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A HUNDRED YEARS OF HISTORY

A HUNDRED YEARS OF HISTORY

FROM RECORD AND CHRONICLE

1216-1327

BY

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TO

MY NIECE AND NEPHEWS

INTRODUCTION

I HAVE been led to put together this little book partly to meet the needs of one of my classes in this University, and partly from a conviction that more might very well be done than has yet been attempted in England in the way of making accessible to the reader whose knowledge of foreign tongues is rusty, or elementary, or non-existent, such parts of the "sources" for English history as appear particularly instructive or entertaining. The sphere of the source-book is or should be a comparatively humble one. It should never replace the ordinary text-book when the first foundations of historical knowledge are laid at school. Again, its help should be put aside as soon as the student is advanced enough to go to the originals. Yet between these points its usefulness might be extended.

Two particular types of reader I have in mind. In the first place there are girls and boys who spend their last year at school in a more specialised and leisured course of study than form-work and examination requirements permitted hitherto. Often one part of such a course consists of a limited period of English history. Now for any date after 1485 teacher and taught alike may go to the fountain-head for information. The sources are in English, and they are cheap, thanks to many excellent reprints now on the market. But for the mediaevalist the case is different. His sources are in Latin or French, lengthy, costly, and difficult, and very little has been done in the way of translation or selection. He has few small books of Englished ex-

tracts which he could put into the hands of his class. He must rely chiefly on the ordinary text-book, and, for reading beyond that, on what has been written from or about the sources rather than the sources themselves. No wonder then that the later periods are most frequently chosen in preference to mediæval periods which are as important, as moving, as educative, and have this merit besides, that they are less age-withered and custom-staled. Here, then is one large class of readers whose wants have not hitherto been adequately met.

Another point at which the source-book might very well find an audience is among those who are reading English history at the universities not as their only study but as part of a general course for an ordinary degree. Here the source-book would open the gates to a more personal contact with men and manners of the middle ages, and might even form a foundation for some training in historical method and criticism.

Any source-book, however, is liable to two defects. In the first place, it is likely to be scrappy and unattractive in appearance, for it will not be one connected whole, set forth with every possible help from print and paper, but instead a series of short extracts, giving each page a broken look, and overweighted with explanations and footnotes. In the second place, it will have to cover so many different aspects of history that it can scarcely be thorough.

The first difficulty I have tried to meet, firstly by selecting extracts as continuously as possible, and often of considerable length, and secondly by reducing the paraphernalia of footnote, explanation, and so forth, to a minimum. The second difficulty is more serious, and cannot be altogether overcome. It is as impossible that an historical source-book should satisfy all the needs of those who use it as that an anthology should include every poem a given reader would like to see there. Yet anthologies are increasingly popular, and perhaps the virtues of a source-book may be held to outweigh

its vices. Obviously the present compilation cannot cover adequately every aspect of the varied period with which it deals. A book of the same size could easily be made on any one of the various interests—political, constitutional, social and economic, ecclesiastical, or what not.

However, though the reader will certainly not find here everything about something, it may be claimed at least that he will find something about almost everything. If his main interest is the course of political history, he may trace the rise of popular feeling against Henry III, the successive alien invasions, the outbreak of the barons' war, the preparation in the revolution of Henry for the good judgment and good faith of the first Edward, the latter's exploits abroad and at home, and finally the collapse and disgrace of his weaker son. If constitutional problems claim his chief attention, he will find material for the history of both central and local institutions. The writs printed shew most of the stages in the development of the "third estate" as a part of the national parliament, and include those discovered a year ago, which prove that as early as 1275 Edward I anticipated, save in one point, the arrangements which gave the parliament of 1295 the title of the "first complete and model" parliament. The complaints of the magnates, on the other hand, and their panaceas for the ills of the realm, will shew him something of the forces against which the king had to contend, and contemporary opinion of his motives. As to the history of the church and ecclesiastical matters, he will find them reflected very fully, both for good and ill, and may find examples of such topics as papal oppression by taxation and provision, royal interference with elections, the monks and friars with their vices and virtues, and the whole strange paradox of the sublimity and degradation, mysticism and materialism, piety and profanity, of the thirteenth-century church. All this he will have in the actual words of chronicle

and record, and will be led unconsciously from the mere absorption of information to some understanding of the relative merits of different sorts of historical material, and the methods the historian must use if he is to reconstruct truthfully the events of the past. In Matthew Paris he will make the acquaintance of perhaps the greatest of all the mediæval historians, and may gather from such scenes as that at the procession with our Lord's blood in 1247 how and where he got his information.

In such ways as these, then, the book might be used to illustrate particular aspects of history. Yet after all it is not particular but general uses that I would have it serve. There is one glory of the sun and another of the moon, and it is hardly to be expected that the reading of extracts and translations should bring the same flood of illumination that might come from the study of the originals. Still, even moonlight is preferable to darkness, or, to change the metaphor, it is better to travel in foreign lands with an interpreter than not to travel at all. What I should like this little book to do is to bring its readers very near to the thirteenth century and its ways: to shew the good, the ill, the ugliness and beauty, of that amazing time, when "les hommes eurent tous les vices sauf la vulgarité, toutes les vertus, sauf la mesure": to make voices speak that have been hushed and figures move that have been motionless, under "the drums and trappings of centuries": and to convince the most indifferent that history is a living study of realities.

My last word must be one of gratitude to those who have made rough places smooth for me, and among them most of all to Professor Tout, of this University, and Mr. M. O. B. Caspari, of University College, London.

HILDA JOHNSTONE.

THE UNIVERSITY,

MANCHESTER, *August, 1911.*

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A HUNDRED YEARS OF HISTORY

FROM RECORD AND CHRONICLE.

CONCERNING THE FIRST CROWNING OF KING HENRY III, Wendover,¹
WHICH WAS DONE WITH A CERTAIN GOLDEN CIRCLET: (ed. Coxe)
FROM WHICH CROWNING THE YEARS OF HIS REIGN rv. 1-3.
ARE COMPUTED. M. Paris,
iii. 1-2.
1216,
Oct.

John king of the English now being dead, there came together at Gloucester on the vigil of the apostles Simon and Jude in the presence of Gualo legate of the apostolic see, Peter bishop of Winchester, Jocelin bishop of Bath, Silvester bishop of Worcester, Ranulf earl of Chester, William Marshal earl of Pembroke, William earl of Ferrers, John Marshal, Philip d'Aubigny, with abbots, priors and a very great multitude, to exalt Henry, first-born son of king John, to be king of England. On the morrow when all had been made ready for the crowning, the aforesaid legate together with the same bishops and earls, led him to the conventual church in solemn procession to be acclaimed as king. There, standing before the high altar, with Jocelin Bishop of Bath dictating the oath, he swore in the presence of clergy and people, touching the most holy gospels and the relics of many saints, that he would bear himself honourably, peaceably and reverently to God, Holy Church, and its ministers, all the days of his life. He swore also that he would maintain strict justice towards the

¹ As far as the year 1235 Matthew Paris copied the *Flores Historiarum* of his predecessor Roger of Wendover, making however various additions. These seemed worthy of inclusion, and therefore the extracts are taken from the text as altered by Paris. Where the reference is to Wendover, and the reference to Paris is placed within brackets, the alterations or additions made by the latter are small. The reverse order indicates the contrary. Where neither reference is bracketed the contributions of the two authors were roughly equal.

people committed to his charge, that he would destroy all evil laws and iniquitous customs, if any there were in the realm, and would himself observe the good, and cause all to do likewise. Lastly he did homage to the most holy Roman church and to pope Innocent for the realms of England and Ireland: and he swore that he would faithfully pay the thousand marks which his father had conferred upon the Roman church, so long as he held the kingdom. And when this had been done, Peter and Jocelin, bishops of Winchester and Bath, anointing him as king, solemnly crowned him with canticles and chants such as are wont to be sung at the crowning of a king. At length, after masses had been duly said, the earls and bishops aforesaid led the king, dressed in his royal vestments, in procession to table, where all seated according to rank feasted with joy and exultation. On the morrow the king took homage and fealty from all the bishops, earls, barons, and others who were present, and all promised him most loyal service.

King Henry III was crowned in his tenth year, on the feast of the apostles Simon and Jude, that is the 28th of October. After his coronation the king remained in the keeping of William earl of Pembroke, the great Marshal, who forthwith sent letters to all sheriffs and castellans of the realm of England bidding all to be obedient to the new-crowned king, and promising them many possessions and gifts so that they would cleave faithfully to the king. And thus all nobles and castellans who had served his father, clung much more closely to him than to king John, since all recognised that the iniquity of the father must not be imputed to the son. All therefore began to prepare themselves for defence, fortifying their castles. It especially cheered those who favoured the royal party that every Sunday and feastday they saw Louis and his accomplices and followers excommunicated.

Wendover, **HOW THE KING GATHERED AN ARMY TO RAISE THE SIEGE**
 iv. 18-19 **OF LINCOLN CASTLE.**
 (M. Paris,

iii. 18-19). While all this was going on, William Marshal, keeper of
 1217, king and kingdom, by the advice of Gualo the legate and Peter
 May. bishop of Winchester and others by whose counsel the affairs
 of the realm were directed, issued a summons to all castel-
 lans of the king's party and all knights who were garrisoning

castles in various districts. He bade them come together on the Monday of Whitsun week at Newark at the king's command, to join him in an attempt to raise the siege of Lincoln castle. And they, burning with zeal to join battle with excommunicated Frenchmen and fight for their country, came gladly on the day and to the place appointed. And the legate himself and other prelates of the realm appeared with horses and men equipped for battle, to pursue those disobedient to the king and rebellious against the pope both with prayers and arms. It seemed to them their cause was just, all the more since he whom his adversaries strove in their pride to disinherit was innocent and free from all sin. When all had assembled, there were counted in the army 400 knights and about 250 crossbowmen. Also there was such a fine body of squires and horsemen that at need they might take the place of knights. The chief men of the army were William Marshal, William his son, Peter bishop of Winchester, skilful in warfare, Ranulf earl of Chester, William earl of Salisbury, William earl of Ferrers, William earl of Albemarle. Many barons came also, William d'Aubigny, John Marshal, William of Cantilupe and William his son, Falkes, Thomas Basset, Robert de Vieuxpont, Brian de l'Isle, Geoffrey de Lucy, Philip d'Aubigny, with many castellans expert in military matters. Resting at Newark three days to refresh both men and horses, they spent the interval in confession. They strengthened themselves by partaking of the body and blood of Christ, for they sought God as their protector against the onslaughts of the enemy. So all were roused and eager to die or conquer in the cause of justice.

HOW, WHEN THE ROYAL ARMY WAS ASSEMBLED, THE LEGATE
ENCOURAGED ALL TO BATTLE.

Wendover,
iv. 19-20
(M. Paris,
iii. 19).
1217,
May.

At length on the sixth day of Whitweek, after the celebration of the divine sacraments, the legate rose and explained in the presence of all how iniquitous was the cause of Louis and the barons who adhered to him, wherefore they had been excommunicated and set apart from the unity of the church. And, that he might cheer on the host to battle, he put on white vestments, as did all the clergy, and excommunicated Louis by name, with all his accomplices and helpers, and especially all who were busied in opposition to the king in

besieging Lincoln, and also the whole city and all contained in it. And to all who had undertaken to speed this work in their proper persons, in virtue of the authority bestowed upon him from omnipotent God and the apostolic see, he gave full pardon of sins, confessed with truth and penitence, and for the retribution of the just promised the rewards of eternal salvation. Finally, when he had pronounced a general absolution and benediction, all hurried to arms, mounted their horses with all speed, and broke up their camp with shouts of joy. So coming to the village of Stow, eight miles distant from Lincoln, they boldly spent the night there. And when morning came, arrayed for battle in seven well-ordered companies, they proceeded against the enemy, with no fear except that the latter would flee before they arrived. The cross-bowmen went about a mile ahead of the army. Waggons and sumpter-horses loaded with victuals and other necessaries followed behind. The whole, with its banners and flashing shields, struck no small terror into the observer.

Wendever, **HOW THE BARONS, COMING OUT OF THE CITY OF LINCOLN,
RECONNOITRED THE KING'S ARMY.**
iv. 20-21

(M. Paris,
III. 19-20).
1217,
May.

The barons and French who were in the city had made so sure of winning their cause that they received with jeers and laughter the messengers who told them of the enemy's arrival. They continued to cast destructive stones from their mangonels, to break down the walls of the castle. However, Robert FitzWalter and Saer earl of Winchester, when they heard the enemy were drawing near the city, went out to inspect their progress and compute their numbers. When they had diligently surveyed the order of the advancing enemy, they returned to the city and said to their fellows, "These fighters are coming against us in order of battle, but we are far more numerous than they. Our advice is, therefore, to go out to meet them at the slope of the hill. If we do this, we shall take them all like larks." Then the count of Perche and the marshal said in answer, "You have estimated their numbers according to your knowledge, and now we will go out and compute them after the French fashion". So they went out, but they were deceived in their computation. For when they saw in the rear the waggons and sumpter-horses with their drivers, who were following the

squadrons now ranked for battle, they took them for an army in themselves. For they saw a great host with waving banners. Every magnate had two banners, one, as we have said, with the baggage, following the host in the rear, the other carried before himself, by which he might be known after battle was joined. And so the count of Perche was deceived and returned with the marshal to his allies. They, therefore, advised their comrades (and their advice could not be disregarded) to return into the city; so that, the leaders separating, the gates might be guarded and the enemy prevented from entering till the fall of the castle, now imminent, had taken place. Many were pleased with the plan, more were dissatisfied. Closing the gates and setting guards, all prepared for defence.

CONCERNING THE BATTLE FOUGHT AT LINCOLN, AND THE DEATH OF THE COUNT OF PERCHE.

Wendover,
iv. 21-24
(M. Paris,
iii. 20-23).
1217,
May.

Meanwhile the king's army, coming up to the city on the castle side, had been seen by the garrison, who secretly sent out a messenger by a postern at the back of the castle to the leaders of the army, to tell them all that was happening inside. He told them also that if they wished they could enter by the little postern, which was now open on account of their arrival. However, they would not all go in, but sent Falkes with the company he commanded and all the crossbowmen, to throw open at any rate one gate of the city to the army. Finally the whole host gathering at the north gate spent their time in making a breach in it. Not even then did the barons cease to throw great stones from their machines at the castle. But Falkes meantime had entered the castle with his company and all the crossbowmen, and stationed them suddenly on the walls of the houses and at the loopholes of the castle. From thence, aiming deadly bolts at the barons' chargers, they laid low horses and their riders. In the twinkling of an eye they had overthrown a great number, foot soldiers, knights, and magnates. Now Falkes when he saw so many of the nobler among his adversaries struck to the ground, burst boldly out from the castle with his men into the midst of the enemy: but he was captured and carried off by the troops that rushed upon him, till by the valour of the crossbowmen and his knights he was released and led back

to his own men. Meanwhile the mass of the royal army had broken in the city gates, though with difficulty, entered the town and attacked the enemy. Then you might see sparks fly from the clashing swords, and the ground resounded with the shock of the combatants like thunder or an earthquake. At length a part of the barons was completely disabled by the royalists, who stabbed the horses on which the barons sat and cut their throats like pigs. Needless to say, when the horses fell dead on the ground, their riders were captured, since there was no one to rescue them. At last when the barons were much weakened, and the royal host had taken numbers of their knights, and delivered all into bonds, the king's men moved in close ranks against the count of Perche, compassing him round on every side, and the whole weight of the fight was turned against him. When he could not sustain the onslaught, the enemy called out to him to surrender, that he might save his life. But he swore with a horrible oath, that he would never yield himself to Englishmen, traitors to their king. Some of the royalists, when they heard these words, dashed upon him, and piercing his head through the eyehole of his helmet penetrated his brain. Well he deserved it, for he swore profanely by the brain of God. Falling to the ground, he neither called upon God, nor said one word, but went his way to hell in pride and rancour.

Now when the Frenchmen saw that most of their side had fallen, they took to flight, both horse and foot, much to their own loss. For the bar of iron across the south gate through which they fled, seriously hindered the fugitives. As often as a man came up, in a great hurry to be gone, he had to get down from his horse and open the gate. When he had gone through the door was at once closed again by the bar placed across it. So that that gate was troublesome and dangerous to the fugitives. The king's knights pursued the barons and Frenchmen as they fled, their pride broken. Yet though many were taken in their flight, the pursuit was but feigned. Had not the feeling of kinship intervened, kinship which shews itself at utmost need, not one man of them all could have escaped. Nay, every one of them would have been taken by the throat. What remains to be told? Of the baronial leaders there were taken Saer earl of Winchester, Henry of Bohun earl of Hereford, earl Gilbert of Ghent whom Louis had lately made earl of Lincoln. The count of

Perche, for his stubborn pride, lay there for ever. There were also taken the barons Robert FitzWalter, Richard of Montfichet, William of Mowbray, William of Beauchamp, William Mauduit, Oliver of Harcourt, Roger of Crecy, William of Colville, William of Ros, Robert of Ropsley, Ralph Cheiuduit, and many others, whom it would take long to name. Also 400 knights were taken, besides squires, horses and footsoldiers, who cannot easily be numbered. The count of Perche was buried in the orchard of the hospital outside the town. Reginald Croc, a knight of Falkes' household, and a strenuous fighter, was slain there also, and honourably buried at Croxton Abbey. Also in that combat there was slain a squire on the barons' side, whom no man knew. He was interred at the crossroads outside the city, being excommunicate. Dangerous as the battle had been, these three alone, it is said, had lost their lives.

CONCERNING THE SPOILING AND PILLAGE OF THE CITY. Wendover,

iv. 24-26
(M. Paris,
iii. 23-24).
1217,
May.

