The Reign of Alexander II, 1214–49*, ed. by Richard D. Oram (Leiden: Brill, 2005) pp. 1–48 (p. 12). Alexander took Northumbria, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and in August 1216 he had passed over into Teesdale and laid an ultimately unsuccessful siege to Barnard Castle. Lower, *Barons*, pp. 134–35. Pope Gregory had previously, on 25 February 1238, attempted to prevent Richard of Cornwall from leaving also citing the security of the realm as the reasoning behind the decision.

⁴⁴ Keith Stringer, 'Alexander II (1198–1249)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/322>>.

⁴⁵ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III, A.D. 1232–1247*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Mackie and Co., 1906), p. 203.

⁴⁶ Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade 1216–1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), Appendix IV.

Any religious motivations for taking the cross appear to be secondary for the Barons' Crusade. Christopher Tyerman has argued that, at least in the initial phase of taking the cross in 1235, the motivation to go on the crusade was to repair any rifts which had appeared at court and to consolidate the alliance which had been formed between Richard of Cornwall and the Marshal family.⁴⁷ The Yorkshire participants on the crusade had little obvious link to this, but there are links of personal patronage, family allegiances, and family connections to the leaders. This is highlighted in the Yorkshire participants of the crusade, who included examples of familial ties, such as the Furnival brothers, or ties formed through more political means, such as the marriages of members of the Maulay and de Brus families, which had been organised in the year prior to the departure of the crusade.⁴⁸ Maulay himself was taking part on the crusade alongside his long-term associate, William de Forz.

It is hard to analyse the impact of the preaching and promotion for the Barons' Crusade in Yorkshire due to the lack of surviving evidence, but overall, the promotion of the crusade in England was disorganised and unfocused. There was a failure to launch a coordinated and sustained preaching campaign for a crusade to the Holy Land as, although the mendicant orders were tasked with preaching the crusade, it appears that they were consistently undermined by Gregory's regular attempts to divert the crusade, or at least sections of it, to help Constantinople and by their own poor planning. Due to this, the main way in which people were recruited for the crusade was not through the authorised preaching, but, as will be shown below, through the links between family members and political ties. Yorkshire experienced more disruption than most counties through the efforts of the papacy to prevent the departure of crusaders from the county. These misguided efforts to keep the English king safe from a potential attack from Scotland by means of preventing crusaders from the

⁴⁷ Tyerman, *England*, p. 103.

⁴⁸ Lower, *Barons'*, p. 45. The Monfort contingent also contained Gerard, Punchard, and William of Peaumes, three brothers from Burgundy, further highlighting the connected nature of the crusaders.

jurisdiction of the archbishopric of York only served to further deter, irritate, and disrupt those who intended to depart.

Barons' Crusade Preparation

There is no evidence for large-scale centralised tax implemented to finance the Barons' Crusade from within Yorkshire, and there is only a single example of fundraising occurring on an individual basis which suggests that crusaders were using other methods of fundraising. Thomas, son of William de Malham, is recorded as alienating property in Malham, located in the West Riding, to Bolton priory in return for thirty silver marks which are detailed as being used to fund his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁴⁹ There is evidence to show that individual crusaders were helped by gifts given by Henry III prior to their departure for the Holy Land, and that prospective crusaders were also able to benefit from payments in advance from the king to help them pay for their crusade costs.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, none of the recorded cases of these gifts being given to crusaders involve those from Yorkshire who travelled to the Holy Land. Given the presence of ten crusaders from Yorkshire on the Barons' Crusade, the fact that only a single instance of an individual crusader fundraising for the crusade survives suggests a likelihood that alternative sources of funding were utilised by the participants to facilitate their journeys. Yorkshire landowner Hugh Wake was able to receive money from the proceeds of crusading taxes on his lands.⁵¹ Details about how much money Hugh received, who gave it to him, and how it was intended to be used are not recorded but it indicates that crusaders were able to access funds for the venture. This is the only example of this which survives for the crusade, but it may be a way in which the majority of crusaders on the Barons' Crusade

⁴⁹ *EYC*, VII, p. 151, no. 89.

⁵⁰ Examples of Henry giving money to pay for crusading costs can be found in: *Calendar of the liberate rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III 1226–1240*, ed. by Thomas H. Duffus, 6 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1916–1964), I (1916), pp. 373, 378, 379, 380, 384, 400.

⁵¹ *Les Registres de Gregoire IX*, ed. by Albert Fontemoing (Paris: Ancienne Librairie Thorin & Fils, 1907), II, p. 1125, no. 4509. 'Episcopo Lincolniensi mandai quatenus redemptiones votorum cruce signatorum terrae ac feudorum nobilis viri Hugonis Wake, cruce signali, — proponentis magnifice in Terrae Sanctae subsidium proficisci, — quae nondum alii sinl concessae, faciat eidem nobili, postquam iter transmarinum arripuerit, assignari'; Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 150.

financed their journeys to the East. The ability to collect money which had been raised for crusading from a crusader's lands and could explain why there is so little evidence for individual fundraising from Yorkshire during the entirety of the thirteenth century. It is possible that the funding given to Hugh Wake was a precursor to the contract system seen on Lord Edward's crusade and was well entrenched by the time of the Barons' Crusade. Those on Lord Edward's Crusade who were contracted to bring other knights with them were each paid a set amount of 100 marks per knight they brought with them to the East. It may indicate that before Edward's crusade, the amount of money being received by a crusader was determined either by the amount of money they were able to raise in their own lands or by the papacy.

One group which presents itself as an obvious candidate for providing the money necessary to fund a crusade are the Jews. In 1237 Henry III ordered the Jewish community should contribute a sum of 3000 marks to support the pilgrimage of Richard, the Earl of Cornwall, to the Holy Land.⁵² Yorkshire's Jewish population had been almost entirely wiped out during the attacks on the Jewish communities of England during the final preparations for the Third Crusade in 1189–90, but had made significant strides to re-establish itself in the subsequent years.⁵³ There had been increased immigration from abroad, and the rights of the Jews to live in towns across England, including York, had been expressly confirmed with strict orders being sent out to local officials that the Jews were to be left in peace and unauthorised people were not to interfere with them in anyway.⁵⁴ These methods extended to protecting Jewish communities across England during the preparations for the Fifth Crusade through the selection of twenty-four burgesses in each area, including York, who would be responsible for

⁵² *Close Rolls*, III, p. 176; Tyerman, *England*, p. 105.

⁵³ Robert C. Stacey, 'The English Jews Under Henry III', in *The Jews in Medieval Britain: Historical, Literary and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. by Patricia Skinner (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 41–54 (p. 45); For the 1190 massacre of the Jews at York, Richard Barrie Dobson, *The Jews of Medieval York and the Massacre of March 1190*, Borthwick Papers, 45 (York: University of York, 1974).

⁵⁴ Rebecca Rist, *Popes and Jews, 1095–1291* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 109–10; Robin Mundill, *The King's Jews: Money, Massacre and Exodus in Medieval England* (London: Continuum, 2010), p. 131; PR, 1218, p. 157.

disturbances which occurred within their jurisdiction.⁵⁵ The protection of Jews in the city of York was important as the city was one of only two or three urban centres in the north of England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to have Jewish communities and Yorkshire's Jewish community lived exclusively in the city.⁵⁶ Unlike in France, these new laws did prevent large-scale attacks on the Jews during the preparations for the Barons' Crusade. This reinvigorated Jewish population would become central in Henry III's fundraising, with large tallages and taxes being placed upon the Jews almost immediately after Henry's minority came to an end which extracted 65,000 marks, almost four times what had been gathered between 1217–1227.⁵⁷ With one of these taxes placed upon the Jewish population being done so to raise money for the Barons' Crusade, it is likely that Yorkshire's Jews would have contributed heavily to this.

Throughout the crusading period there were several interactions between crusaders and Jews, which resulted in Jewish money lenders providing crusaders with the funds needed to finance their crusade. Evidence for interactions between individual Jews and crusaders for the Barons' Crusade is limited, but in certain cases the Jews in York can be seen helping individuals raise the funds required to take part on the crusade. Aaron of York lent Hugh of Ringstone 100 marks (at an interest rate of fifty percent) to allow him to purchase the estate of his brother Ralph at Clapton, which allowed Ralph to pay for his crusade.⁵⁸ A further interaction between crusaders and the Jewish population can be seen in the Close Rolls. The entry describes the case of Olivia, the widow of Robert de Fraxineto, who claimed that the Jews had not returned an item against which money, which had now been paid back, had been lent to her following

⁵⁵ *Close Roll, 1218*, pp. 354b, 357, 359.

⁵⁶ Barrie Dobson, 'The Medieval York Jewry Reconsidered', *Jewish Culture and History*, 3 (2000), 7-20 (p. 12). Newcastle had a Jewish community and it possible that Chester also did.

⁵⁷ Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), p. 44. From 1227–37.

⁵⁸ Lower, *Barons'*, p. 146.

her husband's death on the Barons' Crusade. Although all parties involved in this case are from Colchester, the Archbishop of York, Walter de Gray, is the only named witness.⁵⁹

One of the main ways in which the Barons' Crusade was funded was through non-combatants taking the cross and redeeming their vow through a cash payment in lieu of fighting in the East.⁶⁰ There are unfortunately, no surviving records for the amount of money that was raised this way in Yorkshire. Crusade chroniclers describing the venture were completely focused on those who made the journey rather than those who had redeemed their vow without leaving the country. It is, however, likely that there would have been a portion of Yorkshire society who would have been keen to gain the indulgences attached to the crusade and would have redeemed vows in this fashion, and possibly a further group of individuals who felt obliged to contribute due to the aggressive promotional methods described by Paris.⁶¹ It is said that Richard, earl of Cornwall, was also able to receive money raised from vows being redeemed in return for cash, rather than through pilgrimage, on his arrival in the Holy Land.⁶² With the amount of money he had at his disposal he was able to more than adequately fund both his and his followers' time in the Holy Land. There are no records to suggest how these techniques were implemented or received in Yorkshire, but the raising of money in this fashion certainly was not popular in contemporary accounts of the period from England. Matthew Paris claims the bishop Robert Grosseteste wrote scathingly on the subject of forcing vows onto those on their deathbed.⁶³ Whilst it is possible that Paris's comments reflected a general feeling from within England, Grosseteste's writings on the matter do not survive so his views on the practice are not known. It is, however, unlikely that Grosseteste would have been so openly hostile towards the Franciscans as he enjoyed a positive relationship with the order and tended to agree with their practices.⁶⁴ It is far more likely that Paris was simply using

⁵⁹ Lower, *Barons'*, p. 146; *Close Rolls*, IV, p. 489.

⁶⁰ Lower, *Barons'*, p. 55.

⁶¹ Paris, III, p. 312.

⁶² Tyerman, *England*, p. 105.

⁶³ Paris, IV, p. 405.

⁶⁴ James McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 51–61.

Grosseteste's name to buttress his own negative opinions about the centrally organised collection of crusading funds. Although he disagreed with Grosseteste's views on bishops imposing taxes, this incident is not the only time that Paris would invoke Grosseteste when voicing his displeasure at the papacy or the curia implementing policies which would take money out of England. Paris liked to present Grosseteste as an opponent of central papal policies and as an enemy of Pope Innocent IV.⁶⁵ For example, Paris wrote that in 1250 Grosseteste travelled to the papal curia where he criticised the pope in a heated exchange on the abuse of money and denounced the current state of the Church.⁶⁶ Paris also described that on his deathbed, Grosseteste made a long speech in which he described the pope as a heretic and the Antichrist, and denounce several other key figures.⁶⁷ Indeed, it is far more likely that Paris was simply trying to substantiate and legitimise his own views, which were coloured by a distinct distaste for the papacy, rather than accurately reflect anything that was said by Grosseteste.

Overall, the evidence for fundraising in Yorkshire for the Barons' Crusade is frustratingly scant. Other than the land sold by Thomas, son of William de Malham, there is no evidence for individual fundraising. This example, coupled with the small evidence for Hugh Wake receiving money from the proceeds of crusading taxes on his lands suggest most of the money used for the crusade came from more centralised sources.⁶⁸ Using the examples of Richard, earl of Cornwall, receiving money to pay for his crusade from taxation, and Hugh Wake being able to

⁶⁵ Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy 1244–1291: The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), p. 128; McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 64.

⁶⁶ J. Goering 'Robert Grosseteste at the papal curia', in *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle*, ed. by J. Brown and W. P. Stoneman (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), pp. 253-76 (p. 253): Paris, V, p. 98. In this case he was careful to add a humiliating retort by the pope which implied Grosseteste was greedy.
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⁶⁷ McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 65.

⁶⁸ *Les Registres de Gregoire IX*, ed. by Albert Fontemoing (Paris: Ancienne Librairie Thorin & Fils, 1907), II, p. 1125, no. 4509. 'Episcopo Lincolniensi mandai quatenus redemptiones votorum cruce signatorum terrae ac feudorum nobilis viri Hugonis Wake, cruce signali, — proponentis magnifice in Terrae Sanctae subsidium proficisci, — quae nondum alii sinl concessae, faciat eidem nobili, postquam iter transmarinum arripuerit, assignari'; Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 150.

fund his crusade through money raised in his lands, it is possible to theorise that William de Forz, leader of the third contingent to depart England as part of the Barons' Crusade, would have been able to claim the money collected from within his lordships of Holderness and Skipton to fund his crusade. It is also likely that the money used by the contingent leaders, such as William de Forz, would have been used, at least in part, to cover the costs of those who travelled to the East alongside them. This would have reduced the financial burden on the individuals and explain why there is such a large difference in the amount of surviving evidence for the alienation of property and borrowing money when compared to the Third Crusade.

Barons' Crusade Participation

From Yorkshire it is possible to identify ten participants on the Barons' Crusade, all of whom were landholders in the county. The crusaders who were present represent all three Ridings, with the North providing the most participants with five, followed by the West with three, and the East with two. It is the first, and only time, during the period examined in this thesis in which all participants can be attributed to a particular Riding. This is largely because of the type of participant who was present on the crusade with links to Yorkshire. Unlike the participants in the other crusades examined in the thesis, all of those joining the crusade were landowners. There is no surviving evidence for poor or non-combatant crusaders taking part on the Barons' Crusade. This sets the crusade apart from the other crusades with a high level of recorded Yorkshire participation, such as the Third and Fifth Crusades, which both have representation from this type of crusader.⁶⁹ Between the poor records of the crusade, the lack of evidence for fundraising, and the disruption that was undoubtedly caused by the order sent to the archbishop of York to prevent crusaders leaving the county, the number of recorded participants had the potential to be greater. However, considering the difficulties, the ten recorded participants represent a significant commitment to crusading from Yorkshire.

⁶⁹ *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 149; For example, *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, pp. 297, no. 818, 183, no. 431, 384, no. 1072.

Whilst it is possible to see that crusaders from Yorkshire were present in all three contingents of the Barons' Crusade, no single contingent featured participants from all three Ridings. Richard of Cornwall's contingent contained the most recorded Yorkshire participants with four. Three of these four known participants, Robert de Thweng, Peter de Brus, and Robert Marmion, were from the North Riding. Robert de Thweng would go on to play an important role in the early stages of the crusade, first being responsible for preparing the ships to take the crusaders from Marseilles to Acre, and then being sent from Marseilles to meet with Frederick II to update him on the progress of the crusade.⁷⁰ Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, also led a contingent to the East. Travelling alongside the earl were three individuals with Yorkshire connections, Hugh Wake (North Riding) and the Furnival brothers, Thomas and Gerard (West Riding). The final contingent to depart for the East was led by William de Forz, lord of Holderness (East Riding). Although William was from Yorkshire, his contingent did not include a substantial number of knights and barons from the region. Instead, the only recorded member of the contingent with connections to Yorkshire was Peter de Maulay.⁷¹ This fits well with the current understanding of the de Forz contingent, which is generally believed to be a Poitevin contingent, as de Maulay himself was a Poitevin having been born in the Maulay region of Poitou before being brought to England by King John in the early thirteenth century (Peter later married Isabella, the daughter of Robert of Turnham, and inherited the Fossard Barony in the West Riding).⁷² It can be suggested that the contingent which individuals belonged to were not random, but was dictated by geographical, political, or familial connections.

Unlike the Fifth and Edward's Crusades which proceeded and followed the Barons' Crusade and have records of high levels of participation from Yorkshire, there is little evidence for participants of the Barons' Crusade found in legal documentation. The primary record of

⁷⁰ Paris, IV, p. 47.

⁷¹ Paris, IV, p. 89.

⁷² Nicholas Vincent, Maulay [Malo Lacu], Peter de, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18375>>.

individuals taking part in the crusade are contemporary chronicles, specifically the writings of Matthew Paris, who includes lists of individuals involved in each of the three English contingents who headed to the East.⁷³ This places the records of the Barons' Crusade more in line with the information about the Third Crusade, which has a large number of participants recorded in chronicles, than the Fifth Crusade or Edward's expedition which find most of their participants recorded in administrative and legal documents. As Paris was writing in England and was not an active participant on the crusade like Roger of Howden had been on the Third Crusade, details about events in the East are scant, with most of his records of the crusade being confined to short lists of crusaders focused on their initial contingents and those who died.⁷⁴

The decision from the papacy to attempt to limit the number of crusaders departing from the North of England would have affected the number of participants, meaning the Barons' Crusade had the potential to be a larger expedition than it was. In other ventures to the East it is possible to find records of individuals who received money from the Church to enable their participation in crusading. Examples include those who sold land to religious institutions, like Roger de Mowbray in 1177 or those who received money from the Church to enable them to make the journey to the East such as Spirot, who was given a gift of 12*d* from Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, on 5 July 1271.⁷⁵ This evidence does not exist for the Barons' Crusade, suggesting that the letter which was sent to the archbishop of York did have an impact on those who wanted to head to the East. Further to this, there are no recorded members of the clergy who can be identified as being involved in the Barons' Crusade who were connected to Yorkshire.

A feature of the Yorkshire participation is strong ties between the recorded participants. Six of the ten Yorkshire participants had a link to another Yorkshire crusader in the expedition. On

⁷³ Paris, IV, pp. 44, 89.

⁷⁴ Paris, IV, pp. 44, 89, 174–5.

⁷⁵ *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, p. 83, no. 111; Giffard, p. 116.

the crusade were William and Thomas de Furnival (both West Riding), who travelled to the East alongside their brother, Gerard (Gerard held lands in Worksop, Nottinghamshire), Eustace de Stuteville (East Riding) and Hugh Wake (North Riding) who were brothers-in-law as Hugh was married to Eustace's sister, Joan, and Peter de Maulay and Peter de Brus II (both North Riding) who had married their children to each other.⁷⁶ These links between crusaders show that the force that headed to the East was one that was well acquainted with each other before departure, and that decisions to go on crusade may have been influenced by pre-existing connections.

None of the participants had previous experience of crusading, but four of them were from families with crusading pedigrees. The Furnival brothers were sons of Gerard II de Furnival who had participated in, and died on the Fifth Crusade, and grandsons of Gerard I de Furnival who had gone on both the Third and Fourth Crusades.⁷⁷ William de Forz III, lord of Holderness and count of Aumale, was the son of a Third Crusader, William de Forz II, lord of Holderness and count of Aumale, and Eustace de Stuteville was a descendant of Third Crusader Osmund de Stuteville. This highlights the importance of crusading to families connected to Yorkshire and aligns with a recurring trend observed within the crusading movement, wherein individuals sought to emulate the crusading of their ancestors. This is seen both through wanting to emulate their blood relatives and also through emulating the journeys taken by people in families or lordships they had married into. It shows that being part of crusading tradition was important to those within families and was part of a growing trend in Yorkshire.

Familial ties do not appear to have influenced the contingents in which crusaders travelled to the East in, however. The three Furnival brothers, Gerard, William, and Thomas, did not all sail in the same contingent, for instance. While Gerard and Thomas sailed in the contingent led by

⁷⁶ For the three Furnival brothers, Paris, IV, p. 44; for Hugh's marriage to Joan: *Rotulis Finium*, I, p. 339; For Peter de Maulay and Peter de Brus: Blakely, *The Brus Family*, p. 60.

⁷⁷ *Itinerarium*, pp. 361, 374, 375; *The Itinerary of King Richard I*, ed. by Lionel Landon (London, 1935), p. 145.

Simon de Montfort, William was a member of Richard, earl of Cornwall's, contingent. The reasons behind the brothers sailing separately from each other are unknown, but Matthew Paris does indicate that Richard's followers were his *familia*, suggesting that William could have been part of his household; though no evidence of William holding lands or rights from Richard survives.⁷⁸ Lower has argued that the term *familia* is, in fact, not a reference to a magnate's followers or household, but was instead describing a temporary association which had been formed for the purpose of the expedition.⁷⁹

This also shows that although decisions to take the cross and go to the East could have been motivated by family tradition or connections, there were still very strong pre-existing vassal-lord connections which were maintained. The Furnival brothers all being involved in the crusade does indicate that the recruitment for the crusade was indeed linked to the idea that the participants were raised through pre-existing ties to one another and the crusading movement. Despite their strong family ties, however, these brothers travelled to the East in different contingents which had different departure dates - Gerard and William were part of the contingent led by Richard of Cornwall, whereas Thomas sailed with Simon de Montfort.⁸⁰ This shows that despite all having the intention to head to the East, their preparations were completed separately from each other with no consensus being agreed between the brothers regarding travelling east as a unit.

Conclusions

With ten participants, Yorkshire was strongly represented in the Barons' Crusade. Despite the evidence for participation being significantly lower than that seen for the Third and Fifth Crusades and the Crusade of Lord Edward, the number of members from Yorkshire's baronage shows a significant level of engagement. All three of Yorkshire's Ridings are represented among the participants who include the leader of the third contingent to leave England,

⁷⁸ James Doherty, 'Commemorating' (p. 3).

⁷⁹ Lower, *Barons'*, p. 48.

⁸⁰ Paris, IV, p. 44.

William de Forz, lord of Holderness and count of Aumale. The crusade is neither recorded from within Yorkshire at the time of the crusade, nor in the years that followed. The main source from England which recorded the venture is the work of Matthew Paris, who unfortunately muddles the chronology of the crusade making it difficult to know exactly when the contingent of the earl of Holderness departed. Due to the nature of the crusade being heavily focused on diplomacy, rather than the warfare seen in the previous ventures to the Holy Land, little is known about the exploits of those from Yorkshire while in the East. Paris's accounts of the crusade are most useful for their lists of crusaders which serve to record the names of those who died.

As with previous crusades the exact details on how the crusade was promoted are not known. It seems likely that, looking at the participants, the main motivating factor behind taking the cross was linked to the social, familial, and political backgrounds of the crusaders. Through examples such as the Furnival family, from which it is possible to see three brothers taking the cross, or the Maulay and Brus families who were tied together by marriage, it is clear that many crusaders were bonded together before they set out for the East. It is also harder to define individual funding methods for the Barons' Crusade, indicating that the movement towards more centralised crusade funding was taking effect within England, and more specifically in Yorkshire. As a leader of a contingent, William de Forz would have likely been the biggest beneficiary of this, but there is no evidence to show how much money he may have received from centralised sources. From the surviving records, it is only Hugh Wake who was able to claim a proportion of the crusading taxes collected within his lands to help finance his crusade.

The numbers of participants are also significant due to the large amount of disruption during the build up to the crusade. Pope Gregory IX tried on several occasions to divert crusaders and funding away from the Holy Land and instead to fight in wars to protect the Latin Empire. The disruption encountered by Yorkshire was likely far greater than in any other county due to the

letter which was distributed by Gregory which forbade any crusade from the diocese of York heading to the East. It is likely that he did this due to a fear that the northern barons might once again swear fealty to the Scottish king, or that they might be a disruptive influence on a crusade which he was already uneasy about allowing to depart.

Chapter Five: The Final Fifty Years: Lord Edward and Crusading to the East, 1241-91

Crusading 1241–91 Overview

In the period between the end of Barons' Crusade and the loss of Acre, three major crusades to the East were launched. The first two were led by Louis IX, king of France; his first crusade, which departed in 1248, targeted the Nile Delta in Egypt and managed to take the city of Damietta before his army was destroyed at Mansurah in 1250. Louis remained in the East for a further four years, overseeing the refortification of several towns along the eastern coastline of the Mediterranean including Jaffa and Sidon, and the release of Christian prisoners from Muslim captivity.¹

There is not any evidence for participation on the crusade from Yorkshire. Two factors stand out in particular for this: the aims of Henry III, king of England, and the civil war. Henry III was keen to not have crusaders leave England following the culmination of the Barons' Crusade in 1241. The clearest example of his attempts to prevent individuals joining a crusade was the first crusade of Louis IX. Henry's methods of discouragement for individuals who would have potentially joined Louis's crusade was two-fold. First, in 1247, he secured papal terms which decreed that English crusaders who did take the cross with the intention of joining Louis had to depart a year after the French king.² Secondly, Henry made significant strides to prevent the preaching of the crusade within England, primarily through actively

¹ For more on the first crusade of Louis IX, see: Joinville, 'The Life of Saint Louis', in *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. and trans. by Margaret R. B. Shaw (London: Penguin, 1963), pp. 161–353 (pp. 191–330); *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey Of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*, ed. by M. Cecilia Gaposchkin and Sean L. Field, trans. by Larry L. Field (London: Cornell University Press, 2014); *The Seventh Crusade, 1244–1254: Sources and Documents*, ed. and trans. by Peter Jackson (Farham: Ashgate, 2009); William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979).

² Paris, V, pp. 135–6. The papacy banned English crusaders from departing and Paris claims that the English ports were watched to ensure that no one was able to join the crusade; Stacey, 'Baronial *Gravamina*' (p. 145).

discouraging Waleran, the bishop of Beirut, from launching a preaching campaign in the country in 1245.³ This is clearly reflected in Yorkshire, as there is no evidence for any form of crusade promotion during this period. Following the outset of Louis's crusade, and its disastrous defeat, the papacy ordered the mendicant friars to preach a crusade to the Holy Land, but there is no evidence of official letters to support preaching or preachers, vows being taken, funding being sought, or chronicle descriptions of preaching, which suggest that even if this promotion was undertaken in Yorkshire, it was not widely supported.⁴ The lack of support which came from this preaching is, perhaps, the best example to show that Henry III, who had taken the cross in 1250, was not serious about heading to the East. In all previous examples of an English king taking the cross and making a serious effort to undertake the journey to Palestine, a large following quickly materialised, but in this case, nothing came to fruition.

Louis launched a second crusade in 1270 which focused on the North African city of Tunis. The crusade, which landed on the Tunisian coastline in July 1270, was a disaster and only lasted for four months. The army was badly affected by disease and, on 25 August, Louis, who was also suffering from illness, died. After continued illness amongst the crusaders, the decision to was made to retreat and the crusading army withdrew from Tunisia on 30 October 1270.⁵ The final major expedition of the period was led by the English prince, Edward, whose crusading force was originally intended to be part of the second crusade of Louis IX but delays caused the crusade to depart independently. One of the key causes of late departure was deciding who would be the leader of the English portion of the crusade. Henry III, king of England, who had taken the cross in 1250, initially planned to lead the venture after his failure to get his son

³ Paris, IV, pp. 488–9. Henry generally did not support the preaching of crusades with the only example of him directly ordering crusade preaching was a 1250 tour of Ireland by the archbishop of Dublin, Hurlock, *Britain*, p. 33.

⁴ Hurlock, *Britain*, p. 33.

⁵ For more on the second Crusade of Louis IX, see: Joinville (pp. 345–50); Michael Lower, *The Tunis Crusade of 1270: A Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Joseph R. Strayer, 'The Crusades of Louis IX', in *Medieval Statecraft and Perspectives of History: Essays by Joseph R. Strayer*, ed. by John F. Benton and Thomas N. Bisson (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 159–92 (pp. 181–92).

Edmund installed as King of Sicily in the 1250s.⁶ The papacy, on the other hand, favoured an expedition that was led by Edmund as it was felt that this would ensure the safety of England, as a crusade led by Edmund would have prevented the king and heir being away from England simultaneously and risking their lives.⁷ Against all arguments to the contrary, however, it was Edward, the heir to the English throne, who emerged as the crusade's leader.⁸ He took the cross in 1268 and plans for the venture began in earnest.⁹ The initial contingent of the crusade, led by Edward, departed England in July 1270 and arrived at Tunis just as the French army was leaving. Despite the French crusaders deciding to return home, Edward and the English force, chose to press on to Palestine. At the time of Edward's arrival in the early months of 1271, Acre was under siege by the Mamluk sultan, Baibars, but Edward's presence was enough to cause the sultan to lift the siege of the city and retreat.¹⁰ As the crusading army was too small in size to undertake decisive action in the East – numbering only about 1,000 men – the main feature of the crusade were minor raids in the surrounding areas.¹¹ The crusade achieved very little and is perhaps most famous because its leader, Lord Edward, was the victim of an attempted assassination in June 1272.¹² Edward was able to fight off, and kill, the assassin, but was wounded by a poisoned dagger which caused him ill health. He departed Acre on 24 September 1272 after Hugh III, king of Jerusalem, had signed a peace treaty with Baibars,

⁶ Paris, V, pp. 457–8; Bjorn Weiler, 'Matthew Paris', 71–92 (pp. 72–3).

⁷ Tyerman, *England*, p. 124.

⁸ Michael Lower, *The Tunis Crusade of 1270: A Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 76.

⁹ Thomas Wykes, 'Chronicon Vulgo Dictum Chronicon Thomae Wykes', in *Annales Monastici*, ed. by Henry Richard Luard, Rolls Series, 36, 5 vols (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1864–69), IV (1869), pp. 217–8.

¹⁰ Walter of Guisborough, *Chronicon domini Walteri de Hemingburgh*, ed. by Hans Claude Hamilton, 2 vols (London: Sumptibus Societatis, 1848), I, p. 333; Wykes, IV, p. 245.

¹¹ Edward managed to capture Nazareth and, according to Guisborough, win a victory over the Mamluks on 24 June 1271. Guisborough, I, p. 333; Tyerman, *England*, p. 125.

¹² The assassination attempt is recorded in almost all accounts of the crusade, for examples see: Guisborough, I, pp. 334–36; William Rishanger, *Monachi S. Albani, Chonica*, in *Wil. Rishanger Chronica et Annales.*, ed. by H. T. Riley, Rolls Series, 5 vols (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862), II, pp. 1–233 (pp. 69–70); *Annales Londonienses*, in *The Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I. and Edward II*, ed. by William Stubbs, Rolls Series, 76, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1882), I, pp. 1–253 (p. 81). The assassination attempt is not included in Bartholomew de Cotton's *Historia Anglicana* which only has very brief mentions to the crusade throughout.

which limited any further activity that could be undertaken in the East.¹³ Edward was informed of the death of his father, Henry III, when he reached Sicily on 19 November 1272, but only returned to England on 2 August 1274 following a slow overland journey home.¹⁴

There is a fairly substantial corpus of scholarship around Edward's crusade, especially when compared to other, larger expeditions, such as the Second or Fifth Crusades. Although no monographs have been devoted to Edward's crusade, several scholars have analysed the venture. Bruce Beebe wrote an article discussing the participants (1977) and Christopher Tyerman and Simon Lloyd both analysed the crusade in their respective studies on English crusading (both 1998). The crusade has also received significant coverage in works by Kathryn Hurlock and Michael Prestwich.¹⁵ Alongside these more modern studies of the crusade, there are also several older works which analyse and discuss the crusade, though none truly deal with it in the detail or the scrutiny of the later works listed above, especially in regard to the recruitment and fundraising aspects to the crusade.¹⁶ The amount of secondary literature covering the so called Ninth Crusade sets it apart from the others in this thesis.

Edward's crusade is covered in multiple chronicles from across England, including Yorkshire, both contemporary to events and from the years following its conclusion. The most detailed account of Edward's crusade comes from the Yorkshire chronicler Walter of Guisborough.

Guisborough, writing from the Priory of St Mary in Guisborough, located near Bridlington in

¹³ Guisborough, I, p. 337. The peace treaty had been signed in May, and had further limited what Edward was able to do in the East.

¹⁴ Guisborough, I, p. 337; Wykes, IV, pp. 253, 259.

¹⁵ Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (London: Methuen London, 1988), pp. 66–85. Hurlock tackles the crusading period and its relationship to Britain and Ireland in a thematic manner, leading to the analysis of the crusade being spread over multiple chapters.