When all this was over, the royalist soldiers found in the city streets the waggons belonging to the barons and French, laden with burdens and baggage, silver vessels, and household stuffs and utensils of all sorts. They turned them all to their own use without hindrance. And when they had spoiled the city to the uttermost farthing, they proceeded to plunder all the churches, broke into the treasuries and aumbries with axes and hammers, and seized for themselves gold and silver, cloth of divers colours, women's ornaments, gold rings, chalices and precious stones. Not even the cathedral church escaped this scourge, but shared the sentence of the others. For the knights were commanded by the legate to treat all the canons as excommunicated, and as enemies to the Roman church and the king its vassal, from the outset of the war. However, it was reason enough for them that there was booty to be carried off. The Roman custom is to devise reasons on a slight pretext, where there is an occasion of plunder for the ill-disposed. But the precentor of that church, Geoffrey of Deeping, grieved inconsolably, for he had lost 11,000 marks of silver. At length, when they had seized all kinds of goods, and left not a thing unspoiled in any house-corner, they returned, enriched, to their lords, and proclaiming the peace of king Henry throughout the city, feasted and drank right

merrily. That combat, called in derision of Louis and the barons the Fair, took place on May 19th, that is the Saturday in Whitweek. It began between prime and terce: but before nones everything had been bought up by the good bargainers. Some of the city matrons were drowned, for to escape scandal and violence they went aboard some small and frail boats, with their children, servants, and household stuff, but sank on the way. Afterwards searchers found a silver vase and other things very profitable to the finders. The ships were overladen, and the women knew nothing of their management.

When all this had been done, William Marshal ordered all the castellans to go back to their own places with their prisoners, and keep them strictly till they should hear the king's will concerning them. Marshal himself on the same day before he took food returned to the king, and told him in the presence of the legate all that had happened. And they, thanking God with tears, soon turned their weeping to mirth.

Wendover, **HOW, ON THIS ACCOUNT, LOUIS SENT KNIGHTS TO HIS**
 iv. 27-30 **FATHER PHILIP, KING OF THE FRENCH.**
 (M. Paris,
 III. 25-28).
 1217.

At that same time Louis, beginning to despair of bringing his plans to a successful issue, after the misfortune that befell him at Lincoln, and seeking advice, sent messengers to his father and his wife the lady Blanche, informing them of the irreparable losses which had befallen him and the English barons at Lincoln, losses, he lamented, inflicted on him rather by God than men. For now the English king was growing so strong, that he wandered with armed bands about all the districts round London, and closed the exit from the city for Louis and his partisans. "Besides," he said, "all kinds of victuals are scarce in the city: and even if they were abundant we have nothing to buy them with. I tell you therefore, that I can neither resist nor leave England, unless you provide powerful reinforcements for me." When such news came to the father about his son and the wife about her husband, they grieved that he was placed in such straits. But when the king of the French heard it he said, "Is not William Marshal still alive?" And they said "Yes". "Then I am not afraid for my son," said the king. For this reason William Marshal was ever after this suspected of treachery.

And since the king was afraid to send help to his excommunicated son, for he had often been bitterly reproached by the pope on his son's account, he charged Louis' wife with the business. She, nothing loth, dispatched three hundred bold and well-equipped knights, and a large baud of armed men, to the help of her husband. But all this could not be hidden from the English king, who, with renewed strength, had occupied the south coast with a large army, and had now decided to besiege London. On the Marshal's advice, he had appointed Philip d'Aubigny and John Marshal, with armed men from the Cinque Ports and elsewhere, to spy upon the sea-routes and hinder the approach of the French.

On St. Bartholomew's Day the French fleet was entrusted ^{August.} to Eustace the monk, wicked fellow that he was, that he might lead it under safe conduct to London, and present it unharmed to Louis. So, embarking, the knights had a fierce wind behind them, which drove them rapidly towards England. But they knew nothing about the snares made ready for them. When, therefore, with swift course they had covered a considerable distance, the pirates of the English king coming up from the side counted eighty great ships of the enemy, and more of small boats and armed galleys. So they were afraid to join battle with their own few ships, not more than forty in all, counting both galleys and other ships. However, cheered by what had happened at Lincoln, where a handful triumphed over a host, they boldly attacked the enemy in flank. When the Frenchmen became aware of this, they hastened to arms, and resisted the enemy boldly, though without success. Philip d'Aubigny with his slingers and bowmen poured deadly missiles upon the French, and soon wrought fearful havoc among them. Also they had galleys with iron prows, with which they pierced the enemy's ships and sunk many in an instant. Also they threw quicklime, in fine powder, into the air, and when the wind carried it, it blinded the French. The conflict was fierce, but soon the French, unused to fight at sea, were altogether weakened. For by the English, who were both good fighters and accustomed to marine warfare, they were struck by bolts and arrows, pierced with lances, slain with daggers or swords, drowned in rammed ships, blinded with lime. All hope of help and rescue was vain, not even flight was open to them. So many, rather than be taken alive, flung themselves into the waves, choosing

rather to die, than to be treated at the will and pleasure of their adversaries. As Seneca said, "To die at an enemy's will is to die twice". When all who remained alive of the French nobles were subdued, the English victors lashed together with ropes all the ships they had won by their courage, and sailing towards Dover, praised God in their works. Therefore when the knights of that castle saw God's unlooked-for mercy, they went out to meet the English, and bound the luckless French in straiter bonds. Among the rest there was led forth from the depths and hold of one of the ships that traitor and evil pirate Eustace the monk, long looked-for and much longed-for. Richard Sorale and Wudecoc found him. When he knew that he was caught, he offered an inestimable quantity of money for his life and limbs, and promised he would fight faithfully for the English king in future. But Richard, a bastard son of king John, seized him and cried, "Never in this world shalt thou again lead men astray with thy false promises, worthless traitor". And he drew his sword and cut off his head. The royal servants gathered up the spoils of the ships—gold, silver, silken cloths, and armour. And when the prisoners had been put in safe keeping, Philip d'Aubigny made known to the king what had been done. And the king for this victory granted him from above glorified God, who is marvellous in his disposal of human fortunes ever and in every place. But when word came of the event to Louis, he lamented yet more than for his disaster at Lincoln.

M. Paris,
iii. 28-29.
1217,
August.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT.

When Hubert de Burgh was informed of this formidable approach, he said to the bishop of Winchester and the marshal and other magnates, "If these folk reach England safely, we are lost. Let us attack them boldly. God is on our side, but they are excommunicated." And they answered him, "We are not sea soldiers, nor pirates, nor fishermen. Go thou and die." So Hubert going apart a little called to him his chaplain Luke, and fortified himself with the sacrament, and then, with lion courage, said to his special followers, to whom he had committed the keeping of Dover castle. "Swear by Christ's blood that if by chance I am taken prisoner, you will let me be hanged rather than yield up the castle to any

Frenchman. For it is the key of England." Weeping, they agreed to this, with profession of faith and an oath. So, taking some chosen knights with him, Henry Turberville and Richard Seward and some others, but only a few, he entered the best ship, having with him some experienced sailors from the Cinque Ports. There were under his command about sixteen well-armed ships, without the smaller vessels which accompanied them, reckoned at twenty. So they set out boldly, . . . as though they wished to go to Calais. And when Eustace the monk the French leader saw this he said, "These wretches think to attack Calais like thieves, but it will be in vain, for they are well prepared there". And behold! suddenly the English when they found the wind had sunk, . . . with the weather gage attacked the enemy, and when they touched their adversaries' sterns, cast out hooks and drew them towards themselves. Then, quickly boarding them, with sharp knives they cut the halliards and the shrouds supporting the mast, and the spread sail fell upon the French like a net over snared birds. They spared the more noble for imprisonment, but cut the rest to pieces. Among them they dragged out and beheaded Eustace, who had disguised himself, and was found hiding in the hold. He was a Fleming by birth, who had apostatised and cast off his habit and order for the sake of getting his inheritance when his brothers died without children. He was a pirate and the captain of pirates, dangerous and bloodthirsty. Now at length the spoiler was become the spoil, and reaped the fruit of his ways. But when Hubert the miraculous conqueror came rejoicing to land, all the bishops who were there came forth to meet him with the knights and populace, arrayed in sacred vestments with crosses and banners, chanting solemnly and praising God.

CONCERNING THE FORM OF PEACE BETWEEN KING HENRY III AND LOUIS, AND THE GRAVE PUNISHMENT OF THE EXCOMMUNICATED.

Wendover,
iv. 31-33
(M. Paris,
iii. 30-32).
1217,
Septem-
ber.

First Louis swore, and all his excommunicated adherents with him, laying their hands upon the holy gospels, that they would submit to the sentence of Holy Church, and be loyal henceforth to the lord pope and the Roman church. Also he swore that he would straightway with all his followers leave the English realm, never in his life to return in ill-will :

and that as far as he was able he would induce his father Philip to give Henry king of the English all his rights in his lands across the sea, and when he became king, give them up peacefully. He swore moreover that he would at once give up to the king and his followers all the castles and lands in the English realm which he and his had occupied during the war. The English king, touching the holy gospels, swore that he would restore to the barons of England and all others of the realm all rights and heritages, with all the liberties sought earlier, on account of which discord had arisen between John king of the English and the barons. Nor should injury or disgrace be now or hereafter inflicted on those who had joined one side or the other. For this reason when later Constantine a citizen of London was hanged, the king of the English was reproached with having broken this oath. . . . As to all the prisoners who had ransomed themselves before this peace was agreed upon, and had already paid a part of their ransom money to their creditors, they should not receive back what they had paid, but what remained to be paid should be wholly forgiven to the debtor. All the prisoners who had been taken at Lincoln or in the sea-fight off Dover, whether on the king's or Louis' side, should everywhere be set free at once, without difficulty, and without any ransom or payment. And when all this was finished, Louis and all his adherents were absolved in due form of the church. Then they exchanged the kiss of peace, but there were many who merely put forward their forced cheerfulness as a cloak to conceal their deceit. Then Louis, returning to London, accepted £5000 sterling as a loan from the citizens on account of his great poverty, then hastened to the coast under the great Marshal's escort, and crossed to France in perpetual disgrace. From this absolution and benefit of peace were excepted the bishops, abbots, priors, secular canons, and many clerks, who had aided and favoured Louis and the barons, especially Simon of Langton and Gervase of Hoberge, who had so long and so far persisted in their obstinacy that they had caused the mysteries to be celebrated for Louis and his excommunicated barons by excommunicated priests. Therefore they were deprived of all their benefices by the legate and forced to go to Rome. Immediately after the departure of Louis from England the legate sent commissioners through all the provinces of England,

who sent to the legate all whom they found guilty of the smallest conspiracy, having suspended them and despoiled them of all their benefices. The legate distributed their benefices widely among his clerks, and made all his own men rich out of the losses of the others. Hugh bishop of Lincoln coming into England counted down (to receive his bishopric) 1000 marks for the pope's use and 100 marks for the legate in proved money. Many bishops and religious followed his example and reconciled themselves with the legate at heavy expense. He emptied the coffers of the clerks and secular canons also, with so immoderate a garnering, reaping where he had not sown, that out of many portions he collected one great heap, 12,000 marks in all.

HOW THE KING CAUSED THE CHARTERS OF LIBERTY TO BE
CANCELLED IN A COUNCIL HELD AT OXFORD.

Wendover,
iv. 139-
140 (M.
Paris, III.
122).
1227,
February.

The king of England called a council at Oxford in February and announced before all that he was now of full age and in future, released from the custody of regents, would himself deal with all business. So he, who had first had William Marshal, while he lived, as tutor and rector, and later Peter bishop of Winchester, now cut himself free by the advice of Hubert de Burgh, justiciar of the realm, from the counsel and governance of the said bishop and his friends, who had hitherto been schoolmasters, as it were, of the king. He removed them all from his court and company. In that same council the king caused to be cancelled and annulled all charters in every province of England concerning the liberties of the forest, after they had been in use throughout the realm for two years. The pretext he gave was, that those charters were granted and the liberties written and sealed at a time when he was under custody, and had no power over his person or his seal. What had been usurped without reason, therefore, lacked all validity. But there was loud murmuring about this in the council, and all men considered the justiciar as the source of the trouble. For by degrees he had become so intimate with the king, that the latter thought nothing of any of the counsellors except him. Announcement was made to religious and others, who wished to enjoy their liberties, that they must renew their charters with a fresh royal seal, for the king regarded the old charters as of no moment. A tax was

exacted for such renewal, not according to each man's means, but all had to pay whatever the justiciar thought fit.

Wendover, CONCERNING THE FREQUENT MIRACLES WROUGHT BY SAINT FRANCIS.

iv. 149-
154 (M.
Paris, III.
131-135).
1227.

About this time a certain brother of the Friars Minor, by name Francis, who had founded that order in the city of Assisi, began to shine forth in miracles. His story was as follows. Francis was noble by birth, but far more conspicuous in his virtuous life. Now he, after spending his childhood's days simply, began to turn over in his mind the charm of this world and the changefulness of temporal things, and to reflect how empty are all temporal things that pass away. For he had learnt this from the study of letters and theology, over which he had brooded from a tender age, that he should despise the mutability of things that pass away, and strive with all his strength after the heavenly kingdom. So that he might the more freely carry to completion what he had in his mind, he cast aside his father's inheritance—no mean thing—and all the pleasures of the time, put on habit and hairshirt, put off his shoes and macerated the flesh with vigils and fasting. And that he might choose voluntary poverty, he determined to have nothing at all of his own, not even his food, except what he should receive as charity from the alms of the faithful. If perchance after a slender meal there was something left over, he gave it all to the poor, keeping nothing for the morrow. He slept at night in his clothes, with a mat for his bed and a stone for his pillow, content with the habit and shirt which he wore by day for his clothing by night. So going forth shod with the preparation of the gospel, and embracing the apostolic life, on Sundays and festivals he preached in parish churches and other assemblies of the faithful. He impressed his hearers all the more since he stood aloof from carnal desires and drunkenness. Finally, Francis the man of God wishing to bring his project of salvation to a conclusion, presented a schedule containing the articles already mentioned and others, which are observed by brothers of that religion even to this day, to Pope Innocent sitting in consistory at Rome, and begged that his petition should be confirmed by the apostolic see.

HOW THE LORD POPE CONFIRMED THE AFORESAID ORDER.

Now when the pope saw the ill-made habit, the shamefast face, the long beard and rough hair, the black, hanging eye-brows of the friar, and when he had heard read the petition, so difficult, so impossible to carry out, he despised him and said, "Go, brother, and find the pigs, for you are more fit to rule them than men, and roll with them in the mud, and taking to them the rule you have commented on, fulfil your office of preaching." And Francis, bowing his head, went forth straightway, and when he had found some pigs, rolled with them in the mud till from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head he had defiled himself and his habit. And so returning to the consistory he showed himself to the pope, saying, "My lord, I have done what you wished. Hear then my petition, I pray you." And when the pope, marvelling, saw what he had done, he was grieved at heart that he had despised him. He ordered that when he had washed he should return, and speedily, cleansed from the dirt, he did so. Then the pope, moved on his behalf, granted his petition, and by a privilege of the Roman church confirmed his office of preacher and his order, and sent him away with his blessing. Then Francis, slave of the Lord, building a church in Rome where he might reap the fruits of contemplation, waged war like a gallant warrior against evil spirits and the infirmities of the flesh.

CONCERNING THE PREACHING OF THE AFORESAID FRIAR AND HIS ADMIRABLE END.

Thus Francis with all devotion preached throughout Italy and other nations, and especially in the city of Rome. But the Romans, enemies to all goodness, so despised the preaching of the man of God that they would not go to hear him or be present at his holy exhortations. So at length when for many days they had despised his preaching, Francis upbraided them for their hardness of heart. "I grieve for your misery," he said, "for you scorn not only me the servant of Christ, but him himself you despise in me. For I have preached to you the gospel of the Saviour of the world. And now, going from your city, I call him who is a faithful witness in heaven to witness your desolation: and to your confusion I go to preach the gospel to brute beasts and fowls of the air, that they hearing

the saving words of God may obey and be submissive." So going forth from the city he found in a suburb, perched upon carrion, crows, kites, and magpies, and many other birds flying in the air: and said to them, "I bid you in the name of Jesus Christ, whom the Jews crucified, and whose preaching these unhappy Romans have despised, come to me to hear the word of God, in the name of him who created you and who delivered you in Noah's ark from the waters of the flood". And straightway at his bidding all that multitude of birds came and surrounded him. In silence, and with all quarrelling hushed, for half a day they listened to the word of the man of God, never moving from the place, but always watching the face of the preacher. Now when this marvel was discovered by the Romans and by comers and goers from the city, and the same had been repeated by the man of God on three days, the clergy and a great crowd went forth and brought the man of God into the city with great reverence. Then softening their barren and hardened hearts with the oil of his pleading speech he changed them for the better. His name began to be so famous all over Italy that many nobles followed his example, cast off the world with the faults and lusts thereof and submitted to his governance. So there grew up speedily this order of friars, who are called Minors, all over the world. Dwelling in the towns and villages they set forth by tens and sevens each day, preaching the word of life in the towns and parish churches, and by sowing slips of virtue gathered much fruit for the Lord. Nor was it only among the faithful that they scattered the seed of God's word and the dew of heavenly doctrine. Going to the nations of the Gentiles and Saraceus, they bore witness to the truth, and many of them attained to the glory of martyrdom.

CONCERNING THE CONCOURSE OF PEOPLE AT THE DEATH OF THE AFORESAID FRIAR.

At length, when Francis the friend of God with his friars had preached the gospel of peace for many years in Rome and the neighbouring lands, and had handed back to his lord the talent committed to him with interest, like a good usurer, his hour came for passing out of this world to Christ, and receiving as reward of his labours the crown of life, which God has promised to those who love him. And on the fifteenth day

before his death there appeared wounds on his hands and feet, bleeding continually, as they had appeared upon the Saviour on the rood, when he was crucified by the Jews. His right side too was open and sprinkled with blood . . . What then? There was a rush of people to him, marvelling at so unwonted a sight. Amongst them the cardinals inquired of him, what the vision meant. And he answered, "This vision was showed upon me that you, to whom I have preached the mystery of the cross, may believe in him who for this world's salvation bore on the cross the wounds you see, and also that you may know that I am the servant of him whom I told you of, crucified, dead, and risen again. That you may persevere in the constancy of faith even to the end, these wounds, which you have seen thus open and bleeding, as soon as I am dead, will be clean and whole, and seem as the rest of my flesh." And straightway without anguish or bodily pain, freed from the flesh, he gave up his spirit to his creator. And when he was dead, no marks of the wounds remained in his side, or feet, or hands. And when the man of God had been buried in his church, the pope admitted him into the list of saints, and gave formal order that the day of his death should be celebrated.

When the pope saw that the order and work of the Friars M. Paris, Minor were prospering, and that their number daily increased, III. 135- . . . he limited their conduct and rule by certain bounds, lest 137. they should supplant and injure other religious. To wit, that they should go about the cities and villages, girt for the preparation of the gospel, for the reform of manners, teaching rather by the gravity of their bearing and the poorness of their garments than by harsh rebuke, not devouring with contempt or scorn those clothed softly, since to God alone all hearts are open: and that they should plainly follow the poverty they had professed. For too great humility, breaking into loud words, is a sign of secret pride. Nor should they carry off any one by their preaching, nor disclose confessions, if they chance to hear any, even though travelling to distant places, lest scandal arise or their fair fame be blackened, or the peace of the church, established and ordained upon a firm rock by the holy apostles and our great and holy fathers and doctors suffer evil in temporal things or be in any way disturbed. Let them be cautious in inquiring into sins, lest they, who are simple, learn of enormities unknown and un-

heard of. Let them plunge no man into the abyss, chiding him with terrors and threats, but rather raise him up to spiritual hope. Let all Brothers Minor set an example of humility to others by their own, and not esteem men of another religion, or their rule, or their statutes, less than themselves and their own statutes. Content with every extremity, wretchedness, and poverty, let them not exalt themselves to seem better than others. Nor should they aspire to privileges and dignities to the detriment or prejudice of any, nor, except with permission, either preach or give counsel, thrusting themselves forward. And since Francis, the little saint of God, had ordained all this for himself and his followers, the lord pope approved and confirmed his rule, and commented upon it, and ordered that it should be observed inviolably by himself and his friars for ever.

Wendover, CONCERNING THE DEATH OF STEPHEN ARCHBISHOP OF
 iv. 170- CANTERBURY.

171 (M.

Paris, III.

157).

1228,

July.

Stephen archbishop of Canterbury died at his manor of Slindon on the 6th of July and was buried on the 8th at Canterbury. And when he was buried, the monks of Canterbury, having sought licence from the king, chose a monk from the bosom of their church, master Walter of Eynsham, on August 3rd. But when they presented him to the king, after long deliberation he rejected him on various grounds. In the first place he charged the monks with having chosen a man useless both to them and to the kingdom: secondly, his father had been hanged for stealing: thirdly, he had taken part in suits against the king's father John at the time of the interdict. Also the suffragan bishops of the church of Canterbury objected to the archbishop elect because he had seduced a nun and had children by her, and added that the election of the archbishop ought not to have taken place without their presence. But the aforesaid archbishop elect, clinging firmly to the election, after they had made an appeal, took with him some monks of Canterbury and went to the pope, begging him to confirm the election. But the pope, when he heard the election was opposed by the king and the bishops, postponed the matter, till he was further informed. Now the king and bishops when they heard that the archbishop elect had gone to Rome, sent the above objections reduced to writing and

sealed with the seal of the king and the bishops, by the hands of the bishops of Rochester and Chester, to the pope, putting master John archdeacon of Bedford in charge of the business. When the messengers reached Rome they showed the letters to the pope, and the pope when he had carefully inspected them, by the advice of his cardinals appointed to the parties the morrow of Ash Wednesday for final pronouncement on the suit.

HOW THE MESSENGERS OF THE ENGLISH KING PRESSED AT WENDOVER, ROME FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE ARCHBISHOP ELECT OF CANTERBURY.

Wendover, iv. 184 (M. Paris, iii. 169). 1229, Feb.

When Ash Wednesday drew near, the day given to the archbishop elect of Canterbury and the English king's envoys for a papal decision between the parties, the proctors of the said king, to wit Alexander of Stavenby bishop of Chester and Henry of Sandford bishop of Rochester and especially master John of Houton, beset the pope and cardinals with petitions, but finding them—as usual—difficult to move, feared they would be robbed of their desire. So making a detestable agreement, they promised the pope on behalf of the English king a tenth of all moveables from the realms of England and Ireland, to carry on his war against the emperor, so that he might lend a friendly ear to the royal proposal. And the pope, rejoiced at so great a promise, for he longed above all else to subdue the rebel emperor, was drawn to consent, and, sitting in the consistory made the following announcement.

CONCERNING THE ANNULING OF THE ELECTION OF WALTER A MONK OF CANTERBURY BY THE EFFORTS OF THE KING'S COURTIER.

Wendover, iv. 184-186 (M. Paris, iii. 169-170). 1229.

“Lately there came to our ears the tidings of the election to the church of Canterbury of a certain monk, Walter by name. And when we had heard what the same monk had to say for himself and his election, and had also heard the objections and pleas of the bishops of England against the election and the elect, set forth to us by our venerable brothers the bishops of Coventry and Rochester, and our beloved son the archdeacon of Bedford, we caused the elect aforesaid to be examined by our venerable brothers the bishop of Albano, Thomas of Santa Sabina, and master Peter, all cardinals. . . .

When he was diligently examined by the cardinals upon various points, he answered not merely poorly but very badly indeed. Since therefore the church of Canterbury is noble and should have had a noble prelate, discreet, modest and chosen from the bosom of the Roman church, and since the elect is not only unworthy, but indeed, if we proceeded according to the rigour of the law we ought to speak more emphatically, he is so insufficient to be raised to such honour: we quash the election altogether, and reserve to ourselves provision for the said church."

CONCERNING THE PROMOTION OF RICHARD ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY.

When the election had thus been quashed, the proctors of the king and suffragans showed the pope letters of authorisation from both king and bishops, and proposed master Richard, chancellor of the church of Lincoln, declaring that he was a man eminent for learning and literature and of honourable conduct, profitable both to the Roman church and to the king and kingdom of England, and commending him to the pope in every possible way. So they persuaded the pope and cardinals to agree, and Richard became archbishop, not by election, but by gift.

Wendover, iv. 205.
M. Paris, iii. 191.
1229, Dec. king and the suffragan bishops.

On the 23rd of December, Richard archbishop of Canterbury, received the pall sent him by the pope and celebrated divine service in the cathedral at Canterbury in the presence of the king and the suffragan bishops.

Wendover, iv. 200-201 (M. Paris, iii. 186-188).
1229, April.

CONCERNING THE TENTH FOR POPE GREGORY COLLECTED
FROM ENGLAND.

When master Stephen, the pope's chaplain and nuncio, had explained to the king the pope's business and the reason of his own arrival, the king caused to be summoned at Westminster on the Sunday when the *Misericordia Domini* is sung¹ the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, templars, hospitallers, earls, barons, rectors of churches and all who held of him in chief, for a fixed day and place, to hear the aforesaid business

¹ i.e. the 2nd Sunday after Easter. The first words of the Introit are *Misericordia domini plena est terra*, "The earth is full of the goodness of the Lord" (Ps. xxxiii. 5).

and treat in common of what was necessary. When they were all assembled, laymen, clerks, and their followers, master Stephen read out the pope's letters, in which he exacted one tenth of all moveables throughout England, Ireland and Wales, from all laymen and clerks, to carry on the war he had undertaken against the Roman emperor Frederick. He explained in the letters that he alone had undertaken this expedition on behalf of the whole church, which the said emperor, long excommunicated and a rebel, was endeavouring to destroy, as clearly appeared by various signs. The riches of the apostolic see were not sufficient to exterminate him, and therefore, driven by need, the pope asked for the help of all sons of the church, so that he might bring to the desired end the expedition he had begun, and which so far had prospered. In conclusion the pope urged all members of the church, as true sons of the Roman church, which is the mother of all churches, to come to the rescue, lest—which God forbid—if he failed, the members should perish with the head. When he had made these and similar matters clear on the authority of the pope, master Stephen pleaded with all present to consent, dwelling on the honour and profit which would result to all who agreed. The king, from whom all the rest were hoping for protection, proved to be a broken reed piercing those who leant upon it. Pledged already at Rome by his proctors to pay the tenth, he could not oppose it. Since he said nothing, it was seen that his silence gave assent. Now the earls and barons and all the laymen entirely refused to give a tenth, not wishing to bind their baronies or lay holdings to the Roman church. The bishops, abbots, priors and other prelates of the church, after a discussion that lasted three or four days and no little grumbling, at length agreed, for they were afraid of sentences of excommunication or interdict if they resisted the apostolic command. Now such persons consenting in such a way would have fixed some amount bearable for themselves, if it had not been (so they say) that Stephen of Segrave, then an adviser of the king, and a man who cared for no one but himself, "starting aside like a broken bow," and making a simoniacal agreement with master Stephen, brought matters to such a conclusion that he exacted and obtained the whole tenth, to the inestimable loss of church and realm. . . . And so the council broke up, and they went away with much murmuring.

Wendover, CONCERNING THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF ALL WHO KEPT BACK
 iv. 202-
 203 (M.
 Paris, III.
 188).
 1229.

THE SAID TENTH.

When all this had been done, master Stephen sent out letters to all bishops, abbots, priors and religious of every profession in the kingdom, bidding them send him on such and such a day so much money in coin of proved weight and lately minted, that so they might satisfy the creditors of the lord pope and themselves escape the penalty of interdict. In carrying out the business he was such an unscrupulous collector, that he even forced some to pay him a tenth on the crops for next autumn, which were only just springing. The prelates, who had no other remedy, sold some of their chalices, and phials, and reliquaries, and other sacred vessels of the altar, and put others in pawn at interest. Besides, master Stephen had with him some most wicked usurers who called themselves merchants, covering usury under the cloak of trade, and who obtained money for those who were needy and harassed with the exactions. And at Stephen's instigation many were driven under heavy penalty to receive a loan, who afterwards fell into their snares and incurred irreparable losses. The earth was filled with ceaseless but secret curses, for all prayed "may this tax never benefit the taxers".

Wendover, CONCERNING THE PLUNDERING OF THE HARVEST OF THE
 iv. 240-
 241 (M.
 Paris, III.
 217).
 1232.

ROMAN CLERKS.

In the same year the barns of the Romans almost everywhere in England were pillaged by certain armed and unknown men, on good conditions and to the profit of many. Beginning this work, rash as it was, at Eastertide, they finished what they had begun freely and without opposition. They gave away alms to all the needy who came for them, and sometimes threw money among the poor and bade them pick it up. The clerks took refuge in the monasteries, not daring to complain of the injuries done them, for they would rather lose their property than be punished by a capital sentence. The authors of this bold attack were about eighty and sometimes fewer in number, with a leader called William Wither, namely Robert Twenge, disguised under this name, but a knight and a man of noble birth. They obeyed his orders in everything. But when after a while the supreme

pontiff heard of what had been done, he was greatly angered, and sent caustic and reprovng letters to the English king because he allowed such attacks to be made on ecclesiastical persons in his realm, without respect to the oath which he had sworn at the time of his coronation, not merely to maintain the peace of the church, but also to uphold strict justice whether for clerks or laymen.

CONCERNING THE INQUIRY MADE AS TO THE AFORESAID
PILLAGE.

Wendover,
iv. 242
(M. Paris,
iii. 218-
219).
1232.

When an inquiry had been made concerning the above violence by the bishops and agents aforesaid, and witnesses had been produced and examined on oath, they found many transgressors, some in actual fact, some as accessories, and not a few of them were bishops and clerks of the king, together with some archdeacons and deans, and knights, and many laymen. So some of the sheriffs, their bailiffs and servants were taken and imprisoned at the king's bidding: and others took to flight in their own interest and were not discovered. The king's justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, was blamed as chief transgressor, for he had given the robbers letters patent both from the king and himself, lest any should molest them for such violence. Among the rest there came before the king Robert Twenge, a fine young fellow and a gallant knight, who was from the north of England and of distinguished origin. He had sold the crops of the Romans, with the consent of others, had caused himself to be called William Wither, and had taken about with him five armed followers, who were responsible for this violence. He openly protested, that he had done this wrong out of hatred to the Romans and as just vengeance. For they had striven to despoil him fraudulently and by sentence of the Roman pontiff of the one church he possessed. He added also that he preferred to be excommunicated unjustly for a time rather than be robbed of his benefice without judgment. Then the king and commissioners aforesaid advised him, since he had incurred excommunication, to go to Rome to be absolved, and to protest his right before the pope, and show that he held his church justly and canonically. And the king gave him letters to the pope bearing witness to his right.

Wendover,
iv. 245-
250 (M.
Paris, III.
220-224).
1232, July.

CONCERNING THE FALL OF HUBERT DE BURGH.

About the same time, the king by the advice of Peter bishop of Winchester removed Hubert de Burgh, chief justiciar of the realm, from his office, though he had, so it was said, a royal charter making his office perpetual, and put in his place Stephen Segrave, a simple knight, on the 29th July. And after a few days the king growing angry with the deposed Hubert demanded instantly from him an account of his treasures paid in to the Exchequer, and the debts owing to him in his father's and his own time. . . . Hubert answered that he had a charter from the King's father, which absolved him from all account for what he had received and was to receive of the king's treasures, because the king had proved his fidelity so amply that he would not hear any account. Then Peter bishop of Winchester said that such a charter had no validity after the death of king John. The present king had nothing to do with his father's charter, but would exact an account. These were comparatively small matters of which the king asked an account from Hubert but graver charges followed, in which allegations of treason were brought forward against him.

Then Hubert finding himself in straits, and having no other remedy, asked for a truce to consider the aforesaid matters, for, he said, these were great and arduous charges that the king alleged against him. And so a truce was concluded, though the king in his anger would hardly grant it, up to the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Hubert in great dismay left London for the priory of Merton.

1232,
Septem-
ber.

At the Exaltation of the Holy Cross . . . Hubert de Burgh, who had that day appointed him to answer concerning the articles and exactions aforesaid, did not dare to appear, being too suspicious of the king's wrath. For it had been suggested to him that the king was planning to condemn him to a disgraceful death. So fleeing to the peace of the church, he stayed at Merton among the canons, till a fairer breeze should blow. When at length the king had signified to him that he must come to his court to obey the law, he sent word back, that fearing his wrath he had fled to the church, the last remedy of all who suffer injury, and that he should not come out, till he heard the king's intention was changed for the better. Then the king, furious, sent word in his letters

to the mayor of London, though it was by this time evening, that the moment he had read the letters, he should take all the citizens who could carry arms, go to Merton, and bring back Hubert alive or dead. The mayor rang the common bell, assembled the populace, read the king's letters to them, and bade them hasten to arms and carry out the royal bidding first thing in the morning. The citizens rejoiced greatly when they heard the letters, for they pursued Hubert with deadly hatred.

THE EVIL ADVICE OF PETER BISHOP OF WINCHESTER. M. Paris, III. 224-225.

But when the more discreet citizens, Andrew Bukerel and John Travers and some others, understood these things, and considered the scandal that would come of it, they hurried off to the house of the bishop of Winchester at Southwark and rousing him from his sleep, asked his advice on the matter. "There is danger threatening both to the church of Merton and to the city, for the fury of so great a mob, disorganised and uncontrolled, cannot be curbed. They will destroy and overthrow and not stop at bloodshed." But the bishop gave them cruel advice and said, "Destruction and bloodshed are neither here nor there. Assuredly I counsel you before everything, carry out the king's order." And they, amazed at such advice from the bishop, continued the undertaking, though in fear, for the greedy mob gaped openmouthed in thirst for vengeance. And on the morrow before daylight they left the city, to the number of 20,000 armed men, and went with banners and arms towards Merton to carry out the royal bidding. When Hubert heard of this, prostrating himself in prayer before the high altar, he commended his body and soul in confidence to God.

Now while the armed citizens, raging against Hubert, were on their way, the earl of Chester suggested to the king that if he roused such sedition in the irrational and headstrong populace, there was a danger that he would not be able, when he wished, to soothe the tumult, once it had been roused. And it would be said all over the world, and especially among the French and others, who talk more about great men and worse about evil men in invective and sarcasm, "What a fine fosterchild is this little king of England! He turns in rage against his own, and against those who cherished him under

their wings." Of Hubert they would say, as of the little bird that rears the cuckoo

*Alis ales alis alium ne longius ales.*¹

M. Paris, A MANIFEST MIRACLE CONCERNING THE SAID HUBERT.
III. 225-

226, 1232. Two messengers were sent to call back the crowds who were hurrying on, ready and thirsting to spill innocent blood. (Wend-over, IV. 250.) One of them, mounted on a swift horse and carrying the king's letters, by their authority recalled the foremost: but the second was false and deceitful, and hated the earl of Kent, and preferred that he should be slain rather than delivered. So, though ordered to hasten, he delayed, and did not even reach those who had got halfway. So, as he deserved, he was struck down by divine wrath. His horse stumbled at some little obstacle, and though he was only going at a walking pace, he fell to the ground, was thrown on his back, broke his neck, and died pitifully, though not pitiably. The kindly mission was fulfilled by Ralph bishop of Chichester, then chancellor, a just man, very faithful, and sympathetic with Hubert in his troubles. When they saw the letters, the civic army and the whole multitude halted. So the plan was changed, and the king hastily ordered the mayor to recall the army. But the citizens returned to the city in much consternation, cursing their unfinished work.