¹⁶ Examples of older studies are, 'Études sur les derniers temps du royaume de Jérusalem. A: La croisade du Prince Édouard d'Angleterre (1270–1274)', *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, I (1881), 617–32, which contains an appendix of crusaders (pp. 630–2). This appendix contains no names which are not included in other appendixes such as Beebe, Lloyd, or Mumford. There is also a list of those who are included recorded in the Patent Rolls as receiving protection to go on crusade in, 'Convention Between Prince Edward, Afterwards King Edward I. and Louis IX (St. Louis), with other Documents, Relative to Edward's Crusade to the Holy Land', in *Excerpta Historica, or, Illustrations of English History*, ed. by Samuel Bentley (London: Richard Bentley, 1833), pp. 266–75 (pp. 271–4); Mumford also contains an appendix of crusaders for the period 1216–7.

the East Riding, was a contemporaneous chronicler to the crusade, finishing his chronicle in the first decade of the fourteenth century.¹⁷ The record of the crusade is relatively brief, however, and the chronicle does not go into much detail about the events in the East with roughly a quarter of the account being dedicated to the assassination attempt in 1272.¹⁸ This fits within the general pattern for the records of the crusade which are often condensed down to two or three pages, with most of the record being focused on the attempted assassination. This sets the recording of Edward's crusade apart from the pattern seen in England, in which largescale crusading ventures being recorded in great detail by contemporaneous writers, especially if they were headed by an English royal figurehead. For example, the crusade of Richard the Lionheart is documented in depth by writers such as Roger of Howden and William of Newburgh, and, despite its much smaller scale, the Barons' Crusade receives considerable coverage by Matthew Paris.¹⁹

Lord Edward's Crusade Promotion

Preparations for what would become the Lord Edward's Crusade began in 1263 under the direction of Pope Urban IV. Urban stated that there was a minimum term of one year for those who were engaged with preaching a crusade to the Holy Land, or collecting for it. It was also at this point, however, that a precedent for supporting crusading in Europe was becoming established. Although promotion for a crusade to the East was encouraged, a clear priority was being set for wars within Europe, especially against Manfred Hohenstaufen in Sicily, with full indulgences being given to those who fought in the war, or sent a substitute to fight on their

¹⁷ Peter A. Linehan, 'The English Mission of Cardinal Petrus Hispanus, the Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, and News from Castile at Carlisle (1307)', *English Historical Review*, 142 (2002), 605–621 (p. 605); John Taylor, 'Guisborough [Hemingford, Hemingburgh], Walter of', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12892>>. There is some debate relating to Walter's name, with him also being referred to as Walter of Hemingburgh, though due to the manuscript evidence, Walter of Guisborough seems the most probable name.

¹⁸ *Guisborough*, I, pp. 330–7. For the assassination attempt, pp. 334–6.

¹⁹ Paris also covers crusades which did not have the same levels of participation by English participants such as the First Crusade of Louis IX. Paris, V, pp. 138–175

behalf, for just three months.²⁰ Although the anti-Hohenstaufen Crusade drew little interest from England, the mechanics of preaching crusades against enemies of the papacy within Europe were put to use to try and bring peace to England. Cardinal Gui Foulquois was given permission to preach a crusade against the baronial rebels, led by Simon de Montfort, earl of Derby, who were trying to wrest political control away from Henry III in what has become known as the Second Barons' War.²¹ There is no surviving material to suggest how many of those who fought in the war were given indulgences, or signed up for the war as a crusader or due to the benefits that were offered, so it is impossible to know how successful the policy was in Yorkshire. It does indicate that there could have been some form of organised recruitment strategy for the war which used crusading indulgences at its core. This would suggest that those who went on crusade in 1270 who had fought with Edward against the rebels would have already technically redeemed a crusade vow during the war. Despite this, only three years after the conclusion of the civil war a large number of Yorkshire men took the cross with the intention of heading to the East. This suggests that there was a certain level of prestige attached to crusading to the Holy Land which could not be obtained from wars fought within Christendom. This fits into a general pattern seen across the crusading period which suggests that Yorkshire landholders only perceived a crusade as being a 'proper crusade' if it went to the East. There is no evidence for participation from the county on crusades outside of the traditional East focused expeditions and it seems that the redemption of a vow in England, as seen as part of the First Barons' War, did little to deter others from taking the cross following its completion; instead, it appears to have encouraged further participation.

Evidence for the promotion of Edward's crusade following the conclusion of the Second Barons' War in Yorkshire is lacking. The response to any form of recruitment is equally scant,

²⁰ Purcell, p. 83.

²¹ *Les Registres d'Urban IV*, II (1900), pp. 300–02 (nos. 595, 596, 597, 609, 610). These orders can be seen in five letters, largely clustered at the end of 1263, two from 22 November 1263 (nos. 595 and 597), 27 November 1263 (no. 596), 13 December 1263 (no. 610), and 19 March 1264 (no. 609); Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 67.

and there is no evidence for any individual taking a crusade vow before Edward fully committed to the venture and took the cross along with others at Northampton in 1268.²² This reflects a general pattern seen across all crusades with significant English involvement. When looking at crusaders from Yorkshire taking the cross it was not until the proposed leader of the crusade has taken the cross that others were prepared to do so.

It may have been the case that individuals viewed crusading as a way of improving their social networks and with no opportunity to do this, they did not see much value in departing for the East. It is clear that crusades did serve as a means of improving social standing and person relationships between crusaders. Individuals gaining prominence following the culmination of a crusade forms a pattern seen throughout the crusading period where those who travelled to the East were able to bring themselves into close contact with high ranking individuals and strengthen their ties with them. For example, on the Third Crusade Robert of Turham, Baldwin de Béthune, and Gerard I de Furnival were all able to benefit from proving themselves to Richard the Lionheart and were rewarded with lands and managed to cement their places at the upper end of English politics into the reign of King John. The opportunity to advance their careers and improve their social standing must have served as a strong motivating factor for those deciding whether they should take the cross and head to the East.

Following the culmination of Lord Edward's Crusade the same pattern emerges with individuals present in the East gaining a closer relationship with their lord following their return from the East. Adam and John de Monte Alto were both with Edward in the Holy Land and both witnesses to charters issued by Edward following his return to England.²³ Adam remained close to Edward and enjoyed a long career as a royal servant. He was still close with Edward in 1300 when he joined him on his campaign into Scotland.²⁴ His brother, John de

²² Tyerman, *England*, p. 126.

²³ *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I (1272–1307), From the Charter Rolls in the Public Record Office*, ed. by Richard Huscroft (Surrey: The List and Index Society, 2000), p. 6.

²⁴ *Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons, Together with the Records and Muniments Relating to the Suit and Service due and Performed to the King's High Court of Parliament and the*

Monte Alto, does not have the same prominence but, as with Adam, he witnessed Edward's royal charters following their return from the Holy Land.²⁵ Whilst John de Vescy was from a very wealthy and powerful Yorkshire household he had rebelled against the king and played a prominent role in the civil war. The change in nature of his relationship with Edward is highlighted by John's inclusion in the witness lists of Edward's charters immediately following his return from the crusade. John appears in the witness list of Edward's royal charter, issued on 5 October 1274.²⁶ From this point John appears in five of the twenty charters from the following year, and in seven of the twenty-two from the year after that.²⁷ John continues to appear regularly as a witness to Edward's charters until his death in 1289. In 1273, following the culmination of the crusade, John was made governor of Scarborough castle. In 1275 he was placed in command of a Scottish force which was sent to the Isle of Man, which was under Scottish control, to quash the rebellion of Godred Magnusson who was attempting to establish himself as the king of the island.²⁸ He also accompanied Edward on his Welsh wars in 1277.²⁹ John's closeness with Edward is best shown following his death as John's heart was removed from his body and buried at Blackfriars alongside those of Edward's wife, Eleanor of Castile, and Edward's son, Alfonso.³⁰ It shows that individuals were motivated to go to the East as it provided an opportunity for advancement or securing their personal relationships with their lords.

Councils of the Realm, or Affording Evidence of Attendance Given at Parliaments and Councils, ed. by Francis Palgrave (London: George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1827), p. 792.

²⁵ *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I (1272–1307)*, p. 6.

²⁶ *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I (1272–1307)*, p. 2.

²⁷ *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I (1272–1307)*, pp. 3–4. The witness lists of nine of the charters do not survive; *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I (1272–1307)*, pp. 6–8.

²⁸ Macquarrie, *Scotland*, p. 60. The rebellion was easily subdued and control of the Isle of Mann became more secure than it had been before the outset of the war due to Alexander III, king of Scotland, installing his son as Lord of Mann following its culmination.

²⁹ Michael Prestwich, *Edward I: War Politics and Finance* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), p. 239.

³⁰ Michael Prestwich, 'Isabella de Vescy and the Custody of Bamburgh Castle', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 44 (1971), 148–52 (p. 149). Prestwich also indicates that the marriage between John and Isabella was in part due to his close relationship with Edward. Isabella was related to Edward's wife, Eleanor of Castile, via her great-grandfather, Alfonso IX of Leon.

Due to the lack of evidence related to the promotion of the crusade and that most of the evidence for identifying participants is found in administrative documents, such as the Close and Patent Rolls, it is unknown when the majority of Yorkshire's crusaders would have taken the cross and made their vow to go on crusade. These documents do display the date on which crusaders were granted letters of protection for their lands or crusade licences which indicates that they may have taken the cross by this date, but little more can be learned from them regarding the promotion of the crusade.

Lord Edward's Crusade Preparation

Edward's crusade demonstrated a more centralised form of crusade finance than its predecessors. There were three major crusade tithes collected in the period examined in this chapter: 1252, 1274, and 1290.³¹ There is no surviving evidence for the collection of these funds, or how much was raised from Yorkshire. There is evidence for a centralised tax that was raised to fund Edward's crusade in 1268, however.³² At the time the tax was raised, England's royal finances were in difficult straits, meaning that it was nearly impossible for the crown to contribute towards covering costs of the upcoming venture.³³ The decision to raise the tax was made only after several parliaments had met to discuss the issue.³⁴ The first of these parliaments was held at York in 1268, with a further six occurring over the next eighteen months.³⁵ One of the results of the parliaments, held at Westminster in October 1268, was the election of John de Balliol as the person who would oversee the collection of the tax in

³¹ An overview of the Crusade taxes collected in England between 1241 and 1291 can be found in: Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 435–60.

³² For full details on the tax, how it was raised, and its conception, see: J. R. Maddicott, 'The Crusade Taxation of 1268–1270 and the Development of Parliament', *Thirteenth Century England II: Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference 1987*, ed. by P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1987), pp. 93–118.

³³ Maddicott, 'Crusade Taxation', p. 94. England's financial state was so dire that in 1266 Pope Clement IV had granted Henry III a tenth of clerical revenues to help cover Henry's debts and other financial obligations.

³⁴ Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland & the Crusades*, p. 55.

³⁵ The number parliaments held in this period is more than at any other point during the reign of Henry III. The dates and locations of all seven of these parliaments are listed in Maddicott, 'Crusade Taxation', p. 177.

Yorkshire.³⁶ There is no evidence for the exact mechanics of the collection of the tax or the tithes, and no information about how much money was raised or how it was spent. It is known, however that the tax was collected successfully and raised £30,000 for the crusade.³⁷ Money for the crusade was also raised through legacies and redemptions.³⁸ This allowed for money which had previously been promised, or the vows of those who had been unable to travel to the Holy Land to be redeemed in exchange for money, to be gathered and used to fund Edward's expedition. There is no evidence for how these redemptions were collected in Yorkshire, or how much, if any, funds were raised from them. Despite these different methods of raising funds for the crusades the total amount collected fell short of what was needed which meant that Edward was also forced to take out loans from Louis IX, king of France, to help to cover the costs of his crusading which amounted to 70,000 *livre tournois*.³⁹

The financing of the crusade was heavily structured around contracts. Lord Edward paid 100 marks to each knight who he was able to contract in 1270.⁴⁰ The fact that the knights who were brought into his service were being paid centrally was likely not a new feature for Edward's crusade. Richard I had offered to pay knights who came into his service at Acre during the Third Crusade, and the French King Louis IX had paid money to those who decided to remain in the East following their release from captivity in 1250.⁴¹ It was however, the first time that these contracts had been recorded in such detail in England and the first time that there is evidence for contracts which had been issued to knights prior to the departure.

³⁶ *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office A.D. 1264–1268* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937), p. 557. *Comitatus Ebor', Northumbr', Cumb', Westmerl' et comitatus Lanc' assentiunt in Johannem de Balliolo Robertum de Ros, Eustachium de Balliolo, et Adam de Gesemuh' ut ipsi ordinent et disponant in comitatibus predictis de auxilio domino regi concessio.*

³⁷ Tyerman, *England*, p. 127. A levy was also placed upon the Jews, but they were unable to pay due to the fiscal exploitation they had endured through the previous decades.

³⁸ William E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England, to 1327* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1939), p. 447.

³⁹ Tyerman, *England*, p. 127.

⁴⁰ Simon Lloyd, 'Crusader Knights and the Land Market in the Thirteenth Century', in *Thirteenth Century England II: Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference 1987*, ed. by P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1988), pp. 119–137 (p. 119).

⁴¹ Joinville, *The Life of Saint Louis*, in *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. and trans. by Margaret R. B. Shaw (London: Penguin, 1963), pp. 161–353 (pp. 273–4).

Unlike when Richard I took knights into his service at the siege of Acre during the Third Crusade, a contract from Edward's crusade survives. The surviving contract was issued to Adam of Jesmond, a knight from Northumberland, who was contracted to travel to the East with five knights. Adam's contract gives details to the amount of money he was to receive, and that the funds were to cover all expenses, specifying that transport to the Holy Land had already been taken out of the money he was to receive.

And in return he has given me, to cover all expenses, six hundred marks in money and transport, that is to say, the hire of a ship and water for as many persons and horses as are appropriate for knights⁴²

The contract states that it is also intended to cover provisioning those needed to support knights which shows both that the crusade included non-combatants, and that they were deemed important enough to be supported through central financing. It is not explained what type of support was considered of 'appropriate for knights', likely intentionally, so it is impossible to know who was travelling with the knights.⁴³ However, if the charter of John de Lacy, signed at Damietta during the Fifth Crusade, is suggestive of the retinue of a knight, it is likely that travelling with the knights making the journey to the East would have been professions such as cooks, medics, porters, and tanners, and possibly members of the clergy such as clerics would have travelled with the knights.⁴⁴ These contracts offer one of the rare glimpses into the make-up of the contingents of the Lord Edward's Crusade beyond the recorded names of the knights and land holders who obtained permissions to go to the East.

Although the surviving contract was not one which was issued to a Yorkshire crusader, it would likely have been similar to the ones given to the Lord Edmund, Walter de Percy, and Adam de

⁴² A translated version of the contract can be found in: *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291*, ed. by Jessalynn L. Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 431.

⁴³ Lloyd, *English Society*, pp. 118–19. Lloyd laments the lack of specificity in the contract with a particular focus on number of other ranks and types of horses each knight was bringing with him, drawing comparisons in its vagueness to the much more detailed contracted handed out to English soldiers later in the period.

⁴⁴ *The Chartulary of St. John*, ed. by Richard Holmes, 2 vols (Leeds: The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1899), I, pp. 36–7.

Monte Alto. All these men were contracted by Edward to travel with him to the Holy Land with a specified number of knights in their service. This number varied greatly, with Edmund being contracted to bring ninety-nine knights with him, and Adam de Monte Alto contracted to bring only one. The number of knights was likely affected by the influence of the contracted individual. Of the records which survive, the most powerful individuals, Lord Edmund, William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and Henry of Almain, the son of Richard, earl of Cornwall, were contracted to bring the most knights, ninety-nine, nineteen and fourteen respectively, with them to the East.⁴⁵ Smaller landowners, such as Adam de Monte Alto and Walter de Percy were only expected to bring one and three knights respectively.

As with the other thirteenth century crusades, there is little evidence for individual fundraising. This suggests that in the majority of cases, the contracts and the money being given to crusaders offered either ample funds to cover their crusading costs or enough that individuals did not have to alienate lands on a large scale to afford the pilgrimage.⁴⁶ Although the evidence for individual fundraising is lower than seen for the Third Crusade, there is still evidence for it happening. Lord Edmund is the most high-profile individual who can be seen undertaking individual fundraising: he is recorded as alienating the vill Little Kelke (East Riding) to the prior and convent of Bridlington in return for £80.⁴⁷ Alongside Edmund there are two other examples of property sales or alienation which can be linked to the crusade. Simon de Henesale is recorded as leasing out his lands in Roecliffe (North Riding) to the abbot of Selby for six years and William fitz Ralph is recorded as selling land in Great Edstone (North Riding)

⁴⁵ Bruce Beebe, 'The English Baronage and the Crusade of 1270', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 48 (1975), 127–48 (p. 142).

⁴⁶ Christopher Tyerman has argued that the idea of paid crusaders is not one that developed through the thirteenth century, but was a fixture throughout the crusading period, Christopher Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (Milton Keynes: Penguin Random House, 2015), p. 202.

⁴⁷ Edmund can also be seen selling property outside of his Yorkshire possessions. On 30 August 1270, he sold the Welsh Lordship of Rhys ap Maredudd, to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd for 5,000 marks *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 502; p. 514. He was also able to call on other revenue streams such as being granted 2,000 marks raised by the Justices in Eyre next time they passed through Lincolnshire through fines, amercements, and other issues on 4 February 1271.

for nine marks of silver.⁴⁸ Permission was also granted to Edmund and Eustace de Baliol to lease out property at the time of the crusade with the likely intention of raising funds for the expedition. Furthermore, on 1 April 1270 Edmund was granted a licence to let out all of his lands, with the exception of his castles and fortresses for seven years.⁴⁹ There are various examples of Edmund leasing property in subsequent entries in the Patent Rolls from 1270 and 1271, all likely as means to raise funds to pay his crusade costs.⁵⁰ Eustace de Balliol was also granted permission to lease out his manors of Leavington, Skelton, Gamblesby, Glassonby, and *Quarlynton*, all of which he held in chief, for four years.⁵¹

The amount of surviving material from the thirteenth century increases through the period. One area where this development is most evident is in episcopal records as, beginning with Walter de Gray, who was archbishop from 1215 to 1255, the archbishops of York began to keep registers.⁵² The amount of information found within the registers through the period 1241–91 which can be linked to crusading is much greater than it was for previous crusades, perhaps indicating the archbishops had greater level of influence over the promotion and funding of crusading at a local level. There are also records for crusaders alienating property or receiving money to help to facilitate their pilgrimage to the East. This type of record is far lower than is seen for the Third Crusade which is understandable given that subsidies for English crusaders did not begin until the 1230s or 1240s, and, it was only from the Barons' Crusade that money raised in England from vow redemptions, gifts, fines, and legacies was used to support English crusaders rather than being sent directly to the East.⁵³ Walter Giffard contributed to the costs of three crusaders. Walter gave Lord Edward a gift of 100 marks to

⁴⁸ *Coucher Book of Selby*, II, p. 84; *Feet of Fines*, p. 176.

⁴⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 419.

⁵⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, pp. 428, 457.

⁵¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 441. Leavington is located in the North Riding. Skelton could refer to either the North or East Ridings, and Gamblesby and Blassonby are both located in Cumberland.

⁵² Walter Gray, *The Register of Walter Gray, Lord Archbishop of York*, ed. by James Raine (London: Surtees Society, 1870), p. viii. Walter was the first archbishop in England to keep a register.

⁵³ Lloyd, *English Society*, pp. 148–49.

help fund his crusade.⁵⁴ He also gave 20 marks to Richard de Glen and 12d. to an individual recorded as Spiritot.⁵⁵ This would, if costs from the Third Crusade are used as a gauge, be enough money to support Richard for thirty-three days and Spiritot in for twenty days.⁵⁶ In all three cases there is no record of anything being given in return for the money, and due to the amounts given, it is possible that the archbishop was contributing to the crusading fund of an individual who had already committed to going on crusade. It could be the case that the money was being given to ensure that then individuals in question had the minimum needed to participate. The monks at Fountains Abbey are also recorded as giving £40 to John II, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to support him in the Holy Land.⁵⁷

The exact source of the funds paid out by Walter Giffard and the monks at Fountains is unknown. The money could have been drawn from personal or institutional funds, or the grants could be an example of how crusading funds collected within institutions were distributed. None of the records give an indication that the money was being given with an expectation of being repaid and could show that an institution had a desire to be attached to a crusader. The grants, which appear to have been given to anyone who needed them, and not withheld from the lower social groups, are representative in their value of the individual they are being given to. The amount of money being given to Spiritot, who appears to come from the lower ends of society because he does not appear any other records from the period and is not recorded amongst those who received a protection for lands, was far lower than the large sums given out to Lord Edward or the Earl of Richmond. This difference in the money being given to each individual may represent what was expected to be needed to survive in the Holy

⁵⁴ Giffard, p. 123; Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade 1216–1307* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 177. It is probable this gift was given to support one knight in the Holy Land as Edward gave 100 marks to each knight he contracted into his service.

⁵⁵ Giffard, pp. 116, 124; Lloyd, p. 177.

⁵⁶ Alan V. Murray, 'Money and Logistics in the Forces of the First Crusade: Coinage, Bullion, Service, and Supply, 1096–99' in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades: Proceedings of a Workshop Held at the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Sydney, 30 September to 4 October 2002*, ed. by John H. Pryor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 229–50 (p. 231).

⁵⁷ *Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains*, II, p. 11.

Land for a year depending on their role. It is perhaps an indication that Spirot was simply going to the East alongside the army, or separately as a pilgrim, rather than a combatant who would have had equipment which needed to be maintained and other followers to support.

Lord Edward's Crusade Participation

Due to the limited coverage of the crusade in the chronicle evidence, the administrative records of crusaders are the primary way of identifying those who potentially took part. A large number of the crusaders from Yorkshire who appear to have taken vows to travel to the East can be identified through their inclusion in the lists of crusaders receiving licence or a protection for their upcoming crusading in the Patent Rolls and the Close Rolls. Licences were issued by the crown to crusaders which gave them permission to sell property to finance their crusading.⁵⁸ By the time of Edward's crusade, protections had become standardised, and were a basic way of securing a crusader's personal and property safety. A protection stated that an individual along with his men, lands, rent, and all possessions were taken under royal protection and that he and his possessions should be maintained, protected, and defended for four years to allow for the completion of his crusade.⁵⁹ Due to the nature of the sources for the crusade, especially the limited coverage in the contemporary chronicles, it is difficult to know how many of those included in the records acted upon their vows, or their requests for a licence to depart on the crusade.

The number of individuals requesting licences and protection is still significant, however, and shows the appetite for being involved in the crusade. Most of the entries in the rolls are found in groups, such as those found on 10 May, 12 May, 25 May, 26 June, and 28 June 1270.⁶⁰ They also record that the bulk of protections and licences for crusaders connected to Yorkshire were

⁵⁸ Lloyd, p. 174.

⁵⁹ Lloyd, p. 166.

⁶⁰ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry III* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1891), vol VI, pp. 479–80.

granted after 10 June 1270 in a pronounced burst of activity.⁶¹ A second long list covers the period 13 July to 16 July 1270.⁶² The rolls are problematic when trying to determine when an individual may have taken the cross. The first set of names included in the Patent Rolls, dated 10 May 1270, include the Yorkshire men William de Latimer and Ellis de Rolleston among its eleven entries, and the ten individuals recorded as receiving letters of protection on, 12 May, including the Yorkshire landowner Walter de Percy.⁶³ Edward, the leader of the crusade, did not receive his letter of protection until 23 May, nearly two weeks after the first people to receive them and eleven days after his wife, Eleanor of Castile, who received her letter on 12 May.⁶⁴ Edward is recorded as taking the cross, with a great number of others, at Westminster on 24 June 1268. It is unlikely that Edward would not have been the first to take the cross, so the order in which the protections are being granted is curious and likely not reflective of the point at, or order in which, people took the cross. Due to the large gap of two years between Edward taking the cross and the crusade protections and licences being granted, it is likely that all those who intended to go to the East would have already taken their vows before the process of obtaining a licence began.

Similarly, because of the two years which had passed between Edward taking his vow to go to the East, and the protections and licences being granted, it is likely that individuals who intended to go on crusade would have also already known who they planned to travel with.

The fact that there are no clear connections or patterns between the potential crusaders who were given protections or licences on particular dates implies that the licences and protections were not applied for in batches by leaders of groups within the contingents. Larger landowners, such as John de Vescy, did not apply for licences and protections for all the men

⁶¹ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 144. This appears to have been motivated by advice given by Richard of Cornwall who appears to have been influential in helping to organise the crusade; *Close Rolls, 1268–72*, p. 500.

⁶² *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1268–72*, pp. 439–40.

⁶³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1268–72*, p. 479. William Mowbray is also recorded as receiving his letter of protection on 12 May, but is included in a separate, smaller list. The reason behind the lists being separated is unclear.

⁶⁴ *Patent Rolls*, p. 479.

who would accompany them. Instead, crusade licences and protections were obtained on an individual basis. In the case of the groups of crusaders from May, June, and July 1270, there is no evidence indicating that they shared a regional connection. The individuals were involved are from various regions across England, and there are no apparent indications of their involvement in specific kinship networks or that they were linked through patronage or other obligations. This is to say, official documentation was not being given out, or applied for, based on who might be travelling together, who may have taken the cross together, or simply based on geography – all Yorkshire licences were not granted in one go, for example. There is no evidence to suggest how an individual would apply for, or receive confirmation of, their protection or licence. Due to this, it is not known whether all the prospective crusaders had to travel to London to apply or receive confirmation, whether the process was done at a distance via letters, or through a more localised system.

Riding	Crusader Name	Totals
North	Antony Bek, Eustace de Baliol, John de Arden, John de Romundby, John de Vescy, John II, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, Luke de Tany ⁶⁵ , Philip de Wilughby, Richard de Glen, Robert Neuton, Simon de Henesale, William de Everley, William fitzRalph ⁶⁶ , William Giffard, William Mowbray	15
East	Ellis de Rolleston, Henry le Waley ⁶⁷ , John de Goer, Juliana de Goer, John de Mowbray, Nicholas de Marton, Robert de Marton, Richard fitzHenry, Peter de Chaumpayne, Walter de Percy, William Latimer, William de Holm, William fitzLawrence de Nafferton, Edmund Crouchback	14
West	Adam de Monte Alto, John de Selleston, Richard de Styveton, Robert de Halton, Simon de Monte Alto	5

⁶⁵ Luke had links to the West Riding as he was constable of both Knaresborough (North Riding) and Tickhill (West Riding).

⁶⁶ Held land in all three Ridings, biggest holdings were in the North Riding.

⁶⁷ Henry also had connections to the West Riding.

Unknown	John de Monte Alto, Richard Turpin, Spirot	3
Total	-	37

Figure 1: A table showing a breakdown of participants on Edward's Crusade by Riding. The thirty-seven identified participants for Edward's Crusade with links to Yorkshire is the highest for any of the crusades which have been examined in this thesis. From Figure 1, it is possible to see that the distribution of crusaders was uneven between the three Ridings, with the evidence showing that the highest representation of crusaders came from the North and East Ridings which had fifteen and fourteen identified participants respectively. The lowest contribution comes from the West Riding where only five of Yorkshire's participants on Edward's crusade are identified as residing. There are crusaders, such as Luke de Tany, Henry de Waley, and William fitzRalf, who had interests in the West Riding, though it is apparent that they held more sizable or valuable assets in other Ridings. This would still not affect its ranking of the lowest supplier of participants, however.

It appears that ties of patronage were very important and the number of crusaders on the crusade was directly affected by influential landowners from a particular Riding. Significant landholders from the North and East Ridings were present on the crusade, but not from the West Riding. Examples from the North Riding include the Earls of Richmond and John de Vescy, whilst Lord Edmund was a landholder in the East Riding. Edmund is known to have pre-existing ties to various northern barons, one of whom was fellow crusader Walter de Percy, who witnessed several of Edmund's charters and to whom Edmund leased his manor at Manchester.⁶⁸ The presence of earls and large landholders appear to be the key in determining a successful recruitment for a crusade in Yorkshire. This is reinforced through the attempt to launch a crusade in 1287 when Edward took the cross for a second time. In this case no Yorkshire landowners appear to have taken the cross with Edward, or immediately following

⁶⁸ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 111; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 425. Walter in turn leased it to Peter de Greyleye in 1270.

his vow, and in turn there is no evidence for any form of response to the king taking the cross from further down the social hierarchy.⁶⁹

Alongside ties of patronage, there are other clear links between crusaders. The most obvious of these is the connection between John de Goer and Juliana de Goer who were a married couple when they went to the East. They are the only example of a married couple going on the crusade other than Edward and his wife, Eleanor of Castile. It is also the first example of a woman linked to Yorkshire going on a crusade since the Fifth Crusade (1217–21). John de Goer was appointed as an attorney for his fellow Yorkshire crusader John de Arden, suggesting a close link between the pair.⁷⁰ A pre-crusade relationship is also clear in the case of John de Vescy and Edmund who were both educated together.⁷¹ This pre-existing relationship was likely influential in John being able to regain royal trust and favour during the crusade. John de Vescy also had ties to Robert de Halton prior to the crusade as John is recorded as pardoning Robert in Northumberland following his rebellion against the crown during the Second Barons' War.⁷²

Richard de Styveton was present on the crusade as a substitute for Peter de Percy. This agreement would have been like the one seen on the Third Crusade, which involved Roger the Poitevin arranging for his brother, Hugh, to travel to the Holy Land in his place in return for being granted lands in Normanton.⁷³ Details surrounding the arrangement between Richard and Peter are limited so it is unknown what lands or money changed hands between them when agreement was finalised. Peter's use of a substitute shows that it was still incredibly important for members of Yorkshire society to complete their crusade vows, even if this was

⁶⁹ The lack of response from Edward's earls to his crusade vow is discussed in: Andrew M. Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship in Medieval England: The Earls and Edward I, 1272–1307* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 225–7.

⁷⁰ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 109; Close Rolls, p. 282.

⁷¹ T. F. Tout, revised by H. W. Ridgeway, Vescy, John de, *Dictionary of National Biography* (2005), doi: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28254>>.

⁷² *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 286.

⁷³ *EYC*, III, p. 248, no. 1573. See the relevant chapter in this thesis for more information about Roger.

done through a proxy. Much as in the case of Henry the Young King in 1183 or Roger le Poitevin on the Third Crusade, Peter was sending a trusted individual to the East.⁷⁴ It was clearly important that the person felt that the substitute was both willing and able to complete the vow. It perhaps indicates a knowledge and understanding of the dangers and difficulties of crusade and that it required a significant level of commitment from the substitute and an equal amount of trust from the individual who took the original vow.

The Close and Patent Rolls are valuable sources for identifying crusaders as they record the names of over thirty people from Yorkshire who travelled on Edward's Crusade. The reason for these records to be split across the two types of rolls was likely motivated by their function as those included in the Close Rolls were receiving a licence to go on crusade, whereas the individuals recorded in the Patent Rolls were receiving protections for their lands. The Close Rolls were records of private communications; sealed letters which had been sent to the recipient.⁷⁵ Conversely, the Patent Rolls were formed of more public information and contain a wide variety of documents such as administration of finances, jurisdiction, and, perhaps most pertinent to this point, letters of protection.⁷⁶ In the case of crusaders, it appears that receiving a licence was personal, and was not made public knowledge. On the other hand, placing your lands under the protection of the crown was a public act and was thus contained in the Patent Rolls.

From the records of crusaders connected to Yorkshire, protections were far more popular, easily obtained, or necessary than licences. There are only seven examples of licences being granted to individuals, whereas twenty-six protections are recorded as being given to Yorkshire crusaders. The reasons for this large disparity are unclear, and the lack of

⁷⁴ Matthew Strickland, *Henry the Young King 1155–1183* (London: Yale University Press, 2016), p.308.

⁷⁵ Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley, 2012), p. 91.