M. Paris, HOW HUBERT WAS DRAGGED FROM A CERTAIN CHAPEL AND
III. 226- THROWN INTO CHAINS IN THE TOWER.
228.

(Wend-over, IV. 250-251.) After this the archbishop of Dublin by much supplication obtained a truce from the king for Hubert up to the octave of Epiphany, that he might have time to deliberate upon the aforesaid demands, which were of the most urgent kind, and after that be able to answer the king and satisfy him. Then Hubert, with, as he believed, security by the king's letters patent, set out for Bury St. Edmunds, where his wife was, to ask comfort in his affliction from that glorious king and martyr. On his way through Essex he was entertained at a certain town which belonged to the bishop of Norwich, in the houses of the bishop. When the king heard of this, he flared

¹ O bird, if you shelter a stranger under your wings you will not live long.

out in anger, for he feared if Hubert went away he would plot some disturbance in the kingdom. So, repenting his previous action, he sent after him Godfrey of Cravecumbe, knight, with three hundred armed men, and bade them on pain of hanging bring him back captive and throw him into prison in the Tower of London. Hastening forth, they discovered Hubert in a certain chapel near his lodging, holding in one hand a crucifix and in the other the Lord's body. For he had been warned that they were coming to seek his life, and rising dazed with sleep had fled unarmed to the chapel. But Godfrey and his fellows went to the chapel and bade him by the king's command to come out of the chapel and come to London to have speech with the king. But Hubert answered that he would on no account come out. Godfrey and his accomplices snatched the cross and the Lord's body from him, and bound him tightly, since for the moment they could not find a smith. Then they called upon a certain smith to fix irons upon him. The smith asked upon whom he was to fix them, and one of them answered "Upon Hubert de Burgh, seducer, evildoer and fugitive". But the smith sighed deeply and said, "Do with me what you please, and may God have pity upon my soul. For as the Lord lives, I will never put fetters upon him. Rather will I die any death. Is not this that most faithful and greatsouled Hubert who so often saved England from the ravaging of the foreigners, and gave back England to England: who served his lord king John so constantly and loyally in Gascony, in Normandy and elsewhere, that sometimes he had to eat horses, so that even the enemy praised his marvellous constancy: who kept Dover, the key of England, against the king of France and all his power for a great length of time: who secured its safety by overthrowing the enemy on the sea? What shall I say of his noble deeds at Lincoln and at Bedford? The Lord judge between him and you, for you are treating him unjustly and cruelly, rendering him evil for good—nay, the worst for the best." Hubert, hearing this, silently considered in his heart that gospel "I will confess thee, O father of heaven and earth, since thou hast hidden my cause from the proud and prudent, and revealed it to the poor and humble. My God, I have revealed my cause to thee. False witnesses have risen up against me, and such as speak wrong." But Godfrey of Cravecumbe and his men paid no heed to these words, but seizing Hubert,

strapped him to a horse, and carrying him to the Tower of London, placed him, fettered, in prison. . . . When this was done they informed the king: and he, who had been keeping watch for their arrival, went rejoiced to bed.

Wendover,
iv. 251-
253 (M.
Paris, III.
228-230).
1232,
Septem-
ber.

HOW HUBERT WAS TAKEN BACK TO THE CHAPEL.

When morning came, however, and Roger bishop of London heard how Hubert had been dragged out of the chapel, he went hastily to the king and reproached him for breaking the peace of the church, and said that unless the king instantly freed him of his bonds and sent him back to the chapel from which he had been violently dragged, he would excommunicate all the authors of the outrage. And the king admitted his fault, though unwillingly, and sent Hubert back to the chapel, and he was restored by the same armed knights who had taken him prisoner, on the 27th of September. Then the king ordered the sheriffs of Hertford and Essex, on pain of hanging, to surround the chapel in their proper persons and with all the men of the two counties, and keep watch so that Hubert should not escape or get food from any one. The sheriffs came as they were ordered to the place, besieged the chapel and the bishop's house hard by, and surrounded them with a broad and deep ditch, expecting to have to keep guard there for forty days. And Hubert bore it all patiently, having a clear conscience, as he said, and commended his cause to God who knoweth all hearts. But he besought the divine clemency to deliver him from the danger that threatened him, for he had ever loved the honour and safety of the king above all things. And night and day, unwearied, he prayed in the chapel. But the king . . . had now reached such a state that he forbade any one to plead to him or even mention Hubert in his presence. Yet Luke archbishop of Dublin, Hubert's only friend, besought the king with tears continually to tell him at any rate what he meant to do with Hubert. And the king is said to have answered, that Hubert might choose whether he would abjure England for ever, or lie in prison for ever, or confess himself a traitor openly. Hubert answered that he would choose none of these alternatives . . . for he could not recall that he had done anything worthy of such disgrace. However to satisfy the king, he would willingly leave the kingdom, but he would not abjure it.

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For a long time Hubert remained in the chapel with two servants, who gave him victuals, till by the king's bidding every kind of food was taken from him, and the servants turned out of the chapel. Then, Hubert, in a dilemma, for he saw that he would perish miserably of hunger, came of his own accord out of the chapel, and gave himself up to the sheriffs who were watching. For he said, he would rather make trial of the king's mercy, than die of hunger. So the sheriffs bound him more strictly than before, and led him off according to the king's orders, to lie in strict custody and in fetters in the Tower of London.

HOW THE KING OF ENGLAND CAUSED THE TREASURE OF
HUBERT DE BURGH TO BE SEIZED.

Wendover,
iv. 256-
258 (M.
Paris, iii.
232-233).
1232,
November.

When Martinmas drew near, it was suggested to the king that Hubert the former justiciar had no small treasure in the custody of the Templars at the New Temple. So the king calling the master of the Temple to have speech with him, asked him whether that was so. He dared not deny the truth to the king, and admitted that he had money entrusted to himself and his brethren, but he did not know how much and of what value. Then with threats the king demanded the money from the brothers, and ordered them to return it to him at once, for it had been stolen from his own treasury. But the brothers answered that they would give up money entrusted to them to no one, except by permission of him who had given it into the Temple. The king, because the said money was under the protection of the church, dared not take it by violence. So he sent his treasurer with the justices¹ of the exchequer to Hubert, who was then laden with fetters in the Tower, to demand the money from him to be given to the king. And when they explained this to Hubert, on behalf of the king, he answered at once that he and all he had was at the king's service. So he asked that the brothers of the Temple would on his behalf give up all his keys to the king, and do whatever the latter wished with the things deposited there. This was done, and the king ordered that the money should be counted and placed in his treasury, and an inventory made of all that was found and shown to him. The royal

¹ The more usual term for these officials would be barons of the exchequer.

clerks and the treasurer found in that repository priceless vases of silver and gold, and money, and many precious stones, of a value which would astonish all who heard it. And when this was reported, some who persecuted Hubert without ceasing, came to the king accusing him and saying, that now since he had been convicted of theft and fraud he was worthy to be condemned to the vilest death. But the king, who had now a little come to himself, answered "I have heard that Hubert from his boyhood served faithfully first my uncle king Richard and then king John my father, and even if he has served me ill, he shall not die a dreadful death at my hand. I would rather be reputed a foolish and careless king than a cruel tyrant and a man of blood towards a man who served my predecessors and myself in many dangers. That would be to give more weight to the evil, which is not yet plain and fully proved, than to the many good offices, which he is known to have done for the realm and us all." Saying this, and softened to pity, he granted Hubert all the lands which he possessed through his father's gift or by purchase, to provide for the needs of himself and his family. And Hubert recovering himself a little, appointed a faithful and prudent steward over the lands granted to him, Laurence to wit, a clerk of St. Albans, who in all these troubles was a singular consolation to Hubert and an immoveable pillar of truth. And, after a little, earl Richard, brother of the king, William earl of Warenne, Richard earl Marshal and William earl of Ferrers took Hubert under their guarantee. And he was sent by the king to the castle of Devizes, and placed in the keeping of four knights of the said earls, to be in honourable captivity.

CONCERNING THE DISCORD BETWEEN THE KING AND MAGNATES.

Wendover,
iv. 268-
269 (M.
Paris, III.
244-245).
1233.

By this time, Peter bishop of Winchester and his accomplices had so turned the heart of the king to hatred and scorn of the English, that he was seeking their overthrow in every possible way. By degrees he invited such swarms of Poitevins that they filled all England, and the king wherever he went was surrounded by hosts. Nor could anything be done in the realm, except what the bishop and the Poitevins chose. Then the king, sending out letters, summoned all the earls and barons of the realm to an assembly at Oxford on St. John's day. But they would not come at his summons,

partly because of the plots of the foreigners, partly because of the indignation they had conceived against the king who had called in foreigners because of his contempt for these same magnates. When this was formally announced to the king by envoys, he grew very angry, and ordered that a judicial decision should be given as to how he could force them to come. And the decision was, that they must be summoned a second and third time by the king, to see if they would come or not. But in this discussion a certain friar Robert Bacon of the order of Preachers who was preaching the word of God before the king and some bishops who were present, openly said to the king that he would never enjoy lasting peace till he removed Peter bishop of Winchester and Peter of Rivaux his kinsman from his councils. And when others who were present made the same protest, the king coming to himself somewhat, inclined his heart to reason. And when he seemed thus softened, a certain clerk of the court, merry of speech, to wit Roger Bacon, said merrily and wittily, but still with a hidden rebuke, "My lord the king, what most injures and terrifies sailors crossing the sea?" But the king said, "They who have their business in great waters know". The clerk said "I will tell you, sire. Rocks and stones." That is as though he said "Peter des Roches": for this was the name of the bishop of Winchester. So the king ordered the aforesaid magnates to come to a conference at Westminster on the 11th of July, and there, by their advice, he would amend whatever needed correction. But when the aforesaid magnates heard that many plunderers were coming into the kingdom with horses and arms, invited by the king, they saw no prospect of peace, and suspected the wiles of the Poitevins, and refused to come on the appointed day, but bade the king, by their envoys, turn out Peter bishop of Winchester and the other Poitevins from his court. If he did not they would themselves by the common advice of the whole realm expel him and his evil counsellors from the realm, and set about creating a new king.

EDMUND IS CONSECRATED ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. Wendover, iv. 272

In the same year in Christchurch, Canterbury, Edmund, (M. Paris, elect of the same church, was consecrated as archbishop of iii. 272). Canterbury, on the Sunday on which *Lætare Jerusalem* is 1234, April.

sung,¹ which was April 2nd, in the presence of the king and thirteen bishops. And on the same day he said mass, wearing the pall which Simon of Leicester, monk of the same church, had brought him from Rome.

Wendover, **HOW THE ENGLISH KING DISMISSED THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER AND ALL THE OTHER UNWORTHY POITEVINS AND FOREIGNERS.**

iv. 298-
299 (M.
Paris, III.
272-273).
1234,
April.

About the same time, on Passion Sunday which then fell on the 9th of April, there met in council at Westminster the king with his earls and barons, and the newly consecrated archbishop with his suffragans, to make provision for the troubled kingdom. The archbishop with the bishops and other prelates who were present went to the king and laid before him the counsel of himself and his bishops concerning the desolation of the realm and the imminent danger. . . . He threatened distinctly, that unless the king quickly laid aside his error and came peacefully to terms with his faithful subjects, he would at once, with all the prelates who were present, excommunicate both the king himself and all other enemies to peace and destroyers of concord. And the pious king, listening to the prelates' advice, replied meekly, that he would follow their counsel in all things. So a few days later, recognising his mistake, and repentant, the king bade Peter bishop of Winchester go to his diocese and occupy himself with his cure of souls and never in future meddle with royal affairs. He ordered Peter of Rivaux, who had had all England subdued to his will, to give up his castles, render account of his treasures, and leave the court at once. "If he had not been beneficed and a clerk," said the king with an oath, "I would have torn out both his eyes." He turned out all the Poitevins from his court and from the custody of castles, and sent them back to their own land, bidding them never to look upon his face again.

M. Paris,
III. 332-
333
1235.

CONCERNING THE INSOLENC OF THE MINORITES.

About this time certain of the Minorites and also some of the Friars Preachers, shamelessly and forgetful of their profes-

¹ i.e. the 4th Sunday in Lent on which the Introit begins, *Lætare Jerusalem, et conventum facite omnes qui diligitis eam*, "Rejoice ye with Jerusalem, and be glad with her, all ye that love her" (Isaiah, LXVI. 10.)

sion and order, thrust themselves secretly into the territories of some of the monastic communities on the pretext of fulfilling their office, and as though they would withdraw on the morrow after preaching. However, either on the excuse of illness or some other, they stayed. Then, making an altar out of wood, and setting upon it a small consecrated altar stone that they had brought with them, they said secret masses in a low voice, and received the confessions of many, to the prejudice of the parish priests. For, they said, they had been given by the pope this power, on the ground that they kept secret confessions which men blushed to make to their own priest or disdained to reveal because the confessor was in bondage to the same vice or recoiled from uttering to a drunken person. The Minors would set them penance and absolve them. Meanwhile they sent off a swift and diligent agent to the Roman court against the religious on whose lands they were living, and asked for permission to remain and some other privilege as well. And if they were not satisfied, they broke out into abuse and threats, sneering at any other order except their own, and saying that the others were among the damned, and giving no rest to the soles of their feet till they had exhausted their adversaries' treasure, however great it was. Wherefore in many matters the religious gave way, yielding for fear of scandal and for fear of giving offence to those in power. For there were many counsellors of the magnates and nuncios and even secretaries of the pope, who were all too anxious to curry favour with him in this matter. Yet some friars met with opposition in the Roman court, checked their ready words and went away in confusion. For the pope with a stern face said to them, "What is this, my brothers? Whither do you hasten? Have you not made profession of voluntary poverty, that you might sow the word of God in humility, going barefoot and dishonoured into the towns and villages and far off places, as need was? And do you now dare to usurp to yourselves dwelling places on the fiefs of lords who are unwilling? Truly, it seems, your religion is in great part dead, and your doctrine refuted." And when they heard this they went away and began to bear themselves more modestly, they who had talked so big before, and refused to remain and linger in the territory of another against his will.

M. Paris, HOW KING HENRY III MARRIED ELEANOR, DAUGHTER OF
 III. 334- RAYMOND COUNT OF PROVENCE.
 336.
 1236.

In the year of our Lord 1236, the twentieth of king Henry's reign, the king held his Christmas court at Winchester, and there kept Christmas with rejoicing, eagerly awaiting the arrival of his envoys. For he had sent solemn messengers, men of prudence, to Provence, to Raymond its count, with letters expressing his warm desire to marry the count's daughter Eleanor. Now that count was a famous man, strenuous in arms: but because of his constant fighting almost all he had in his treasury had flown to the winds. He was married to the daughter of count Thomas of Savoy, now deceased, sister to Amadeus the present count, a lady of marvellous beauty, Beatrice by name. She had borne to her husband count Raymond daughters of great beauty, as might be expected, and the king of France, Louis, had taken the eldest, Margaret, to wife. John of Gatesden, clerk, told all this to the king. Now the king of England by his messengers sought in marriage the youngest daughter, at this time twelve years old, and very lovely to look upon. He had secretly sent in advance Richard prior of Hurley, who carried out his errand faithfully and diligently, and returning to the king, told him what he had done. Then the king sent out other envoys to the count with the same prior, Hugh bishop of Ely, Ralph bishop of Hereford, and brother Robert of Sanford, master of the order of the Temple. They met him in Provence, were welcomed with the greatest honour and reverence, and received from his hand his daughter Eleanor, to be married to their king and be taken to England, but under the escort of her uncle William, bishop elect of Valence, a handsome and distinguished man. When the king of Navarre heard the news, and that they would be travelling through his lands, he hastened rejoicing to meet them. And he was their guide and comrade all through his territory, for five days journey and more, and with his native generosity entertained them with much outlay both on horses and men. For there were more than 300 riding with them, apart from the crowd that followed them. But when they came to the French frontier, they had not merely free but honourable passage, under the conduct of the king of France, and of the queen, sister of the bride that was to be, and of Blanche also, mother of the king

of France. Embarking at Wissant, they sped rapidly across the sea and arrived at Dover earlier than was expected. When they had landed safely and were making their way towards Canterbury, the king hastened to them, and embraced the envoys. And when he had seen the maiden, and welcomed her, he married her at Canterbury. Edmund archbishop of Canterbury performed the marriage ceremony, with the bishops who had accompanied the bride, and other magnates, nobles, and prelates, on the 14th of January. And on the 19th of January the king reached Westminster. On the morrow, Sunday, with unheard of and incomparable solemnity, Eleanor wore the crown and was crowned as queen. Henry III, then, was married at Canterbury: but the marriage festivities took place at Westminster on the feast of St. Fabian and St. Sebastian.

CONCERNING A CERTAIN COUNCIL HELD AT LONDON.

M. Paris,
iii. 362-

In that same year, on the 28th of April, the magnates of England met in council at London, to treat of the affairs of the realm. Many expressed surprise at the extent to which the king followed the advice of the bishop elect of Valence, despising, so it seemed to them, his own natural subjects. This they brooked ill, and accused the king of fickleness, saying amongst themselves, "Why does not this bishop-elect force himself upon France? The king of France has married the eldest sister of our queen, so, by reason of his niece who is queen there, he might manage the affairs of the French realm as he does ours." And they were very angry. Now the king on the first day of the council shut himself up in the Tower of London, and thus gave many cause for murmuring, and foretelling evil rather than good. The magnates were unwilling to go either singly or in a body to the Tower to the king, fearing lest, inclining to light counsel, he should rage against them, and remembering the words of Horace—

Quia me vestigia terrent
Omnia te versum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.¹

However, the king, checked by discretion, came from the Tower to his palace, there to more honourably discuss the

¹ Since the footsteps terrify me, all leading towards thee, but none returning.

pressing business with his subjects. After discussion on various matters he did one excellent thing. He dismissed all the sheriffs, and substituted others, because, corrupted by bribes, they had wandered from the path of truth and justice. Therefore he appointed in their place men who were richer in lands and wealth, and nobler by birth, that they might not be forced to take presents and to be corrupted by way of recompense. He also made them swear to receive no gifts, except food and drink, and that only in moderation and without any excess or earthly reward by which justice might be corrupted.

M. Paris, *HOW WILLIAM THE BISHOP ELECT OF VALENCE LEFT THE COUNTRY, BUT SOON RETURNED.*
 III. 387-388.
 1237.

Now in those days William the elect of Valence, to whom the king had given complete control of his affairs, saw that the magnates of the land, not without reason, had grown indignant, and went away to his own land. His lands, and the riches given him by the king, he left in pledge to Aaron a Jew at York, in return for a loan from him of 900 marks sterling. With sumpter-horses, therefore, their packs filled with gold and silver and royal vessels, and with some desirable ponies and a few valuable horses, he travelled to Dover, accompanied by the king. So cunningly had all been planned, that the king forgot the example of the great emperor and the prudent king of France, who would not submit to be trodden upon by their wives or their wives' kinsfolk and compatriots. Destitute of treasure, impoverished and beggared, the king let his kingdom be wounded at all points: and, become uxorious, allowed his own realm to be eaten away, but the foreigners to grow fat on the goods of the land, to the injury of the kingdom—sometimes Poitevins, sometimes Germans, sometimes Provençals and sometimes Romans.

So the aforesaid William elect of Valence came to the kingdom of the French, greeted the king, visited the queen his sister, and was then speedily dismissed in peace and given permission to depart freely. He distributed and sent to Provence those horses laden with priceless treasure which he had brought from England, and then returned empty-handed and needy again. The king hurried to meet him with kisses and many tender embraces.

HOW WRETCHED ENGLAND BECAME IN THOSE TIMES. M. Paris,
 III. 389-

As time went on, the small fire of the faith began to grow cold. It was almost reduced to ashes and scarce gave a flicker. For now was simony committed without shame, and usurers on various pretexts impudently and openly wrung money from poor and humble folk. Charity breathed its last, the liberty of the church pined away, religion was trampled under foot and debased. The daughter of Zion was made, as it were, a barefaced harlot having no shame. Every day most vile and illiterate persons, armed with Roman bulls, hurst forth into threats, and, scorning the privileges enjoyed by our holy predecessors, were not afraid to plunder the revenues bestowed by our pious forefathers for the maintenance of the religious, the support of the poor and hospitality to strangers. Thundering out their excommunications they got what they asked without any delay. And if those who suffered or were robbed had recourse to an appeal, or to their privileges, they at once suspended them, and had them excommunicated by some other prelate on the authority of the pope. So not by prayers, not canonically, but by imperious exaction, did they rob the simple. For as the poet says,

*Armato supplicat ense potens.*¹

So it came about that where famous and bountiful clerks, wardens and patrons of churches, used to ennoble the whole country-side by their generosity, receive travellers, and relieve the poor, there degraded creatures void of courtesy but full of craft, the proctors and farmers of the Romans, extorted whatever was precious and useful in the land, and sent it into distant lands to their masters, who lived softly out of the patrimony of the crucified, and made a great show at another's cost. Thus might you see heartfelt grief, the saint's cheeks running with tears, complaints bursting forth, sighs in plenty. Many exclaimed with bitter sobs, "It were better to die than to look upon the sufferings of our people and of the saints. Woe to England, which was once the chief of provinces, the mistress of nations, the mirror of the Church, the example of true religion, and is now brought under tribute. The base have trodden her underfoot, and she is become the prey of

¹ The strong man makes his prayer with sword drawn.

the wicked." But it was sin of all kinds which brought these scourges on the English. For the Lord was angered, he who, because of the sins of the people, makes the hypocrite and the tyrant to reign and rule.

M. Paris, CONCERNING THE ARRIVAL OF THE LEGATE OTTO IN ENGLAND.
 III. 395.
 1237.

In the same year about the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, Otto, cardinal deacon of St. Nicholas *in carcere Tulliano* came, none knew why, as legate at the king's bidding to England without the knowledge of the magnates of the realm. And therefore many became indignant with the king, saying, "The king disregards the laws, his pledges and his promises. In everything he goes astray. For but now he took as wife a stranger, without the advice of his own friends and natural subjects. Now he has secretly called in a legate to the confusion of the whole realm. One moment he gives away his property, the next he wishes to recall his gifts." And so from day to day the kingdom, divided against itself and wasted, was brought to terrible desolation, as the gospel says. Now it was said that Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, rebuked the king for such deeds, and especially for calling in the legate. For he knew that this would endanger the realm, and be to the prejudice of his own dignity. But the king, scorning his advice, as well as that of others, refused to change the plan he had formed. The legate accordingly came with great pomp and circumstance. The bishops and famous clerks hastened to meet him at the seacoast, and some went off to him in boats, lauding him and offering costly gifts. Nay, even at Paris messengers from the various bishops met him and presented him with scarlet cloths and costly vessels. For doing that they deserved general blame, not only for the gift but for the manner of giving. By the cloth and its colour they seemed to accept his office as legate and his advent. He did not accept all, but some, of the presents offered him. Those that he refused, he ordered to be reserved for him. He distributed revenues lavishly to all whom he had brought with him, whether they were worthy or not. The king hastened to meet him at the coast, and bowing down at his knees, escorted him inland officiously. Then the bishops, with the abbots and other prelates of the church, received him with all honour and reverence, with processions and the

chiming of bells and valuable presents, as was fitting, and even more than was fitting.

HOW MODESTLY THE LEGATE BORE HIMSELF.

M. Paris,
III. 403.
1237, Nov.

The lord Otto the legate, however, bore himself prudently and modestly, refusing many of the most costly gifts offered to him, contrary to the usual custom of the Romans. So by his self-restraint, far from the general expectation, he modified the anger which had been raised against him throughout the kingdom, both among the clergy and the knights.

CONCERNING THE GATHERING TOGETHER AND PREPARATION FOR A COUNCIL.

M. Paris,
III. 416-
420.
1237.

When the prelates of England had assembled at London in St. Paul's Church, on the day first fixed for a council, namely the morrow of the octaves of St. Martin, the legate did not put in an appearance. For the bishops had requested him to give them that day a copy of the decrees he proposed to make, and to consult with them on this matter, that he might not attempt to make any decree to their prejudice. On the second day he stationed in secret and hidden positions about 200 armed knights and squires, with whom the king had provided him. For he was very much afraid for himself, because it was being reported that he was going fiercely to attack those who had many benefices, and particularly those who were illegitimate. However, very early in the morning, at daybreak indeed, he appeared in the church. The crowd of those waiting to see him was so great that it was difficult for him to get through. Then before the high altar he arrayed himself in his pontificals, namely in a surplice, a *cappa choralis*¹ lined with furs, and a mitre. The archbishops of Canterbury and York went before him in solemn procession, with a cross and lighted candles, and a litany was chanted. Thus he ascended the steps to his throne, magnificently prepared and covered with gorgeous tapestries and draperies. He placed the archbishop of Canterbury on his right and the archbishop of York on his left, which led to a dispute between them. The archbishop of York made an appeal, in defence of the right which he claimed. When the

¹ A black bell-shaped hooded vestment, out of which the cope probably developed.

gospel, "I am a good pastor" had been duly read, and the appropriate collects said by the legate himself, and the *Veni Creator Spiritus*¹ had been sung, and an appeal, as aforesaid, made by the archbishop of York, the two archbishops sat down beside the legate, Canterbury on the right, York on the left. Then the legate, wishing to soothe the controversy, but to deny right to neither, said to them. "On the pope's great seal there is a figure of Paul on the right of the cross which is in the middle of the seal, and Peter on the left. Yet no dispute arose on that account between the two saints, for they are equal in glory. Peter would seem more fit to be placed on the right, since he has the honour of bearing the keys, and is prince of the apostles, and has a cathedral dignity, and had the first call. But because Paul believed in Christ whom he had not seen, therefore he was figured on the right. Blessed are they who have not seen, etc. Similarly the lord of Canterbury, primate of all England, ruler of the most ancient and noble church of Canterbury, as well as of that at London which is St. Paul's, is not without reason placed on the right." Thenceforward on the remaining days Canterbury sat on the right and York on the left.

Now on the second day after the council had begun, messengers were sent from the king, John earl of Lincoln, John Fitz Geoffrey, and William of Raleigh, canon of St. Paul's, to forbid the legate, on behalf of the king and kingdom, to make any decree injurious to the royal crown and dignity. William of Raleigh remained, dressed in cope and surplice, to keep watch in this matter, after the others were gone. On the same day Simon archdeacon of Canterbury asked that all might hear the authority for the legation committed by the pope to the legate. This was done. On the same day at the king's request was read a certain privilege concerning the celebration of the festivals of St. Edward throughout all England: and also concerning the pope's command with regard to the canonisation of St. Francis and St. Dominic.

Now the legate while still in his house had heard that many who were beneficed with several churches, noble by birth and possessions, and also many who were illegitimate, of whom mention had been made in a certain decree of the council, were murmuring against him and laying traps for him. Therefore he took with him in going to and returning from the

¹ Come, Holy Ghost.

council a number of magnates, Gilbert earl Marshal, John earl of Lincoln, Simon earl of Montfort, and some of the king's household, armed with swords and staves, to protect him.

When the decree against those who held a plurality of benefices, contrary to the Lateran council, was pronounced, the bishop of Worcester, Walter of Cantilupe, rose, took off his mitre, and spoke to the legate as follows:—

“Holy father, many nobles of the same blood as ourselves obtain a plurality of benefices. . . . Some of them are of advanced age, and have lived honourably until now, and have spent much on hospitality, giving alms with open doors. It would be very hard to drive such men, robbed of their benefices, into dishonourable poverty. Some, who are young and strong, would expose themselves to the greatest dangers rather than allow themselves to be deprived of their benefices, keeping one only. I judge their case by my own. For before I was called to that dignity, I said to myself, that if I lost a single benefice on pretext of such a constitution, I should lose all. It is to be feared that many persevere in the same opinion up till now. So, since a host of such is in question, we beseech you, holy father, to consult the lord pope concerning this decree, both for the sake of our safety and your own.” . . . The legate answered that if all the prelates, all the archbishops and bishops there present, would write with him to the pope on these points, he would willingly consent.

Now since some were of opinion, so the legate was given to understand, that his decree would have no force except during the time of his legation, one of his clerks, to wit master Atto, rose at his bidding in the midst, and opening an authoritative book, to wit a register of the pope, for more authority to impugn such an opinion, read out distinctly and plainly a certain decretal, which the legate approved. It asserted plainly, that even after his departure his decrees should have force for ever.

HOW THE LEGATE, THOUGH RECALLED TO ROME, DID NOT RETURN.

M. Paris,
iii. 473.
1238.

When the pope and the Roman court heard that such tumult had arisen in England on account of the number of foreigners whom the king, unwisely, had called in, and on account of the arrival of the legate, whom likewise he had called in to their impoverishment, and that many were risen

against the legate, he hastily recalled him, and tempered his rigour, writing as follows:—

“Gregory, etc., to his beloved son Otto, cardinal deacon of St. Nicholas *in carcere Tulliano*, legate of the apostolic see, greeting and apostolic benediction. Since we understand that there are many clerks with a plurality of benefices in England, and proceedings in accordance with the statutes of the general council cannot be taken against them, on account of the power of their kinsmen, without much disturbance and bloodshed: and since we feel that if on the one hand sin must not be committed to avoid scandal, yet even what is good must sometimes be temporarily laid aside, so as to avoid scandal: we bid you in accordance with the apostolic writings, if you cannot proceed against the said clerks without scandal, stay your hand.” So the pope, fearing lest evil should befall him, summoned him to return. But the legate, who preferred to stay in England and reap where he had not sown, so contrived as to have a letter composed to send to the pope, sealed with the seals of the king and his brother earl Richard and all the bishops as witness of its truth, saying that it would be of great use to the king, the kingdom, and the church, that he should remain in England. The letter sent to the pope in this tenor calmed his fears.

M. Paris, **HOW SIMON DE MONTFORT MARRIED ELEANOR, SISTER OF THE KING.**
 III. 470-471.
 1238.

In the year of our Lord 1238, which was the twenty-second of his reign, king Henry held his court at London, at Westminster. And there, on the morrow of Epiphany, which was a Thursday, Simon de Montfort wedded Eleanor, daughter of king John, sister of king Henry III, and widow of William Marshal earl of Pembroke with due ceremony. Walter, chaplain of the royal chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster, said the service and celebrated mass in the king's small chapel, which is in a corner of his chamber. The king himself gave away the bride to the said Simon earl of Leicester. And he received her gratefully, partly for love's sake, partly for her beauty, partly for her honourable estate and partly for her royal and distinguished birth. For she was the offspring of a king and queen, and furthermore was sister of a king, an empress, and a queen. The sons of so noble a lady

should be a right royal race. And the pope gave him a dispensation to marry her, as what follows will show.

HOW EARL RICHARD AND THE WHOLE REALM WERE MOVED M. Paris,
AT THE KING'S DOINGS, AND PARTICULARLY AT THE III. 475-
AFORESAID MARRIAGE. 479.
1238.

When earl Richard heard that this clandestine marriage had been carried out, as aforesaid, without the knowledge and consent of the magnates of the land, he was rightly inflamed with anger, especially as the king had often sworn that he would undertake no difficult matter without the advice of his subjects, and in particular the earl. So he rose and attacked the king with words of warning and threats, rousing a discussion and complaint against the king, because he had taken the advice of foreigners, whom he had sworn to dismiss altogether, and had dealt falsely with the arduous affairs of the realm, and had not only listened to Simon de Montfort and John earl of Lincoln, removing all others from his company, but had also allowed them to procure crafty marriages without the consent of his nobles. Simon, as I have said above, had brought about a marriage between himself and the king's sister, the countess of Pembroke, and John earl of Lincoln, another between Richard of Clare, son of the earl of Gloucester, and his own daughter, leading the king astray. In his rising earl Richard was supported by earl Gilbert Marshal and all the earls and barons of England, as well as the citizens and the mass of the people. And they were confident and hopeful that earl Richard would free the land from the wretched slavery under which it groaned to the Romans and other foreigners. Everyone, from children to old men, heaped constant blessings upon him. Nor did any man cleave to the king, except Hubert earl of Kent. From him no evil was feared, because he had sworn never to bear arms, and because he was an old man, and because of his oft-tryed discretion.

When the king understood this he was alarmed, and troubled both in looks and mind. He sent messengers to each noble in the land to inquire diligently whether in this man or that he might find a helper in the storm that was now raging. They all, and the citizens of London in particular, replied that what earl Richard was beginning was for their

honour and to the advantage of the realm, even though the king did not agree to his wholesome counsel. Therefore they would in no wise hinder his undertaking. On learning this the legate, seeing how imminent the danger was, strove earnestly to reconcile the king with his natural subjects. He secretly advised and urged Richard, who was the captaiu of the attack, to desist from his enterprize, and promised that the king would give him wider lands, and that the pope would confirm the grants. He added that, if all in the land should rise against the king, he who was his brother ought to stand beside him unweariedly against all the rest. To this earl Richard replied, "My lord legate, you have the care not of the lands of laymen, nor of the confirmation of them, but of ecclesiastical matters. Do not wonder if the state of the realm stirs me for I am the only heir-apparent. Though the king had the custody of nearly all the bishoprics in the land, and of many escheats, yet his treasury has felt no increase for the protection of the kingdom, though we are shut in on every side by enemies. Moreover many wonder that the king, who lacks both help and discretion, does not follow the steps of the prudent. The emperor, for instance, to whom we gave our sister with much money, hoping it would be to our profit, kept his wife only and sent back her escort, giving none of them either lands or treasure, though he is abundantly wealthy. Another example is that of the king of the French, to whom the eldest sister of our queen is married. Our king of England, on the contrary, has loaded all the kinsmen and relations of his wife with lands, possessions and treasure, and married after such a fashion that he is not enriched but is rather impoverished. Nor is he strengthened by a military alliance, if need should arise. Moreover, he permits the revenues and ecclesiastical benefices bestowed by our pious predecessors, and especially those which our ancestors bestowed on the religious, to be scattered as spoil and distributed among aliens, though the land is full of suitable men. England is become as it were a vineyard without a wall, so that all they that go by pluck off her grapes."

M. Paris, *How Diligently the Legate Sought to Bring About Peace.*
 III. 478.
 1238.

Now when the legate had heard this speech, he went with Peter bishop of Winchester to the king, warning him and ad-

vising him that he should submit to the will of those who had rightly risen against him. He made use now of threats, now of warnings, now of prayers. And when the king saw that his attack had no supporters, and that all were inclined to his brother earl Richard, he sought to create a diversion by demanding a truce for deliberation, so that he might the better make answer. So a truce was granted to him, till the morrow of the first Sunday in Lent.

HOW ALL THAT PREPARATION CAME TO NOTHING.

On the day appointed the magnates met at London to treat of these matters. Many came provided with horses and arms, so that if the king in his fickleness should prove recalcitrant they could bring pressure to bear upon him. After much discussion, the king submitted himself to the provision made by certain of the more weighty magnates, and swore that he would abide by that provision. It was made therefore and reduced to writing, and there were appended the seals of the legate and other magnates, to be shown to all in common. And even before this had been done, while all was still in suspense, Simon de Montfort humbled himself to earl Richard, and by means of many intermediaries and some presents, obtained the kiss of peace from the earl. Now the other magnates, without whose knowledge this was done, though it was by their efforts that matters had reached this point, were aggrieved. John earl of Lincoln, too, with prayers and presents softened the earl's wrath, though he gave security that he would make satisfaction for all he had done. By these irregularities the whole business was for the most part spoilt, and reached no effective end, but continued the miseries of the realm, and considerably blackened Richard's fair fame. He who had been believed to be a staff of strength, had become in the end suspected.

M. Paris,
III. 478-
479.
1238.

HOW SIMON DE MONTFORT FLED SECRETLY OVERSEAS.

However, Simon de Montfort, seeing that the king's heart and the heart of earl Richard and the hearts of all the magnates were estranged from him, and that the marriage he had contracted with the king's sister was in the eyes of many now completely annulled, fell into great grief. He took ship and set sail secretly, first extorting on all hands a huge sum of

money. From a single citizen of Leicester, Simon Curlevache, he took 500 marks. He went to the Roman court, which he hoped to circumvent by means of his money, so that he might be allowed to enjoy his unlawful marriage.

M. Paris, CONCERNING A QUARREL WHICH AROSE BETWEEN THE LORD
 III. 481- LEGATE AND THE OXFORD SCHOLARS.
 484.

1238.