⁷⁶ *A Description of the Patent Rolls in the Tower of London: To Which is Added an Itinerary of King John, with Prefatory Observations*, ed. by Thomas Duffus Hardy (London: G. Eyre and A. Spottiswoode, 1835), pp. 1-2.

information surrounding the specifics of what each offered and the process the individual had to undertake to gain them makes it impossible to draw any concrete conclusions. There appears to be no correlation between which crusaders received either a licence or a protection, that is to say, the wealth of crusaders, for example, did not determine which of the two they received. It does seem clear though, that the processes to obtain a licence or a protection were separate to each other, as, with the exception of John of Ardern, who received both a licence and a protection, each of the recorded crusaders appears in either the Close or Patent Rolls and received either a licence or a protection.⁷⁷ Indeed, a crusader who received a licence did not also receive a protection or vice versa. With this in mind, it appears that those who received licences to go on crusade were not placing their lands under royal protection, or at the very least, were not being recorded as doing so. It is possible that the licence to go on crusade contained all the benefits which were gained from a royal protection as they were coming from the same source, but it would seem odd not to record that aspect of the licence in the Patent Rolls. It could be the case that, as crusaders already received papal protection for their property, between a licence giving them permission to go to the East and the papal protection, they deemed their property to be secure.⁷⁸

It is unlikely that licences and protections were sought out by every individual who took a vow as not all crusaders are recorded as receiving one. It is also apparent, for the same reason, that the application for one was not part of the formal process of taking the cross, so all the individuals who received one must have intentionally applied for it. This makes the fact that Juliana de Goer was granted a licence particularly interesting. Although there had never been a specific ban imposed on women joining a crusade, the Church had tried hard to dissuade women, and other non-combatants, from taking part in a crusading expedition. One of the ways it had tried to do this was through the offer of full spiritual benefits of a crusading vow in

⁷⁷ *Close Rolls*, p. 282; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 480.

⁷⁸ *The Crusades: An Encyclopaedia*, ed. by Alan V. Murray, 4 vols (Oxford: ABC Clio, 2006), IV, p. 1234.

return for money which could be used to support active crusaders.⁷⁹ The fact that Juliana received a licence to go on crusade suggests that she was determined to go to the East, rather than follow the practice of simply exchanging her vow for a cash payment. As noted above, not all crusaders are listed as receiving letters of protection or a licence to go on crusade. Of Yorkshire's crusaders, five do not appear to have received either a letter or a licence and do not appear in the Close or Patent Rolls in relation to the crusade at all. This indicates that the security offered from official protections was certainly desirable for crusaders from Yorkshire, but those who did not receive it were not necessarily deterred from departing for the East.

Simon Lloyd analysed the origins of the members of the two English contingents which departed for Tunis in 1270.⁸⁰ The basis for this work was looking at the dates on which protections and licences for the crusade were granted. If they were granted following Edward's departure, participants have been placed into the contingent with Edmund. If this idea is followed, then the breakdown of the contingents is shown in figure 2.

Contingent	Number of Crusaders
Lord Edward	Adam de Monte Alto, Antony Bek, Ellis de Rollestone, Henry le Waleys, John de Arden, John de Goer, John de Monte Alto, John de Romundby, Juliana de Goer, Luke de Tany, Nicholas de Morton, Peter de Champayne, Richard fitzHenry, Richard de Styveton, Robert de Haulton, Robert de Marton, Robert de Neuton, Simon de Monte Alto, Walter de Percy, William Latimer, William Mowbray, William fitz Lawrence, William fitzRalph, , William de Everley, William Giffard, Robert de Neuton, Eustace de Balliol
Lord Edmund	Edmund, John de Vescy, Richard Turpin, Richard de Glen, William de Holm, William fitz Ralph

⁷⁹ Bernard Hamilton, 'Eleanor of Castile and the Crusading Movement', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 10 (1995), 92–103 (pp. 94–5).

⁸⁰ Lloyd, *English Society*, Appendix IV.

Unknown	John de Selleston, John II, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond ⁸¹ , Philip
Contingent	de Wilughby ⁸² , Simon de Henesale, Spiriot

Figure 2: A table showing a breakdown of which contingent Yorkshire crusaders were part of.

This breakdown of participants should be taken with some caution. Although the number of participants being much greater in Edward's contingent is to be expected as his contingent was larger than his brother's, it is impossible to say with confidence that individuals who received a licence or protection before Edward's departure were definitely in his contingent. In the case of Spiriot, who is recorded in the register of Walter Giffard as having left for the Holy Land in June of 1271, it would appear that individuals were still leaving for the East after the two main contingents had already departed.

Using the appendix that is included in Simon Lloyd's *English Society and the Crusade* to supply the numbers of participants from other counties, it is possible to understand the significant nature of Yorkshire's contribution to Edward's crusade. Of the 293 crusaders in Lloyd's appendix 8.5% were connected to Yorkshire. This places Yorkshire second only to Essex (thirty participants, 10.2%) when examining the contribution of manpower.⁸³ There are three crusaders who are not listed in Lloyd's appendix (Spiriot, John I, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, and William Mowbray), and a further seven who have connections to the county which Lloyd does not acknowledge. When taking this into account, it means that of a total of 298 crusaders connected to Edward's crusade, thirty-seven, or 12.4%, had ties to Yorkshire, making it the highest contributor of manpower for the expedition by a significant margin. This

⁸¹ John sailed with Edward from Sicily, but had initially been in the service of Louis IX, Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 144.

⁸² As Philip would be tasked with the administration of the Wardrobe from the return journey, it is likely that he would have travelled with Edward.

⁸³ Lloyd, *English Society*, Appendix IV. The next highest contributors to the crusade were Suffolk with nineteen participants, Hampshire with seventeen, Norfolk with sixteen, and Hertfordshire with fifteen.

fits with the general pattern seen across the crusading movement in which Yorkshire provided substantial manpower to expeditions which had a high number of English participants.

Despite achieving very little in the East when viewed in the context of the crusading movement, it has been argued by Henry Summerson that the crusade did serve an important purpose in English politics. Gathering together so many nobles, some of whom had been on opposite sides during the Second Barons' War, served to bring together a fractured baronage, forging links between its participants which helped to shape the administrative and political development of England following its conclusion.⁸⁴ It is more likely, however, that the crusade served to strengthen the ties between nobles who were already well acquainted with one another, rather than increase cooperation between previously warring individuals due to the low numbers of rebel barons on the crusade. Michael Prestwich has supported this view, writing that the crusade strengthened Edward's friendships with those who accompanied him on crusade due to the 'close companionship of the expedition'.⁸⁵ Of the individuals from Yorkshire, there is only evidence for two former rebels, John de Vescy and Robert de Halton, taking part on the crusade. Whilst the crusade certainly brought John de Vescy closer to Edward, the Yorkshire baron already had strong pre-existing ties to the royal family, having been educated alongside Edmund. The second rebel, Robert de Halton, was tied closely to the de Vescy family prior to the crusade and probably felt it best to take the same side as his lord.⁸⁶ Although it may have allowed him to forge relationships with other crusaders, Robert's participation on the crusade shows no signs of having an immediate impact on his career.

It is also important to mention how the country was governed during Edward's time in the East. Until 1272, Henry III continued to rule as king, but his death had the potential to cause a

⁸⁴ Henry Summerson, 'Lord Edward's Crusade (act. 1270–1274)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/94804>>.

⁸⁵ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 81. Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Allen Lane, 2006), p. 843. The Crusade also had the benefit of making Edward the only king in western Europe to have been part of a crusade which reached the Near East.

⁸⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 286.

crisis. Fortunately, Edward had left a strong network in place in the event that his father should die whilst he was on crusade. He had left his children in the care of Richard, earl of Cornwall, he had transferred the ownership of twenty-five castles into his possession and subsequently into the hands of some of his most ardent supporters. Most notably for this thesis, Edward had also left his lands under the protection of four men, and principal among them was the archbishop of York, Walter Giffard.⁸⁷ Giffard would be the first English prelate to swear an oath to Edward following Henry's death in 1272, and, according to Dobson, Giffard did more than anyone else to ensure that Edward had an untroubled accession.⁸⁸

Crusading 1274–91

There is evidence for crusade promotion and funding in Yorkshire following the culmination of the Edward's crusade. In 1274 The Archbishop of York attended the Second General Council of Lyon where Pope Gregory X called a new crusade.⁸⁹ The council was also notable for being the last instance a pope attempted to call a crusade in the thirteenth century.⁹⁰ At the council, despite resistance from England, it was ordered that a tax of a tenth for the Holy Land was to be levied on clerical incomes for the next ten years.⁹¹ In March 1275, the Church in Yorkshire began a process of absolving 238 people in the five archdeaconries of the archbishopric of York (York, East Riding, Cleveland, Richmond, and Nottingham) who were classed as crusaders (*crucesignatus*).⁹² These individuals are listed as being absolved of their crimes through the

⁸⁷ Michael Prestwich, *Plantagenet England, 1225–1360* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), p. 123. The other three were Philip Basset, the justiciar of England, Roger Mortimer, and Robert Burnell, chancellor of England. Initially, Robert Waterland had been selected for the role, but Burnell's decision to remain in the country rather than depart with Edward altered these plans.

⁸⁸ R. B. Dobson, 'The Political Role of the Archbishops of York During the Reign of Edward I', in *Thirteenth Century England III*, ed. by P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 47–74 (p. 51).

⁸⁹ Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 448.

⁹⁰ Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 7. The proposed crusade would collapse with the death of Gregory on 10 January 1276.

⁹¹ *Councils and Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), II, pp. 810–11.

⁹² *Giffard*, pp. 277–86; *Letters in Northern Registers*, pp. 46–57; A more detailed discussion of the crusaders listed in the register can be found in Ian L. Bass, 'The Crozier and the Cross: Crusading and the English Episcopate, c.1170–1313' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2019). I am grateful to Ian Bass for discussing this topic with me and sending me a copy of the relevant chapter from this thesis in 2019.

payment of fines, some of which are stated as being paid for the relief for the Holy Land.⁹³

These lists of the names of fined individuals are linked to crusading as the fines come under the heading 'a list of contributions in men and money within the diocese of York towards the crusade'.⁹⁴ Despite the fines being grouped together under this general heading, eight of the fines are stated as going to support the Holy Land specifically. Several individuals who had committed crimes are also listed as *crucesignatus*, suggesting that they had taken the cross. The reason for the fine is not given in the majority of cases, nor is the date of the offence and the date on which the fine was collected or paid, but the fines are dated to the period 1267–76, meaning that there was the potential for some of the individuals who are listed as crusaders, or some of the money collected, having contributed to Edward's crusade.⁹⁵ The value of the fines ranges from 12*d* to £100, and the status or rank of some individuals is recorded.⁹⁶

There is a number of entries where more detail is given. The most detailed is that of John of Ellerby (North Riding) who is recorded as having to pay five shillings for the Holy Land to be absolved for assault on the priest Roger of Newton.⁹⁷ In most of the cases, however, it is not known what the individuals are being fined for as their names are simply included in lists relating to specific archdeaconries. In total there are fifty-three Yorkshire men who are fined as crusaders.⁹⁸ Of these fifty-three crusaders, seven are ordered to make a subsidy to the Holy Land as their punishment, with a further individual who is not listed as a crusader having to do the same. Alongside John of Ellerby, John, son of Maude of Eston, and Henry of Rillington, are

⁹³ For examples: *Giffard*, p. 277. 'Debet [in] subsidium Terrae Sanctae.'

⁹⁴ *Letters in Northern Registers*, p. 46. This title does not appear in the edition of Giffard.

⁹⁵ It is specified that most of the fines were collected in 1276, but there is no detail as to which fines this covers.

⁹⁶ Examples of status or rank include: *Presbiter*, *Miles*, and *Laicus*. The vast majority do not have any status or rank recorded.

⁹⁷ *Giffard*, pp. 277–8. 'Et, quia idem Johannes a nobis crucis signaculo meruit insigniri, et levis fuisset seu modica injuria irrogata, eundem, auctoritate Apostolica nobis in crucis negotio attributa, in forma juris duximus absolvendum; eum ad vos remittentes taliter absolutum; et idem de bonis suis propriis impendere debet [in] subsidium Terrae Sanctae; videlicet, quinque solidos sterlingorum, cum super hoc ex parte papae fuerit requisitus.'

⁹⁸ *Giffard*, pp. 277–86; *Letters in Northern Registers*, pp. 47–58.

also accused of assaulting a priest. In the case of William of Driffield, a seemingly quarrelsome individual, the guilty party was ordered to go to the Holy Land in person to be absolved of his crime of assaulting two priests.⁹⁹ This is similar to the case of Simon Constable who is accused of adultery, and ordered to either pay a fine of £100, travel to the Holy Land, or supply a substitute.¹⁰⁰ These two cases stand apart from the others, as in the majority of cases the offender is only required to pay a contribution to the crusading fund, with no obligation to travel to the East. Furthermore, there are fourteen individuals (thirteen from Yorkshire) who were fined for the crime of being ordained without the consent of their diocesan. Of the thirteen from Yorkshire, twelve are listed as *crucesignatus*.¹⁰¹

The practice of raising funds through fines had been introduced by Innocent IV in a letter to the prior of St Jacques of Paris which ordered the preaching of the crusade of Alphonse of Poitiers, but there is no evidence to suggest whether it was occurring in England before this point.¹⁰² If the practice was in use, it was far more successfully implemented, or recorded, in 1275 than it had been during the preparations for Edward's crusade. This aggressive fundraising came as part of a series of measures to attempt to raise money for the East in the period directly following the culmination of Edward's crusade. The practice of gathering together a large number of small payments into one large lump sum to fund crusading shows how crusade funding was evolving. Alongside the calling for a crusade in 1274, a levy of a tenth had been collected in 1274, and the archbishop of York had order all of his archdeacons to install chests in their churches for the collection of monies for the crusade on 18 February 1275.¹⁰³ This indicates that there was still a strong desire, at least from the ecclesiastical part of

⁹⁹ Giffard, p. 280. 'et eidem injunximus quod in generali passagio adeat personaliter Terram Sanctam'

¹⁰⁰ Giffard, p. 282; Purcell, p. 116. Simon appears to have avoided doing any of the three, and is absolved of the crime on 17 April 1280, after being wrongfully excommunicated on 15 April of the same year, Wickwane, p. 94.

¹⁰¹ *Letters from Northern Registers*, pp. 47–8.

¹⁰² Purcell, p. 115; *Les registres d'Urbain IV*, II (1901), pp. 228–31, no. 468; Innocent IV, *Les Registres D'Innocent IV: Publiés ou Analysés d'Après les Manuscrits Originaux du Vatican et de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, ed. by Élie Berger, 4 vols (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1897), II, p. 109, no. 4663 & vol III, pp. 204–07, no 6469.

¹⁰³ Giffard, p. 247–75; Lunt, p. 311; Lunt, p. 448.

society, to raise funds to support the Frankish States in the East. This could also indicate that there was an attempt to preach the crusade, or an encouragement at a local level to promote it to gain the redemption fines.

It is possible that these fines were collected as part of a preaching and fundraising effort. In a mandate from 14 July 1275 the archbishop of York ordered that his archdeacons and other members of the clergy give assistance to the friars, who had been commissioned by the pope to preach the cross in England.¹⁰⁴ Although there is no evidence for the dates or locations of preaching, it certainly contributed to finance crusading as over two hundred individuals are recorded as paying towards crusading through the absolution of crimes in the register of Walter Giffard in 1275.¹⁰⁵ The number of entries in Giffard's register suggests that this was something that was encouraged by the preachers. As these individuals were having crimes absolved by the church in return for paying money to help the Holy Land, it shows that preachers were not solely focused on raising manpower for the East, but were placing heavy emphasis on fundraising. The method of financing crusades through large numbers of small payments became increasingly common during the fourteenth century in England.¹⁰⁶ For example, in 1309–11, sums raised from indulgences in the diocese of York totalled £491.¹⁰⁷ The 1275 lists are perhaps an early example of the effectiveness of the methods used to collect these sums of money. There is no other record of this nature during the rest of the period for Yorkshire, suggesting that it could also have been a new tactic to use the plight of the East as a way to deal with outstanding criminal offences. With there being so many offences recorded, it is likely that some of the individuals involved had committed their crime long before 1275, and

¹⁰⁴ *Councils and Synods*, Powicke and Cheney, p. 811; *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, p. 46. Recorded as being from 1276, but Powicke and Cheney note that this has been misdated, and should be recorded as 1275.

¹⁰⁵ *Giffard*, pp. 277–86

¹⁰⁶ Timothy Guard, 'Opus Caritativum: Crowdfunding the Later Crusaders – The English Evidence', in *Crusading Europe: Essays in Honour of Christopher Tyerman*, ed. by G. E. M. Lippiatt and Jessalynn L. Bird (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), pp. 211–33 (pp. 218–9).

¹⁰⁷ *The Register of William Greenfield Lord Archbishop of York 1306–1315*, ed. by William Brown and A. Hamilton Thompson, 5 vols (Durham: Andrews, 1938), IV, pp. 363–4. The register notes that over half of the raised money, £228 3s and 4 ½ d, was subtracted for expenses.

it was the added benefit of supporting the Holy Land that encouraged them to absolve their sins at that moment. There is not enough evidence to confirm whether there was a coordinated preaching tour at this point, but the sudden collection of so many fines indicates that there was some form of central backing or organisation to the initiative. There is evidence for crusade promotion occurring in England at this time with the Bishop of Worcester, Godfrey Giffard, ordering all churches in his diocese to allow the mendicant friars access to enable them to preach the crusade and offer indulgences during 1275.¹⁰⁸ The Yorkshire register for this time does not contain the same order, suggesting that this could have been an order from the archbishop of Canterbury for his province that was not replicated by the archbishop of York, but large-scale collections of money over a wide geographical area does indicate a form of central organisation.

Also a point of interest is that the list of names of those giving money to support the Holy Land in return for absolution of crimes were not simply taking a crusade vow which they were redeeming through a cash payment, but were seemingly voluntarily coming forward to absolve themselves for a crime they were accused of indicating that the benefits which came with the redemption of a vow were thought to be of value to members of Yorkshire society. The idea of redeeming a crusading vow for cash which would either help to support a crusader or be sent as aid to the Holy Land had been implemented by Innocent III. In this instance the idea of helping to fund crusading or protect the Holy Land was being used as method of justice in the county showing that the uses of crusading were moving beyond the idea of going to fight in the East. There is no evidence to show how the money collected from these absolved men was used and whether it was sent to the Holy Land or kept in England. As noted by both Tyerman and Lunt, Edward had a tendency to dip into crusading money to help pay for other wars during his reign, so it is not impossible that Edward would have been able access the money

¹⁰⁸ Godfrey Giffard, *Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard of Worcester, September 23rd 1268, to January 26rd 1302*, ed. by J. W. Willis Bund, 2 vols (Oxford: James Parker, 1898), I, p. 83.

collected in 1275 and use it as a way to help fund more local projects.¹⁰⁹ Edward is recorded in 1278 as unsuccessfully requesting that the pope give him all the money collected from the crusading tenth which was collected in 1275.¹¹⁰ In 1283 Edward was finally successful in obtaining access to the crusading tenth to be used in his war against the Welsh.¹¹¹

There were attempts by the Church at York to help launch a crusade in 1280. The register of William Wickwane, archbishop of York, contains letters sent by the archbishop to Rome which proposed a crusade depart from England that would be led by Lord Edmund. The first of the two letters which survive in William's register was sent to the cardinal priest of Santa Potenciana and outlines a request for the Lord Edmund to go on crusade as Edward was unable to and Edmund was the best possible substitute for his brother.¹¹² It goes on to state that if Edmund was to take on the crusade, then the tax of a tenth should be paid to him and goes as far as to pray to the cardinal to persuade the pope to grant the tenth.¹¹³ This letter is followed by a second letter sent by the archbishop, this time to Pietro Peregrino, vice-chancellor of the Roman Church, on behalf of Edmund.¹¹⁴ It was sent with the intention of encouraging the calling of an expedition to be led by Edmund and requesting that he be able to take the cross. These letters are just two of twenty letters sent by the Archbishop to the papacy during 1280 which had the intent of presenting Edmund as a suitable candidate to lead

¹⁰⁹ Tyerman, *England*, p. 232; Lunt, p. 356.

¹¹⁰ Lunt, p. 335.

¹¹¹ Bartholomew de Cotton, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard, Rolls Series (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1859), p. 164. Edward had demanded a subsidy for the war the previous year, which had been declined. His claiming of the crusade subsidy came following his defeat of the rebellion of Llewellyn ap Gruffudd, prince of Wales, in 1283.

¹¹² *Wickwane*, pp. 185–6. The letters, are undated but are listed amongst those from 1280, suggesting that this was the time which they were sent.

¹¹³ *Wickwane*, p. 186.

¹¹⁴ *Wickwane*, p. 186. 'Ad ea que tocius orbis Christiani utilitatem respiciunt et honorem et cedunt insuper complacencie Redemptoris, devociomem vestram quibuscumque precibus allectivis necesse non novimus, nec est opus, sicut credimus, invitare; sed saltem souicite in negocio crucis Christi, nobilem virum ac Deo acceptabilem et hominibus, dominum E., germanum illustris regis Anglie, contingente, benivolenciam vestram in honorem crucis et exaltacionem fidei totis animi votis et viribus gracia amplioris memorie et meriti, si placet, ad celerem expedicionem exhibitorum presencium invocamus, ut, mediante vestra votiva instancia, fidei firmitas et Christianorum honor Huccrescat, pululet, et fiorescat. Bene valeat dominus et amicus noster per tempora longiora.'

a crusade as Edward was unable to.¹¹⁵ A similar letter was also sent by John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, to Pope Nicholas III (and again to Martin IV following the news of Nicholas's death), which depicted Edmund favourably.¹¹⁶ The first of the two surviving letters states that that Edmund and his followers were ready to depart for the East and, if the proceeds of the tenth were given to him, more people would join the expedition.¹¹⁷ At the point that the letters were sent, however, there is no evidence to suggest that either Edward or Edmund had taken the cross, and Edward was only able to begin seriously thinking about a second crusade in 1284 following the signing of the Treaty of Rhuddlan.¹¹⁸

These letters demonstrate the importance of the crusade not only to Edward, and Edmund, but also to the see of York. To write so many letters – twenty came from York compared to two from Canterbury – suggests that the launching of this crusade was important to the Church in Yorkshire. As a county which had a strong tie to the movement, it would have been expected that if Edmund had departed, he would have taken many knights from the county with him. Edmund himself had ties to the county, given that he held the lordship of Holderness from 1269 to 1274 via his marriage to Aveline de Forz, Countess of Aumale and Lady of Holderness, and had sold land to Bridlington Priory to help cover his crusade expenses in the build up to his departure. He also had connections to several Yorkshire landowners, such as John de Vescy. The papacy's reluctance to accept Edmund as a crusade leader could suggest one of two things: firstly, it might demonstrate that the reputation of a crusade's leader in the process of recruitment was of paramount importance.¹¹⁹ Edmund simply did not carry the same influence and authority as Edward, and the papacy was unwilling to accept him in his brother's place. This, however, seems doubtful. The papacy had pushed hard for Edmund to lead a crusade ten years previously, so a complete reversal on his suitability as a leader is

¹¹⁵ *Register of William Wickwane*, pp. 184–87; *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, pp. 63–4.

¹¹⁶ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 234.

¹¹⁷ *Wickwane*, p. 186. The tenth which is referenced is likely that of 1274.

¹¹⁸ Tyerman, *England*, p. 234.

¹¹⁹ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 234.

unlikely. Secondly, and more plausibly, the papacy's reluctance could suggest that Edmund leading an English crusading army to the East was simply not viable. Edmund was heavily involved in Edward's war to conquer Wales at this point meaning that he would have found it difficult to participate, and it would have been unlikely that Edward would have allowed a large part of his army to depart for the East.

The best evidence for preaching in Yorkshire during the period covered in this thesis comes in 1291. Friars who were preaching the cross with backing from the Archbishop of York were instructed to deliver sermons in specific towns in September. The preaching instructions are included in a letter, dated 4 September 1291, which was sent by John le Romeyn, archbishop of York, to the warden of the Friars Minor at York.¹²⁰ The letter, which instructs the friars to begin their preaching immediately, includes instructions on which locations they are to preach in within the archdiocese of York. Though some of the places listed are outside the county of Yorkshire, a large number fall within the county's boundaries and include Beverley, Pontefract, Howden, Bridlington, and Whitby. The instructions are also careful to lay out which friars were to promote the crusade in which area; for example, those from Scarborough were to preach at Bridlington and Whitby.¹²¹ Alongside the designated preaching to be undertaken by the mendicant orders, the archbishop himself would preach in York Minster on 14 September.¹²² The date for the Archbishop's preaching was purposefully chosen. 14 September, a day which was known as Holy Cross Day, marked the culmination of the annual festival of the Holy Cross, a festival which had understandably become intrinsically linked with crusading.¹²³ It is also unknown if this type of organised preaching was introduced into Yorkshire specifically at this point, or if it had been used to recruit crusade participants, or the necessary funding, required

¹²⁰ *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, ed. by James Raine (London: Longman, 1873), pp. 93–6; Tyerman, *England*, p. 168.

¹²¹ *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, p. 95. 'Fratres Minores de Scardeburg unum apud Bridelington, et unum apud Wyteby.'

¹²² *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, p. 93.

¹²³ Christopher Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (Milton Keynes: Allen Lane, 2015), p. 94.

for the crusades of the previous century. Unfortunately, the contents of the sermons is unknown with there being no recorded evidence relating to exactly what was going to be preached or if all preachers were expected to follow the same script, or central themes. However, the letter does state that those who joined the crusade or were in favour of the expedition would receive one-hundred days of indulgences. As the tour did not target all the prominent towns and settlements in Yorkshire, it is likely that this was not intended to be a complete preaching campaign. Instead, it was intended as the first section of a campaign with other rounds of preaching to occur later. It is unclear what the later stages of the tour were and whether further preaching was ever carried out, as there is no information included in John le Romeyn's register about further developments to this particular tour.¹²⁴ The register does contain the record of a mandate sent to Master John Clarel to preach the crusade in Southwell Minster (Nottinghamshire). It is not clear if this preaching is related to the preaching of the same year as no other places of preaching are specified in the register.¹²⁵ It could be the case that the Archbishop was organising preaching across his whole diocese to fit in with a wider order to preach across England.

Although there is no reason given for the preaching tour, it was almost certainly undertaken as a response to the loss of Acre which had occurred four months previously, in May of that year.¹²⁶ It is likely that the tour would have been to raise money for a crusade rather than manpower. This is backed up by the there being no evidence for a large scale uptake of the cross as there is only evidence for two individuals from Yorkshire, William de Everley and Stephen de Maulay, archdeacon of Cleveland, travelling to the Holy Land in 1291.¹²⁷ This limited response to the preaching in terms of recruitment fits into a wider pattern seen in

¹²⁴ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 56. John le Romeyn left York for Rome shortly after as he received a licence to go overseas on 20 September, only six days after he had preached the crusade at York Minster.

¹²⁵ *Register of John le Romeyn*, p. 8.

¹²⁶ The fall of Acre is recorded in: *The 'Templar of Tyre': Part III of the Deeds of the Cypriots*, ed. and trans. by Paul Crawford (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 101–17.

¹²⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1281–92*, p. 432; *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland, 1198–1304*, ed. by W H Bliss, 5 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1893–1904), I (1893), p. 537.

England and was to be expected given that there is no evidence that any serious preparations for launching the venture were underway. This is despite the preaching coming four years after Edward had taken the cross in 1287, and there being an ongoing dialogue between Edward and the pope, Martin IV, regarding Edward departing for the East in 1293.¹²⁸ Whilst William and Stephen's decision to go to the East does show that there was still a continued appetite to go to the Holy Land, even following the loss of Acre, it also highlights the importance of a leader and an organised venture to attract people to go to the East. The lack of a significant increase in crusade participation following recorded preaching tours, suggests that Yorkshire crusaders may not have been motivated solely by crusade preaching. Instead, as has been demonstrated previously in this thesis, individuals from the county joined a crusade either due to their obligation to their lords or because they viewed it as a chance to improve their social status. A crusade was viewed as a means for individuals to establish connections with people higher in the social hierarchy than themselves and provided a tool for social enhancement and advancement.

Conclusions

The fifty-year period of 1241 to 1291 encompassed three major crusades and the eventual loss of the Frankish States in the East following the defeat of the Christians at Acre in 1291. The Yorkshire involvement in these events was largely confined to the crusade led by Lord Edward. The evidence from Yorkshire shows only one participant on the other large-scale crusades from the period and three individuals who travelled to the East following the culmination of Edward's crusade. With thirty-seven participants, the crusade led by Lord Edward had the highest number of participants from Yorkshire who are recorded for a single crusade during the period examined in this thesis. The reason for the plentiful records of participants resulted

¹²⁸ Rishanger, p. 116. Rishanger incorrectly dates Edward taking the cross to 1288; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 328. In 1290, crusaders had departed England under the leadership of Otho of Grandson, though none of those recorded as going were connected to Yorkshire; Lunt, p. 340. It is also important to note that there was no official call for a crusade at this point from the papacy.

from the centralised nature of the recruitment for the crusade and is more visible due to the meticulous record keeping that was undertaken in relation to those who took the cross prior to the outset of the crusade. The extensive records which were kept in relation to the crusade allowed for large numbers of the crusaders to be recorded in legal documents. A large majority of those who took the cross are recorded in the Patent and Close Rolls for the period, something which sets this crusade apart from the others discussed in this thesis. Yorkshire being the county which provided the highest number of participants for the crusade continued a trend seen through other large scale crusading ventures with high English participation.

It also fits with the pattern that is prevalent throughout crusading the period which suggested that members of Yorkshire society required an English figurehead to engage with a crusade before enrolment on it was considered. The crusade also shows evidence for strong connections between the crusaders. Pre-existing ties, whether they be of kinship or social obligation, between crusaders appears to have motivated uptake of the cross. This is highlighted in cases such as John de Vescy who had been educated with one of the leaders of the crusade, Edmund, taking the cross despite his rebellion against the crown. John's follower, and fellow rebel, Robert de Halton is also present on the crusade suggesting that the link between the two encouraged the participation. There is also evidence for multiple members of the same family engaging with Edward's crusade. The three Monte Alto brothers, Adam, John, and Simon all received letters of protection and a married couple, John and Juliana de Goer, received crusading licences. Participation from Ridings which had an influential landowner taking part in the crusade are also higher, suggesting that individuals were deciding to take the cross and join the crusade based on social ties rather than due to a strong religious motivation. Crusaders, such as Adam de Monte Alto and John de Vescy, are recorded as being much closer to Edward after the crusade than they were at the outset of the crusade. This reflects a pattern seen throughout the crusading movement of individuals being able to gain a much closer relationship with their lord because of their involvement on the crusade. The potential of

gaining favour following the crusade would have served as a strong motivation for those deciding on whether to travel East.

The period also contains evidence for crusade promotion. Most prominently, a preaching tour which was organised in 1291 with clear instructions left for the dates and locations which the preaching should occur on. This tour, likely motivated by the fall of Acre, did not lead to any large-scale response from within the county, but does highlight the sophisticated nature of crusade promotion. It is the only example of a preaching tour from Yorkshire during the period. Fundraising efforts from the period, such as the 1275 list of crusaders being fined, suggests that other organised initiatives were in place to support the Holy Land, but these focused on fiscal aid, rather than support through manpower. Despite its large uptake in Yorkshire, Edward's crusade does not contain any evidence of a centralised preaching or promotional network.

Crusade funding was recorded more regularly in Yorkshire between 1241 and 1291 than recruitment. There were three major taxes, 1252, 1274, and 1290, collected to support the Holy Land, with the records surviving to show that John de Balliol was entrusted with the collection of taxes in Yorkshire from 1268. Crusaders were also more supported by its leader than they had been previously. Edward distributed contracts to those who were going on crusade with him which indicates that each knight taking part in the crusade was to receive 100 marks to support himself. This appears to have had an impact on the amount of evidence seen for the alienation of property and other forms of fundraising with there being significantly less evidence of this than had been seen on the Third Crusade.

Conclusions

This thesis has shown that over the period 1095–1291 Yorkshire had a strong connection with the crusading movement. During this period, 121 individuals connected to Yorkshire are recorded as making a journey to the East. It represents the largest recorded participation from any county from across the period and demonstrates that Yorkshire played a prominent role in England's contribution to the crusading movement.

When the evidence from across the thesis is reviewed, clear patterns emerge. First, those connected to Yorkshire who participated on crusades were only interested in crusading to the East. Crusading in Europe, whether that be in the south of France as part of the Albigensian Crusade, as part of the crusades into the Baltic region, or as part of a crusade to defend the Latin Empire of Constantinople, elicited little response from the county. As crusaders appear to have been motivated to travel to the East in the company of their lords, it is perhaps not surprising that crusaders did not independently depart to join these ventures. With no large Yorkshire landowners present on any venture which did not head to the East it shows that there was no appetite to take part in these crusades and it perhaps indicates that they were not held in the same regard as more traditional ventures which aimed to help the Holy Land. The evidence also suggests that the Church in the county had little interest in engaging with crusades which did not target the Holy Land. In periods where appeals were sent out into the rest of Europe, such as in the thirteenth century when appeals were made to raise support for the defence of the Latin Empire, there is no sign of funds being raised or appeals being sent out into the county to generate manpower to support them.