Now at that time the lord legate had reached Oxford, and, as was fitting, was received with the greatest honour and lodged at Osney Abbey, in the house of canons. The scholar clerks sent him an honourable present of meat and drink, before dinner. After dinner they went to his lodging to greet him and visit him in all reverence. When they got there, an Italian porter, with less politeness than was either suitable or expedient, holding the gate partly open, shouted after the Roman manner, in a loud voice, "What do you want?" And the clerks replied, "The lord legate that we may greet him". For they believed that they would receive honour in return for honour. But the porter replied with taunts, and in wanton pride and insolence obstinately refused them admittance. On seeing this the clerks made a rush and forced their way in. The Romans, wishing to push them back, struck them with their fists and sticks. While they were exchanging blows and insults, it happened that a poor Irish chaplain, who was standing at the kitchen door, earnestly begged for alms in God's name, as a poor and famished man will do. Now the master of the legate's cooks,—he was the brother of the legate, who appointed him to that post as his intimate lest poison should be given to him,—heard him but did not heed him. In a rage with the poor man, he threw in his face some hot water from the cauldron where rich meat was cooking. At this insult a clerk from the Welsh border cried out "Shame! Why should we put up with this?" He strung a bow which he carried—for as the tumult increased some of the clerks had snatched up any arms that came to their hands—and loosing an arrow, pierced the body of the cook, whom the clerks satirically called "Nabuzaradan," that is, chief of the cooks. When he fell dead, a shout was raised. The legate, stupefied and struck with the fear which may fall upon even the most steadfast, took refuge in the church tower, wearing his canonical cope. And the doors were bolted be-

behind him. When the silence of dark night had ended the tumult of the fight, the legate took off his canonical vestments and mounted his best horse with all speed. Guided by those who knew the more secret fords, he crossed the river which was near, though not without danger, that he might the more quickly fly to the shelter of the king's wings. The clerks, transported with rage, did not cease to search for the legate in secret lurking-places, shouting and saying, "Where is that usurer, that simoniac, that seizer of revenues, that thirster after money, who, perverting the king and subverting the kingdom, enriches foreigners with our spoils?" But when the legate in his flight heard the shouts of his pursuers, he said to himself:—

*Cum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.*¹

And patiently enduring all things, he became as a man that heareth not and in whose mouth are no reproofs. When he had crossed the river, as aforesaid, with only a few companions, because of the difficulty of the passage, the rest lying hid in the abbey, he came to the king at Abingdon breathless and troubled. There, tearfully, with sobs interrupting his words, he explained to the king and the bystanders what had happened and made a grievous complaint. The king, amazed at his plaint, took pity on him, and hastily sent earl Warrenne to Oxford with an armed band to rescue the Romans, who were in hiding, and to arrest the scholars. Among them was taken by force master Odo, the lawyer. He and thirty others were ignominiously consigned to chains and prison at Wallingford Castle, which is not far from Oxford. The legate, delivered from the snare, calling together some of the bishops, laid Oxford under an interdict, and excommunicated all who had shared in this shocking deed. After this, at the legate's instance, the prisoners were taken to London in carts, like thieves, and there, spoiled of their revenues and bound with anathema, were delivered to prison, chains, and strict custody.

HOW THE CLERGY AND TOWN OF OXFORD WERE RECON-
CILED WITH THE LEGATE.

M. Paris,
III. 484-
485.

The legate, who had hurried, with loose reins, to the north of England, returned to London. He scarcely dared remain

¹ Stay not, where fury's sped, bid speed to fury.

in the house of the bishop of Durham, where he was usually entertained. The king gave orders to the city of London, that the mayor and all the citizens should guard the legate with a band of armed men, as the apple of his eye.

Then the legate, in virtue of the authority with which he was charged, summoned the archbishop of York and all the bishops of England to London, to treat concerning the state of the church and the danger of the clergy, for the 16th of June. They arrived on the appointed day, and great discussion was held by the bishops, how the state of the clergy, even as the church, might be saved: and the legate agreed with them, though saving the honour of the Roman church, lest it should be said hastily that he, who had come to reform the clergy and church, had rather maimed them. At length the bishops and all the clergy who were present suggested to the legate, that the cause of conflict had arisen from his own household, and that at the end of the struggle the clergy had got the worst of it. Besides, he had a large part of the clergy at his beck in prison, and the rest, obedient to his command, were ready to make humble submission, in a place distant about three days' journey from Oxford.

At length it was agreed that the legate would admit them to mercy on the following terms. Together with the bishops, going on foot, all the scholars there gathered should walk in procession from the church of St. Paul's, which was about a mile away from the legate's lodging. When they had reached the house of the bishop of Carlisle, they should thenceforth, without hoods or mantles, ungirt and unshod, proceed to the house of the legate, humbly beseeching forgiveness. Then they should receive mercy and pardon. This was done. Then the lord legate, seeing this humiliation, received them into his grace, restored all of that town to their place, relaxed the interdict and sentence mercifully and kindly, and gave them letters, so that thenceforth that note of infamy could not be cast up against them.

M. Paris, *How SIMON DE MONTFORT BECAME EARL OF LEICESTER.*
 III. 524.
 1239,
 Feb.

On the day of the purification of the Blessed Virgin, the king conferred the earldom of Leicester on Simon de Montfort, and invested him in it. His elder brother Amaury had first been summoned and treated with, so that he might make no claim in this matter,

CONCERNING THE LEGATE'S PREPARATIONS FOR RETURN, AND M. Paris,
HOW HE REMAINED AT THE KING'S INTERCESSION. III. 525-526.

1239.

The pope, hearing that scandal had arisen in England because of the insatiable greed of the Romans, summoned the legate to return with all speed to Rome. And when the legate heard this, he bade all the bishops of England come to London on the day on which *Lætare Jerusalem* is sung,¹ to treat concerning his return and safeconduct. But when the king heard of it, he was afraid, because of the parliament which was to take place in the octave of Easter, and at which he expected the elect of Valence would be present. He had great faith in the presence of the legate, and grew very sad, and feared that the magnates of the land would with one accord rise against him on account of his frequent excesses. With all speed therefore he arranged that messengers should go to the pope, and that the legate should remain in England to calm the imminent storm. So the legate, who did not wish to grieve the king when he made this request, sustained him in hope.

CONCERNING THE BIRTH OF EDWARD, HENRY'S ELDEST SON. M. Paris,
III. 539.

1239.

At Westminster, in the night-time, on the 16th of June, a son was born to the king by Eleanor his queen. All the magnates of the realm congratulated him, but above all the citizens of London, since the baby was born in London. They danced to the sound of drums and rattles, and illuminated the streets at night with great lights. The bishop of Carlisle catechized the infant, but the legate (although he was not a priest) baptized him. The archbishop of Canterbury, however, Edmund, confirmed him. At the king's wish he was called Edward. Many messengers were sent forth to announce this news, and returned laden with costly gifts. But in this matter the king blackened his royal magnificence. For when each messenger returned, the king asked him what he had received. And if one had received less than another, even if he had brought valuable gifts, he bade him return them contemptuously. Nor was his wrath appeased till each had received satisfaction according to the will of the messengers. Concerning this, someone . . . said in joke, "God gave us this baby, but the king is selling him".

¹ V. *supra*, p. 32.

M. Paris,
III. 545.
1239.

HOW THE EMPEROR WAS EXCOMMUNICATED.

About the same time, in the church of St. Paul's at London, Frederick the emperor was denounced as excommunicate, at the pope's command. And similarly he was denounced in the whole diocese of London, and afterwards throughout the realm. There was not one who would oppose this or shield him. Yet the king above all other princes in the world had cause to do so, because of the bond of close kinship.

M. Paris,
IV. 4-5.
1240.

HOW THE EMPEROR, ANGERED, REPROACHED THE KING FOR ALLOWING MONEY TO BE CARRIED OUT OF THE COUNTRY, TO THE INJURY OF BOTH.

Two messengers came to the king from the emperor, with letters in which the emperor intimated that he marvelled, not without cause, that the king without any protest should have allowed him to be excommunicated, in so horrible and unreasonable a manner, in that most Christian land, and that the king, forgetful of the tie of alliance and friendship between them knitted by the marriage of Isabella, now the empress, should have allowed the status and good fame of himself, the emperor, to be lowered. Therefore he demanded that the king's helper in all this, to wit the legate whom he had indiscreetly invited to his realm, should be driven forth from England, as an enemy to himself and to the English realm. For he extorted money on all hands, to satisfy the pope and to bring the imperial dignity to confusion.

The king, after consultation, replied that it behoved him more than the other princes of the world to obey the commands of the pope and the church, because he was acknowledged by law to be a tributary and feudatory of the pope. In this way he both excused and accused himself. However, hoping to please the emperor by this, he wrote to the pope, begging him that in view of the kinship he would deal more gently with the emperor. When the pope heard this, he fell into violent anger and said, "Verily there is not one faithful man in England". And someone who was present of the king's party took up the saying, and answered, "Holy father, do not be astonished therefore if the king of England shows no faith in his own English subjects, but in foreigners. For there is scarcely an Englishman to-day with whom faith should be

kept." The speaker, they say, was master Simon the Norman. Master Robert of Somercote, the cardinal, was moved to great wrath at both these sayings, but like a wise man restrained it lest it should end in a brawl. For he himself was an Englishman, and had faithfully adhered to the pope, who had created him, in all adversities.

HOW THE LEGATE, THOUGH REPEATEDLY WARNED, WOULD NOT GO BACK TO HIS OWN COUNTRY. M. Paris,
iv. 5.
1240.

The king when he came to himself began to fear lest evil should come to him because he was on such familiar terms with the legate, the secret enemy of the kingdom. Accordingly he advised him in good faith not to anger further the imperial majesty by prolonging his stay in England, but to return to Italy with all speed, both in his own and the pope's interests. The legate answered "As you summoned me from the papal court, so I require a safeconduct from you, that I may return safely". The imperial messengers of whom I have already made mention went back to their lord when all this came to their knowledge, and related everything they had seen and heard, like wise scouts.

HOW UNWEARIEDLY THE LEGATE APPLIED HIMSELF TO MAKING MONEY. M. Paris,
iv. 6.
1240,
March.

Meantime the legate, not forgetful of himself, was busy in the collection of coin and money. About the feast of the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, he sent orders to the bishops and archdeacons in the following form:—

"Otto, by divine mercy, etc., to the discreet such and such a bishop or archdeacon, greeting. Since at the bidding of the supreme pontiff we must prolong our stay in England, and we cannot labour at our own expense; we bid you, in virtue of the authority with which we are invested, to cause to be collected in our name whatever procurations are due to us in your diocese or archdeaconry, and to send them to us with all speed, binding all who oppose with ecclesiastical censures. No one procuration shall exceed the sum of four marks. Where one church is insufficient to have a procuration of this kind, two shall pay the one. Given at London on the 15th of February, in the thirteenth year of the pontificate of pope Gregory."

M. Paris, HOW THE ROMANS EXTORTED MONEY BY A WONDERFUL
IV. 6-7. DEVICE.

1240,
February.

The lord legate received orders from the pope to extort money from the faithful by a well-devised plan, which will be clear to the diligent reader of the following document:—

“Such and such a bishop to his well-beloved sons in Christ, the archdeacons of his diocese, greeting. We have received letters from the lord legate in these words.

“Otto etc. Since we understand that many of those in the realm of England who have taken a crusading vow but are unable to fight, are going to the apostolic see to obtain absolution there from their vow: and since we have received orders from the supreme pontiff that we should not merely absolve such persons, but compel them to ransom their vow: we, wishful to save them trouble and expense, order you in virtue of the authority with which we are vested, to cause public proclamation to be made without delay in your dioceses, concerning that power granted to us by the supreme pontiff, and that such before mentioned as have taken the crusading vow shall come to us, to receive benefit in this matter after the form prescribed to us. Given at London on the 15th of February, in the thirteenth year of pope Gregory’s pontificate.”

M. Paris, HOW IN RETURN FOR MONEY ANYONE WHO WISHED WAS
IV. 9-10. ABSOLVED FROM HIS CRUSADING VOW.

1240.

At this time the Preaching and Minorite friars and other litterate men, especially doctors of theology, began to absolve crusaders from their vow, in return for as much money as seemed to each sufficient for a journey across the seas. . . . And this made scandal and schism among the people. For it seemed absurd to simple folk that the Roman court should try to rob the populace of their substance, by various deceits, seeking for no end except gold and silver.

HOW THE POPE EXTORTED A FIFTH OF THE GOODS OF ALL
THE FOREIGNERS BENEFICED IN ENGLAND.

At that time the pope decided and thought fit to extort one fifth part of the goods of foreign clerks holding English benefices, in order to carry on his quarrel with the emperor. The latter was surrounded on every side by enemies, whom the

pope supported by money collected and extorted from England. He continued to free all who were bound in fealty to the emperor from their obligation. Day by day the hatred grew more bitter. His lieges said to the king, "Most noble prince, why do you permit England to be plundered and laid waste by all who pass by, like a vineyard without a hedge open to every wayfarer? You have the privilege, that such exactions should not take place in this realm. He is not worthy of a privilege who abuses it when it has been granted." But the king answered "I cannot and I dare not gainsay the pope in anything". Then great despair fell upon all the people.

HOW THE LEGATE STROVE TO PERSUADE THE BISHOPS TO
PAY ONE FIFTH OF THEIR GOODS. M. Paris,
iv. 10-11.
1240.

In this year all the archbishops, bishops, and greater abbots of England, and certain magnates of the realm, met at Reading to hear the papal command explained by the legate. When they were met, the legate made a long speech to persuade his hearers, and laid before them at length the various straits to which the pope had been put for the justice of the church, in sustaining the attacks of the emperor Frederick. He therefore urgently demanded on behalf of the pope, a fifth of their goods, by help of which he might be able to resist the injuries of so powerful an enemy. To this, after consultation, the bishops replied, that they would in no wise submit to so unbearable a burden, which concerned the whole church, without diligent discussion and prolonged deliberation. So a later date was given for deliberation on this great demand.

HOW ARCHBISHOP EDMUND OF CANTERBURY WAS THE FIRST, M. Paris,
THOUGH RELUCTANTLY, TO CONSENT TO THIS WICKED iv. 15.
1240.
MONEY EXACTION, TO WIT ONE FIFTH OF ALL RE-
VENUES TO BE PAID TO THE POPE.

When some time had gone by, the archbishop of Canterbury, first of all the prelates, made unwillingly a virtue of necessity and agreed to the aforesaid exaction of one fifth of his revenues. He paid over to the papal extortioners eight hundred marks, before they wrung them from him by violence. And when they saw this, all the other prelates of England fell into a like ruin.

M. Paris,
iv. 31.
1240.

CONCERNING YET ANOTHER EXTORTION.

A most wicked agreement, it is said, was now made between the pope and the Romans. As many benefices as there were in England to be conferred by the pope, especially of the religious, should be distributed to sons and kinsfolk of Romans at will, on this sole condition, that they should all rise against the emperor, and if possible drive him from the imperial throne, and so earn themselves a reputation for valour. So within a few days the pope sent his orders to Edmund archbishop of Canterbury and to the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury, that they should provide for 300 Romans in the first benefices that fell vacant. They were to regard themselves as suspended from appointing to benefices, till this number had been suitably provided for.

M. Paris,
iv. 32.
1240.

HOW THE ARCHBISHOP LEFT THE COUNTRY.

When Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, who had freely though reluctantly submitted to that detestable exaction, and paid 800 marks to the pope, saw how daily more and more the English church was trodden under foot, and robbed of both its temporalities and its liberties, he grew weary of living and seeing evil upon earth. Though he rebuked the king for permitting it, he produced nothing but delays. So at last, exasperated by his injuries, he went into exile in France and took up his residence with a small retinue at Pontigny, where his predecessor blessed Thomas had also dwelt during his exile, spending his time in prayer and fasting.

M. Paris,
iv. 83-84.
1241.

HOW THE KING EXALTED THE LEGATE AT CHRISTMAS, AND
WHEN HE WENT AWAY ESCORTED HIM TO THE COAST
WITH A GREAT RETINUE.

In the year of grace 1241, which was the twenty-fifth year of king Henry III, the king held his court at London, at Westminster, where some of the magnates of the realm kept Christmas with him. On Christmas day at the request of the legate, whom the king greatly desired to please, his nephew, by name Avocato, was girt by the king with a knight's belt, and was at once given a property worth £30. He sold it straightway, for he knew he would be going away on the morrow with his lord. On the same day the king also

girt a certain Provençal with the same solemnity, and endowed him richly. When the celebrations in the church were over, the king went to dinner in the great hall at Westminster, and set the legate, whom he had invited, in the most important place at table, namely on the king's seat in the middle. Many looked askance at this. Then the king sat down on his right and the archbishop of York on his left, and the rest, prelates and magnates, each according to his dignity and power, as the king directed. But on the fourth day after Christmas, the legate, who was summoned by the pope to the Roman court in a way that admitted of no denial, called the bishops together, bade them farewell, and set out on his way to the sea. The king escorted him as far as the coast with the sound of trumpets and a host of nobles, in great pomp. When at length they must needs separate, and the king went one way and the legate another, they heaved great sighs at so speedy a parting. Yet the legate had been three years in England, to the irreparable damage of the church.

CONCERNING THE INSOLENCIE AND PRIDE OF THE COUNT OF M. Paris,
LA MARCHE. iv. 178-179.

In this year the count of La Marche, most powerful of all the Poitevins, refused to do homage and fealty to Alphonse brother of the French king, who had unjustly usurped Poitou to himself, at the grant of his brother. He prepared angrily for resistance, but began to regret his preparations, when he was peaceably asked to dine with Alphonse the said count of Poitou, to celebrate Christmas. However, one night, within four days of Christmas, when he was to set out on the morrow to do this, as he had promised, he consulted with his wife Isabella, and they changed their plans to violent resistance. So he came to Alphonse and said insolently, "Deceived and circumvented, I was on the point of doing homage to you. But now I have changed my mind, and I swear and assert to you that I will never make or observe any bond of allegiance with you. Returning evil for good, you have stolen away his county from my stepson earl Richard, who is fighting gallantly for God in the holy land, and delivering our captives prudently and pitifully." Straightway, swelling with loud threats, surrounded by a host of armed men, and with his wife, he burst boldly through the midst of them. The Poit- 1241.

evins shot their arrows, the house where he had been lodged was burnt down, and he himself, mounted on a great horse, dashed off swiftly at headlong speed. By this action he astonished and enraged count Alphonse and all who saw and heard it, and roused them to revenge.

HOW A COMPLAINT WAS MADE TO THE FRENCH KING CONCERNING THE INSOLENCES OF THE COUNT OF LA MARCHE.

When Alphonse saw this, he made a grave complaint to his brother the king of France concerning this wrong, both the indecent flight of the count, and the burning of his house. He had made his hosts a bad return, like a mouse in a bag or a snake in the bosom. This complaint provoked not only the king but all the nobles of France to a well-deserved revenge.

HOW THE COUNT OF LA MARCHE SUMMONED THE KING OF ENGLAND TO HIS HELP.

Now because the count of La Marche greatly feared the wrath of the French king, he furnished his castles with armour and men and stores, and ordered ploughshares to be beaten into lances and pruninghooks into javelins. And perceiving that danger was coming, and feeling that he was not strong enough to resist so powerful a prince for long, he called upon the king of England to hasten to Poitou, provided with much treasure, and to demand with armed force the restoration of those lands which the king of France unjustly detained, by the help of the Poitevins and Gascons. He promised that he himself and other magnates, such as the king of Arragon and the count of Toulouse, and others whom it would take too long to name, would give effective advice and assistance. Now the king after consideration kept all these matters in his heart, and believed the deceitful words of the count of La Marche and other faithless Poitevins.

M. Paris,
iv. 180.
1242,
Jan.

HOW A GENERAL PARLIAMENT WAS CALLED AT LONDON FOR THE THURSDAY BEFORE THE PURIFICATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

The king of England sent letters to all his magnates in England, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls and barons, strictly bidding them to meet at London on the Thurs-

day before the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, to treat with careful discussion on certain important business of the realm, which could not be delayed.

CONCERNING A GREAT COUNCIL WHICH BROKE UP AMID M. Paris,
GREAT INDIGNATION ON THE PART OF THE MAGNATES. iv. 181-
184.
1242.

Now when the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin drew near, the magnates of all England, prelates, earls and barons, met at London according to the royal command. And since they had heard that the king had summoned them so pressingly and had so often in this manner wearied them over trifles, they made a firm resolve among themselves, with an oath and under pain of anathema, that at the council no one should agree in any way to make a money grant to the king. For all knew that the count of La Marche was urgently summoning the king to cross over with whatever treasure he could scrape together, caring nothing for the military force of the English army, and making light of the knighthood, strength, and loyalty of the realm. He looked upon the king as a huckster, from whom he wanted a certain amount of money. Wherefore the English were justly angered against the count and all his Poitevins, and looked askance at the king for agreeing to such plans without the advice of his nobles. So when the king explained openly his fixed determination, concerning his crossing and the summons of the count of La Marche, and, with various arguments, demanded pecuniary aid, the magnates replied, with great bitterness, that he had begun this rashly, and that such a demand was insolent. He had so often harassed and impoverished his lieges, and exacted money as though from slaves of the meanest condition. Too often he had squandered uselessly the money thus extorted. They therefore withstood the king to his face, being unwilling any more to be spoiled of their money for no good end. So the king, making use of the crafty deceits of the Romans, bade them wait till the morrow to hear his will on these and other matters. On the following day he called them one at a time into his secret chamber, like a priest calling penitents to confession. Then, as he could not prevail on them when in a body, he cunningly tried to weaken them singly by argument. Asking them to give him an aid of money, he said, "Look what this or that abbot has given me! Look

what that one has given !” And then he held out a roll, in which an entry showed that such and such an abbot or prior had promised he would give such and such an amount. But none of them had given their consent, or even known of it. By such false instances and wordy snares the king cunningly entrapped some of them. Many, however, stood firm, and, as they had sworn, would in no way depart from the common answer. To these the king answered in his wrath, “ Shall I be perjured? I have sworn by an oath that may not be traversed that, crossing the sea, I will demand my rights from the king of the French with a stretched out arm. I have not the strength to do this except with copious treasure given me by your liberality.” But neither by these nor by any other words could he entrap some of them, although, as aforesaid, he summoned each of them to come to him separately.

Now the king again summoned some with whom he was more intimate, and speaking to them said, “ What bad example you set to the others! You who are earls and barons and stout knights ought not to fear even if others, such as the prelates of the church, are afraid. You ought to be more eager than others to demand the rights of the realm, and to try the fortune of war against the enemy. Our right of summoning the magnates with a fixed promise is held to strengthen and support our cause. Take for instance Wales, where we have of late happily triumphed. Prosperity in the past is wont to continue with success in the future. With what face can you leave me your lord, who am ready for so arduous a matter of state, poor and desolate? I am bound to fulfil my promise to cross the sea, for I am held by an oath.” When this came to the knowledge of the whole body, they replied, “ We marvel beyond words at the depth into which has been thrown the countless wealth, that you, lord king, have wrung from various wardships of magnates, divers escheats, frequent extortions both from churches bereaved of their pastors and from the lands of the nobles, and costly gifts, such as to strike dumb with amazement all who hear of them. None of this wealth has ever brought the smallest profit to the realm. Besides, you lately summoned to this kingdom certain legates, or persons performing the functions of legates, who have collected the last remains of money, the the grapes left after the vintage as it were. Moreover, all the

magnates of England are greatly surprised that without their advice or consent, you have embarked on so difficult, so dangerous an enterprise, putting faith in the faithless; and that, scorning the favour of your natural subjects, you expose yourself to the chances of so dubious a fortune. You are breaking the truce made between the king of the French and yourself, which you swore by your soul should be observed inviolably to a date fixed on your behalf by those famous earls your brother Richard and Roger Bigod. This is dishonourable and insolent, and you do it not without peril to your soul and a breach of faith."

The older and more weighty magnates of the realm added, "To your peril, you have pledged your faith, and promised your presence in person, to these notorious nobles beyond the seas. They are raising up their heel against their own lord the king of the French, and for that very reason no faith is to be put in them. They are noted for their manifold treacheries. You know also that the king of Navarre, whose help they promise you, was lately in action in the Holy Land, and that his wound is not yet healed. . . . Let the examples of your illustrious predecessors be at once a terror and a stay to you. They had impregnable castles, ample territories, large forces and much treasure in those parts. Yet they could not scatter the unconquered knighthood of the French, or even keep what they had."

On hearing this, the king blazed into a violent rage, and swore, calling the saints to witness, that no fear should stay him, no enigmatic speeches win him from his intention. In the octave of Easter he would take ship and try the fortune of war boldly against the French overseas. So the parliament broke up, with much hidden indignation on both sides.

HOW THE KING AT THE BIDDING OF THE COUNT OF LA MARCHE BUSIED HIMSELF IN COLLECTING MONEY.

M. Paris,
iv. 189-
190.

Meantime the English king, who constantly received per-
emptory orders from the count of La Marche and other mag-
nates of Poitou, set his mind firmly to carry out his project,
never doubting that he would be able to fulfil all his promises.
And, as they requested, he collected no small sum of money.
Those who would not give him aid in money he stigmatised as

1242.

public enemies, or harassed them with arguments on the part of his satellites. He devoted the whole of Lent, unweariedly, to this work. For the count of La Marche as aforesaid had made it clear that the king need only trouble himself about collecting and bringing money. He would provide him with a sufficient armed force, he said. But in that he passed the bounds of truth, as the issue of the matter showed.

HOW THE KING INCLINED THE HEARTS OF MANY TOWARDS HIMSELF, SO THAT THEY WOULD CROSS OVER WITH HIM.

The king, wishing to draw the hearts of those who were undecided to himself, gave valuable presents, and so weakened the determination of many of the magnates. Also he persuaded his brother earl Richard to agree to crossing the sea with him, not without hope of abundant retribution. It was all the easier because the rash presumption of the French king in conferring the county of Poitou upon his brother Alphonse had robbed Richard of his own possession. Now the Poitevins promised that they would restore him all when he arrived.

HOW THE KING CROSSED AND LANDED AT ROYAN.

M. Paris,
iv. 192.
1242,
May.

On the 15th of May the king, having disposed his army and filled thirty coffers with sterling money, embarked with the queen, his brother earl Richard, seven other earls and about 300 knights. The wind was favourable when they began their voyage towards Bordeaux. But when they were not far from land the wind dropped and they put back to Portsmouth harbour. However, next day there was a better wind, and they crossed to St. Matthew of Finistère in Brittany, and remained there over Sunday, and heard divine service. On Monday however with a fair wind they travelled far, and on Thursday reached Royan, at the mouth of the Garonne, opposite St. Mary of Soulac, in Gascony. They landed and remained for some days. Then they reached Pons, a fine town, whose lord, Reginald, hurried forth to meet them, with other magnates of Saintonge.

M. Paris,
iv. 197-
198.
1242.

HOW THE POITEVINS AND GASCONS MADE READY AGAINST THE FRENCH.

Now in that hot summer season, when the raging heat of the sun had parched and almost killed all green things, the

Gascons and Poitevins in apprehension of the French attack began to fortify both their towns and castles. They blocked up the mountain passes by which their land could be entered with heaps of millstones and barriers of lopped-down trees. They made the paths and roads impassable by obstructions made of rocks and logs. They cut down the vines and the orchards, lest they should be useful to the enemy. They filled up the wells, defiled the springs and brooks, and even put poison in some of them. They destroyed the fodder and crops which were accessible to the enemy. They utterly and completely ruined every sort of provision and shelter, so that they might drive the Frenchmen out of their borders by starvation. Nor was their expectation wholly disappointed. For afterwards . . . when the dogdays were raging, such a pestilence seized the French invaders, that the king lost eighty noble commanders of companies, who either perished miserably, or else were carried away sick on litters to their own homes. Of the foot-soldiers so many fell victim that the survivors scarcely dared bury the dead.

CONCERNING THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH KING IN THE MEADOWS NEAR THE CITY OF TAILLEBOURG.

M. Paris,
iv. 209-
212.
1242.

Now at this time the English king with his army was in the meadows about the river Charente near the castle of Tonnaye. And there he knighted his two brothers, the sons of the count of La Marche. And to the one he gave six hundred, and to the other five hundred, marks from his treasury yearly till he should have provided them with an equivalent in lands and revenues. Then leaving Tonnaye with his army, he came to the meadows about the town of Taillebourg on the Charente and remained there for six days.

HOW THE FRENCH KING CAME TO TAILLEBOURG.

July.

Meantime the French king, who was growing hopeful, for many castellans and castles had surrendered to him, marched against the town of Taillebourg. Now that town is noble, rich in fruitful vineyards, and about it goes a very pleasant river with fair meadows and a fine bridge, the Charente, deep and impossible to ford. Now when the French king drew near to the town, the citizens, who had neither the will nor the way to resist by force of arms, took a wiser course, came peace-

fully to meet him and surrendered themselves and their town with all their possessions and liberties to the French king. He straightway received them into his grace and protection. Forthwith, therefore, he came to the town and was lodged there, and the more noble of his followers with him. The rest pitched their tents in the meadow near.

On the morrow, which was the Sunday next before the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, the king of the French proposed to cross the bridge and transfer himself and his forces to the districts of Poitou on the other side. Information of this was given to the English king and his magnates, among whom the count of La Marche was as it were leader and commander. By his advice the English king drew up his troops during the night, and came with his army to the meadow into which the bridge leads, and there pitched his camp opposite the town, so that one army could overlook the other. In the English army there were 1600 knights, 20,000 foot soldiers and 700 archers, but only 80 of these last were English. So one king was on one side close to the river and the other on the other. When morning came, behold! the English saw the oriflamme of the French king and his pavilions with their flags, and a host of tents like a great and populous town, on the other side of the river. Now while the English king was expecting a battle, and to receive the French at the sword's point, and while some of the English were guarding the bridge, he said to the count of La Marche: "My lord count and father, where is now your promise? When I was in England you promised me over and over again by your envoys, and assured me by your own letter patent, that you would prepare for us when necessary such a supply of men that without fear they could resist the French king when he arrived, and we need only trouble ourselves about money." The count answered "I never did this". And earl Richard said, "Nay, but you did, I have your letter patent". Then the count of La Marche answered, "It was neither sealed nor even composed by me". Then said the king in amazement "What do I hear, my father? Did you not often send to me and importune me by your envoys and your letters to come hither, and chafed at my delay? Where now is what you promised?" Then the count answered with a horrible oath: "This was never done by me. Put it down to your mother, my wife." And then again with an oath in his

throat, "By the throat of God, she contrived all this without my knowledge". Now when earl Richard heard all this, he stripped himself of his weapons, and went over the bridge with a staff in his hand to treat of peace or a truce. For evidently the English king was in imminent danger of capture. Now the day was a Sunday. When he reached the army, he was received with the greatest honour by the French, and many called him their redeemer, for he had freed them by his terms of peace in the Holy Land. And he went in to the king of France, and was addressed with all reverence. Then he laid his wish for a truce before the king, and a truce was granted, but only till the morrow. He asked for this firstly because he was himself a favourite with the French on account of the said deliverance in the Holy Land, next because he was a kinsman of the French king, and lastly because the day was a Sunday. And as he was going away, the king saluted him and said, "Sir earl, sir earl, I have granted you a truce for to-day and the night following, so that you may consider in the meanwhile which will be the safest course for you in future. Night is the time for counsel." And the earl answered "For that very reason I asked for the truce which I have obtained". Then the earl returned to the king and said in his ear secretly "Quick, quick, let us get away. Our capture is imminent." So they took a hasty meal, for it was dusk. And when the sun had gone down, each man set about collecting his baggage. Later, when darkness had fallen, the king of the English, who had now proved the faith, or rather the want of faith, of the Poitevins, basely retreated, not sparing his spurs. The whole army followed, not without much hazard both for horses and men, for many had had no food, and the horses were jaded and useless. The king, who had taken the swiftest horse, never drew rein till he reached Saintes.

HOW WHEN THE ENGLISH KING RETREATED THE KING OF
THE FRENCH CROSSED THE BRIDGE TO PURSUE THE
FUGITIVE.

M. Paris,
IV. 212-
213.
1242,
July.

When the king of the French heard this, he could hardly believe it. On the same night with all his army he crossed the bridge, and in the early morning the French pitched their tents in the same place where the king had been the day

before. For the army was growing and increasing. The waggons and carts which carried the engines and victuals were reckoned at 1600 in number and stretched over three miles.

On the Thursday after, the king of the French followed the king of England with his army. When they came near Saintes, some of the French dispersed to seek victuals, to forage, as the saying is. The count of La Marche attacked them, without consulting the king of England or his army. And they met in a battle with loud cries—"To arms, to arms!" The one side shouted "King's men, King's men," and the other "Mountjoy, Mountjoy," for these were the battlecries of either side. The noise reached even to Saintes, to the king of England and his men, and the rumour ran that the count had attacked, meaning either to lose his life or win back his fame. Both armies were in great excitement, and a fierce combat took place among the vineyards and narrow byeways outside Saintes. The English in their wrath eagerly measured swords with the French, and the conflict was of the gravest kind. If the numbers had been equal, as the French claimed they were when the battle was over, they would have obtained their wish and gloriously triumphed over the enemy.

CONCERNING THE INTERFERENCE OF THE POPE.

M. Paris,
iv. 368-
369.
1244.

Our lord the pope . . . sent a *latere* a certain clerk, master Martin, whom many called master Mastiff because of his wicked greed. He had fresh and unheard-of powers, greater than we ever remember a legate to have had. He stretched out his hand to exact a contribution. He made provisions at his own impulse, for no reason, and to help unknown persons. He extorted revenues by violence to bestow them on kinsfolk of the pope. All this he did, armed with the authority of the pope, from whom he exhibited new charters every day according to his will and any sudden emergency. Some said he had many schedules, blank but sealed, and could write whatever he liked on them. Heaven forbid!

Now this deceitful legate was sent first to the king, to ask him to make the pope a recompense and do his best to induce the prelates of England to make a general contribution to the pope: or at least to compromise, and pay 10,000 marks at once. The king answered that his magnates, prelates and

clerks, earls, barons and knights were so often spoiled of their goods on various pretexts, that they hardly had enough for themselves. "They have neither the power nor the will to contribute to me their king or to the pope. However, since I humbled myself to them and bent to their will they have answered me more moderately, and promised assistance according to their ability." When Martin heard this he went away downcast, without hope of support from the king.

HOW WHEN CERTAIN TOURNAMENTS WERE FORBIDDEN, FULK FITZWARIN WAS SENT TO MASTER MARTIN.

M. Paris,
iv. 420-
421.

After certain tournaments full of secret hatred at Luton and Dunstable had been forbidden by the king on account of imminent danger, Fulk Fitz Warin was sent on the morrow of the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, on behalf of the whole community of the realm, to master Martin, who was staying in London at the New Temple. Looking upon him with a grim countenance he said, "Depart and leave England at once". "Who sends this order to me," said Martin, "Is it your own?" Fulk answered: "The whole body of armed men recently assembled at Luton and Dunstable sends you this advice by me. If you think it wise advice you will not wait for three days to pass, lest you and all your followers should be cut to pieces." Then Fulk went away raging, heaping one threat on another with a terrible oath. Martin went off at once, timorous and breathless, to the king, and said, "Lord, I have heard such and such things. Were they said by your authority or by the rashness of your subjects?" The king answered, "It was not I, I vow, who was the author of this. But my barons are barely restraining themselves from breaking out into rebellion against me, because hitherto I have tolerated your plunderings and injuries in my realm and theirs, beyond right and reason. I could hardly calm their frenzy from rushing upon you and tearing you limb from limb." Then Martin in a humble and frightened voice said: "I pray you then, for love of God and reverence for the pope, give me free egress and safeconduct out of your realm." But the king, excited and angry, said "May the devil give you a safeconduct to hell". The bystanders with difficulty calmed him, and he ordered a certain marshal of his palace, one Robert Norris, to escort Martin safely to the seacoast. They started off at once, Martin

keeping close to the side of his escort. Whenever they saw others riding or passing by, such a shiver and quiver seized him that if the earth could have opened he would have hidden himself under the turf. When they came to the edge of a wood which the archbishop elect of Canterbury had put up for sale, and to which a number of people had come to buy and choose timber, Martin caught sight of them and, panic-stricken, said to his escort, "Alas, alas, that that I feared has come upon me. They are about to attack us. O my friend, O my lord Robert, have you a son, a nephew, a kinsman, or a friend, for whom you want ecclesiastical preferment? I am ready to get you all you wish. Lo, they seek after my life. Hide me under the shadow of your wings." Robert said, "Heaven forbid that any friend of mine should obtain ecclesiastical preferment by such means. I know not who those men are, but I will go on towards them. Wait for me here. If their intentions are evil, I will curb their rashness by showing them the king's authorisation." When he reached them and found out the truth, he returned quickly to make mock of him and said, "I could hardly restrain them from tearing you in pieces. Now let us go on cautiously and secretly, lest worse befall you. Once you have set sail, if you are wise, never return, lest you fall miserably into the snares of those who seek your life." Then Martin did not spare his horse's flanks, chided his escort for delay, and hurried towards the sea. On reaching Dover; he embarked on St. Swithin's day, and by his departure made many joyful.