Whilst it is the case that across the period examined in this thesis that the high numbers of participants were spread across all social classes, included male and female participants as well as members from both laity and the Church and that the individual crusaders fulfilled a multitude of roles in a crusading army. In a crusading army, certain patterns in relation to the people participating on crusades are visible. Individuals connected to large landowning families

made up the vast majority of crusaders for the first hundred years of the movement with individuals from lower social classes not appearing on crusades until the Third Crusade. William de Percy and Edith de Warenne were present on the First Crusade whilst members of the Mowbray and de Lacy families would soon follow, taking part on the Second Crusade and independent crusades of the counts of Flanders. Large landowners were likely the only ones who were able to afford to join a crusade. Whilst in France or Germany crusaders were able to chart a completely overland route to the Holy Land, English crusaders would always have to contend with crossing the English Channel. It would have required any individual who wanted to head to the East raising the funds to charter a boat to France. Even at the point of the Fifth Crusade, Saer de Quincy was having to organise his own transport to the East. This would have made it hard for poorer crusaders to make it to the Holy Land. Whilst it is also plausible that there are problems with the evidence which cause the numbers to crusaders to become skewed in favour of large landholding barons such as low survival rates of administrative documents from the period or the administrative systems not yet being developed in a way which would accurately record departing crusaders. It is more likely that they simply were unable to depart. Individuals connected to the lower social classes appear on crusades more frequently, and in greater number from the Third Crusade onwards as evidenced by the records of doctors, cooks, and tanners who would have travelled to the East in supporting and non-combatant roles. This may initially seem surprising as it the point from which ships became more integral to crusading transport as there was a move away from travelling overland to the East, but it was a period when larger numbers of larger landowners were making the journey to the East due to the participation of the English King, Richard I which would have led to more ships departing for the Holy Land.

There is also evidence to show that Yorkshire crusaders were travelling to the East together in groups and remaining together for the duration of their time in the East. For the Sixth Crusade there is evidence to show that a group of individuals who were all recorded as being crusaders

died when the bridge at Ferrybridge collapsed as they were crossing it. Although little is recorded of the individuals, the evidence suggests a group of crusaders all travelling together from, or through, Yorkshire on their way to the Holy Land. The charter of John de Lacy issued outside the walls of Damietta during the Fifth Crusade was witnessed by a range of individuals who were drawn from his lands. This shows that John brought individuals he knew from Yorkshire and kept them with him for his time in the East. For the Third Crusade Roger of Howden recorded a number of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire crusaders who were local to the areas around Howden in his chronicles. Their inclusion suggests that they were men that Roger knew personally and their close geographical origins suggested that they would have been familiar with each other before their departure. This evidence suggests that Yorkshire crusaders were travelling together in groups, remaining with each other for the duration of their time in the East, whether that time was ended through returning home or through death.

Deciphering why particular individuals took the cross is often difficult and this is the case in Yorkshire. As there is little evidence for any preaching occurring across the period, except for Eustace, abbot of Flay in the early thirteenth century, and the tour organised by John le Romeyn in 1291, it suggests that either preaching was so commonplace that Yorkshire chroniclers felt there was no need to record it, or that it was not happening at a scale which warranted record. From the evidence drawn out of the participation from the county, the latter seems more plausible. With large numbers of crusaders being present on crusades which were led by royal figureheads it indicates that their presence was necessary to encourage participation in what appears to have been a top down system where individuals wanted to head to the East with their lords either out of loyalty, ties of service, or because they viewed crusading as a useful tool which would positively affect their social standing.

William de Forz, who served as Richard's admiral on the Third Crusade, is an example of one of the many individuals Richard brought with him who had served alongside the king during his wars against his father. Whilst on crusade, Richard organised William's marriage to Hawisia,

the heiress to the Holderness lordship, on Sicily, highlighting a pre-existing loyalty and connection between the two men.

On the Fifth Crusade, there is evidence to show that crusaders were travelling to the East in the service of their lords. The chronicler Roger of Wendover describes English crusaders arriving with large retinues and this is shown through the example of John de Lacy being present with his lord Ranulf, earl of Chester, as well as bringing along his own group of followers. Although the mechanics of raising a retinue are not recorded in primary source material it appears John de Lacy formed a retinue out of people from his own lands suggesting that there was a pre-existing relationship in place whereby individuals were brought to the East in service of their lords. This relationship is even clearer by the end of the period examined in this thesis contracts were issued to certain crusaders which ordered them to bring a certain number of knights with them to the Holy Land. These contracts ensured that a certain number of knights would be present on Lord Edward's crusade and suggest that deciding to go to the East was not a decision that was taken in a moment of religious enlightenment as depicted by the chroniclers of the First Crusade, but as part of a business transaction in which you would be paid for your serve for a set number of years.

It is also possible to see crusaders using a crusade as a way of enhancing or their reputation or repairing relationships with other crusaders. It is possible that Ranulf de Glanville went on the Third Crusade as a way of repairing his relationship with Richard the Lionheart who had removed him from his role of Justiciar of England and fined him £15,000 shortly before the crusade departed. Similar could have been true of John de Vescy who went on crusade with Lord Edward in 1270 following his participation as a rebel in the Second Barons' War. Both Ranulf and John had shared good relationships with the royal household prior to their transgressions and going on crusade appears to have played a significant role in repairing John's relationship with Edward. It is impossible to know whether the same would have been true for Ranulf as he died at the Siege of Acre, but John's return to favour shows the

restorative power of serving on crusade. On the Fifth Crusade, John de Lacy travelled with his lord Ranulf, earl of Chester. John had played a significant role in rebelling against King John in the decade prior, whilst Ranulf had remained a staunch supporter of the king. Whilst there is no evidence for ill-feeling between the two, in the years following the culmination of the crusade John would be granted the earldom of Lincoln and be married to Ranulf's niece.

Beyond restoring people to positions they held prior to the crusade, a journey to the East could improve a participant's social standing following the conclusion of the crusade. Robert of Turnham, Baldwin de Béthune, and Gerard I de Furnival all saw significant increases in their, or their family's, social standing following the conclusion of the Third Crusade. During the crusade all three men prove themselves valuable to Richard and are rewarded for their serve to him with marriages to prominent Yorkshire heiresses. This trend is not confined to the Third Crusade and is seen through to the end of the period examined in this study as evidenced by Adam and John de Monte Alto who were able to gain a closer relationship with Edward I following their time on crusade with their lord.

The presence of a figurehead was not the only reason that individuals were encouraged to take the cross. Whilst it has been shown above that crusaders were taking the cross to further their social standing with a lord or king who was present alongside them, crusading also served as a way of rehabilitation reputations in the eyes of peers who were not present. Stephen, count of Aumale, participated in the First Crusade following his involvement in a plot that planned to have him installed as king of England and within three years of his return had been granted the Holderness lordship. Roger de Mowbray and Henry I de Lacy both participated on crusades in the twelfth century shortly after transgressions, and shortly after their returns from crusade their standings were restored or improved. Crusading appears to have absolved crusaders who had committed significant crimes such as treason or rebellion. It suggests that by being viewed as having been absolved of all sins by god for their part in the crusade, then a crusader was forgiven by his peers to.

Another key facet of crusade participation was emulation and tradition. On all crusades with high participation there were individuals present who were related or connected to crusaders from previous generations. Members of the Warenne, Percy, Mowbray, Furnival, and de Lacy families are all examples of families with multiple crusaders who were connected to Yorkshire from different generations. This trend highlights a strong crusading culture developed in Yorkshire through the period and members of families from subsequent generations were keen to adopt these traditions and commitments to crusading. This crusading culture and tradition was drawn upon in domestic wars such as the Battle of the Standard and the First and Second Barons' Wars. The records of these conflicts contain regular reference to crusading practices suggesting that they were being used by both the participants and those documenting the conflict as a way of being involved in a crusading further highlighting the importance of crusading in Yorkshire.

The Church in Yorkshire also played a significant role in crusading. Members of the clergy were present on a number of crusades throughout the period and were present in different roles. The Church also played a significant role in facilitating crusading through financial contributions to crusaders, whether that was a gift of money or purchasing lands from a crusader, and through supporting the families of crusaders.

Although unlikely, it is possible that Gerard, archbishop of York, took the cross in order to head to the East to join Bohemond, prince of Antioch, in 1105 in his war against the Byzantines, but it is more likely that members of the Church began heading to the Holy Land as part of the Third Crusade. Prior to this point there is no concrete evidence for any members of the Church making a trip to the East. From this point, members of Yorkshire's Church are present on all expeditions apart from the Barons' Crusade which have high levels of participation from Yorkshire. It appears that the destination of crusades which were headed to the East had little bearing on the enthusiasm of the church for participating on crusading ventures as the Fifth Crusade, which targeted Egypt, was still popular with the clergy. Though there is little record of

the exact roles that the Yorkshire clergy undertook in the East, they were being taken to the Holy Land as followers of specific crusaders as evidenced by the presence of three clerics in the charter signed by John de Lacy at Damietta.

Throughout the period the church were involved in helping to finance journeys to the East. The amount they paid to crusaders varied considerably showing that funding via sales of land to the church was accessible to all members of Yorkshire society. The majority of large payments made to crusaders were done between 1145 and 1191 with payments to crusaders in return for land being much smaller. At the end of the period there is also evidence for the church giving gifts to help crusade facilitate crusading. These gifts were granted to crusaders at both ends of the social spectrum with both Lord Edward and an individual named Spiritot being granted money by the archbishop of York in 1270. Crusaders also used the Church to provide for their family members who were left behind. Ralph de Chall, for example, gave land to Easby Abbey in return for them to provide his wife with daily food and to pay out her dower in the event that he did not return from the East within a certain time frame.

This research could be built upon in several ways. If similar studies to this thesis were undertaken studying each of the counties of England then a more focused and detailed understanding of the patterns and trends relating to crusading within England could be gained. These individual studies would allow for comparisons to be drawn between different counties and region-specific trends identified and analysed. It would allow an examination of whether the main trends identified in this thesis were consistent across England. Yorkshire had high recorded involvement on crusades which were led by an English royal figurehead, and it would be beneficial to examine whether this factor was crucial to the recruitment of individuals from other counties and regions from across England for crusades. An exploration of this would help to determine the influence and effectiveness of crusading preaching and promotion on participation.

An understanding of English attitudes towards the idea of crusading would also be increased through further region-specific studies. They would enable a greater appreciation of the influence that crusade participation had on the building or rebuilding of an individual's reputation and standing in the eyes of both their peers and superiors. Furthermore, regional-specific studies would also increase knowledge around the relationships between individual families and crusading. Throughout the period, certain Yorkshire families had a continued relationship with crusading, providing multiple participants across different generations. Analysing whether this was true in the same manner from other parts of England would enable a clearer understanding of the importance of crusading to families in England. This would also extend to whether an individual who married into a family with a strong crusading pedigree felt the need to go to the East themselves to prove that they were worthy of joining that family. Beyond this, further prosopographical studies of crusaders from different regions would allow for more connections to be identified between participants, potentially uncovering a wider web of interconnected crusaders.

Further to this, similar studies focusing different areas in France, Germany, and other nations would enable further comparison and contextualisation for the Yorkshire findings and it would allow for much wider and more nuanced understanding of crusading on a national level.

One of the limiting features of this piece of work was the focus on the individuals who departed for the East and the factors which contributed to this participation. This meant that subjects such as the establishment, growth, and prominence of the military orders were not discussed. Beyond this, the time frame of the project meant that it was limited to crusading to the East. By extending the timeframe of the research to include the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, continuations in the trends identified in this thesis, such as strong connections between crusading and reputation rebuilding, could be recognised. It would also enable analysis of how Yorkshire interacted with crusades to destinations other than the Holy Land after crusades to the East were no longer a viable option. It would enable an examine whether

engagement from those such as the Percy and Furnival families who were regular participants on crusades to the East continued their longstanding commitment to crusading. The relationship between Yorkshire and crusading could be further analysed through later interpretations of crusaders and crusading from the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Examples of later recounting of crusades have been noted in this study, such as Byland Abbey's recounting of the death and burial of their patron Nigel de Mowbray who died at Acre on the Third Crusade and the *Pedigree of the Founders of Worksop Priory's* recounting of the crusading of Gerard III, Thomas, and Willian de Furnival on the Barons' Crusade. A greater examination of these later accounts of crusaders and their crusading would allow for a greater understanding of how crusading was perceived in later generations and how families wanted to interact with the movement. It would also reveal the desire for families to be attached to crusaders and examine evidence for the facets of crusading which were deemed to be important in later generations.

Overall this thesis has shown that Yorkshire had a strong and continued relationship with the crusading movement throughout the period examined. Patterns of high levels of participation compared to other English counties show an active participation in the movement, whilst trends of reputation rebuilding and enhancing show the impact the crusading had on the county as it influenced the landholding and status of those connected to Yorkshire who participated. The Crusades attracted men and women from all social classes and from both lay and ecclesiastical backgrounds. Those who went on crusade were motivated to do so through existing social ties or through a desire to follow in the footsteps of their ancestors. Whilst in the East, those from Yorkshire stuck together, showing that relationships prior to the crusade were important whilst in the East. Overall, this thesis highlights how crusading became a key part of the fabric of Yorkshire society from 1095 through to 1291.

Prosopographical Catalogue of Crusaders Linked to Yorkshire

This appendix is a list of all crusaders who had a link to Yorkshire from the period 1095 to 1291. It records the crusade in which the individual participated and the sources which record their participation, including multiple instances. It will list the crusader's connection to the county of York and any possessions they held in Yorkshire. Familial connections between crusaders have been included

Adam de Monte Alto

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Crusade Connections: John de Monte Alto (brother), Simon de Monte Alto (brother)

Adam first appears in the royal records in March 1261, where he is recorded as being given twenty marks by the king to support himself until he could be given land.¹ Later, he is recorded as being in possession of lands in the West Riding which included Monk Bretton.² He became Sheriff of Lancaster in 1261 and was a long-time royal servant.³ During the Second Barons' War he was a royalist and was called upon to provide men from the castle of Lancaster to support the royalist cause.⁴ He is said to have played a significant role in the Battle of Evesham (1265), when, according to some sources, Adam aided the king when Henry, disguised and unrecognisable in battle for his own safety, was wounded in the shoulder and called out for assistance. There is no conclusive record on who came to Henry's aid, with some sources declaring it was Edward, whilst others, such as Guisborough, have claimed it was Adam who was able to save his life.⁵

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1258–66*, p. 147.

² *Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons, Together with the Records and Muniments Relating to the Suit and Service due and Performed to the King's High Court of Parliament and the Councils of the Realm, or Affording Evidence of Attendance Given at Parliaments and Councils*, ed. by Francis Palgrave (London: George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1827), p. 742.

³ Fine Roll 45 Henry III (1260–61), <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_058.html> [accessed 29 June 2022].

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1258–66*, pp. 178–79.

⁵ Guisborough, I, pp. 324–25; Mumford, p. 175, In some accounts Henry's life is saved by Edward or a knight named Roger Leyburn.

Adam is one of eighteen knights recorded in the Pipe Rolls who were contracted by Edward for the crusade.⁶ Adam is documented as receiving 200 marks in return for bringing one knight with him to the East. As Simon Lloyd has noted, it is likely that these contracts were drawn up on 20 July at Westminster as that is the date which the two that survive were issued on, and that Pipe Rolls show that all contracts, except for one issued to Gilbert de Clare, were paid out on 26 July 1270.⁷ Adam is also recorded as receiving a licence from the king to go on crusade on 20 February 1270 for four years, which was confirmed or reissued on 30 July 1270, when he also confirms that he is to leave his possessions under the watch of his brother Geoffrey de Monte Alto.⁸ Participation on the crusade appears to have drawn Adam closer to Edward. Following the conclusion of the crusade Adam regularly appears in the witness lists to Edward's royal charters.⁹ He is also recorded as fighting as part of Edward's war in Scotland in 1300.¹⁰

Agnes of Middleton

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Agnes was from Quernhow (North Riding), and went to Jerusalem after accusing two men for the murder of her husband, Richard. Agnes had departed for Jerusalem before her case was due to be heard before the Eyre of 1218–19.¹¹

⁶ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 118; Bruce Beebe, 'The English Baronage and the Crusade of 1270', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 48 (1975), 127–48 (p. 142). Beebe mistakenly records Adam as Alan and omits Gilbert de Clare; Hudson Turner, 'Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I., Especially of his Relations with the Moghul Sovereigns of Persia', *Archaeological Journal*, 8 (1851), 45–51 (p. 46).

⁷ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 119.

⁸ *Close Rolls*, p. 289. 'qui de licencia regis profecturus est ad Terrm Sanctum, dedit potestatem Galfrido de Monte Alto fratri suo Hugoni de Insula faciendi attornatum vel attornatos pro ipso vel contra ipsum in omnibus placitis et loquelis motis seu movendis pro ipso vel contra ipsum in quibuscunque curiis a festo Sancti Johannis Baptiste proximo futuro per quatuor annos sequentes, nisi idem Adam interim redierit in Angliam. Teste rege apud Wynton' xxx die Julii'.

⁹ *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I (1272–1307)*, *From the Charter Rolls in the Public Record Office*, ed. by Richard Huscroft (Surrey: The List and Index Society, 2000), p. 6. His first appearance comes in 1277.

¹⁰ *Parliamentary Writs*, p. 792.

¹¹ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, p. 384, no. 1072; Siedschlag, p. 137.

Alan of Haisthorpe

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Alan was from Haisthorpe (East Riding). He was accused of killing another person, but had gone to Jerusalem before the justices in Eyre for Yorkshire arrived in 1218–19. The court took no action due to the killing being done during a time of war.¹²

Anonymous

Crusade(s): Sixth Crusade

In 1228, a group of individuals who were recorded as *cruce signati* drowned when the bridge at Ferrybridge (West Riding) collapsed as they crossed it. Along with the bodies of the crusaders, £17 18s 10½d was recovered from the river which was possibly money they were taking with them to pay for their crusading. Ferrybridge marked an important crossing point of the River Aire, which could explain why the recovered money was not used to help fund the defence of the Holy Land as instructed by the 1194 ordinance, but was instead used to repair the bridge.¹³ As the incident occurred before 20 April 1228, it is likely that this group of crusaders were attempting to make their way to the Holy Land to join with the crusade of the German emperor, Frederick II.

Anonymous, warrantor of the dower of Maud, the widow of Robert of Heworth

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Heworth is located in the North Riding.

A Yorkshire widow named Maud was unable to claim her dower, comprised of lands in York, as her unnamed warrantor was absent on crusade. The case was heard by the justices in Eyre on 6 February 1219 but a verdict was not given and her case postponed because her warrantor

¹² *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, p. 353, no. 972; Siedschlag, p. 137.

¹³ *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1227–1231*, ed. by Maxwell Lyte and Alfred Edward Stamp, 14 vols (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902–38), I (1902), pp. 34–5. 'De denariis concessis ad reparationem Portis Ferie. — Mandatum est vicecomiti Eboraci quod xvij libras xvij s. et x denarios et obolum, qui inventi fuerunt cum hominibus cruce signatis submersis ad Pontem Ferie, habere faciat magistro, Waltero de Tany, cui dominus rex denarios illos concessit ad ejusdem Pontis Ferie reparationem. Teste rege apud West-monasterium, xx die Aprilis.'

was not present. The judges stated that the case should be heard when Maud's warrantor returned from the Holy Land.¹⁴

Antony Bek

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Antony Bek was from a family which held lands in Lincolnshire. Antony's father, Thomas Bek, held lands in Eresby (Lincolnshire), and his mother, Eve, was the niece of Walter de Gray, archbishop of York.¹⁵ Antony's participation in the Crusade of the Lord Edward is included in the Patent Roll for 1268–72, as well as in the Scottish records for 1270, where he is recorded as receiving a protection for four years on 13 July 1270.¹⁶ In 1276, he became precentor of York, and, in 1279, Bek is recorded as becoming a prebendary for the cathedral at Ripon.¹⁷ On 9 January 1284, on the recommendation of Edward I, he was consecrated as bishop of Durham at York.¹⁸ He is recorded as owning one third of the manor of Wyrkshale in the North Riding.¹⁹ His relationship to the Holy Land was reforged later in his later life when he gained the titular position of Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1306, a position he held until 1311.²⁰

Upon his death in 1317, Antony was indebted to the aid of the Holy Land for 6,000 marks. As he, and his successor, Richard de Kelawe, had both died, it was requested in a letter sent to

¹⁴ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, p. 74, no. 178; Siedschlag, p. 137.

¹⁵ *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom Extant, Extinct, or Dormant*, 1st edn, ed. by George Edward Cokayne, 8 vols (London: George Bell & Sons, 1887), I, p. 304.

¹⁶ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1266–72*, p. 440; *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London*, ed. by Joseph Bain, 4 Vols (London: H. M. General Register House, 1881), I, p. 518.

¹⁷ *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, ed. by James Raine, Rolls Series, 61 (London: Longman, 1873), p. 59. The letter that the confirmation is taken from is dated to 25 December 1279, however, it states that the prebend has already been given.

¹⁸ C. M. Fraser, 'Bek, Antony (c.1245–1311)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1970>>.

¹⁹ *Feet of Fines for the County of York from 1300 to 1314*, ed. by M. Roper (Wakefield: The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1965), pp. 78–9, no. 414. This was likely at the modern village of Low Worsall in the Hambleton district of the North Riding.

²⁰ *Records of Antony Bek: Bishop and Patriarch 1283–1311*, ed. by C. M Fraser, Surtees Society, 162 (Durham: Andrews, 1953), p. vii.

the Dean and Chapter of York by William de Ballaeto, a papal nuncio, that they had to raise the funds from Richard's lands and property in the diocese of York to pay off the debt.²¹

Baldwin de Béthune

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Baldwin de Béthune was the brother of the famous French poet Conan de Béthune. He had been granted Châteauroux (Berry, France) and its heiress by Henry II, but in 1189 King Richard decided that the inheritance and the heiress would be better served being granted to Andrew de Chauvigny instead.²² Baldwin is recorded as being with King Richard when he was captured near Vienna in Austria after making the decision to continue his journey home via land after storms had wrecked many of the crusaders' boats.²³ Along with Robert of Turnham, Baldwin was used as a hostage to ensure the entirety of Richard's ransom was paid.²⁴ After waiting for seven months for the conditions to be realised, Leopold, duke of Austria, threatened to kill the hostages if his demands were not met, sending Baldwin de Béthune back to England to deliver the news to Richard.²⁵ The news had the desired effect and Richard sent Baldwin back to the Duke with both Eleanor and Richard's sister Alice.²⁶ Upon his return, Baldwin found that the Duke had died and was able to return to England with the two women and the remaining hostages.²⁷ When Richard returned to England in 1194, he said that he owed more to Baldwin than to any other man.²⁸ The crusade and his role in the events following its conclusion were instrumental in Baldwin gaining lands and status in Yorkshire as following the Third Crusade he

²¹ *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, pp. 263–4.

²² Barbara English, *The Lords of Holderness, 1086–1260: A Study in Feudal Society* (Hull: Hull University Press, 1991), p. 32.

²³ *Coggeshall*, p. 54. Ralph of Coggeshall lists them as being Baldwin de Béthune, Philip the King's cleric, Anselm the chaplain, and an unknown number of templars; Gillingham notes that pages 54–5 in Coggeshall's chronicle is a later addition to the text: Gillingham, *Richard I* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 232, n. 34.

²⁴ *The Itinerary of King Richard I*, ed. by Lionel Landon (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1935), p. 99; Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 253.

²⁵ English, *Lords of Holderness*, p. 34.

²⁶ *Itinerary of King Richard I*, p. 100; English, *Lords of Holderness*, p. 34.

²⁷ The events are also interpreted in: Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 253; English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp. 33–4. English does not reference sources for her recounting of events, but it is likely she is using Coggeshall.

²⁸ Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 102.

married Hawisia, the widow of fellow Third Crusade participant, William de Forz, and inherited the lordship of Holderness in 1195.

Brian de Lisle (Insula)
Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Brian became constable of Knaresborough following the death of William de Stuteville in 1205 and, by 1213, he had risen to the position of royal steward.²⁹ During this time he had also been appointed as the chief forester for Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire under Hugh de Neville, a position which he held from 1207 until November 1217, when it is possible he departed on the Fifth Crusade.³⁰ It is likely he had returned from Egypt by February 1221, as he was appointed chief justice for the forest of the whole of England.³¹ During the civil war, he remained loyal to the crown and became the custodian of several Yorkshire castles which had been dispossessed from rebel barons.³²

Brian's Fifth Crusade participation is recorded in the rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire for 1218–19, with his absence on crusade causing disruption in three court cases.³³ It is unknown when Brian took the cross, but it was likely he took it alongside King John in 1215, given his close relationship with his king. Brian was one of John's most regular gambling companions, being mentioned more than any of the fifty other associates, including the likes of Ranulf, earl of Chester, whom John regularly gambled with, and was often rewarded by John with gifts of wine.³⁴

²⁹ Stephen D. Church, 'Lisle [Insula], Sir Brian de', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47250>>.

³⁰ Church, 'Lisle [Insula], Sir Brian de' <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47250>>.

³¹ Mumford, Brian is recorded as returning to England in August 1220 with a others who were certainly crusaders (*Ann. Mon.*, III, p. 60); Church, 'Lisle [Insula], Sir Brian de', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47250>>. His departure and return dates are similar to those of Ranulf, earl of Chester, perhaps indicating that he was part of the same contingent has both Ranulf and Roger de Lacy.

³² Wendover, II, p. 352.

³³ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, p. 72, no. 174; p. 88, no. 208; p. 282–83, no. 762; p. 412, no. 1131.

³⁴ Hugh M. Thomas, *Power and Pleasure: Court Life Under King John, 1199–1216* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2020), pp. 87, 144. It was very rare for John to reward someone outside of his inner circle.

Edith de Warenne

Crusade(s): First Crusade

Crusade Connections: William III de Warenne (nephew), Roger de Mowbray (cousin)

Edith was the daughter of William I de Warenne the tenant in chief to the Conisbrough lordship (West Riding). She is not known to have any lands in her own name in the county. She travelled to the Holy Land with her husband, Gerard of Gournay-en-Bray, who died on the journey.³⁵ Following the death of her husband, Edith returned home where she married another participant in the First Crusade, Drogo de Mouchy.³⁶

Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster and Leicester

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Edmund was born on 16 January 1245 and was the second, and youngest, of the sons of Henry III, king of England, and Eleanor of Provence.³⁷ Little is known about Edmund's childhood, with most of it being dominated by his father's attempts to place him on the throne of Sicily.

At the time of Lord Edward's Crusade, Edmund held vast amounts of land in England, including the titles of earl of Lancaster and earl of Leicester, and holdings in twenty-five counties in England and Wales.³⁸ He also hoped to add to his holding through his marriage to Aveline, daughter of William de Forz, count of Aumale and lord of Holderness.³⁹ Through the marriage he would have been able to add the Lordship of Holderness (East Riding), along with the lordship of the Isle of Wight and the Earldom of Devon to his possessions. However, due to

³⁵ *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and trans. by Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), II, p. 214. 'Et tandem Ierusalem petens cum uxore sua Edithua, sorore Willelmi comitis de Warennia, in ipso itinere mortuus est.'

³⁶ *Gesta Normannorum*, p. 214; *EYC*, VIII, pp. 6–7.

³⁷ Paris, IV, p. 406; David Carpenter, *Henry III: The Rise to Power and Personal Rule 1207–1258* (London: Yale University Press, 2021), p. 209; Simon Lloyd, Edmund [called Edmund Crouchback], first earl of Lancaster and first earl of Leicester, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8504>>.

³⁸ Lloyd, Edmund, <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8504>>.

³⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 358. The cost of the marriage was 1,000*l.* and the money was given to Edmund for marriage by his mother, Queen Eleanor. Details relating to the transaction and the repayment of the money are outlined in the entries for 22 and 24 July 1269; English, *Lords of Holderness*, p. 53.

Aveline dying without an heir in 1274, the Holderness lordship along with her other hereditary possessions were not absorbed into Edmund's holdings.⁴⁰ At the time of the crusade Edmund's lands consisted of 263 ½ knights' fees and fourteen castles.⁴¹

Edmund took the cross at a parliament in Northampton at Midsummer 1268, alongside his brother, Edward, and a large number of other nobles.⁴² Although he had been the pope's first choice to lead the English contingent, he departed for the East in the service of his brother. Edward granted Edmund 10,000 marks in return for him supplying one-hundred knights for the crusade, including Edmund himself.⁴³ His preparations for the crusade can be tracked in more detail than for any of the other crusaders from Yorkshire during the period 1241–91. On 1 April 1270, he was granted a licence to let out all of his lands, with the exception of his castles and fortresses for seven years.⁴⁴ Six months later, on 19 October, Edmund received a protection for his lands and possessions four years from the point of embarkation. He appointed Richard Fukeram and Hugh de Vianna as his crusade attorneys for four years on 27 January 1271.⁴⁵ In a letter dated to 13 February 1271, Edmund stated that he was leaving his mother in control of all his lands whilst he was away on crusade.⁴⁶ On 20 February 1271, prior to his departure for the East, he granted the vill of Little Kelke (East Riding) to a prior and convent of Bridlington in return for £80 in what appears to be an attempt to raise further funds for his crusade.⁴⁷

Despite this fundraising, Edmund ran out of money whilst in the Holy Land and was forced to

⁴⁰ Lloyd, Edmund, doi: < <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8504> >.

⁴¹ Lloyd, Edmund, doi: < <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8504> >.

⁴² Wykes, IV, pp. 217–18; Prestwich, *Edward I* (London: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 68.

⁴³ Beebe, 'The English Baronage' (p. 142).

⁴⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 419. There are various examples of Edmund leasing property in subsequent entries in 1270 and 1271, likely as means to raise funds to pay his crusade costs, for examples see: pp. 428; 457. On 30 August 1270, Edmund sold the Welsh Lordship of Mereduc, son of Res, to Llywelyn ap Griffith for 5,000 marks. This would likely have been to contribute towards his crusade costs; p. 502; p. 514. Edmund is granted 2,000 marks raised by the Justices in Eyre next time they pass through Lincolnshire through fines, amercements, and other issues on 4 February 1271.

⁴⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 587.

⁴⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 668.

⁴⁷ *Abstracts of the Charters and Other Documents Contained in the Chartulary of the Priory of Bridlington in the East Riding of the County of York*, ed. by W. T. Lancaster (Leeds: J. Whitehead and Son, 1912), pp. 168, 171; Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 172.

borrow money from creditors in Acre.⁴⁸ His mother, who was acting as his attorney, also raised money to send to him in the East.⁴⁹ Before departing he outlined what was to happen in the event of Edmund's death whilst in the East. It was stated that, if Edmund was to die on crusade within seven years of his departure, and if he was to die without an heir, then his lands would become property of the king. If Edmund had outstanding debts, then the debts would be paid to his creditors via money raised from his lands before they reverted back to the king.⁵⁰

Edmund left England with his contingent during March 1271, seven months after Edward, and joined the rest of the crusading army in Sicily. Very little is known about Edmund's activities on the crusade, but his actions in the East appear to have earned him the nickname 'crouchback' which is thought to be derived from 'crossed back'.⁵¹ Edmund was recorded by Walter of Guisborough as being summoned to Lord Edward's chamber (alongside Yorkshire nobleman John de Vescy) after the assassination attempt on his brother's life. In June 1272, a Muslim came to see Edward when he was alone in his chambers one evening. The Muslim attacked Edward with a poisoned dagger and, although Edward managed to fight off and kill his attacker, managed to wound the English prince leaving him in a life a life threatening condition.⁵² Edmund was summoned to his brother's bedside to swear fealty to Edward's young sons as there was a belief that Edward may not survive the attack, and, along with John, took a hysterical Eleanor of Castile out of the room whilst a surgeon cut decayed flesh away from Edward's wound.⁵³ Edmund departed from the crusade shortly after this incident, and before the main body of the force, to return to England. He left Acre in May 1272.

⁴⁸ Lloyd, Edmund, doi: < <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8504>>.

⁴⁹ Edward was sent 2,600m in 1271: Lloyd, p. 148; Lloyd, Edmund, doi: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8504>>.

⁵⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 448. This is reconfirmed on 28 Jan 1271: p. 510.

⁵¹ Lloyd, Edmund, doi: < <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8504>>.

⁵² Guisborough, I, p. 336; Beebe, 'English Baronage' (p. 132); Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 78-9.

⁵³ Guisborough, I, p. 336; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 79.

Edmund of Everley

Crusade(s): Independent 1281

Edmund of Everley, rector of a moiety of the church of Teversall (Nottinghamshire), is recorded as being granted three years leave beginning at the following Michaelmas to travel to and stay in the Holy Land on 20 January 1281.⁵⁴ Although holding a position in Nottinghamshire, Edmund's surname suggests an associating with the village of Everley located near Scarborough (North Riding).

Ellis de Rolleston

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Ellis is likely to have derived his name from Rollestone, near Hornsea (East Riding).⁵⁵ He is recorded in the Patent Rolls as receiving his letter of protection to travel to the East 10 May 1270.⁵⁶

Ernisius of Bridlington

Crusade(s): Independent between 1147 and 1156.

Possibly Ernis of Bridlington. Enis signed a quitclaim between 1147 and 1156 with the monks of Bridlington which stated that if he were to die on his jourey to Jerusalem they would receive lands in Edenham (Lincolnshire).

Eustace de Balliol

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Eustace, a younger brother of John I de Balliol, king of Scotland, was the lord of Kirklington (North Riding). He was appointed by Henry III to be a justice in the north of England in January 1264 and he is recorded as hearing the pleas of lands given beyond the Trent.⁵⁷ In 1268, Eustace was appointed as a justice in the county of York.⁵⁸ Throughout his time as a justice he

⁵⁴ *Wickwane*, p. 85.

⁵⁵ Mumford, p. 179.

⁵⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 479.

⁵⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 192; Amanda G. Beam, *The Balliol Dynasty 1210–1364* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2008), pp. 72–3.

⁵⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, pp. 286–87. He is recorded as working as a justice in York on several commissions, for examples see: *Cal. Pat. Roll. 1266–72*, pp. 290, 293–94.

is recorded as working closely with Adam of Jesmond who was a fellow northern crusader. He was granted a year exemption from being summoned by the Justices in Eyre on 26 December 1268 as he was going overseas on business.⁵⁹ He was granted protection for his lands on 20 February 1270 so he could go on crusade.⁶⁰ This protection was confirmed on 13 of July in the same year.⁶¹ He was then recorded as receiving permission to lease his manors of Leavington (North Riding), Skelton, Gameslesby, Glasonby, and *Quarlynton*, which he held in chief, for four years.⁶² It is likely he was leasing these manors to help to subsidise his crusade costs. There is unfortunately no information regarding the amount of money he was able to gain from leasing the manors, or to whom (if at all) he was able to lease them.

Eustace de Stuteville

Crusade(s): Barons' Crusade

Crusade Connections: Hugh Wake (Brother-in-law), Osmond de Stuteville

Eustace de Stuteville's Yorkshire lands were centred on the barony of Cottingham (East Riding).

Eustace inherited the barony from his father, Nicholas de Stuteville in either 1233 or 1234 after he paid King Henry III £1000 for the manor with its appurtenances.⁶³ Alongside the

Cottingham barony, Eustace also held lands outside Yorkshire, with the most prominent of these holdings being at Liddel Strength in Cumberland, where he was in possession of the

castle. On 25 January 1241, prior to departing on the crusade, Eustace was appointed as one of the knights in Yorkshire who were to go and inspect the condition of the royal castles.⁶⁴

Eustace's participation in the crusade is known due to Matthew Paris recording his name

amongst those who died on the crusade during 1241.⁶⁵ There is no further information about

⁵⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 308.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 411.

⁶¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 440.

⁶² *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 441. Skelton could refer to either the North or East Ridings, and Gamblesby and Blasonby are both located in Cumberland.

⁶³ *Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III: 9 to 18 Henry III, 1224–1234*, ed. by Paul Dryburgh and Beth Hartland, 3 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007), II, pp. 547–8.

⁶⁴ *EYC*, IX, p. 18; *Close Rolls, 1237–42*, p. 348.

⁶⁵ Paris, IV, p. 174. Paris goes on to add that his lands were inherited by Joan, the wife of fellow crusader Hugh Wake.

Eustace's participation on the crusade, so it is not known which contingent he was a member of. Eustace had strong ties to his fellow crusader Hugh Wake, who was married to his sister, Joan de Stuteville. Thanks to the make-up of the crusade leaning heavily on familial ties, it is possible that Eustace and Hugh could have travelled to the East together in the contingent of Simon de Montfort. Following his death on the Barons' Crusade all his lands passed to Joan, wife of Hugh Wake, who paid £100 for seisin of them, as Eustace did not leave an heir.⁶⁶

Geoffrey, vicar of the church of St Felix
Crusade(s): Independent 1225

Geoffrey is recorded as being '*cruce signatus*' when he was given permission to lease out his vicarage for three years on 6 May 1225, beginning on the day on which he departed for the Holy Land.⁶⁷ As this permission was granted a month before Frederick II committed to go on crusade it was likely he would have been departing independently rather than joining with the crusade of Frederick II.

Gamel, son of Gamel
Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Gamel was a tenant of a bovate of land and a messuage with appurtenances in Milford (West Riding). A case related to these holdings was due to be heard on 21 January 1219 as Peter of Milford contested the ownership of the land, but it had to be postponed due to Gamel being absent as he was in the Holy Land. It was stated that Gamel had departed for Jerusalem two years previously in 1217.⁶⁸

Geoffrey de Fougères
Crusade(s): Count of Flanders 1157

It is not known whether Geoffrey held Yorkshire lands, but his father, William, is listed in the

⁶⁶ *Rotulis Finium*, I, p. 339; *EYC*, IX, p. 18; Paris, IV, p. 174.

⁶⁷ Walter Gray, *The Register of Walter Gray, Lord Archbishop of York*, ed. by James Raine (London: Surtees Society, 1870), p. 4. The location of the church of St Felix is not recorded, but it is possible that it is the church of St Felix in Thirsk, North Riding.

⁶⁸ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, pp. 97–8, no. 234; Siedschlag, p. 138.

Red Book of the Exchequer as holding lands in the county. The location of his lands are not specified but William is recorded as owing the Archbishop of York one knight, holding land worth twenty shillings, and owing ten shillings or one knight in three separate entries.⁶⁹

Geoffrey is recorded as one of those who departed with the count of Flanders to the Holy Land in 1157.⁷⁰

Geoffrey de Lascelles

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Geoffrey was a member of a prominent family who held land in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Cumbria. His Yorkshire possessions are not known, but he was a benefactor to religious institutions in the North Riding such as Marrick priory (Richmondshire) and Rievaulx.⁷¹ He is recorded as arriving at Acre in June 1191 in the *Itinerarium* but there is no further information about his time on the Third Crusade.⁷²

Geoffrey of Houghton

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Geoffrey was from Houghton in Sancton (East Riding). He was due to appear before the justices in Eyre in 1218–19 in a case relating to wrongful dispossession of land in Sancton.

Geoffrey is recorded as not appearing before the justices because he had taken the cross and set out for the Holy Land.⁷³

Geoffrey, son of Norman

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Geoffrey was a surety for Simon, son of Quenild, a man who had found another man, Uting son of Leveric of Killinghall, dead after he had fallen from a cart. Simon had failed to come before the justices in Eyre in 1218–19. It is recorded that Geoffrey, who was responsible for Simon

⁶⁹ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. by Hubert Hall, 3 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1896), I, pp. 40, 53, 77.

⁷⁰ *Ex Gestis (a) Pontificum Cenomannensium* in, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, [n.e.], 15 vols (Paris: Veuve Desaint, 1781), XII, pp. 539–57 (p. 556, n. (a)).

⁷¹ *EYC*, V, pp. 325–26, no. 375; *EYC*, II, pp. 72–3, no. 728.

⁷² *Itinerarium*, p. 208.

⁷³ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, pp. 37–38, no. 87; Siedschlag, p. 138.

appearing before the justices, had been unable to appear himself as he was absent in Jerusalem.⁷⁴

Gerard I de Furnival

Crusade(s): Third Crusade, Fourth Crusade

Crusader Connections: Gerard II de Furnival, Gerard III de Furnival, William de Furnival, Thomas de Furnival.

Before the Third Crusade Gerard was a follower of the French King, Philip Augustus, but changed his allegiance to Richard I after Philip left Acre in 1291.⁷⁵ He witnessed charters of Godfrey, duke of Brittany, at Angers in 1181, Winchester in 1184, and Paris in 1186.⁷⁶ Gerard then moved into the service of Philip Augustus. He was an ambassador to Henry II in 1186, and also witnessed one of the French king's charters in 1190.⁷⁷ The Third Crusade appears to have elevated the status of both Gerard and his family. In 1198 Gerard served a tutor for Richard's nephew Otto of Brunswick.⁷⁸ In 1200, he paid 400 marks in order for his son, also named Gerard, to marry Maud de Lovetot, the daughter and heiress of William de Lovetot, lord of Hallamshire.⁷⁹ Gerard held the manor of Munden (Hertfordshire), which he had gained from Duke Godfrey at some point between 1183–86, but it is possible that Gerard briefly oversaw the administration of the Hallamshire lands as in March 1201 both his son, Gerard II de Furnival, and Maud are recorded as being underage.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, pp. 281–82, no. 762; Siedschlag, p. 138. This case is contained within the section relating to Knaresborough, and centres around Uting, son of Leveric of Killinghall, meaning that Geoffrey is likely from the North Riding.

⁷⁵ James Doherty, 'The Crusading Furnivals: Family Tradition, Political Expediency and Social Pressure in Crusade Motivation', *Journal of Family History*, 48 (2022) 1–17 (p. 3).

⁷⁶ *The Charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany, 1171–1221*, ed. by Judith Everard and Michael Jones (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1999), pp. 13 (Ge4), 17 (Ge8), 32 (Ge30); Doherty, 'The Crusading Furnivals' (p. 3).

⁷⁷ Ralph of Diceto, *Opera Historica*, Rolls Series 68, vol. 2, ed. William Stubbs (London: Longman, 1876), 43; Doherty, 'The Crusading Furnivals' (p. 3).

⁷⁸ Ralph V. Turner and Richard R. Heiser, *The Reign of Richard the Lionheart: Ruler of the Angevin Empire, 1189–99*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 204.

⁷⁹ *EYC*, VI, p. 209.

⁸⁰ *Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees, Commonly Called Testa de Nevill, Reformed from the Earliest MSS*, 3 vols (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1920–31), I, p. 124; Doherty, 'The Crusading Furnivals' (p. 3); *EYC*, VI, pp. 209–10.

On the Third Crusade, he is recorded in both the *Itinerarium* and by Ambroise as fighting at the battle of Jaffa in 1192 alongside Richard I.⁸¹ Gerard appears again as part of an embassy which was sent by Andrew of Chavigny to Jerusalem with a letter from King Richard for Saladin to arrange safe passage of a party of pilgrims to Jerusalem following the peace settlement of 1192.⁸² Gerard, along with two companions, fell asleep en route and were overtaken by the remainder of the party.⁸³ Gerard travelled to the East for a second time in 1204 as part of the Fourth Crusade but went to the Holy Land alongside Simon de Montfort instead of joining the Siege of Constantinople. His presence is known due to his inclusion in the witness list of a charter alongside Simon signed at Acre.⁸⁴ Although Gerard had returned from the East, Pope Innocent III requested that he, alongside Berthold, count of Katzenelnbogen, intervene in Antioch's succession crisis in 1205.⁸⁵ The fact that the pope sought him out in particular shows that Gerard had a reputation for strong diplomatic skills and perhaps shows why he was selected to be part of the embassy which was sent to meet with Saladin during the Third Crusade.

Gerard II de Furnival
Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Crusader Connections: Gerard I de Furnival, Gerard III de Furnival, William de Furnival, Thomas de Furnival.

Gerard de Furnival held lands in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire. His Yorkshire lands comprised the Lordship of Hallamshire (West Riding) which he gained through his marriage to Maud, the great-granddaughter of William de Lovetot.⁸⁶ In 1205 Gerard paid two marks for the sixth

⁸¹ *Itinerarium*, p. 361; Ambroise, p. 454, l. 11396.

⁸² *Itinerarium*, p. 374; Ambroise, p. 459, l. 11871.

⁸³ *Itinerarium*, p. 375.

⁸⁴ G. E. M. Lippiatt, 'The Zaran Company in the Holy Land: An Unknown Fourth Crusade Charter From Acre', *Historical Research*, 94 (2021) 869–85 (p. 885). Includes a transcription of the charter as well as a photo of the original document.

⁸⁵ *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, ed. and trans. by James Powell (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), pp. 226–28; Doherty, 'The Crusading Furnivals' (p. 3).

⁸⁶ *EYC*, XI, pp. 209–10. This arrangement was agreed in 1200 by Gerard's father at a cost of 400 marks and on 20 May 1203 King John ordered restoration of the lands of William de Lovetot be made to Gerard and Maud.

scutage in respect of one fee which he held in chief in Yorkshire; in 1212 he still held this fee which was listed as being of Sheffield.⁸⁷ During the First Barons' War, Gerard sided with the barons after they took control of London in 1215 and sent out letters threatening to destroy the property of those still loyal to the king.⁸⁸ Before this point, he appears to have been loyal to the king or, at the very least, not in open rebellion. There is no evidence detailing his exact involvements in the civil war and whether he was present at the battle of Lincoln.

Following in the footsteps of his father who was part of the Third and Fourth Crusades, Gerard I de Furnival, Gerard went East in the company of Simon de Montfort, fifth earl of Leicester, joining the Fifth Crusade during the siege at Damietta, where he died in late 1218 or early 1219 as his death is recorded in an entry in the Patent Rolls dated 12 April 1219.⁸⁹ Gerard is not mentioned by any other major chronicles of the Fifth Crusade and information about his deeds in the East and the manner of his death are unknown.

Gerard III de Furnival

Crusade(s): Barons' Crusade

Crusader Connections: Gerard I de Furnival, Gerard II de Furnival, William de Furnival, Thomas de Furnival.

Gerard travelled to the East as a member of the contingent led by Richard of Cornwall.⁹⁰ He is included in Matthew Paris's list of crusaders who died on the crusade.⁹¹

Gospatric White

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Sometime between 1211 and 1236 Gospatric granted six acres of land in Cloughton (North Riding) to his daughter, Milda, before departing to Jerusalem.⁹²

⁸⁷ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 64; *EYC*, III, p. 3. *Scaffeld*.

⁸⁸ *Wendover*, II, p. 308.

⁸⁹ *Rotuli litterarum*, I, p. 390; *Siedschlag*, p. 138; *Powell, Anatomy*, p. 222; *EYC*, III, p. 6.

⁹⁰ *Paris*, IV, p. 44.

⁹¹ *Paris*, IV, p. 175.

⁹² *Cartulary of Cockersand*, ed. by William Farrer, 3 vols (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1898) I, p. 888; *Siedschlag*, p. 139.

Henry de Gousla

Crusade(s): Independent 1152

Henry is recorded as selling land in Goxhill (West Riding) in 1152 prior to his departure to Jerusalem. Henry states that if he has not returned from the East in seven years, then yearly payments for the land will be made to Bridlington Priory.⁹³

Henry I de Lacy, lord of Pontefract

Crusade(s): Count of Flanders 1157, Count of Flanders 1177

Crusade Connections: Robert II de Lacy (son), John de Lacy

Henry held lands in all three Ridings, but the majority of his lands were centred on the lordship of Pontefract (West Riding). These possessions were especially concentrated in the south of the county. The honour also included lands scattered across England, most notably in Lancashire, Lincolnshire, and the Welsh March.⁹⁴ Henry travelled to the East twice during his lifetime, firstly in the 1150s, likely as part of the crusade of Thierry, count of Flanders, in 1155. His participation on this crusade is recorded in a notice he sent to Roger, archbishop of York, which explained that he had settled his disputes with the canons of Nostell Priory as he was about to set out for Jerusalem.⁹⁵ He travelled to the East for a second time in 1177 as part of the crusade of the count of Flanders in 1177. His name is included amongst a small list of individuals who departed for the East in the *Gesta Regis Henrici*.⁹⁶ Henry is recorded as dying on 25 September 1177 during the crusade.⁹⁷

Henry le Waleys

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

It is likely that the Henry le Waleys who went on the Ninth Crusade was the same Henry who

⁹³ EYC, III, p. 62, no. 1342.

⁹⁴ W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066–1194* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 195–214.

⁹⁵ EYC, III, p. 195, no. 1503.

⁹⁶ *Gesta Regis*, I, p. 159.

⁹⁷ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. by William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, 7 vols (London: Bohn, 1846), V, p. 533.

was the steward of the de Lacy manor of Pontefract.⁹⁸ The writ for the manor of Elmsdale (West Riding) was made before him.⁹⁹ Henry appears in a legal case from 16 September 1252 regarding the destruction of the wood of Henry, abbot of Byland Abbey, in Wilsden (East Riding).¹⁰⁰ He is linked to the crusade via a record in the Close Rolls that states he received royal protection to go on crusade on 16 July 1270.¹⁰¹

Henry of Le Puiset

Crusade(s): Fourth Crusade

Henry was the son of Hugh of Le Puiset, bishop of Durham, and Alice de Percy.¹⁰² Henry was present at the coronation of Richard I in 1189.¹⁰³ He held land in both Yorkshire and Durham with his Yorkshire holdings being spread across the North and East Ridings. He was gifted the manor of Market Weighton (East Riding) by Henry II. He also held property in the North Riding which he received from his mother's family, and he was also given Yokesfleet (East Riding) by his father to hold for four marks in rent. Furthermore, held lands in Deighton and Osmotherly (North Riding).¹⁰⁴ Despite Henry being an illegitimate child, he appeared to be close to his mother's family and received a grant of land in Settle and the service of Giggleswick (North Riding) from his aunt, Maud, countess of Warwick, in return for fifteen silver marks and a palfrey.¹⁰⁵ Henry would later give the church of Giggleswick, along with the church of Market

⁹⁸ Macquarrie, *Scotland*, p. 60. Macquarrie has also pointed out that an argument can be made that he could have been linked to the Wallace family who were tenants of the Stewart family in Renfrewshire, Scotland. This argument is based largely on Henry being a common first name in the family.

⁹⁹ *Yorkshire Inquisitions of the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I*, I, pp. 97–8. He was the deputy to Richard Hemmington at this point, but it is not noted as to why the writ was made before Henry.

¹⁰⁰ *Feet of Fines for the County of York 1246–1272*, ed. by John Parker (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1932), p. 87. *Wulsinden*.

¹⁰¹ *Close Rolls*, p. 440.

¹⁰² *EYC*, XI, pp. x, 4, and 306. Alice was the illegitimate daughter of William II de Percy and would later marry Richard de Moreville. G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset: Bishop of Durham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), p. 311. Henry had at least one brother, Hugh, who became clerk to the king of France and possibly two others. One of these was Burchard du Puiset who became the archdeacon of Durham, *EYC*, xi, p. 306. He also had a sister named Margaret, *EYC*, I, p. 245, no. 321.

¹⁰³ *Itinerary of King Richard I*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁴ *EYC*, II, p. 313, no. 987.; *EYC*, IX, p. 307; *EYC*, II, p. 280.

¹⁰⁵ *EYC*, XI, pp. 62–3, no. 62.

Weighton, which had been given to him by Henry II, to the canons of Haswell in Durham for the health of his soul and those of his wife and parents.¹⁰⁶

Henry had died by Michaelmas 1211, when his wife claimed her dower of 200 marks and 6 palfreys.¹⁰⁷ Evidence of Henry's link to the Fourth Crusade can be found in the Patent Rolls where he is recorded as receiving royal permission as a crusader to mortgage his lands for two years on 5 December 1201.¹⁰⁸ He had returned from the East by 1205 when he was present at an agreement between John, prior of Finchale, and Lawrence, rector of Giggleswick.¹⁰⁹ Further evidence to support his return date is found when examining a land dispute between Henry and Robert de Ros and William d'Aubigny which had to be suspended in 1205, and again in 1206, because Henry's knights were in the king's service overseas.¹¹⁰

Hugh de Alta Ripa

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Witness to a charter signed by John de Lacy outside the walls of Damietta during the Fifth Crusade.¹¹¹ The name de Alta Ripa was common in Yorkshire during the twelfth century this period with several men with that name holding land of William Paynel. Possibly related to fellow Fifth Crusade participant, Philip de Alta Ripa.

Hugh de la Mare

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Hugh cannot be connected to Yorkshire with complete certainty, but the surname de la Mare is very common in the county during the period.¹¹² He is recorded as being an armed cleric

¹⁰⁶ *EYC*, XI, p. 305, no. 205.

¹⁰⁷ *EYC*, XI, p. 307.

¹⁰⁸ *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi*, ed. by Thomas Duffus Hardy, vols (London: The Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom, 1835), I p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ *EYC*, XI, p. 308, no. 236.

¹¹⁰ *EYC*, XI, p. 308, no. 236., *EYC*, X, p. 14. He was certainly back in Yorkshire by 1209 as he is recorded in the Pipe Roll for that year.

¹¹¹ *The Chartulary of St John*, ed. by Richard Holmes, 2 vols (Leeds: The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1899), I, pp. 36–7. Alta Ripa is the Latin form of the French name Hauterive.

¹¹² Siedschlag, p. 117.

who questioned Richard's decision to engage in a skirmish on Cyprus. Richard responded by reminding him that he was not a soldier and would be best staying out of the fighting.¹¹³

Hugh le Peitevin

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

There are no surviving records of Hugh before or after the Third Crusade, but it is likely he would have held property in the county as he was a member of the Peitevin family who had come to England with William the Conqueror and been given lands in Yorkshire.¹¹⁴ Hugh went to the East as a substitute for his brother, Roger. In return for going to the East in Roger's place, Hugh was given all of Roger's lands in Normanton (East Riding).¹¹⁵

Hugh Wake

Crusade(s): Barons' Crusade

Crusade Connections: Eustace de Stuteville (brother-in-law)

Hugh Wake was the son and heir of Baldwin Wake of Bourne in Lincolnshire.¹¹⁶ During the 1220s, he married Joan de Stuteville, daughter of Nicholas de Stuteville, and sister of his fellow crusader, Eustace de Stuteville. The marriage must have occurred at some point before 29 May 1229, as on this date Hugh was pardoned for having married Joan without the king's license.¹¹⁷ Hugh's career and landholdings are not recorded in great detail, but it appears that he came into a dispute with Eustace de Stuteville over the possession of the lands of Joan's father, Nicholas Stuteville II, who died in 1233. The disputed lands, which included the manor of Cottingham (East Riding), the manor of Buttercrambe, and the manor of Kirkbymoorside (both North Riding), were eventually split between the two, with the Sheriff of Yorkshire declaring

¹¹³ *Itinerarium*, p. 186.

¹¹⁴ *EYC*, III, p. 235.

¹¹⁵ *EYC*, III, p. 248, no. 1573.

¹¹⁶ *EYC*, IX, p. 21. Hugh would inherit these lands in Lincolnshire on his father's death. Sanders, *Baronies*, p. 107.

¹¹⁷ *EYC*, IX, p. 21.

that the manor of Cottingham would be held by Eustace de Stuteville, and the manors of Buttercrambe and Kirkbymoorside would be held by Hugh.¹¹⁸

In 1238, prior to his departure, Hugh was able to secure himself his own papal funding for the crusade which was taken from his own lands and fees.¹¹⁹ Hugh was also able to use his crusader status to prevent a case from the royal court being brought against him.¹²⁰ Matthew Paris includes Hugh's name amongst those who were members of the contingent which was led by Simon de Montfort which departed shortly after the Earl Richard in 1240.¹²¹ Hugh's name is included amongst those who died in 1241, meaning that he likely died on the return journey from the Holy Land.¹²² Following his death, Hugh's lands, including the manor of Cottingham, passed to his wife, Joan.¹²³

Humphrey de Veilly

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Humphrey de Veilly held lands in Clayton (West Riding) of Robert de Lacy.¹²⁴ It is difficult to know the extent of his holdings, but the Veilly family were tenants of the Lacy fee in Yorkshire; a 'Humphrey de Veilly' appears in several charters between 1181 and 1210 both as a witness and as a donor which is almost certainly the same Humphrey.¹²⁵ He is recorded on the Third Crusade as taking part in an unsuccessful attempt by English and German crusaders to scale the walls at Acre in December 1190.¹²⁶

¹¹⁸ *EYC*, IX, p. 21.

¹¹⁹ *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, II, p. 1125, no. 4509; Lower, *Barons'*, p. 145; Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 150.

¹²⁰ *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, II, p. 1123, no. 4507; Lower, *Barons'*, p. 145

¹²¹ Paris, IV, p. 44.

¹²² Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. by Frederic Madden, Rolls Series, 44, 3 vols (London: Longman's Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866–69), II (1866) p. 459; Paris, IV, p. 174.

¹²³ *Close Rolls, 1231–34*, pp. 340, 343, 351; *EYC*, IX, p. 20. She also inherited Eustace's lands in Cumberland.

¹²⁴ *EYC*, III, p. 254, no. 1584.

¹²⁵ As a witness: *EYC*, III, p. 254, no. 1584; as a donor: *EYC*, I, p. 382, no. 497; III, pp. 230–31, no. 1549, 291, no. 1632, 297, no. 1638.

¹²⁶ *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 144; Howden, III, p. 73.

John de Ardern

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

John's name indicates a connection to Arden, near Malton and Thirsk (North Riding). He is recorded as being pardoned for his trespasses in Essex and York at the insistence of Lord Edward.¹²⁷ John is recorded in the Close Rolls as acquiring a licence to go on crusade from the king for four years.¹²⁸ He received a protection for four years on 25 May 1270.¹²⁹ He appointed fellow crusader John de Goer as his crusade attorney in the same year.¹³⁰

John de Goer

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

John is recorded in 1300 as holding land equalling the value of £40 in rents in the wapentake between the Derwent and the Ouse, in the county of York.¹³¹ In the same year he is recorded as being summoned to perform military service against the Scots.¹³² He is also recorded as holding land at Wirkesall in the Wapentake of Langbargh, and at Ingleby (all North Riding).¹³³ John obtained a crusading licence alongside his wife, Juliana, on 25 July 1270.¹³⁴ They put their lands under protection for a period of four years beginning at the feast of St John the Baptist. John appointed Richard de Waxand as his attorney for a period of four years beginning from Midsummer 1270. John was appointed as one of John de Ardern's crusade attorneys in 1270.¹³⁵

John de Lacy

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

¹²⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 426.

¹²⁸ *Close Rolls*, p. 282. 'Eodem modo Johannes de Arderne, qui de licencia regis profecturus est ad Terram; Sanctam; constituit Johannem Gower et Henricum de la Fenne attornatos suos.'

¹²⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 480.

¹³⁰ *Close Rolls, 1268–72*, p. p. 282.

¹³¹ *Kirkby's Inquest*, pp. 267, 314. The lands were likely the ones he held in Newton upon Derwent, located in the East Riding.

¹³² *Parliamentary Writs*, p. 641.

¹³³ *Kirkby's Inquest*, pp. 329, 330.

¹³⁴ *Close Rolls*, pp. 288–89.

¹³⁵ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 109; *Close Rolls*, p. 282.

Crusade Connections: Henry I de Lacy, Robert II de Lacy

John de Lacy (c. 1192–1240) was in possession of the northern baronies of Pontefract (West Riding), Clitheroe (Lancashire), Penwortham (Lancashire), Widnes (Cheshire) and Halton (Cheshire) at the time of the Fifth Crusade and would later go on to become Earl of Lincoln in 1232.¹³⁶ John had been a rebel during the barons' revolt and was excommunicated by Innocent III in December 1215.¹³⁷ On 1 January 1216, he met King John to seek peace and reconciliation, which he gained, albeit with humiliating terms that included denouncing the rebellion and Magna Carta.¹³⁸

John took the cross along with King John and Ranulf, earl of Chester, on 4 March 1215.¹³⁹ He arrived at the siege of Damietta in the company of his lord, Ranulf, in the autumn of 1218. He is recorded as being absent on crusade in the Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire in 1218–19.¹⁴⁰

Roger of Wendover recorded John as being one of a number of English nobles, including Saer of Winchester and William of Arundel, who arrived at the siege with large retinues. Whilst at Damietta he issued a charter which was witnessed by a number of other Yorkshire crusaders.¹⁴¹ Following his return from the Fifth Crusade, John de Lacy would marry Ranulf's niece, Margaret, in 1221, and become Earl of Lincoln on 23 November 1232.¹⁴²

John de Monte Alto

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Crusade Connections: Adam de Monte Alto (brother), Simon de Monte Alto (brother)

John is recorded as being from York in the Patent Roll for 1266–72, where, on 27 December 1268, his name is listed as receiving John and Andrew of Whaplode admissions into the king's

¹³⁶ Vincent, 'Lacy, John de', doi: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15855>>.

¹³⁷ Tyerman, *England*, pp. 136–37.

¹³⁸ James C. Holt, *The Northerners: A Study in the Reign of King John* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 1.

¹³⁹ Gervase of Canterbury, II, p. 109.

¹⁴⁰ Wendover, II, p. 411; *Justices*, p. 2, no. 10.

¹⁴¹ *The Chartulary of St John*, I, pp. 36–7.

¹⁴² *EYC*, II, p. 195. Margaret was the daughter of Ranulf's sister, Hawisa, and her husband Robert de Quency. John had been married before to Alice, daughter of Gilbert, lord of l'Aigle.

peace on their behalf.¹⁴³ In the roll, John is recorded as being 'John de Monte Alto of the county of York', but there is no further information regarding the exact location of his lands.¹⁴⁴ Along with Adam de Monte Alto, John was a royalist during the war.¹⁴⁵ John received his first licence to go on crusade on 20 February 1270.¹⁴⁶ He is recorded in the Close Rolls as being given a four year licence to go on crusade for a second time, at the same time as Adam and Simon de Monte Alto, on 30 July 1270.¹⁴⁷ Following the crusade, a John de Monte Alto, son of Adam de Monte Alto, appears in the charters of Edward I, beginning in the year 1276, suggesting that his time on crusade brought him closer to Edward.¹⁴⁸

John de Mowbray

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Crusade Connections: Roger de Mowbray, Nigel de Mowbray

A John de Mowbray is recorded as holding land at Allerthorpe in the Wapentake of Harthill (East Riding).¹⁴⁹ He is also recorded as holding land in Ryedale Wapentake at Hovingham, in the Birdford Wapentake at Thirsk, and a manor in Youcross Wapentake at Burton in Lonsdale (all North Riding).¹⁵⁰ He was one of three members of the Mowbray who received crusading letters from Henry III.¹⁵¹

John de Romundby

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

John is recorded as holding one knight's fee from the earl of Richmond in Eryholme, located in

¹⁴³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 273.

¹⁴⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 273.

¹⁴⁵ Mumford, p. 175.

¹⁴⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 411.

¹⁴⁷ *Close Rolls*, p. 289. 'Eodem modo Johnannes de Monte Alto, qui de licencia etc. dedit protestam Alano de Kesewik' et Hugoni de Monte Alto faciendi attornatum ut supra.'

¹⁴⁸ *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I (1272–1307)*, p. 6.

¹⁴⁹ *Kirkby's Inquest*, p. 309.

¹⁵⁰ *Kirkby's Inquest*, pp. 321, 322, 362. In the 35th year of Edward's reign, John received a charter for a market and a fair within his manor at Burton in Lonsdale.

¹⁵¹ *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London*, ed. by Joseph Bain, X Vols (London: H. M. General Register House, 1881), I, p. 518; Macquarrie, *Scotland*, p. 60. It is likely the other two Mowbrays who received letters of protection were members of the Scottish branch of the family.

the Honour of Richmond (North Riding), for which he paid half a mark, and was expected to supply one guard for Richmond Castle.¹⁵² John is recorded as a juror on a case relating to Exelby (North Riding) in 1251.¹⁵³ He obtained his letter of protection on 28 June 1270.¹⁵⁴

John de Selleston

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

John was the vicar of Rothwell (West Riding). He was recorded in an entry from 6 July 1270 in the register of Walter Giffard as being granted permission to be absent from his post for five years in order to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.¹⁵⁵ His name indicates that he was originally from Selston in Nottinghamshire.

John de Vescy

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

John de Vescy was the son of William de Vescy and his second wife, Agnes, daughter of William III de Ferrers, earl of Derby. He was educated alongside Henry III's younger son Edmund, in the Queen's household.¹⁵⁶ John inherited his father's lands on his father's death in Gascony during 1253. These lands included considerable estates in Yorkshire, most notably Malton and Knapton (both North Riding), and the barony of Alnwick in Northumberland.¹⁵⁷ Following the culmination of the crusade he would add lands at Thorton and Newsholme (both West Riding).¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, p. 228. His fee is recorded as being worth £15 9s, p. 234.

¹⁵³ *Feet of Fines*, p. 42, n. 2.

¹⁵⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 480.

¹⁵⁵ Giffard, p. 64. '2 non. Julii (July 6), 1270. Cromdon'. W., etc., dilecto in Cristo filio, Johanni de Selleston', vicario ecclesiae de Rowel' salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Devotionis tuae precibus inclinati, ut in subsidium Terrae Sanctae pio peregrinationis proposito valeas proficisci, et ibidem per quinquennium continuum immorari, ac interim fructus et obventiones vicariae tuae predictae cum integritate qua decet percipere, liberam tibi tenore presentium de gratia nostra speciali tribuimus facultatem. Proviso quod in dicta ecclesia de Rowelle fiat officium divinum, scilicet quod ad te pretextu vicariae antedictae dinoscitur pertinere, ac alia ejusdem honera, prout consuevit, agnoscere facias competenter.'

¹⁵⁶ T. F. Tout, revised by H. W. Ridgeway, Vescy, John de, *Dictionary of National Biography* (2005), doi: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28254>>.

¹⁵⁷ Tout, revised by Ridgeway, 'Vescy', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28254>>.

¹⁵⁸ *Yorkshire Hundred and Quo Warranto Rolls*, pp. 30, 150.

John was a rebel during the Second Barons' War and was one of the most influential followers of Simon de Montfort and established himself as one of the pillars of Montfortian power in the north of England. He spent a large amount of his time during the war harrying royalists in the north of the country.¹⁵⁹ John was subsequently captured at the battle of Evesham in 1265.¹⁶⁰ Following the conclusion of the rebellion, John went into revolt for a second time, along with Henry of Hastings, and was finally forced to submit, for good, by Edward at Alnwick, Northumberland, in 1267.¹⁶¹ Despite his rebellions, which incurred him a massive redemption fine of £3,700, he was quickly able to become one of Lord Edward's closest allies.¹⁶² It is likely that the time the two spent together on crusade was fundamental in forming this relationship as John went from being a rebel and irritant to the crown prior to the crusade, to being one of the most important figures in Edward's government in the years that followed it. John's significance is underscored by his inclusion in the witness lists of Edward's charters upon his return from crusade. On 5 October 1274, John is listed as a witness in Edward's royal charter.¹⁶³ Subsequently, he appears in five out of twenty charters the following year, and in seven out of twenty-two the year after.¹⁶⁴ He regularly witnessed Edward's charters until his death in 1289. In 1273, following his return from the East, John was installed as governor of Scarborough Castle. In 1275, he led a Scottish force to the Isle of Man, then under Scottish control, to suppress the rebellion of Godred Magnusson.¹⁶⁵ Additionally, he joined Edward in the Welsh wars of 1277.¹⁶⁶ John's close association with Edward becomes evident

¹⁵⁹ C. H. Knowles, 'The Resettlement of England after the Barons' War, 1264–67', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 32 (1982), 25–41 (p. 40).

¹⁶⁰ Keith J. Stringer, 'Nobility and Identity in Medieval Britain and Ireland: The de Vescy Family, c. 1120–1314', in *Britain and Ireland 900–1300: Insular response to Medieval European Change*, ed. by Brendan Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 199–239 (p. 201).

¹⁶¹ Susan Stewart, 'Simon de Montfort and His Followers, June 1963', *English Historical Review*, 119 (2004), 965–969; Knowles, 'Resettlement' (p. 40).

¹⁶² Knowles, 'Resettlement' (p. 41).

¹⁶³ *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I (1272–1307)*, p. 2.

¹⁶⁴ *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I (1272–1307)*, pp. 3–4. The witness lists of nine of the charters do not survive; *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I (1272–1307)*, pp. 6–8.

¹⁶⁵ Macquarrie, *Scotland*, p. 60. The rebellion was easily subdued and control of the Isle of Mann became more secure than it had been before the outset of the war due to Alexander III, king of Scotland, installing his son as Lord of Mann following its culmination.

¹⁶⁶ Michael Prestwich, *Edward I: War Politics and Finance* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), p. 239.

posthumously when his heart is extracted and interred at Blackfriars, alongside the hearts of Edward's wife, Eleanor of Castile, and their son, Alfonso.¹⁶⁷

John is recorded as receiving protection to go on crusade with Edward on 25 January 1271.¹⁶⁸ He also received royal permission to lease out any manors which he held in chief from the crown.¹⁶⁹ As he received his protection five months after the departure date of Edward, it is likely that John was a member of the contingent which departed for the East under the leadership of Edward's brother, Edmund.¹⁷⁰ Whilst in Acre, John is recorded as one of a number of crusaders who borrowed money from creditors. The debts to these creditors were paid off, at the insistence of Lord Edward, by the master of the Templars.¹⁷¹ According to the chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, John played a significant role following the attempted assassination of Edward. He is first recorded as being one of two barons who led a distraught Eleanor of Castile from Edward's bedside following the attempt on Edward's life which had left him poisoned.¹⁷² He is then recorded as being brought to Edward, along with Lord Edmund, to swear fealty to Edward's young sons as his condition worsened. His attendance at the bedside of Edward is not universally included in chronicles: for example the Yorkshire writer Peter of Langtoft, does not include any mention of John being present during Edward's recovery from the attack.¹⁷³ John de Vescy's inclusion in chronicle accounts serves as indication of the close bond he was able to form with Edward. Whether he was called to Edward's side is something that cannot be decisively answered, but the fact that he was considered a justifiable person –

¹⁶⁷ Michael Prestwich, 'Isabella de Vescy and the Custody of Bamburgh Castle', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 44 (1971), 148–52 (p. 149). Prestwich also indicates that the marriage between John and Isabella was in part due to his close relationship with Edward. Isabella was related to Edward's wife, Eleanor of Castile, via her great-grandfather, Alfonso IX of Leon.

¹⁶⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1266–72*, p. 439.

¹⁶⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1266–72*, pp. 439, 480; Macquarrie, *Scotland*, p. 60.

¹⁷⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1266–72*, p. 588; Beebe, *English Baronage*, p. 148.

¹⁷¹ *Antient Kalendars*, I, pp. 80–2. John can be found on p. 80.

¹⁷² Guisborough, I, p. 336.

¹⁷³ Peter Langtoft, *The Chronicle of Peter Langtoft, in French Verse, From the Earliest Period to the Death of King Edward I*, ed. by Thomas Wright, 2 vols, Rolls Series, 47 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866–68), II (1868), pp. 158–60. Peter Langtoft was an Augustinian canon at Bridlington Priory who wrote his chronicle contemporaneously to the events of the crusade.

not just any follower could be put into that situation – and to be placed in the scene is a testament to the perceived relationship between the prince and his follower.

John I, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond

Crusade(s): Eighth Crusade

Crusade Connections: John II, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond (son)

John acquired control of the Honour of Richmond in 1266 through his marriage to Beatrice, a daughter of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence. However, the earldom was not granted to him in full initially and it was not until 1277 that John was able to assert complete control over the entirety of it. To gain complete control of the earldom, John had to exchange other estates, including the castle of Hastings, for the lands related to the fee.¹⁷⁴ Things were further complicated by John's predecessor as earl of Richmond, Peter of Savoy, who had bequeathed the honour to queen Eleanor. Eleanor released her claims for 800 marks, which was paid in instalments.¹⁷⁵ John was part of the expedition led by Louis IX that went to Tunis. He returned to Brittany following Louis's death.

John II, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond

Crusade(s): Eighth Crusade, Lord Edward's Crusade

Crusade Connections: John I, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond (father)

John was the son of John I, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond. He was given £40 by the monks at Fountains Abbey to help to pay for his journey to Jerusalem in return for the vill of Ainderby (North Riding) in October 1269.¹⁷⁶ He is listed as joining Edward's service at Sicily, travelling with Edward from that point.¹⁷⁷ Along with a number of other crusaders, including fellow Yorkshire landowner, John de Vescy, John was forced to borrow money from the

¹⁷⁴ Ivor J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent 1086–1327* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 140–1.

¹⁷⁵ Sanders, *Baronies*, p. 141.

¹⁷⁶ *Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains*, ed. by W. T. Lancaster, 2 vols (Leeds: J. Whitehead & Sons, 1915), II, p. 11; Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 172. Ainderby could refer to Ainderby Mires, Ainderby Quernhow, or Ainderby Steeple.

¹⁷⁷ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 144.

Templars during his stay in Acre.¹⁷⁸ John was briefly stripped of the earldom of Richmond in 1296 when he defected from Edward to the French king, Philip III.¹⁷⁹

John of Hessle

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

John issued a charter at the siege of Acre which stated that he was giving a gift of land to the Temple of the Lord at Jerusalem (the house of the Templars at North Ferriby).¹⁸⁰ The only recorded witness to the charter is the chronicler Roger of Howden, who John states was present with him. This indicates that the charter was written at some point following Richard the Lionheart's arrival at Acre on 8 June 1191 as Roger of Howden travelled to the East with the English king, and the conclusion of the siege in August of the same year as Roger departed the Holy Land in the company of the French king Philip Augustus.

John of Morwick

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

John was the prebendary of Dunnington where he was replaced by William Testard between 1191–4.¹⁸¹ John is recorded by Roger of Howden as dying at the siege of Acre in 1190.¹⁸²

John of Penistone

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

John signed a charter between 1188 and 1190 in which he outlined that his brother, William, was to be the warden of his lands, likely in Penistone (West Riding) whilst he was away on

¹⁷⁸ *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer, Together With Other Documents Illustrating the History of that Repository* ed. by Francis Palgrave, 3 vols (London: G. Eyre and A. Spottiswoode, 1836), I, p. 81.

¹⁷⁹ Maurice Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century 1216–1307*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 236, n. 1.

¹⁸⁰ Doris M. Stenton, 'Roger of Howden and Benedict', *The English Historical Review*, 68 (1953), 574–582 (pp. 576–77). The charter survives in the chartulary of the house of North Ferriby but has been transcribed in full in the referenced article. 'Testibus Rogero persona de Houden. etc. qui tunc presentes fuerunt cum domino Johanne de Hesell' in obsidione Acre'.

¹⁸¹ *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300*, vi: *York*, compiled by Diana E. Greenway (London: University of London, 1999), pp. 68–9; *York Minster Fasti*, ed. by C. T. Clay, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 123–4, 2 vols (1957–8), I, p. 69, no. 23.

¹⁸² *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 148. 'Johannes de Morwic canonicus Eboracensis'.

crusade.¹⁸³ The charter also contains details of lands close by to Penistone which John was giving to Nostell priory (West Riding).

Joscelin de Louvain

Crusade(s): Count of Flanders 1177

Crusade Connections: William I de Percy, Walter de Percy

Joscelin was the nephew of Adeliza of Louvain, the second wife of the Henry I, king of England.¹⁸⁴ He married the heiress of the Percy family, Agnes de Percy, at some point between 1154 and 1161, and the Percy barony was granted to him in 1175.¹⁸⁵ In a charter, dated to c.1174, Joscelin is recorded as receiving one-hundred pounds of silver to help finance his crusade.¹⁸⁶ Due to the dating of the charter, it is likely that he was a member of the crusade led by the count of Flanders in 1177. His actions and deeds on the crusade are unknown, but he did return to England following its conclusion as he died in 1180.¹⁸⁷

Juliana de Goer

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Crusade Connections: John de Goer (husband)

Juliana is not recorded as holding any lands in her own right, but her husband, John de Goer, is recorded as holding lands at *Wirkestall* in the Wapentake of Langbargh, and at Ingleby (all North Riding).¹⁸⁸ She is recorded in the Close Rolls as receiving a licence to go on crusade alongside her husband on 25 July 1270.¹⁸⁹ Juliana is the only example of a Yorkshire woman taking part in Edward's Crusade.

¹⁸³ *EYC*, III, p. 405, no. 1787.

¹⁸⁴ *EYC*, IX, p. 6.

¹⁸⁵ *EYC*, XI, p. 5.

¹⁸⁶ *EYC*, XI, pp. 66–7, no. 68.

¹⁸⁷ *EYC*, XI, p. 6.

¹⁸⁸ *Kirkby's Inquest*, pp. 329, 330.

¹⁸⁹ *Close Rolls*, pp. 288–9. 'Johannes Guer et Juliana uxor ejus, qui de licencia regis profecturi sunt ad Terram Sanctam.'

Lecia, mother of William

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Lecia was from Walton (West Riding). She is recorded as finding her son drowned and was due to come before the justices as she was the first to find his body. She is documented as unable to appear because she had left to go to the Holy Land before the arrival of the justices in 1218–19. According to the record, she had left Walton so suddenly, that it was initially believed she was dead but it was confirmed by the people of Waldon that she had departed for the East. She was not suspected of her son's murder.¹⁹⁰

Luke de Tany

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Luke de Tany served as the constable of Tickhill (West Riding) and Knaresborough (North Riding) during the final stages of the Second Barons' War.¹⁹¹ In this role, he was ordered to capture the brothers Richard and Peter de Halstede, and other felons in that area. He was successful in capturing them and took it upon himself to prosecute and behead a number of prisoners without direct orders, or legal grounds, to do so.¹⁹² It appears that he was able to avoid facing conviction for these crimes due to his status as a crusader, as he had received a letter of protection on 28 June 1270, some two weeks before the case was recorded on 16 July 1270.¹⁹³ He was still present in England when the cases were brought against him, showing that the act of taking the cross was enough, at least in Luke's case, to save him from having to face his trial. He travelled to the Holy Land in the contingent led by Edward and served as Edward's admiral. In this role he made the arrangements for the transport of the crusaders from Sicily to Acre.¹⁹⁴ Following the crusade, in 1272, Luke was appointed Seneschal of Gascony, a position he held for six years, when he was removed from office by Otto Grandson

¹⁹⁰ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, p. 183, no. 431; Siedschlag, p. 140.

¹⁹¹ Michael Prestwich, 'Tany, Sir Luke de (d. 1282)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37698>>.

¹⁹² *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 442.

¹⁹³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 442; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 70. Lord Edmund was also quit of any court cases which were brought against him meaning that Robert de Ferrers was unable to take legal action against him to recover lost lands; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 480.

¹⁹⁴ Mumford, p. 181.

and Robert Burnell.¹⁹⁵ Prestwich notes that he was removed for attempting to rule too firmly, rather than for incompetence or corruption. He appears in the witness lists of Edward's charters shortly after his removal from the post, further highlighting that his removal had not significantly harmed his relationship with the king. He is first recorded as a witness on 7 November 1279.¹⁹⁶ Luke died, likely via drowning, on 6 November as part of a failed attack on the Welsh during Edward I's second Welsh War.¹⁹⁷ Whether his death was the result of him, along with his men, being driven into the sea following a failed assault on the Welsh mainland, or drowning when a bridge of boats became overloaded during the return crossing from the Welsh mainland to Anglesey and sunk, is unclear.¹⁹⁸

Margaret of Beverley

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Margaret's life and travels are documented in a *vita* written in both prose and verse which was composed by her younger brother, Thomas of Froidmont.¹⁹⁹ Margaret arrived in the East shortly before the siege of Jerusalem in 1187 and was involved in the defence of the city. She took an active role in the fighting, and wore armour to protect herself which included a cooking pot that she used as a makeshift helmet. Despite being allowed to leave Jerusalem after its capture, Margaret, along with other ransomed prisoners, was captured and kept as a slave. She spent fifteen months undertaking forced labour before a citizen of Tyre purchased her freedom, along with several others, in celebration of the birth of his son. Margaret then headed to Antioch. Whilst there, she worked as a laundress for the sailors but was washed into the sea. Although she was saved by the sailors, she lost some of the clothing she had

¹⁹⁵ Prestwich, 'Tany' <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37698>>.

¹⁹⁶ Prestwich, 'Tany' <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37698>>; *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I (1272–1307)*, p. 17.

¹⁹⁷ Prestwich, 'Tany' <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37698>>.

¹⁹⁸ Michael Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England 1272–1377* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1980), p. 15.

¹⁹⁹ Paul Gerhard Schmidt, 'Peregrinatio Periculosa: Thomas von Froidmont über die Jerusalem-Fahrten Seiner Schwester Margareta' in *Kontinuität und Wandel. Lateinische Poesie von Naevius bis Baudelaire. Franco Munari zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by U. J. Stache and W. Maaz, F. Wagner (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1986), pp. 461–85 (pp. 472–85).

purchased with his earnings. Following this, a Muslim army attacked Antioch, but they were repelled by a force from the city which was led by the prince of Antioch. She headed to Acre which was under siege by a crusading army, via Tyre. After witnessing the quarrelling of Richard the Lionheart and Philip Augustus, she decided that to return to England in search of her brother, Thomas. Upon reaching Beverley, she discovered that he had travelled to France and was now in the service of Louis, count of Clermont and Blois, so she went to France to meet him. After successfully reuniting with Thomas, Margaret made the decision to devote the remainder of her life to the Virgin Mary, and joined a Cistercian monastery in Montreuil, near Laon in northern France, which was dedicated to the Virgin. Margaret stayed as a member of the monastery until her death twenty-two years later.²⁰⁰

Mariota, daughter of William

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

It is unclear where in Yorkshire Mariota came from and cannot be attributed to a particular Riding. She accused Thomas le Grant of rape, but was unable to appear before the justices in 1218–19 because she had departed for Jerusalem prior to their arrival. In her absence Thomas was found not guilty.²⁰¹

Martin of Selby

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

From Selby (North Riding). Witness to a charter issued by John de Lacy outside the walls of Damietta during the Fifth Crusade.²⁰²

Nicholas de Marton

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Nicholas' name suggests a connection to Marton (East Riding) and was possibly related to

²⁰⁰ Thomas of Froidmont, pp. 461–85 (p. 475).

²⁰¹ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, p. 297, no. 818; Siedschlag, p. 140.

²⁰² *The Chartulary of St. John*, I, pp. 36–37.

Robert de Marton. He is recorded as receiving letters of protection on 16 July 1270. Nicholas travelled to the East as part of the contingent led by Edward.²⁰³

Nicholas, son of Robert Gubald

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Nicholas was recorded in the Yorkshire Assize rolls of 1218–19 as being granted an *essoin*, 'because he was in the land of Jerusalem' in a case relating to a case of *mort d'ancestor*.²⁰⁴

Nicholas cannot be confidently assigned to any Riding, but as the case involves Nicholas of Tickhill it is possible it was related to lands in the West Riding.

Nigel de Mowbray

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Crusade Connections: Roger de Mowbray (father), John de Mowbray

Nigel's father, Roger de Mowbray, was part of the Second Crusade, the crusade of Philip, count of Flanders in 1177, and made a journey to the East in 1186 which ended with him perishing in 1188 following a short imprisonment after being captured at the Battle of Hattin. Nigel inherited the honour of Mowbray (North Riding) at the age of forty-five following his father's death.²⁰⁵ He set off for the East alongside King Richard and is recorded as dying at the siege of Acre in 1190. Following his death, his body was thrown into the sea.²⁰⁶

Osmund de Stuteville

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Crusade Connections: Eustace de Stuteville

Osmund is recorded as holding two fees in Burton Agnes (East Riding) from his brother Robert de Stuteville.²⁰⁷ His is known to have died at Jaffa in 1192.²⁰⁸

²⁰³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 440.

²⁰⁴ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, p. 3, no. 15; Siedschlag, p. 140.

²⁰⁵ *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, p. xxxii.

²⁰⁶ *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 149. *Nigellus de Mumbray projectus in mare*.

²⁰⁷ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, I, p. 429; *EYC*, II, p. 13.

²⁰⁸ *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 150.

Peter de Champayne

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

A Peter de Champayne is recorded as a free tenant at Dringhoe near Hornsea (East Riding).²⁰⁹

He was a royalist during the Second Barons' War.²¹⁰ Peter received a letter of protection for his lands in 1270.²¹¹

Peter de Maulay

Crusade(s): Barons' Crusade

Crusade Connections: Rubert of Turnham (father-in-law)

Peter was originally from the border region between Poitou and Touraine in France and was brought to England by King John between 1202 and 1204.²¹² Despite his long and varied career at the top of English politics, Maulay is perhaps most famous for his involvement in the rumoured murder of King John's nephew, and rival claimant to the throne of England, Arthur of Brittany. According to the fourteenth-century chronicler Walter of Guisborough, it was Peter himself was the one who carried out the murder of the young Arthur in 1203.²¹³ Little is known about Peter's family, such as the identity of his parents, but it is commonly accepted that he came from humble origins. He is known to have had a younger brother, Aimery de Maulay, to whom Peter alienated his French estates when he moved to England.²¹⁴ Peter quickly fostered a close relationship with the English king and was recorded by Roger of Wendover as being one of the king's 'most wicked councillors' in 1211.²¹⁵ In 1214, Peter

²⁰⁹ *Yorkshire Inquisitions of the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I*, ed. by William Brown, 2 vols (Huddersfield: The Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, 1892), I, p. 101.

²¹⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, pp. 222, 473.

²¹¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 411.

²¹² Nicholas Vincent, 'Maulay [Malo Lacu], Peter de', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18375>>.

²¹³ Walter of Guisborough, *Cronica Walteria De Gyseburne De Gestis Regum Anglieb. Prohemiumc*, ed. by Harry Rothwell (London, Offices of the Society, 1957), p. 144. 'Dum adhuc esset in Aquitannia comprehensum puerum dolo tenuit et occidit per manum armigeri sui Petri de malo lacu cui postea heredem baronie de Mulgref dedit in vxorem loco mercedis inique'; Nicholas Vincent, *Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205–1238* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 203 and note 104. Despite writing in the fourteenth century, it is likely that Walter was a good source on the incident due to Guisborough's close proximity to Maulay's castle at Mulgrave.

²¹⁴ Vincent, 'Maulay', doi: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18375>>.

²¹⁵ Wendover, II, pp. 256–7.

married Isabella, the daughter and heiress of the Third Crusader and Yorkshire landowner Robert de Turnham, and inherited the Fossard barony which contained thirty knight's fees split between Mulgrave (North Riding) and Doncaster (West Riding).²¹⁶ Peter paid King John 7000 marks for the marriage and the inheritance which elevated him to being one the most powerful barons in Yorkshire.²¹⁷

He remained in royal favour following John's death, and retained his offices, such as sheriff of Dorset and Somerset, which he had been appointed to in 1216. During the civil war, Peter acted as the king's gaoler, holding prisoners in his castle in Corfe, Dorset. This earned him great dislike as he demanded large ransoms for the prisoners and kept many locked up well after the hostilities had ended. In 1221, Maulay was accused of treason, and stripped of all of his offices and retired to his Yorkshire lands. In 1232, he returned to the royal court with Peter des Roches, and in 1233, Henry III restored some of the lands which had been seized from him in 1221.²¹⁸

Peter may have taken the cross as early as 1220 and departed for the Holy Land with William de Forz, in 1241.²¹⁹ It is also possible that he took the cross, or reconfirmed his vow, along with fellow Barons' Crusade participant, Peter de Brus II, when Peter de Brus III, the eldest son of Peter de Brus II, married Peter de Maulay's eldest daughter Hilaria and Peter de Maulay II married Johanna de Brus, the eldest daughter of Peter de Brus II.²²⁰ If he reached the East, his time in the Holy Land was short, as he died in 1241, the same year as he departed and before he could return to England.²²¹ His death must have been known in England by 6 January 1242 as the King's Bailiffs are recorded as taking seisin of Peter's lands.²²² During his lifetime Peter

²¹⁶ Sanders, *Baronies*, p. 67.

²¹⁷ Ralph V. Turner, *King John* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 104; Vincent, 'Maulay', doi: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18375>>.

²¹⁸ Vincent, 'Maulay', doi: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18375>>.

²¹⁹ Paris, IV, p. 89.

²²⁰ Ruth Margaret Blakely, *The Brus Family in England and Scotland, 1100–1295* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), p. 60.

²²¹ Paris, IV, p. 175.

²²² *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, I, p. 12, no. 8.

had been a benefactor to a military religious order in England, the Knights of St Thomas. He granted the order the hospital of St James in Doncaster.²²³

Peter II de Brus

Crusade(s): Barons' Crusade

Peter de Brus II was the eldest son and heir to the influential Yorkshire baron Peter de Brus I. Peter inherited his father's lands and title of lord of Skelton (North Riding) upon his father's death, which occurred after 1221. The date of Peter de Brus I's death is unclear, but he was still alive at the time of the marriage of Henry III's sister, Joan, to Alexander II, king of Scotland, in June 1221. Peter de Brus II was able to take control of all of his father's lands in the north of the county, which included seven fees in the honour of Mowbray (North Riding) and the wapentake of Langbaugh (North Riding).²²⁴ Peter's political career never reached the prominence of those of his father and his son, Peter de Brus III, but he did take up his father's position as a justice in Yorkshire, and he later became a justice of the forest.²²⁵ Peter had also been a part of the attempt to regain the King Henry III's French possessions during the campaign to Poitou in 1230.²²⁶

Peter was among the members of the contingent led by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, which departed for the Holy Land in 1240.²²⁷ Peter was, however, never able to reach Palestine as he died on the outward journey (possibly at Marseilles). His son, Peter de Brus III, paid relief on his inheritance in November 1240 suggesting his father's death was known in England by that point.²²⁸ Both Ruth M. Blakely and W. Brown have argued that Peter died on his journey to the Holy Land due to their not being enough time for him to have made it to Palestine and back in the time frame.²²⁹ Peter had strong ties to the fellow crusader Peter de Maulay, as two

²²³ A. J. Forey, 'The Military Order of St Thomas of Acre', *The English Historical Review*, 92 (1977), 481–503 (p. 493).

²²⁴ Blakely, *The Brus Family*, p. 59.

²²⁵ Blakely, *The Brus Family*, p. 59.

²²⁶ Pipe Roll 14, Henry III, p. 34.

²²⁷ Paris, IV, p. 44.

²²⁸ Paris, IV, p. 174; Blakely, *The Brus Family*, p. 61.

²²⁹ Blakely, *The Brus Family*, p. 61; Brown, p. 247.

marriages between their children had been conducted shortly before the departure of the crusade. Following his death at Marseilles, Peter's servants brought his body back to Yorkshire, where it was buried at Guisborough.²³⁰

Peter of Duffield, husband of Hawisia, niece of Jordan the tall
Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Peter's wife, Hawisia, was strangled to death by Simon of Duffield whilst Peter was absent on crusade. The case was heard by the judges in February 1219 whilst Peter was still away in the Holy Land. On 11 February 1219 Simon was hanged after being defeated in trial by combat by Jordan the Tall, who had raised the hue and cry and accused Simon of killing Hawisa. Simon was accompanied during the murder by his two daughters, Sybil and Christina, and by Geoffrey of Stallingborough and his seven-year-old son William. After initially denying involvement, a jewellery box and a border of cloth known to have belonged to Hawisa were found on the person of Geoffrey and a razor and a tunic belonging to Peter of Duffield were found on the person of William, son of Geoffrey, leading to Geoffrey also being hanged.²³¹

Philip de Willoughby
Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Philip was in charge of Edward's wardrobe whilst on the return from the crusade.²³² He relinquished this office in October 1274.²³³ On 11 October 1274, following the coronation of Edward as king of England, Philip was appointed as exchequer beyond the Trent, and is recorded as being admitted to the custody of Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire.²³⁴

²³⁰ *Excerpta è Rotulis Finium in Turri Londinensi Asservatis, Henrico Tertio Rege, A. D. 1216–1272*, ed. by Charles Roberts, 2 vols (London: Record Commission, 1835), I, pp. 332–33; Blakely, *The Brus Family*, p. 61.

²³¹ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, pp. 298–9, no. 823; Siedschlag, p. 137. Duffield is now considered to be part of the North Riding, but before 1974 it was classified as being part of the East Riding.

²³² Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 124. Little survives of the account of Philip de Wilughby. A brief summary survives in Pipe Roll 5 Edward I.

²³³ Mumford, p. 184.

²³⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272–81*, p. 59.

Philip of Alta Ripa

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Philip was possibly related to fellow Fifth Crusade participant, Hugh de Alta Ripa. During his absence from England, Philip and his man, Roger, were accused by Robert le Scot of killing Robert's father, Thomas, on 18 August 1214, but since Philip and Roger had left before the appeal was made, the appellators were obliged to wait for their return.²³⁵ The case record reveals that Philip had departed for the Holy Land before the Nativity of John the Baptist (24 June) in 1218. Accurately identifying Philip and his land holding is difficult. His inclusion in the witness list of the de Lacy charter narrows down his likely landholdings to areas under the influence of John de Lacy.²³⁶ The name de Alta Ripa was common in Yorkshire during the twelfth century this period with several men with that name holding land of William Paynel. The most prominent of these is a certain Robert de Alta Ripa who held half a knight's fee of William Paynel from 1166.²³⁷

Ralph d'Aubigny

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Ralph d'Aubigny was the son of Ralph d'Aubigny the elder, and grandson of William II d'Aubigny, earl of Arundel and earl of Lincoln.²³⁸ Ralph held fifteen knight's fees in lands in both the East Riding and Lincolnshire in the honour of Arundel.²³⁹ He died at Acre in 1191.²⁴⁰ Upon his death, his lands passed to his sister, Gunnora, who married Nicholas I de Stuteville.²⁴¹

²³⁵ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, pp. 263–64, no. 713, 416–17, no. 1137; Siedschlag, p. 140.

²³⁶ *The Chartulary of St. John*, I, pp. 36–7.

²³⁷ *EYC*, XI, p. 263; James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

²³⁸ *EYC*, IX, p. 15.

²³⁹ *Feet of Fines of the Seventh and Eighth Years of the Reign of Richard I A.D. 1196 to A.D. 1197*, The Publications of the Pipe Roll Society (London: Pipe Rolls Society, 1896), p. 99; *Honors and Knights' Fees: An Attempt to Identify the Component Parts of Certain Honors and to Trace the Descent of the Tenants of the Same who Held by Knight's Service or Serjeanty from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by William Farrer, 3 vols (London: Longman, Green, 1925), III, p. 142.

²⁴⁰ *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 149.

²⁴¹ *EYC*, IX, p. 15.

Ralph de Chall

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Ralph is recorded as giving two bovates of land in Carperby in Richmondshire (North Riding) to Easby Abbey for three years in return for supporting his wife with three loaves of bread each day he was in the East, and flour every four months.²⁴² The charter also states that if Ralph does not return from the East within three years, the canons at Easby are to give Ralph's wife her dowry. There are no records of the dowry being paid out, so Ralph either returned within the specified three years, or did not depart for the East.

Ralph of Tilly

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Ralph was the constable of the household of Roger, archbishop of York.²⁴³ The Tilly family held lands in the West Riding of the de Lacy family, but Ralph's holdings are unknown.²⁴⁴ He is recorded as being involved in a failed attempt by English and German crusaders to scale the city walls at Acre in December 1190 and was pivotal in saving the English ladder which was nearly taken by the city garrison as the attack was being repelled.²⁴⁵

Ralph, parson of Crosby

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

It is impossible to be certain where Ralph was from, but it is possible he was linked to Crosby (North Riding). He is recorded in the list of crusaders who died at Acre in 1191.²⁴⁶

Ranulf de Blundeville, earl of Chester, earl of Richmond, and earl of Lincoln.

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Ranulf was earl of Richmond (North Riding), a title which he had come to hold through marriage to his first wife, Constance, who was the daughter of and heir to Conan IV, duke of

²⁴² *EYC*, V, p. 122, no. 215.

²⁴³ Howden, II, p. 60. 'Radulfus de Tilli, constabularius familiae Rogeri Eboracensis'.

²⁴⁴ *EYC*, VIII, p. 145

²⁴⁵ Howden, III, p. 73; *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 144.

²⁴⁶ *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 149.

Brittany, and widow of Henry II's son, Geoffrey.²⁴⁷ He briefly lost possession of the earldom following the annulment of his marriage, and the earldom was awarded to Gui de Thouars on Constance's death in 1201, and then to Robert de Breteuil, earl of Leicester, in 1203, because Gui defected to Philip II, king of France.²⁴⁸ Following Robert de Breteuil's death in 1204, most of the earldom of Richmond was awarded back to Ranulf in March 1205.²⁴⁹ Despite a large number of his tenants rebelling, Ranulf remained loyal to King John throughout his reign, which led to Ranulf being rewarded with half of the honour of Leicester and the shrievalties of Lancaster, Shropshire, and Staffordshire in April 1216.²⁵⁰

Ranulf took the cross on 4 March 1215 alongside King John.²⁵¹ Ranulf departed England between 3 and 7 June 1218 after making peace with Llywelyn, prince of Wales, and joined the Fifth Crusade at Damietta in the autumn of 1218.²⁵² It is likely that Ranulf was the most prominent English leader on the Fifth Crusade, and it was claimed that he travelled to the East with one hundred of his knights, including the fellow Yorkshire landowner, John de Lacy.²⁵³ His arrival at the siege of Damietta with the papal legate Pelagius, and a number of other English

²⁴⁷ Richard Eales, 'Ranulf (III) [Ranulf de Blundeville], Sixth Earl of Chester and First Earl of Lincoln', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2716>>.

²⁴⁸ Eales, 'Ranulf (III)' <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2716>>.

²⁴⁹ *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, ed. by Thomas Duffus Hardy (London: Historical Society, 1802), p. 51; Hugh M. Thomas, *Vassals, Heiresses, Crusaders, and Thugs: The Gentry of Angevin Yorkshire, 1154–1216* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), p. 172. The grant of fee to Ranulf is strange for the period. King John retained control of all lands outside of the fee and the fees of two important vassals within Richmondshire. This gave John a direct link to all of the leading vassals of the honour.

²⁵⁰ Thomas, *Vassals*, p. 172.

²⁵¹ Gervase of Canterbury, 'Canterbury Annals', in *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs 2 vols, The Rolls Series, 73 (London: Longman, 1879–80), II, p. 109. 'Iohannes rex Anglie signatus est cruce ante discordiam inter ipsum et barones suos, iiii. to nonas Martii. Cruce quoque signati sunt venerabiles et illustres viri comes Cestrie, comes Ferires, comes Wintonie, constabularius Cestrie et plures tam nobiles quam plebei.'

²⁵² *Annales Cestrienses: or, Chronicle of the Abbey of S. Werburg, at Chester*, ed. and trans. by Richard Copley Christie (London: The Record Society, 1886), p. 50. 'Pacificati sunt dominus Ranulphus comes Cestrie et Lewelinus princeps Wallie, et in Septimana Pentecostes proxima profectus est dominus Rannulphus comes Cestrie Jerosolimam'; Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades, c. 1095–1291* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), p. 109. The timing of the peace, which was arranged one week before Ranulf's departure, shows how important peace in the Marches was in facilitating his crusading.

²⁵³ L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1859), II, p. 188; Hurlock, *Wales*, p. 107; Laura Slater, 'Finding Jerusalem in Medieval Pontefract', *Northern History*, 51 (2014), 211–20 (p. 212).

and French nobles, came after the capture of the fortified tower which blocked access to the city on 29 August 1218, which indicates that the English contingent travelled on the spring passage of 1218.²⁵⁴ Ranulf was involved in saving the Christian force from being routed by the Muslim army during August of 1219 after an ill-advised attack. Ranulf, along with, John de Lacy, John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, and the military orders amongst others, joined the fray moments before it turned into a rout.²⁵⁵ He was present for the capture of Damietta in November 1219, and was part of a group, which included the king of Jerusalem and numerous French and German crusaders, which pushed for the acceptance of the deal offered by the Egyptian sultan which proposed that Jerusalem be given to the Christians and Christian prisoners released, in return for the city of Damietta.²⁵⁶ Whilst at Damietta, he contributed 50 marks to the strengthening of the Tower of Chains which protected the entrance to the Nile at the city.²⁵⁷ Ranulf left the crusade in the spring of 1220, before the disastrous defeat of the crusading army as it marched up the Nile towards Cairo, as he was recorded as being back in Chester on 16 August 1220.²⁵⁸

Ranulf Glanvill

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Ranulf, who was originally from Norfolk, was the son, or grandson, of Second Crusader, Hervey de Glanville. He served as the sheriff of Yorkshire on two separate occasions. From 1163 until 1170 when he was removed from his post for corruption and from 1175 to September 1189,

²⁵⁴ Wendover, II, p. 411. The other English nobles recorded by Wendover were, Sayer, earl of Winchester, William of Arundel, Robert Fitz Walter, William de Harcourt and Oliver, the illegitimate son of King John.

²⁵⁵ James W. Alexander, *Ranulf of Chester a Relic of Conquest* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1983), p. 79.

²⁵⁶ Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta by Oliver of Paderborn', ed. and trans. by Joseph J. Gavigan, in *Christian Society and the Crusades 1198–1229*, ed. by Edward Peters (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), pp. 49–139; Kathryn Hurlock, 'A Transformed Life? Geoffrey of Dutton, the Fifth Crusade, and the Holy Cross of Norton', *Northern History*, 54 (2017), 15–27 (p. 18).

²⁵⁷ Oliver of Paderborn, p. 79; Hurlock, 'A Transformed Life?' (p. 18); It is possible that he contributed this large sum because he appreciated the need for strong fortifications due to both witnessing the building of parts of Chateau Gaillard in Normandy and overseeing the building of fortifications in England and the Welsh Marches, such as Beeston Castle in Chester, to defend against the Welsh king Llywelyn the Great, Swallow, 'Gateways to Power' (pp. 296–97).

²⁵⁸ Hurlock, 'A Transformed Life?' (p. 18).

when he was removed from his office by King Richard and was forced to pay a fine of £15,000. This fine could have been a convenient way for Richard to raise funds for the crusade.²⁵⁹ In 1273 he was appointed as the custodian of the honour of Richmond, and became the sheriff of Lancaster, and in 1180 he was appointed chief justiciar of England.²⁶⁰ In He took the cross in 1185 when king Henry II gave permission for all his subjects, both clergy and laity, to take a crusading vow.²⁶¹ Ranulf participated on the Third Crusade despite his large fine and removal from his positions of Sheriff of Yorkshire and, Justiciar of England, illustrating how important it was to be involved on the venture. He was present with Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury as part of the advanced contingent which arrived in Tyre on 16 September 1190.²⁶² He is one of the English crusaders who were recorded as dying at the siege of Acre in 1190.²⁶³

Ranulf of Tange

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Ranulf's connection to Yorkshire cannot be certain, but his name suggests a connection to Tang Hall (North Riding). He is included in the list of names of English crusaders who appear to have been local to Roger of Howden who died on the crusade at Acre in 1190.²⁶⁴

Reiner de Waxham

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Reiner served as the deputy to Ranulf de Glanville, sheriff of York, but the location of any lands he had in the county are unknown. He is recorded as dying in Cyprus before July 1192.²⁶⁵

²⁵⁹ Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon Ricardi Divisiensis de Rebus Gestis Ricardi Primi Regis Angliæ: Nunc Primum Typis Mandatum*, ed. by Joseph Stephenson, English Historical Society Publications, 5 (London: Sumptibus Societatis, 1838), p. 7.

²⁶⁰ *The Charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany and Her Family, 1171–1221*, ed. by Judith Everard and Michael Jones (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1999), p. 18.

²⁶¹ Howden, II, p. 302.

²⁶² Devizes, p. 19–20; Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 129. Devizes explains how the fleet was split into two but claims this happened after the army had reached Sicily.

²⁶³ *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 149.

²⁶⁴ *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 149.

²⁶⁵ Although included for the year 1190, the list in the chronicle contains the names of individuals who died as late as July 1192 which makes it impossible to accurately date Reiner's death. *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 150. *Reiner vicecomes Eboraci in insula de Cypre*.

Richard de Glen
 Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Richard de Glen is regularly listed as being part of the household of the archbishop of York, though it appears as if he was not a part of the Church, as he is recorded as *laicus* (not a cleric) in one witness list from 1269.²⁶⁶ There are no specific details given on his Yorkshire possessions. He was granted protection for his lands for his crusade on 17 February 1271.²⁶⁷ Due to the date of his protection falling after the date on which Edward departed for the Holy Land, Richard would likely have been a member of Edmund's contingent. He is recorded as being given 20 marks by Walter Giffard on 5 January 1271.²⁶⁸ This money was granted to Richard before he received his licence to go on crusade, meaning that if he was given the money because of his crusading status then he had taken the cross over a month before he received his protection. The fact that Richard is raising money before receiving the official protection of his lands indicates that he was either confident he would gain the protection, or that he wanted to be sure that he had the adequate funds in place before officially making the commitment to head to the East. It also raises questions relating to when the participants of the crusade took the cross. As Richard is not described as a crusader at the time of the grant, it is possible that he had not yet taken his vow, but knew that the opportunity to take it was going to present itself soon. The fact that he placed his lands under protection so soon afterwards suggests that if he was to take the cross before that, then it was likely premeditated. It also indicates that there was a possibility that the vow to go on crusade could be taken at the time a crusader's lands were put under protection, or a crusading licence was granted.

²⁶⁶ Alan Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades 1095–1560* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1997), p. 60.

²⁶⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 589.

²⁶⁸ Giffard, p. 124. *Libera dilecto et familiari nostro Ricardo de Glen XX marcas sterlingorum, in quibus ei tenemur.*

Richard de Styveton

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Richard held land in Steeton (West Riding), from which he drew his name.²⁶⁹ He is also recorded as gaining five acres of land in Plompton (North Riding) in 1302.²⁷⁰ He went on crusade in the place of fellow Yorkshire baron and his lord, Peter de Percy, and bore his cross in the Holy Land.²⁷¹ He was granted protection for four years on 28 April 1270.²⁷² The timing brings into question whether he departed for the East with Edward or independently as he obtained his protection a month before Edward received his. This makes him the earliest recipient of a protection which was not reconfirmed closer to the departure of the crusade who can be linked to the expedition.

Richard Fitz Henry

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Richard held lands near Tadcaster (West Riding).²⁷³ He is recorded as receiving his letter of protection in July 1270.²⁷⁴

Robert de Halton

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Robert derived his name from Halton (West Riding) and was the brother of John de Halton, sheriff of Yorkshire.²⁷⁵ He is recorded as being a witness to charters relating to Bolton (East

²⁶⁹ *Feet of Fines for the County of York from 1272–1300*, pp. 166–67.

²⁷⁰ *Feet of Fines for the County of York from 1272–1300*, p. 21, no. 113.

²⁷¹ *Close Rolls 1268–72*, p. 281. 'Universis etc. Ricardus de Stiveton' miles salutem in Domino. Noveritis me a domino Roberto de Perey, filio et herede domini Petri de Perey, centum marcas bonorum et legalium sterlingorum in subsidium Terre Sancte a domino Petro memorato assignatas recepisse, interveniente assensu domini Edwardi illustris regis Anglie primogeniti, teste venerabili patre domino Eboracensi archiepiscopo Anglie primati, in Terram Sanctam pro domino Petro memorato protinus profecturum, ita quod, si casu contingente a peregrinatione memorata facienda deficiam, ad pecuniam memoratam alii qui ad dictam peregrinationem faciendam per dominum antedictum constituetur, sub ypotheca rerum mearum mobilium et immobilium, restituendam sine more dispendio teneam obligatus. In cujus etc. sigillum venerabilis patris antedicti presentibus procuravi. Datum Lond' die Jovis proxima post octabas Apostolorum Petri et Pauli anno Domini m.cc. septuagesimo'; Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 110. Peter de Percy held lands in the West and East Ridings of Yorkshire, including Ilkley, Wharram Percy, and Carnaby. https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_048.html. Peter was made Sheriff of York in 1261, *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1258–66*, p. 164.

²⁷² *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 423.

²⁷³ *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, p. 219.

²⁷⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 440.

²⁷⁵ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 132, n. 79.

Riding).²⁷⁶ Robert was a rebel against the crown during the Second Barons' War, and one of only two known Yorkshire crusaders rebels. He had close ties to the Vescy family, being pardoned for his part in the rebellion by mainprise of fellow Yorkshire crusader, and rebel, John de Vescy in Northumberland and by William de Vescy in Lincoln.²⁷⁷ He is recorded as receiving royal protection for his land to go on crusade on 10 July 1270.²⁷⁸

Robert de Longchamp
Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Robert was the brother of William de Longchamp, bishop of Ely, and later chief justiciar of England, who had been part of the Third Crusade before being sent back to England to serve as regent in 1190.²⁷⁹ Robert served as the abbot of St Mary's, York, from 1197 until his death in 1239.²⁸⁰ He begun his ecclesiastical career as a monk at the Monastery of St Stephen of Caen, before moving to England to become the bishop of Ely.²⁸¹ His position as bishop of Ely, and his later appointment as the abbot of St Mary's, was likely helped by his brother's position of chancellor.²⁸² Robert's participation in the Fifth Crusade is recorded through the record of his lands being put under protection for three years in 1218.²⁸³ Robert's time in the Holy Land is not recorded, nor are his departure and return dates.

²⁷⁶ *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, ed. by Joseph McNulty ([n.p.], Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1933), p. 90, no. 142.

²⁷⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 286.

²⁷⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 480.

²⁷⁹ Ralph V. Turner, 'William de Longchamp', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16980>>. Another one of Robert's brothers, Stephen, also served with Richard as part of the Third Crusade.

²⁸⁰ *Victoria County History: A History of the County of York*, ed. by William Page, 3 vols (London: Victoria County History, 1907–13), III (1913), pp. 111–2.

²⁸¹ Agnes Ethel Conway, 'The Family of William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, Chancellor and Justiciar of England, 1190–1191', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 36 (1924), 15–42 (p. 40); Turner and Heiser, *The Reign of Richard the Lionheart*, p. 120. William tried to have his brother elected as bishop of Westminster in 1190, but this was unsuccessful due to William simultaneously attempting to have himself elected as archbishop of Canterbury.

²⁸² Conway, 'The Family of William Longchamp', p. 40.

²⁸³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1216–1225*, p. 161. 'Protectio.—Robertus, abbas Eboraci, habet litteras de protectione patentis a die quo iter arripuerit eundi in terram Jerosolimitanam, in tres annos sequentes. Teste ut supra, anno etc. secundo.'

Robert de Marton

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Robert's name suggests an association with Marton in the (East Riding). He received a licence to crusade and protection for his lands on 16 July 1270.²⁸⁴ He was possibly related to fellow crusader, Nicholas de Marton.

Robert de Neuton

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

A Robert de Neuton is recorded as being a farmer on the land of Alan de Aldefelde in 1277.²⁸⁵ He is recorded as having one toft and half a rood (a quarter of an acre) in Aldfield near Ripon (North Riding) for which he paid one shilling and ten and a half pence in rent. He also paid eight pence in rent for a forge.²⁸⁶ He is also recorded as being present at the inquisition of the lands of Richard and William de Percy in 1259.²⁸⁷ He received his letter of protection to go to the East on 16 July 1270.²⁸⁸

Robert de Pirou

Crusade(s): Count of Flanders 1177

Robert was the preceptor of Temple Hurst (North Riding).²⁸⁹ It is likely that he came to Yorkshire from France before or in 1161, which is the earliest date for his appearance in charters.²⁹⁰ He travelled to the East in 1177 on the crusade of Philip, count of Flanders.²⁹¹ He is not seen in any documentation following the crusade, suggesting he could have died on the expedition.

²⁸⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 440.

²⁸⁵ *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, p. 178.

²⁸⁶ *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, p. 178.

²⁸⁷ *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, p. 70.

²⁸⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 440.

²⁸⁹ *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185 with Illustrative Charters and Documents*, ed. by Beatrice A. Lees (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 260–61, no. 18, 273, no. 8, 275, no. 10, 276, no. 11. In charter no. 8, Robert is referred to as 'qui tunc habebat domum de Hirst'.

²⁹⁰ *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century*, p. 273, n. 5.

²⁹¹ *Gesta Regis*, I, p. 159.

Robert de Thweng
 Crusade(s): Barons' Crusade

Robert de Thweng held lands in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire. In the East Riding, he owned lands in Thwing, a region that served as the origin of his family name.²⁹² In the North Riding, Robert possessed lands in Kilton, which included Kilton Castle. He acquired these holdings in 1222 through his marriage to Matilda, who was both the niece of William de Kylton and the widow of Richard de Autrey. Additionally, his possessions extended to Kilton Thorpe.²⁹³ Robert first appears independently in the historical record in 1229, suing Richard de Percy for customs and services in the lands Robert had acquired through his marriage which were located in Kilton and Kirkleatham.²⁹⁴ Following the dispute with Richard de Percy, Robert became notorious in the north of England for his long running opposition to the Italian clergy, who had received papal provision to churches in the north of the country. In 1230, after coming into possession of Kilton, Robert entered into a dispute with the Archbishop of York, Walter de Gray, over the advowson of Kirkleatham.²⁹⁵ After failing to resolve this issue through the usual ecclesiastical channels, Robert decided to take matters into his own hands. He adopted the alias William Wither ('William the Angry' or 'William the Ferocious') and raised a small army formed of his retainers and several other men of a similar age which he used to plunder and destroy the property of foreign papal nominees in the North of England, reportedly giving the spoils of his plunder to the poor.²⁹⁶ This led to him being excommunicated.²⁹⁷ Upon his excommunication, he appealed to his fellow northern nobles, many of whom sympathised with his plight, and they appointed him their ambassador to the

²⁹² EYC, XI, p. 204. Robert's name is also written as Tweng or Thwing.

²⁹³ EYC, XI, p. 205.

²⁹⁴ Nicholas Vincent, 'Thwing [Thweng], Sir Robert of [alias William Wither]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27418>>.

²⁹⁵ *A History of the County of York North Riding*, ed. by William Page, 2 vols (London: Victoria County History, 1923), II, <doi: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/north/vol2/pp371-383#fnn204>>.

²⁹⁶ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 304 ; William M. l'Anson, 'Kilton Castle', *The Yorkshire Archaeology Journal*, 22 (1913), 55–126 (pp. 76–7). He plundered monastic houses from the Trent to the Tees.

²⁹⁷ Vincent, 'Thwing [Thweng]', <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27418>>.

pope.²⁹⁸ Robert, with permission from King Henry III, travelled to Rome to raise these grievances with the pope, Gregory IX. This meeting resulted in the Archbishop of York and the Papal Legate receiving orders from the pope to refrain from further interference with the rights of their lay patrons.²⁹⁹

Robert departed on the Barons' Crusade in 1240 as part of the contingent led by the Earl of Cornwall and appeared to play a significant role in the early stages of the crusade. Matthew Paris records him readying the ships that would take the crusaders to Acre.³⁰⁰ Despite this initially prominent role, it is unlikely that Robert ever reached the Holy Land. Instead, once the crusade had reached Marseilles, he was sent by the Earl of Cornwall to meet with the German emperor, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, to inform him of the progress of Richard's crusade.³⁰¹

Robert Gammaticus, parson of Aberford
Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

From Aberford (West Riding). Robert witnessed a charter of John de Lacy signed outside the walls of Damietta on the Fifth Crusade.³⁰²

Robert II de Lacy
Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Crusade Connections: Henry I de Lacy (father), John de Lacy.

Robert was the son of Henry I de Lacy who went on crusade with the counts of Flanders in 1157 and 1177.³⁰³ Robert held lands in all three Ridings with his main fee being in the lordship of Pontefract (West Riding). Robert was recorded in the Yorkshire section of the 1190 Pipe Roll as being exempt from taxation along with his knights, who are unfortunately not named, as he

²⁹⁸ Vincent, 'Thwing [Thweng]', <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27418>>. Included in the barons who showed their support for Robert were Peter de Maulay and Peter de Brus who would go on the Barons' Crusade.

²⁹⁹ Paris, III, pp. 610–3.

³⁰⁰ Paris, IV, p. 47.

³⁰¹ Paris, IV, p. 47.

³⁰² *The Chartulary of St. John*, I, pp. 36–7.

³⁰³ *EYC*, III, p. 199.

was going to Jerusalem.³⁰⁴ Robert returned from the crusade and is recorded as dying in 1193.³⁰⁵

Robert le 'Venur del Pumfrait'

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Robert le 'Venur del Pumfrait' or Robert the Huntsman of Pontefract (West Riding) was included in the list of the names of the crusades who died at the Siege of Acre in 1190 during the Third Crusade.³⁰⁶

Robert Marmion the Younger

Crusade(s): Barons' Crusade

Robert was the son of Robert Marmion, Third Baron Marmion of Tamworth, and his second wife, Philippa.³⁰⁷ Robert's father had taken the cross with the intention of heading to the East as part of the proposed Fourth Crusade, but in c. 1200 he redeemed his vow through a payment of £500 to the Norman abbey of Barbery.³⁰⁸ Robert gained his lands in Yorkshire through his marriage to Amice the daughter of Jernigan fitz Hugh of West Tanfield (North Riding), for which he paid 350 marks and five palfreys at Michaelmas 1214.³⁰⁹ With his marriage came his lands in Yorkshire, which were located in the Richmond fee (North Riding). The most notable of the lands which he held in the county were those of the Tanfield fee which included lands in, West Tanfield, Nosterfield, Wath and Richmond Ward (all North Riding).³¹⁰ Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of Robert's life was his involvement in a duel to decide the possession of the Yorkshire manor of Wath (North Riding). In 1239 he asserted his claim to the manor of Wath by challenging the abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, Normandy, to a

³⁰⁴ PR 2 R I 1190, p. 73.

³⁰⁵ EYC, III, p. 199.

³⁰⁶ For examples of the usage of *Pumfrait* when referring to Pontefract, see: *Feet of Fines for the County of York 1218–1231*, ed. by John Parker, YAS Record Series, 62 (Wakefield: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1921), pp. viii, n.11, 11; *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 14.

³⁰⁷ Robert had an elder brother, also called Robert, who was known as, 'Robert Marmion the Elder'.

³⁰⁸ Henry Summerson, 'Marmion, Robert', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18082>>.

³⁰⁹ *Early Yorkshire Families*, ed. by Charles Travis Clay and Diana E. Greenway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 58; EYC, V, p. 43.

³¹⁰ EYC, V, p. 41.

duel. Robert was able to defeat the abbot's champion in the duel and was able to take possession of the manor. The abbot appealed to the papacy about the matter, but the outcome is unknown.³¹¹

Robert was amongst those who took the cross alongside Richard, earl of Cornwall, in 1236 and is recorded as one of the men who travelled to the East in the company of the Earl in 1240.³¹²

Nothing is known of his time in the East and he is listed among those who died on the return journey of the crusade by Matthew Paris, in 1241.³¹³

Robert Russell, the son of Adam of Almele

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Robert was a suspect in the murder of Simon, son of Everard of Ardsley.³¹⁴ He had gone on crusade at the time when the jurors came to York in 1218–19.³¹⁵

Robert Scrope of Barton

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Robert was from Barton (North Riding) and was included in the list of the names of the crusaders who died at the Siege of Acre in 1190.³¹⁶

Robert Trussebut

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Robert held ten knight's fees in Yorkshire, with his main holding being located at Warter (East Riding).³¹⁷ He was present at the siege of Acre where he is described as arriving with a strong force of warriors.³¹⁸ At the siege he was instrumental in organising an effort to collect supplies from wealthier crusaders to help to feed the poor, and distributing the items amongst those

³¹¹ *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. by Albert Fontemoing (Paris: Ancienne Librairie Thorin & Fils, 1907), II, p. 1231, no. 4744; Lower, *Barons*, p. 144.

³¹² Paris, IV, pp. 174–5; Lower, *Barons'*, p. 45.

³¹³ Paris, IV, pp. 174–5.

³¹⁴ Ardsley is located in the West Riding.

³¹⁵ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, pp. 214–15, no. 539; Siedschlag, p. 142.

³¹⁶ *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 149.

³¹⁷ PR 2, R I, p. 73.

³¹⁸ *Itinerarium*, p. 99.

most in need.³¹⁹ During the march to Jaffa, Robert unsuccessfully contested that it was his right to be Richard's standard bearer which he claimed was his right because it had been the right of his predecessors. Richard instead granted the role to Peter de Pratelles.³²⁰ Robert survived the Third Crusade, dying in 1193 without issue, leaving three sisters as his heirs.³²¹

Robert Turnham

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Robert was regularly close to Richard throughout the Third Crusade. He first appears during the invasion of Cyprus in 1191, which Richard instructed him to take half of the fleet and surround half of the island.³²² Following the successful capture of the island, Robert remained there as governor as Richard pressed on to Acre.³²³ Whilst governor of Cyprus, Robert was pulled into action to quell a rebellion which threatened to reclaim the island. A follower of Isaac Comnenos, the recently defeated former emperor of Cyprus, tried to ignite the island in rebellion against their new rulers, but he was unsuccessful and was hanged by Robert, much to the annoyance of Richard.³²⁴ Robert returned to England with Richard, being recorded as carrying Richard's equipment back with him.³²⁵ During Richard's captivity, Robert was selected as a hostage to remain in Germany to ensure all of Richard's ransom was paid.³²⁶ At the time of the Third Crusade Robert was not a landowner in Yorkshire, but in 1197 he married Isabella Fossard who was the daughter and heiress to the powerful Yorkshire baron William Fossard.³²⁷ Through this marriage Robert was able to claim Isabella's inheritance which consisted of the

³¹⁹ *Itinerarium*, p. 135.

³²⁰ Howden, III, p. 129.

³²¹ *EYC*, X, p. 11.

³²² Howden, III, p. 109. 'Medietatem illarum tradidit Roberto do Turneham, et prsecepit ut ille circumdasset insulam ex una parte.'

³²³ Howden, III, p. 111; Meaux, I, p. 258.

³²⁴ Meaux, I, pp. 258–61; Howden, III, p. 116.

³²⁵ Summerson, 'Thornham' <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27884>>.

³²⁶ Henry Summerson, 'Thornham [Turnham], Robert of (d. 1211)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27884>>.

³²⁷ Summerson, 'Thornham' <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27884>>.

lordship of Mulgrave, the castle, and the honour including the thirty-four and a half knight's fees (located near Whitby in the East Riding).³²⁸ He died on 16 May 1211.³²⁹

Robert, constable of Halsham

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Robert was the constable of Halsham, East Riding, and the steward of William de Mandeville, earl of Essex.³³⁰ He is recorded as selling five bovates of land at Tharlsthorpe, located in the lordship of Holderness, East Riding, as well as the towns of Tharlsthorpe and Halsham to the monks at Meaux for 160 marks to facilitate his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.³³¹ He is recorded as dying at Acre in 1190.³³²

Robert, son of Colus

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Robert was accused by Roger, son of Walter of Kilham, of wounding. When the Justices came to hear the case in 1218–19, Robert was in the Holy Land so was not present. Despite his absence, and the crime taking place during a time of war, he was adjudged to be guilty and was outlawed.³³³

Roger de Mowbray

Crusade(s): Second Crusade, Count of Flanders 1177, Independent 1186

Crusade Connections: Nigel de Mowbray (son), John de Mowbray, William III de Mowbray (second-cousin)

Roger was the son of Nigel d'Aubigny and his second wife, Gundreda de Gournay, the daughter of Gerard of Gournay, who was a participant on the First Crusade.³³⁴ Roger held lands across England, with major holdings in the counties of Leicestershire, Warwickshire and in Yorkshire

³²⁸ Summerson, 'Thornham' <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27884>>.

³²⁹ M. Tyson, 'The Annals of Southwark and Merton', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 36 (1925), 24–57 (p. 46). 'Hoc anno obiit Robertus de Turneham xvi Kal. Maii'.

³³⁰ *EYC*, III, pp. 79–80, n. 1364.

³³¹ *EYC*, III, pp. 79–80, no. 1364; *Meaux*, I, p. 220.

³³² *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 149.

³³³ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, pp. 354–55, no. 979; Siedschlag, p. 141; Kilham is located in the East Riding.

³³⁴ *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, p. xxxii.

which he inherited following his father's death in 1129.³³⁵ Most of his extensive Yorkshire holdings were in the North Riding, though he did also possess a not unsubstantial amount of property in the East Riding. Roger made three visits to the Holy Land during his lifetime. He was a member of the Second Crusade, the crusade of Philip, count of Flanders, in 1177, and went to the Holy Land again in 1186, where he fought at the battle of Hattin, and later died. His participation on the Second Crusade is confirmed by a charter he signed prior to his departure. In the charter, he notified Godfrey, abbot of Garendon, a Cistercian abbey in Leicestershire, of his concession of whatever lands his grandmother Gundreda de Gournay will give in return for the monks' prayers during Roger's participation in the Crusade.³³⁶ In a later charter from Byland Abbey, Roger's participation on the crusade is used as a dating device.³³⁷ He is also included in the account of the crusade by John, prior of Hexham's, in which he claims Roger fought and killed a 'pagan tyrant' in single combat.³³⁸ His participation on the 1177 crusade of the count of Flanders is recorded in charters as he attempted to raise money to finance his time in the East.³³⁹ His final visit came in 1187, when he was a participant in the Battle of Hattin. He was captured but ransomed by the Templars and Hospitallers. Shortly after leaving captivity, he died and was buried in the Holy Land.³⁴⁰

Roger of Howden

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Roger had succeeded his father, Robert, as parson of Howden by 1174.³⁴¹ He was a clerk at the court of Henry II, king of England, until the king's death in 1189.³⁴² Following Henry's death,

³³⁵ Dalton, p. 110.

³³⁶ *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, p. 121, no. 155.

³³⁷ *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, p. 126, no. 174.

³³⁸ Simeon of Durham, *Historia Regnum*, ed. by Thomas Arnold, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1882-1885), II (1885), p. 319. 'Periit in hac profectioe Willelmus de Waren comes, a paganis interceptus, qui custodiam posteram Christiani exercitus observabat. Perierunt et nobiles principes de transmarinis partibus et multitudo plurima cum eo. Promeruit celebrem gloriam Rogerus de Mulbrai, singulari certamine de quodam pagano tyranno triumphans.'

³³⁹ *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, p. 83, no. 111.

³⁴⁰ Howden, II, p. 325.

³⁴¹ David Corner, 'Howden [Hoveden], Roger of (d. 1201/2)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13880>>.

³⁴² Corner, 'Howden', <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13880>>.

Roger moved into the service of Hugh of Le Puiset, bishop of Durham.³⁴³ After Hugh died in 1195, Roger stepped back from his administrative roles and was more present in his role of parson of Howden until his death in 1202.³⁴⁴

Roger wrote two chronicles, the *Gesta Regis* and the *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene* which both dedicate significant attention to the Third Crusade.³⁴⁵ Roger is the only Yorkshire crusader to write an account of his crusade. Roger travelled to the East with Richard I after joining the king at Marseilles in 1190.³⁴⁶ His journey to the East is detailed in his chronicles, as well as in the lesser known work *Di Viis Maris* in which he states that he travelled from Yorkshire, down the River Ouse to the Humber estuary where he hired a seagoing vessel which took him to Dartmouth before he departed for the East.³⁴⁷ It is the only time a crusader's journey from Yorkshire is described during the period examined in the thesis and gives an indication of how crusaders were travelling to join the main fleet. Whilst in the Holy Land he witnessed a charter of fellow crusader John of Hesse.³⁴⁸ Roger likely left the crusade following the culmination of the Siege of Acre with the French king in 1191 as he documents the French king's return journey in great detail whilst making very few references to the events of the crusade after this point. His chronicles also contain lists of those who died at the siege of Acre which contain a number of entries stating the names of fellow Yorkshire crusaders.

³⁴³ Corner, 'Howden', <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13880>>.

³⁴⁴ Corner, 'Howden', <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13880>>; For a detailed discussion of Roger of Howden's life: David Crouch, 'At Home with Roger of Howden', in *Military Cultures and Martial Enterprises in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Richard P. Abels*, ed. by John D. Hosler and Steven Isaac (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2020), pp. 156-76.

³⁴⁵ For more on Roger's Chronicles: David Corner and Roger of Howden, 'The Earliest Surviving Manuscripts of Roger of Howden's 'Chronica'', *The English Historical Review*, 98 (1983), pp. 297- 310.

³⁴⁶ Corner, 'Howden', <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13880>>.

³⁴⁷ Roger of Howden, 'De Viis Maris', in *Du Yorkshire à l'Inde: une géographie urbaine et maritime de la fin du xii^e siècle (Roger de Howden?)*, ed. P.G. Dalché (Geneva: Droz, 2005), pp. 171-229 (pp. 173-75); Crouch, 'At Home with Roger of Howden', pp. 156-76 (pp. 157, 171).

³⁴⁸ Stenton, 'Roger of Howden and Benedict' (pp. 576-7).

Roger the Doctor, parson of Kippax

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

From Kippax (West Riding). Roger was one of a number of crusaders who witnessed a charter of John de Lacy outside the walls of Damietta during the Fifth Crusade.³⁴⁹

Roger the Porter of Pontefract

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

From Pontefract (North Riding). Roger was one of a number of crusaders who witnessed a charter of John de Lacy outside the walls of Damietta during the Fifth Crusade.³⁵⁰

Roger, man of Philip of Alta Ripa

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Roger, along with Philip of Alta Ripa, was accused of murder after the two had departed on crusade.³⁵¹ As with Philip of Alta Ripa, it is known that Roger had departed for the Holy Land before 24 June 1218.

Roger, son of Richard Touche

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Roger is recorded as stating his intention to give his manor in Overshitlington (West Riding) to his daughter, Matilda, as gift for her marriage to Roger de Birkyn, on the day on which he set out on crusade with Richard, king of England.³⁵² No more is known about Roger's landholding or his time on crusade.

Saer de Quincy, earl of Winchester

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Saer was son of the son of Robert de Quincy, Justiciar of Lothian. Saer was married to Margaret, the younger sister and co-heiress of Robert de Beaumont, earl of Leicester.³⁵³ He

³⁴⁹ *The Chartulary of St. John*, ed. by Richard Holmes, 2 vols (Leeds: The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1899), I, pp. 36–7.

³⁵⁰ *The Chartulary of St. John*, I, pp. 36–7.

³⁵¹ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, pp. 263–64, no. 713, 416–17, no. 1137; Siedschlag, p. 142.

³⁵² *EYC*, III, pp. 375–76, no. 1748

³⁵³ Richard D. Oram, 'Quincy, Saer de, Earl of Winchester', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. G. C. Matthew et al. (2004-) <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22967>>.

was one of the commanders of the garrison of the fortress of Vaudreuil in Normandy which he surrendered to Philip II, king of France, in 1204.³⁵⁴ He gained the earldom of Winchester in 1207 and was the only new earldom which was created during John's reign.³⁵⁵ He rebelled against John in the civil and was one of the barons who signed Magna Carta. Saer held the manor of Elmsall, near Pontefract (North Riding).³⁵⁶

He was recorded in 1219 as readying a ship in Galloway, Scotland, to carry him and his men to the East.³⁵⁷ Saer was present at the siege of Damietta, but died on 3 November 1220; he was buried at Acre but his heart and internal organs were burned and returned to England for burial in Garendon Abbey, Leicestershire, of which he was patron.³⁵⁸

Simon de Henesale

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Simon de Henesale is recorded in 1270 as leasing his land in Roecliffe (*Rouclif*) (North Riding) for six years to Thomas the Abbot of Selby, beginning at the feast of St Margaret of Antioch (in this case referred to as Margaret the Virgin [*festo Sanctae Margaretae Virginis*]) in the event that Simon travelled to the Holy Land.³⁵⁹

Simon de Monte Alto

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Crusade Connections: Adam de Monte Alto (brother), John de Monte Alto (brother)

Simon held lands in Skipton (West Riding), and he also held property in Keswick, Cumbria.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁴ Oram, 'Quincy, Saer de, Earl of Winchester'.<doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22967>>.

³⁵⁵ Oram, 'Quincy, Saer de, Earl of Winchester'.<doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22967>>.

³⁵⁶ *Yorkshire Inquisitions of the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I*, I, p. 97.

³⁵⁷ *Patent Rolls*, 1216–25, p. 185. 'Anno rogni nostri tercio, navem, quam dilectus et fidelis noster S. comes Wintonie sibi parari fecit in partibus Galweie, ad eundum in partes Bristoll, pro victualibus et armis et aliis sibi necessariis ad iter peregrinacionis sue, quod facere disponit in terram Jerosolimitanam'.

³⁵⁸ 'Annals of Waverley', *Annales Monastici*, II, (p. 292); Paris, III, p. 60.

³⁵⁹ *The Coucher Book of Selby*, ed. by J. T. Fowler, 2 vols (Huddersfield: The Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, 1893), II, p. 84.

³⁶⁰ *Kirkby's Inquest*, p. 31, 42; *Feet of Fines For the County of York From 1246 to 1272*, p. 91; He is recorded as giving two tofts and two bovates of land in East Keswick to the prior of Pontefract, *Yorkshire Hundred and Quo Warranto Rolls*, p. 241; *ibid* p. 33.

His heirs held land in Morton (West Riding) which would likely have been inherited from Simon.³⁶¹ He is recorded as being granted a protection to go on crusade on two separate occasions, firstly on 20 February, and secondly on 30 July 1270, the same date as Adam and John de Monte Alto.³⁶²

Spiriot

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

On 4 June 1271 Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, is recorded as ordering 12*d* be given to Spiriot. This gesture was likely intended to assist him in covering his expenses for the crusade as the register noted that he was about to depart for the Holy Land.³⁶³ No information relating to his land holdings are recorded in the register.

Stephen de Maulay, archdeacon of Cleveland

Crusade(s): Independent 1291

Crusade Connections: Peter de Maulay (Grandfather)

Stephen was the grandson of Peter de Maulay who died during the Barons' Crusade in 1241.³⁶⁴

In September 1291, Stephen de Maulay, was granted a licence to go on crusade with the king.

This licence specified that he was to receive all procurations and other fruits of his archdeaconry until he returned from the Holy Land.³⁶⁵ As with William de Everley, his licence to go on crusade was granted following the fall of Acre (18 May 1291). Cleveland is in the North Riding.

Stephen, count of Aumale and lord of Holderness

Crusade(s): First Crusade

³⁶¹ *Kirkby*, p. 347; *Yorkshire Hundred and Quo Warranto Rolls*, pp. 140–1.

³⁶² *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, pp. 411, 480.

³⁶³ Giffard, p. 116. 'Libera de clemosina nostra inclusae de Denecastre vjs. viijd. Item Spiriot' proficiscenti in Terram Sanctam xijd'. This man is not included in any of the other lists of the participants of Edward's crusade.

³⁶⁴ *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066-1300*, vi: *York*, ed. by D. E. Greenway and John Le Neve (London: University of London, School of Advanced Study, Institute of Historical Research, 1999), pp. 40, 103.

³⁶⁵ *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland, 1198–1304*, ed. by W H Bliss, 5 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1893–1904), I (1893), p. 537.

Crusade Connections: William I de Forz, count of Aumale and lord of Holderness, William III de Forz, count of Aumale and lord of Holderness

Stephen was not a Yorkshire landowner at the time of the First Crusade, but he gained his Yorkshire possessions following the conclusion of the crusade. Stephen was the son of Odo, count of Champagne, and Adelaide, the sister of William the Conqueror.³⁶⁶ Odo was lord of Holderness until 1095, when a plot to put Stephen on the English throne was uncovered and the participants were exiled to Normandy.³⁶⁷ Stephen was a member of the contingent of Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, on the First Crusade. Stephen is recorded in four of the chronicles of the First Crusade and was present at Constantinople, Nicaea, and the battle of Antioch.³⁶⁸ Following his return from the Holy Land, Stephen was granted his father's previous holding of the lordship of Holderness (East Riding) in 1102.

Thomas de Furnival

Crusade(s): Barons' Crusade

Crusader Connections: Gerard II de Furnival, Gerard II de Furnival, Gerard III de Furnival, William de Furnival.

Following the death of his father, Gerard II de Furnival, on the Fifth Crusade, Thomas succeeded him as lord of Hallamshire (West Riding). Prior to the outset of the crusade, Thomas had been one of the witnesses to the Treaty of York (1237). Thomas is recorded by Matthew Paris as being part of the contingent led by Simon de Montfort.³⁶⁹ He was on crusade alongside his brothers Gerard III, William, and Thomas de Furnival. Following his death in 1241 on the crusade, a cenotaph was erected to Thomas at Worksop Priory in Nottinghamshire.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁶ English, *Lords of Holderness*, p.11.

³⁶⁷ Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (London: Methuen, 1983), p. 347; Orderic Vitalis, IV, pp. 280–82.

³⁶⁸ William of Tyre, I, pp. 191, 330; *Antioche*, p. 133; Albert of Aachen, p. 99; *Antioche*, p. 178; *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 74.

³⁶⁹ Paris, IV, p. 44.

³⁷⁰ James Doherty, 'Commemorating the Crusading Past in Late Medieval England: The Worksop Priory Tabula', *English Historical Review*, 136 (2021), 809–35 (p. 828).

Thomas the Despencer
Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

Thomas was accused by Alice of Goldsborough of lying with her by force.³⁷¹ When the case was due to be heard by the justices in 1218–19 Thomas was absent due to having set out for Jerusalem. The judges deemed that, as she has not accused him of rape, the court should await his return before a decision should be made.³⁷²

Thomas, son of William de Malham
Crusade(s): Barons' Crusade

Thomas is recorded as giving a gift of two bovates of land in Malham (West Riding) to Bolton priory in return for thirty silver marks to fund his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.³⁷³ The charter has been dated to between 1231–43, placing the Barons' Crusade within its date range. With the crusade having a strong English presence it is likely that he would have departed with one of the contingents for that crusade rather than undertaking a lone pilgrimage to Jerusalem. There is no reference to Thomas in any other documentation for the Barons' Crusade so his pilgrimage, if he did indeed set out, is unrecorded.

Walter de Percy
Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

Crusade Connections: William de Percy, Joscelyn of Louvain

On 24 October 1261, Walter is recorded as being granted £20 per year by the king until the king could provide for him more bountifully in estates. By 1262 he is recorded as having land at Dalton (East Riding), which was given to him by his brother William, who had inherited the land on the death of their brother Ingram de Percy.³⁷⁴ Walter was also in possession of lands at

³⁷¹ Goldsborough is located in the West Riding.

³⁷² *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, p. 275, no. 740; Siedschlag, p. 143.

³⁷³ *EYC*, VII, p. 151, no. 89. 'Ego Thomas filius Willelmi de Malghum dedi canonicis sancte Marie de Boulton duas bovatas terre cum pertinenciis in Malghum quas tenui de predicta ecclesia, pro triginta marcis argenteis quas predicti canonici mihi dederunt ad peregrinationem meam faciendam in terram Jerosolim[itana]m perficiendam. Hiis testibus, domino Johanne de Estona, domino Eustachio de Rilleston, domino Godefrido de Altaripa, militibus, Willelmo Anglico tune ballivo de Skypton, Symone de Martona, Rogero de Kykeley, Hug[one] de Alton, Ranu[ifo] de Otterburn.'

³⁷⁴ *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, p. 89.

Sand Hutton (North Riding), which he enfeoffed to Nicholas de Percy in 1246.³⁷⁵ By 1300, he was recorded as being in possession of lands in Rydale (East Riding).³⁷⁶ Walter is recorded as receiving his protection to go to the Holy Land with Lord Edward on 10 May 1270.³⁷⁷ He was contracted by Lord Edward to bring a three knights with him to the Holy Land in return for 400 marks to support both himself and the knights.³⁷⁸ Despite being given money to provide knights for the venture to the Holy Land, Walter did not make it there himself, and could only have made it as far as Sicily as in May 1272 he was recorded as going overseas on the business of the King.³⁷⁹

Walter de Scoteny

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Walter is recorded in a charter dated to 1189 as confirming that all the lands which he had given to Drax Priory (East Riding) were to be free of having to provide military service as he had given it to the priory in readiness for his journey to Jerusalem.³⁸⁰

Walter le Nair

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Walter le Nair is recorded as entering into an agreement with the nuns of Swine (East Riding) in which he agreed to sell them two bovates of land (roughly thirty acres) in nearby Skirlington (East Riding) for the sum of five marks to fund his journey to Jerusalem.³⁸¹ His other land holdings are unknown. It is unknown whether he departed on the crusade.

Walter of Ros

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Little is recorded of Walter de Ros, and his landholdings are unknown. It is likely he would have

³⁷⁵ *Feet of Fines for the County of York From 1246 to 1272*, p. 141.

³⁷⁶ *Parliamentary Writs*, p. 776.

³⁷⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 479.

³⁷⁸ The list of contractors has been printed in: Beebe, 'English Baronage' (p. 142); T. Hudson Turner, 'Unpublished Notices', 45–51 (p. 46).

³⁷⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 653.

³⁸⁰ *EYC*, VI, pp. 167–68, no. 78.

³⁸¹ *EYC*, III, p. 116, no. 1409.

held possession in the honour of Ros which was located in the Trussebut fee (East Riding). It is likely he was the brother of Peter de Ros, archdeacon of Carlisle. He is included in the list of names of those who died at Acre in 1190.³⁸²

Walter Scrope

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

It is not certain where Walter originated from, but he would likely have been a relation of Robert Scrope of Barton (East Riding). He is listed, along with Robert, as dying at Acre in 1190.³⁸³

William 'le tanur' of Strafford Wapentake

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

William's name is a variant spelling of the Old French word, 'le tannur' which means 'tanner'. This indicates that Willaim worked as a tanner. The Strafford Wapentake was located in the West Riding. William had a complaint in an action of *morte d'ancestor* but did not follow up on his suit when it was due to be heard by the justices in 1218–19 due to being in the Holy Land.³⁸⁴

William de Cornbrough

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

It is likely William held lands in Yorkshire as Cornbrough is located in the North Riding. The 1185 Pipe Roll records that a William de Cornborough was fined for killing the king's cattle in Yorkshire.³⁸⁵ A William de Cornborough is also recorded amongst the list of witnesses to a charter relating to lands in Askham Richard (North Riding) in the early thirteenth century.³⁸⁶ During the crusade William is recorded as returning to King Richard a jewelled belt which the king had lost during a skirmish outside of Jaffa.³⁸⁷

³⁸² Howden, III, p. 89; *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 149.

³⁸³ *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 149.

³⁸⁴ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, p. 24, no. 50; Siedschlag, p. 143.

³⁸⁵ PR 32, H II, p. 93; PR 33, H II, p. 87.

³⁸⁶ *Facsimiles of Early Charters from Northamptonshire Collections*, ed. by F. M. Senton (Lincoln: J.W. Ruddock & Sons, 1930), p. 44.

³⁸⁷ Howden, III, p. 133.

William de Furnival

Crusade(s): Barons' Crusade

Crusader Connections: Gerard I de Furnival, Gerard II de Furnival, Gerard III de Furnival, Thomas de Furnival.

William de Furnival was a son of Gerard II de Furnival and Maud de Lovetot. William was one of three Furnival brothers who took part on the Barons' Crusade, each following in the footsteps of their father who had perished on the Fifth Crusade, and their grandfather who had been on the Third and Fourth Crusades. Following his father's death in 1218, William was given lands in Treeton, Whiston, Todwick, and the manor of Aston in the Strafforth wapentake (all West Riding) by his mother.³⁸⁸ On the Barons' Crusade, William is recorded by Matthew Paris as being part of the contingent led by Richard, earl of Cornwall.³⁸⁹ Though Paris does not comment on any of William's deeds in the East, it is likely he would have returned with the earl in 1241, as he continued his career until 1264.

William de Holm

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

William appears as a juror in several cases in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, and, in 1294, as an attorney for a land dispute in Broughton, North Riding.³⁹⁰ His name suggests links to either Holm (West Riding) or Holme-on-Spalding-Moor (East Riding). Due to Holme-on-Spalding-Moor's proximity to the cases he was a juror on, it is more likely that he was from there. William is recorded as receiving letters of protection for his lands on 10 February 1271.³⁹¹ Due to being granted a letter of protection in 1271, the year after Lord Edward's contingent had departed for the East he was likely a member of the contingent led by Lord Edmund.

³⁸⁸ *EYC*, VI, p. 210.

³⁸⁹ Paris, IV, p. 44. He travelled separately to the Holy Land as his brothers both travelled as part of the contingent led by Simon de Montfort.

³⁹⁰ *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, I, pp. 104, 107, 186, 216; *Feet of Fines for the County of York From 1272–1300*, p. 105, no. 19.

³⁹¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 588.

William de Percy

Crusade(s): First Crusade

Crusade Connections: Walter de Percy, Joscelin of Louvain

William came to England following the Norman Conquest, most likely with Hugh d'Avranches, later the earl of Chester, in 1067. In the Domesday survey William is recorded as being tenant-in-chief to lands in Yorkshire, spread across all three Ridings. He was tenant-in-chief to lands at Topcliffe (North Riding) and Spofforth (West Riding) which were both located on the Great North Road. He also possessed lands on the East coast located close by to a road running through York and a group of lands to the west located at the foot of the Pennines. Alongside these lands William had tenants in manors located close by to York, Wheldrake to the east and Tadcaster to the west. He also had tenants in manors to the south, again located close by to the Great North Road, along the River Don. In England, William also held lands as a tenant of Hugh, earl of Chester, notably on the east coast located in the North Riding which he gave to Reinfred, a knight who would later become prior of Whitby, for the re-founding of Whitby Abbey.³⁹² Alongside his Yorkshire possessions, William held lands in Lincolnshire, at Hambledon in Hampshire, and lands in Cambridge, which had been passed to him through his marriage to Emma de Port.³⁹³ William was a participant on the First Crusade, travelling in the contingent led by Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy. His participation is recorded in the cartulary of Whitby Abbey which notes that he died on the crusade and was buried on Mount Joy in the province of Jerusalem.³⁹⁴

³⁹² *Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby, Ordinis s. Benedicti*, ed. by John C. Atkinson (Durham: Andrews, 1879), p. 1.

³⁹³ *EYC*, vol. XI, pp. 11–9; Paul Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire 1066–1154* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 34–9.

³⁹⁴ *Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby*, p. 2.

William de Southwell, canon of York

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

William witnessed a charter of John de Lacy outside the walls of Damietta during the Fifth Crusade.³⁹⁵

William Fitz Aldelin

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

William Fitz Aldelin held the position of king's marshal in 1166.³⁹⁶ In 1189 he was recorded as being Richard I's steward in a charter that he issued regarding the sale of lands to fund his crusading. The charter detailed that William was selling five bovates of land in Thorpe Audlin (West Riding), and additional land of an unspecified amount in Went, to his serjeant Durand son of Drew for 10 marks to raise money for his journey to Jerusalem.³⁹⁷ It is unknown whether William departed for the crusade, and if he did, his time in the East would have been brief as he was appointed sheriff of Cumberland in 1190.³⁹⁸

William Fitz Lawence de Nafferton

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

William's name indicates an association with Nafferton near Driffield (East Riding). He received his letter of protection on 16 July 1270.³⁹⁹

William Fitz Ralph

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

William is referenced as a tenant at the manor of Hilderskelfe (North Riding), owing Robert of Leicester a knight's fee for the land.⁴⁰⁰ He is also listed as a tenant on twelve bovates in Fridaythorpe (East Riding), two carucates in Swinton (West Riding), five bovates in Amotherby (North Riding), three acres of meadow in Fryton and three acres of meadow in West Witton

³⁹⁵ *The Chartulary of St. John*, I, pp. 36–37.

³⁹⁶ *Red Book*, I, p. 209.

³⁹⁷ *EYC*, III, pp. 298–99, no. 1641. Went is likely Wentbridge, Pontefract, West Riding.

³⁹⁸ *PR 2*, R I, p. 48. He held the position until 1198.

³⁹⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 440.

⁴⁰⁰ *for the County of York From 1246 to 1272*, p. 25. Written, *Hilderskelfe*.

(both North Riding), and having one carucate of land in Gainsthorpe (Lincolnshire).⁴⁰¹ He is also recorded as having a tenant, Margaret, daughter of Thomas, in Drewton (West Riding).⁴⁰² He recorded as selling land in Great Edstone (North Riding) on 4 May 1270 for nine marks of silver.⁴⁰³ Given the timing of this sale, it was likely he was raising funds to facilitate his participation on the upcoming crusade. William received a letter of protection for his lands on 19 October 1270. He received his letter following the departure of Edward, meaning he was likely a member of the contingent led by Edmund.⁴⁰⁴

William Giffard

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

William Giffard is recorded as holding the vill of Fletham in the honour of Richmond in 1282 (North Riding).⁴⁰⁵ He received a letter of protection on the 10 May 1270.⁴⁰⁶ It is very unlikely he departed on crusade (he may have reached Sicily before heading back to England) as he is recorded as being back in England in by September 1271 when he was placed on a commission of enquiry.⁴⁰⁷

William I de Forz, count of Aumale and lord of Holderness

Crusade(s): Third Crusade

Crusader Connections: Stephen, count of Aumale and Lord of Holderness; William III de Forz, count of Aumale and lord of Holderness

William's background is largely unknown as he was a man of no significant social standing prior to his marriage.⁴⁰⁸ He married Hawisa, the daughter and heir of William le Gros, lord of Holderness, in 1190 at Sicily.⁴⁰⁹ It was through this marriage that William gained the titles lord

⁴⁰¹ *Feet of Fines for the County of York From 1246 to 1272*, p. 25.

⁴⁰² *Feet of Fines for the County of York From 1246 to 1272*, p. 53.

⁴⁰³ *Feet of Fines for the County of York From 1246 to 1272*, p. 176.

⁴⁰⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 465.

⁴⁰⁵ *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, I, p. 234; Kirkby's Inquest, pp. 149–50. Lloyd connects William to Norfolk or Suffolk, but provides no references to substantiate this claim, Lloyd, Appendix IV.

⁴⁰⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 479.

⁴⁰⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 573.

⁴⁰⁸ English, *Lords of Holderness*, p. 31. he could possibly have ties to Forez or Oléron, with the latter being more likely, though there is no surviving evidence for him having holdings in either location.

⁴⁰⁹ Howden, III, p. 36, English, *Lords of Holderness*, p. 30.

of Holderness and count of Aumale. William served as one of the admirals of Richard's fleet during the crusade, and was in command of thirty ships in the fleet.⁴¹⁰ His date and location of departure are unknown, but after stopping briefly in Lisbon to rendezvous with the ships commanded by Robert de Sabul and Richard de Camville, he sailed with them along the coast of Spain and into the Mediterranean via the Strait of Gibraltar with the intention of meeting with King Richard at Marseilles. Unfortunately, by the time they reached Marseilles the king had already departed and the three eventually joined Richard at Sicily.⁴¹¹ William is included in a charter relating to those who will uphold a peace treaty between Richard and Tancred, king of Sicily, which was signed as the English crusaders departed the island.⁴¹² No more is known of William's time on crusade, but it is possible he returned to England before its conclusion (possibly with the French king, Philip II) as he appeared before the exchequer at Michaelmas 1192 to pay off a debt of £100 for the arrears of the exchange of all of England except for Winchester, and £6 for the lands of Engelram de Munstrel. These debts were originally owed by Henry de Cornhill suggesting that William had run out of money on crusade and had borrowed from Henry, taking the debts on in return.⁴¹³

William III de Forz, count of Aumale and lord of Holderness Crusade(s): Barons' Crusade

The point at which William inherited his Yorkshire possessions is unknown. His claim to the Yorkshire lands, which included earldom of Holderness and the lordship of Skipton (both East Riding), came through his mother, Hawise, countess of Aumale.⁴¹⁴ William was the son of a Third Crusader, William de Forz II, who had been one of the admirals of Richard's fleet.

⁴¹⁰ Howden, III, p. 36. The other three were the archbishop of Auxienne, the bishop of Bayonne, Robert de Sabul, and Richard de Camville; Howden, III, p. 46. William would have departed later than Robert de Sabul and Richard de Camville as he arrived in Portugal following the conclusion of the fighting.

⁴¹¹ Howden, III, pp. 46–50; Christopher Tyerman, *The World of the Crusades: An Illustrated History* (London: Yale University Press, 2019) p. 211.

⁴¹² Howden, III, p. 63.

⁴¹³ English, *Lords of Holderness*, p. 32.

⁴¹⁴ *Complete Peerage*, I, p. 355.

The date on which William took the cross is unclear, but it is possible that he took it in 1220 in order to regain favour and make peace with the king following his refusal to surrender several castles and his involvement in, and possible organisation of, an illegal tournament in 1219.⁴¹⁵

William fought at the Battle of Lincoln in 1217 on the side of the English king, Henry III. He departed for the Holy Land, in command of his own contingent, some twenty years after he had taken his crusading vow. His decision to depart on crusade was not long after the death of his wife, Avelina, suggesting that her death may have contributed to William finally deciding to redeem his vow and fight in the Holy Land.⁴¹⁶

The exact date of his departure is disputed, since Matthew Paris stated that he departed England in the autumn of 1241 but subsequently wrote that he died in March 1241.⁴¹⁷ It is most likely that Paris erroneously recorded his departure date and William's contingent left at a similar time to the other English crusaders in the Autumn of 1240.⁴¹⁸ This would allow his death at sea on 29 March 1241 following an illness which rendered him unable to eat for eight days to be correct, if William had spent time at Marseilles as Richard had done before him.⁴¹⁹ William's journey to the Holy Land is also recorded in the Chronicle of Meaux Abbey, as he granted the foundation the close at Beforth, with all its mills, shortly before he departed for

⁴¹⁵ Barbara English, *Lords of Holderness*, p. 41; Ralph V. Turner, 'William de Forz, Count of Aumale: An Early Thirteenth-Century English Baron', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 115 (1971), 221–49 (p. 236).

⁴¹⁶ Turner, 'William de Forz', p. 248.

⁴¹⁷ Paris, IV, p. 89; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 103; Paris, IV, p. 174. Tout records William death as being in 1242, but gives no source for this information. It is likely he assumed Paris was wrong on year of death rather than the year of departure.

⁴¹⁸ Turner, 'De Forz', p. 248. It is possible that the contingent did leave a few months after those of Richard and Simon which caused the confusion in Paris's writing, T. F. Tout, 'William de Fors or De Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Sidney Lee (1900), <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/odnb/9780192683120.013.29476>>.

⁴¹⁹ Paris, IV, p. 174. 'De magnatibus autem Angliae Willelmus de Fortibus, comes de Albamarla, in mari Mediterraneo peregrinans, cum nullo modo posset comedere et octo diebus jejunando martirium protelasset, die Veneris proxima ante Pascha, qua Christus in cruce Patri Suo spiritum, suum similiter Christo resignavit.'

the East.⁴²⁰ Unfortunately, beyond this gift, the chronicle does not give any more information about William's time on crusade, or further efforts to raise money to fund the journey.

William III de Warenne

Crusade(s): Second Crusade

Crusade Connections: Edith de Warenne

William III de Warenne was in possession of lands in thirteen counties in England at the time of the Second Crusade. The most important of these estates were the extensive manor of Conisbrough (West Riding) which he had inherited from his father in 1138, the Rape of Lewes in Sussex, Castle Acre and a large number of holdings in Norfolk.⁴²¹ His participation in the Second Crusade is recorded in the chronicles of Odo of Deuil and John of Hexham. He took the cross alongside his second-cousin, Louis VII, king of France, at Vezelay in 1146. William and Louis were related by their great-grandfather, Henry I, king of France. William was killed during the crusade at the Battle of Mount Cadmus in 1148.⁴²²

William Latimer

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

William was the son of a former sheriff of York, William de Latimer (sheriff from 1254 to 1260), and was pardoned from having to pay 200 marks which had been run up in debts in February 1270.⁴²³ In 1283, he held property in the East Riding, notably in the Buckrose Wapentake, at Scameston, Burdale, and Rillington.⁴²⁴ His possessions also included land in Brockton, in the Ryedale Wapentake, land in the Langbergh Wapentake at Danby, and at Brotton, in the Pickering Wapentake at Maron (all North Riding).⁴²⁵ William additionally had possessions in the

⁴²⁰ *Chronica de Melsa*, II, p. 47. 'At ipse Willelmus de Fortibus comes Albemarliae, ante transfretationem suam Ierosolymam, dedit nobis prae scriptum clausum cum ipsis duobus molendinis, ad annuam pitantiam conventui faciendam'. Beforth could possibly be Beeford (East Riding).

⁴²¹ *EYC*, VIII, p. 3.

⁴²² Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem: The Journey of Louis VII to the East*, ed. and trans. by Virginia G. Berry (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1948), pp. 54, 122; John of Hexham, p. 25.

⁴²³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 411.

⁴²⁴ *Kirkby's Inquest*, p. 72, 267; *Feet of Fines for the County of York From 1272–1300*, ed. by F. H. Slingsby ([n.l.], Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1956), p. 71, no. 56; *Kirkby's Inquest*, pp. 271, 275.

⁴²⁵ *Kirkby's Inquest*, pp. 111, 115, 235, 239.

Morley Wapentake at Hunslet, and in the Stratford Wapentake at Clayton (all West Riding).⁴²⁶

In 1309, he gained lands at Swillington (West Riding).⁴²⁷ He received letters of protection on 10 May 1270.⁴²⁸

William Medicus

Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

For the period 1210–1220, the chronicle of Meaux records a man named *Willelmus medicus*, or William the doctor, who accepted twelve marks for a bovaté of land because he was a crusader.⁴²⁹

William Mowbray

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade

He was likely from the North Riding, as he was present at inquisitions held at York and Aton, in Cleveland (both North Riding) in 1279 and 1281/82 respectively.⁴³⁰ He had given the abbot of Byland the forest of Middlesmoor and Nidderdale (both North Riding) before 1249.⁴³¹ He received a letter of protection to go on Crusade on 12 May 1270.⁴³²

William of Everley

Crusade(s): Lord Edward's Crusade, Independent 1291

William is recorded as being a tenant on lands in the Bulmer Wapentake and in the Pikinging Lythe Wapentake at Roxby and Thornton (all North Riding).⁴³³ He appears as a juror for cases

⁴²⁶ *Kirkby's Inquest*, pp. 226, 231, 280.

⁴²⁷ *Feet of Fines for the County of York From 1300–1314*, p. 73, no. 383.

⁴²⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 479.

⁴²⁹ *Meaux*, I, p. 373. 'Alteri vero, qui vocabatur Willelmus medicus, dedimus aliam bovatam, in feo et hereditate tenendam. Sed ipse quia cruce signatus erat acceptis marcis, reddidit nobis praedictam bovatam.'

⁴³⁰ *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, pp. 187, 237.

⁴³¹ *Feet of Fines for the County of York From 1246 to 1272*, p. 11.

⁴³² *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 426.

⁴³³ *The Survey of the County of York, Taken by John de Kirkby, Commonly Called Kirkby's Inquest. Also Inquisitions of Knights' Fees, the Nomina Villarum for Yorkshire, and Appendix of Illustrative Documents*, ed. by R. H. Skaife, Surtees Society, 1 (Durham: Andrews, 1867), p. 109, 144 & 145. His lands in the Bulmer wapentake are recorded as being at Hoton Muirthon, which is unidentifiable as a modern place; *Feet of Fines for the County of York From 1246 to 1272*, ed. by John Parker ([n.l.]: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1932), p. 184 *Feet of Fines for the County of York From 1272–1300*, pp. 33, no. 42, 85–6, no. 32.

relating to Easingwold and Scarborough (both North Riding).⁴³⁴ In the period 1274–75, William is recorded as being in possession of a toft in Scalby (North Riding) for which he paid the King, and later the earl, 9*d* per annum.⁴³⁵ By 1279–81 William is recorded as being unsuccessful in a dispute over the toft he held in Scalby, and was subsequently forced to cede his claim to it.⁴³⁶ He received his letter of protection on 16 July 1270.⁴³⁷ William possibly returned to the Holy Land on 10 June 1291, in what appears to be a direct response to the fall of the city of Acre to the Mamluks in May of that year.⁴³⁸

William, father of Stephen *Bruni*
Crusade(s): Fourth Crusade

William can be identified in the *Curia Regis Rolls*. The entry in the rolls, dated to 1204, relates to a land dispute in which Stephen claimed that his father had possessed land in Hilderwell, near Scarborough (North Riding) which should now rightfully be his, prior to taking a journey to the Holy Land. Although Stephen is unsuccessful in his appeal for the land, the assertion that William took a journey to the Holy Land is never disputed.⁴³⁹

William, son of Robert Peper
Crusade(s): Fifth Crusade

William was accused of wounding a man named William Wrangwys. When the judges came in 1218–19, William was in the Holy Land so could not appear before them. It was noted that he had already made peace with his accuser for 10*s* which he had paid William Wrangwys prior to departing for the East.⁴⁴⁰ There is no information regarding which Riding William was connected to.

⁴³⁴ *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, I, pp. 11, 72.

⁴³⁵ *Yorkshire Hundred and Quo Warranto Rolls*, ed. by Barbara English ([n.l.], Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1996), p. 114.

⁴³⁶ *Yorkshire Hundred and Quo Warranto Rolls*, pp. 135–36.

⁴³⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266–72*, p. 440.

⁴³⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1281–92*, p. 432. It is possible that this could have been his son.

⁴³⁹ *Curia Regis Rolls of the Reigns of Richard I. and John, Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 14 vols (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926), III, pp. 91–2.

⁴⁴⁰ *Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire*, p. 344, no. 944; Siedschlag, p. 143.

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