ARTICLES SET FORTH AT THE COUNCIL OF LYONS CONCERNING THE GRIEVANCES OF THE ENGLISH REALM.

M. Paris,
iv. 527-
529.
1246.

The kingdom of England is aggrieved, because our lord the pope, not content with that subsidy which is called Peter's pence, extorts a heavy contribution from the whole clergy of England, and is trying to extort others still heavier. This he does without the consent of the king, contrary to the ancient customs, liberties, and rights of the realm, and contrary to the appeal and protest made by the proctors of king and kingdom in the general council.

Also the church and kingdom are aggrieved, because patrons of churches are not able to present suitable clerks when benefices are vacant, as the pope granted in his letters. Instead,

the churches are conferred upon Romans, who know not a word of the English tongue, to the peril of souls, and who carry away money outside the realm, and thus impoverish it beyond measure.

Also the land is aggrieved concerning the provisions made by the pope, contrary to the tenour of his letters, in which it is stated, that out of all the reservations made in England he only meant to confer twelve benefices after the despatch of those letters. Whereas we believe he conferred many more benefices, and made many provisions, after that.

Also, it is a grievance that Italian succeeds Italian, and the English are dragged outside the kingdom in their causes, by apostolic authority, contrary to their written rights and the customs of the realm, for they should not be summoned among their enemies, and contrary to the privileges granted to the king and kingdom of England by our lord the pope and his predecessors.

Also the realm is aggrieved by the constant appearance of that infamous "Notwithstanding" clause, by which the sanctity of an oath, ancient custom, the force of Scripture, the authority of grants, statutes, rights and privileges, are weakened and vanish away. In this way numbers of Englishmen are oppressed and afflicted, nor does the pope in recalling the plenitude of his power bear himself as courteously or moderately as by word of mouth he promised to the proctors of the kingdom.

Also the realm is troubled by general taxes, levies and assessments made without the king's will and pleasure, contrary to the appeal and protest of the proctors of king and kingdom.

Also it is aggrieved because in benefices held by Italians neither the duties, nor the maintenance of the poor, nor hospitality, nor preaching the divine word, nor fitting embellishment of the churches, nor the care of souls, nor divine services, are kept up as they should be and as is usual in this land. In their buildings the walls and the roofs are falling in and altogether ruined.

HOW JOAN DAUGHTER OF WARIN OF MUNCHENSI MARRIED M. Paris,
WILLIAM OF VALENCE THE KING'S HALF-BROTHER. iv. 628-629.

On the 13th of August Joan daughter of Warin of Munchensi was married to William of Valence, half-brother of the king, August. 1247.

at the earnest request and much to the satisfaction of the latter. For Warin's eldest son and heir had died, and Joan, the only daughter surviving, might expect a very rich inheritance. Thus the English nobility were given away to strangers and foreigners. Alice also, the king's half-sister, was married to John, the young earl of Warenne.

M. Paris,
iv. 640-
642.
1247,
October.

CONCERNING THE BLOOD OF CHRIST AND HOW IT WAS
BROUGHT TO LONDON.

The king wrote to all the magnates of the realm bidding them assemble on the feast of the translation of St. Edward, which is celebrated a fortnight after Michaelmas, to hear most joyful tidings of a certain heavenly gift lately bestowed upon the English: to honour the translation of so glorious a king and martyr: and in the third place to be present at the initiation of William of Valence, the king's half-brother, who was to be knighted that day with several other noble youths. The festival would be greatly enlivened by the presence of the magnates, both prelates and others, in honour of king and kingdom.

On the appointed day, therefore, the magnates met in London at Westminster, informed concerning St. Edward's day and the knighting of William, but asking what in the world the joyful tidings could be which they were to hear. Now what they were told was true and worthy of all credence. For the masters of the Temple and Hospital, with the confirmation of the seals of many others (such as the patriarch of Jerusalem, the archbishops, bishops, abbots and other prelates and magnates of the Holy Land), had sent a portion of the blood of our Lord, which he shed for all men on the cross, in a certain most exquisite vase of crystal, by the hands of a well-known Templar. Our lord the king, as a most Christian prince . . . fasted on bread and water during the vigil of St. Edward, and kept watch all night, with a great light and devout prayers, and so prepared himself for the morrow's ceremony.

He had commanded that all the priests of London, vested as for a festival in surplices and copes, with their clerks becomingly arrayed, with standards, crosses, and lighted candles, should come early on the morrow, St. Edward's day, to St. Paul's. Thither the king himself went also, and received the

vase containing the treasure in all honour, reverence and fear, and carried it before all men, on foot and dressed humbly in a poor mantle without a hood, to the church of Westminster, which is about a mile distant from St. Paul's, without a pause. The procession, arrayed as I have already explained, went before him. He carried the vase in both hands, and when he went through a rough and uneven street, always kept his eyes fixed on the sky or on the vase itself. A canopy supported on four spears was held over him. Two helpers held up his arms, so that he should not be exhausted by such an effort. Then the convent of Westminster, and all who had assembled, bishops, abbots, and monks, more than 100 of them, singing and exulting in the holy spirit and in tears, came to meet the king, as far as the gate of the bishop of Durham's house. Then they returned as they had come, in procession, to the church of Westminster, but could hardly enter it for the crowd. And the king unweariedly, still carrying the vase, went in procession about the church, the palace and the monastic buildings. Finally, as a priceless gift, in giving which all England was honoured, he presented and offered it to God and to the church of St. Peter at Westminster, and to his beloved Edward and the convent which there serves God and his saints.

CONCERNING THE KNIGHTING OF WILLIAM OF VALENCE THE M. Paris,
KING'S HALF-BROTHER. 644-645.
1247.

While these celebrations were being carried on in the church at Westminster, the king put on a golden robe made of costly cloth from Bagdad, and his golden coronet commonly called the garland, and took his seat in state on the throne. Then he caused his half-brother to be summoned, together with several of the comrades who had been with him, that they might receive their arms with all due solemnity. Then the king adorned him and his comrades with the belt of knight-hood.

Now while the king was sitting on his throne, he caught sight of him who is writing these words, and called him to him, and bade him remain on the step between the throne and the floor of the church. And he said to him, "Have you watched all this and impressed what you have seen firmly on your mind?" And he answered, "In truth I have, sire, for

what has been done here on this glorious day is well worthy of remembrance." Then the king continued, "I am confident that God has deigned this day to work a glorious miracle as an earnest of the richer benefits and virtues which will follow by his grace. And this happened at early morn, and I rejoice because of it. I beg you therefore, nay, I command you, to write down in full detail all this, and commit it imperishably to a book, so that it may not be destroyed hereafter by loss of memory." Also he invited him with whom he spoke, and three others, to dinner. And on the same day the king feasted all the monks who had come to the convent of Westminster in the refectory, and others besides, with the most admirable and sumptuous provision.

M. Paris, *How the King Enriched his Brothers to such an Extent that he Robbed Himself.*
iv. 650.
1247.

When Guy of Lusignan, the king's brother, was leaving England, the king filled his saddlebags with such a weight of sterling money that Guy had to take extra horses. To another brother, William of Valence, he gave Hertford castle with its honour and no small treasure. The king himself began to be in want, and to seize or beg his victuals. Those who loved the king truly and without feigning began to fear lest his alms should be brought to nought by the curses the poor heaped upon his head, and his prayer be turned into sin, which God forbid. For the third brother, Aymer, he provided such numerous and plentiful and rich revenues, extracted by imperious request from each bishop and abbot, that the king seemed to exceed the audacity of the Romans, and Aymer to surpass the wealth of the bishops.

M. Paris, *Concerning a New Fair set up at Westminster.*
v. 28-29.
1248,
October.

In the same year our lord the king was hastening to Loudon for the feast of St. Edward, that is the translation of the same saint, a fortnight after Michaelmas, the 13th of October. And he summoned various prelates and magnates, on the pretext of friendship and devotion, to be present with him at Westminster to celebrate that feast solemnly and devoutly. So there came at his bidding earl Richard, earl Roger Bigod, the Marshal, the earl of Hereford and certain notable barons and knights, the bishops of Winchester, London, Ely, Worcester,

Carlisle and several abbots and priors. Now our lord the king had ordered proclamation to be made and caused a herald to announce throughout the city of London and elsewhere, that he had appointed a new fair, to last for a full fortnight, at Westminster. On pain of forfeiture of land he put a stop to all fairs throughout England which usually last for that length of time, such as the fair at Ely and elsewhere, and to all trade which usually goes on at London either under cover or outside, in order that his Westminster fair might be full both of people and goods.

It came about therefore that an innumerable host of people gathered there, as to the most renowned fair, and the translation of the blessed Edward and the Blood of Christ were honoured beyond all expectations by the people there congregated. But those who were exposing their wares for sale there had no coverings except awnings of cloth, and were therefore greatly inconvenienced. For when storms of wind came on, such as are frequent at that time of year, the merchants caught cold, were wet through, were hungry and thirsty, got their feet dirty, and their goods were soaked in rain. And when they came to sit down to table, those who were accustomed to take their meals by their firesides in the midst of their families, hardly knew how to put up with such want. The bishop of Ely too, on account of the overthrow of his own fair at Ely, suspended by the royal edict, complained loudly to the king who had invented such novelties to the injury of his subjects. However, he could get nothing except empty words and soft promises of consolation in the future.

HOW THE GASCONS WERE SUBDUED BY THE EARL OF
LEICESTER.

M. Paris,
v. 77.
1249.

About this time Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester changed or postponed his vow of pilgrimage (for he had taken the cross), and went over to fight the king's enemies in Gascony. He took with him a large supply both of men and treasure, and powerfully opposed the enemy, who had lifted their heel in rebellion against our lord the king. He subdued Gaston, Rustan and William of Solers and all the more powerful men of Bordeaux, and bore himself so gallantly and loyally that he merited the praise and favour of all the king's friends, and was said by all men to be a worthy son of his father.

M. Paris, CONCERNING THE PROPOSAL OF BONIFACE, ARCHBISHOP OF
v. 119-
125.
1250.

CANTERBURY, TO MAKE A VISITATION.

Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, urged on by the example of the bishop of Lincoln, who had asked for power to visit his canons at Lincoln, attempted to make a visitation in his own province over bishops, abbots, clergy and people. First of all, therefore, he made a visitation in the chapter of his monks at Canterbury, very rigidly and unmercifully, so that they said to one another, "We deserve to suffer this, because we sinned against his predecessor the blessed Edmund, whom we thought austere and proud. Now let us bear what we deserve for electing a foreigner, illiterate, unknown, and inexperienced, fitted for and practised in warlike, rather than spiritual, matters. What predecessors he had! martyrs, learned doctors, and holy officers of God. Why in this wicked election did we obey the king on earth rather than the king in heaven?" From there he came to the abbey of Faversham, where the cowardly monks dared not resist him on account of his tyranny. Then he came with great pomp, circumstance and retinue to the priory of Rochester, where he extorted from that poor house more than thirty marks. From this it is clear that he undertook that visitation more from greed of money gain than for the restoration of order or the reform of morals, for he was inexperienced and ignorant both of order, morals and literature.

HOW VIOLENTLY THE ARCHBISHOP BEHAVED AT LONDON.

On the 12th of May, that is on the day of St. Pancras and his fellows, Boniface, the aforesaid archbishop, came to London to visit the bishop and his chapter and the religious of that city, and took a lodging without permission from any one, either the owner or the keeper of the house, namely the magnificent house of the bishop of Chichester, not far from the house of the Couverts, instead of going to his own house at Lambeth. He caused his marshal to buy his provisions in the king's market, very violently and impiously, with threats and injuries and insults to the merchants. But he invited few or no guests to his table. On the morrow he visited bishop Fulk. If any one were to tell the story of the archbishop's shamelessness concerning food and drink and the shoeing of horses, for 100 horses were shod, it would offend the ears and the

minds of his audience and make their hearts bleed. Then he came in all pomp to make a visitation to the chapter of Saint Paul's at London. But the canons refused to admit him, made a strong resistance, and appealed to the supreme pontiff. When the archbishop became aware of this, wrathfully and threatening he straightway, in a spirit of anger and fury, excommunicated the dean and some others of the dignitaries of the church. . . .

Next day, still fuming and hot with yesterday's outburst, and, eye-witnesses state, with a coat of mail under his vestments, he came to the priory of St. Bartholomew to visit the canons there. And when he arrived and was about to enter the church, the sub-prior (because the prior was not then at home), came to meet him with the convent in procession with all solemnity and reverence, many candles burning and bells ringing. Each one wore a *cappa choralis*, very valuable. Their head, the sub-prior, wore the most valuable of them all. But the archbishop cared very little about this honour shown him. He said he had come there to visit the canons. Now all the canons were in the choir and the archbishop himself also with many of his household crowding about him in a disorderly way. And one of the canons answered on behalf of them all, and said that they had a skilful and diligent bishop whose duty it was to visit them when necessary, and that they neither would nor ought to be visited by any one else, lest it should seem a contempt of him. When the archbishop heard this he burst into a greater rage than was either decent or expedient. Forgetful of his own position, and of the sanctity of his predecessors, he rushed upon the sub-prior, struck with his fist that holy man (priest and monk as he was, and standing in the midst of a church), on his breast and his face and his hoary head many times, crying with a loud voice, "This is the way to treat these English traitors". Then, growing more violent still, with oaths impossible to repeat, he demanded that his sword should be brought him forthwith. While the uproar was growing louder and the canons were trying to draw the sub-prior from his hands, the archbishop himself tore that valuable *cappa* in which the sub-prior was arrayed, and broke off the clasp, commonly called the "morse". And it was trodden under foot in the crowd and lost, costly as it was with its gold and silver and precious stones. The *cappa* itself was trodden upon and damaged irretrievably. And not

even then was the fury of the archbishop appeased. In his anger, pushing the holy man backwards, he forced him, frail and old as he was, against a beam which divided two of the stalls and was intended as a support, so that his bones were crushed into his body. Now when the rest saw such excess on the part of the archbishop they tore the good man, half dead, from him, and drove back the oppressor. But when the archbishop fell back and his vestments were disordered, many saw plainly the coat of mail, and were horrified at seeing an archbishop in armour. Wherefore many said that he had not come thither to make a visitation or to correct faults, but rather to provoke a battle. Meanwhile his fellow Provençals, the violent fellows who made up his household, rushed upon the other canons, unwarlike, helpless and unprepared as they were, and with the archbishop, at his bidding, and after his example, ill-treated several of them, striking them, wounding them, knocking them down and trampling them under foot. The canons therefore came, pale and covered with blood, bruised, wounded and in disorder, to the bishop of the city, to make a weighty and tearful complaint concerning this detestable deed. The bishop said to them, "The king is at Westminster. Go and show him this. Surely so violent and open a breach of his peace in his chief city will move him."

Four, therefore, of the canons, because the rest were unable on account of their wounds, went to Westminster to seek the king, in the sight of all the people, who were full of pity, showing all men the traces of the blows, the blood, pallor, swelling, and torn clothes. And all pitied them and detested such a wicked deed. The fifth, the sub-prior aforesaid, was unable to reach the court either on horseback or on foot, but was carried away groaning into the infirmary, where he lay down and spent the rest of his life as an invalid. But the king, although they waited long at the door of his chamber, would neither hear the complaints of the canons nor see them. So they returned in great confusion to their church, which the said archbishop had polluted with the blood of priests and religious. Meanwhile the whole city had been roused and, as though a rebellion were to break out, the citizens proposed to ring the common bell and cut the archbishop in pieces, whatever happened afterwards. Meanwhile the streets rang with reproaches. Crowding about him as he hurried towards his house at Lambeth, they shouted, "Where is that robber,

that impious and bloodstained brigand, he who does not enrich souls but extorts money, he whom not God, not a free or lawful election, promoted, but whom the king thrust upon us, ignorant and married? The whole city is stained with the abominations that have come from his infamy."

Soon after the archbishop made his way secretly across the Thames, and lodged a grave complaint on these matters with the king, justifying himself although he was the culprit, and gravely accusing others. Then hurrying off to the queen he made a still more serious lament to her. The king, afraid of a rising, caused proclamation to be made by a herald in the city that no man should interfere in this disagreement on pain of life and limbs.

Both the canons of St. Bartholomew's and of Holy Trinity continued to appeal. But the archbishop proceeded further, and taking courage from the king's favour renewed the sentence pronounced against the canons of St. Paul's solemnly in his chapel at Lambeth, including the bishop of London as a supporter of the canons. The canons therefore, injured and wounded on all hands, committed their cause with tears to their St. Bartholomew, whom they served by night and day, praying that God the Lord of vengeance would deign to avenge these injuries where man refused or deceived them. The archbishop, however, still filled with the gall of wrath, hurried on the morrow to his manor which is called Harrow, and which is seven miles distant from the monastery of St. Albans, to exercise his office of visitation there. And there he renewed the sentence aforesaid. However, when by his friends and his clerks, discreet and learned men, he was told of the noble privileges granted to that church by the apostolic see, he refrained and desisted from his purpose. He turned and made ready to cross the sea, so that in the Roman court, where he was very powerful and wont to linger more than beseems a good pastor of a flock, he might prepare snares for the innocent. However, the dean of St. Paul's at London, who was a good and wise man and of ripe age, and master Robert of Barton and master William of Lichfield, discreet and learned men and canons of the same church, with proctors of the bishop and canons aforesaid, went to the papal court to lodge a complaint concerning all these matters with the supreme pontiff. They were sufficiently prepared and strengthened by the testimony of many to prove the aforesaid matter.

M. Paris,
v. 178-
183.
1250.

CONCERNING THE DEATH OF WILLIAM BISHOP OF
WINCHESTER.

About the feast of St. Matthew, William bishop of Winchester died at Tours. For the sake of saving expense he had been living there about eleven months with a small household. For his bishopric was burdened with inestimable debts to the pope, arising out of that time in which the king had troubled the bishop and driven him out of England. Then the pope, suitably rewarded, had opened to him the bosom of consolation. So when he had made his peace with the pope and the king had come round, he cut down the usual liberality of his table and the number of his household so that he might the more quickly heap up the sum agreed upon by which he was to free his church. When, therefore, he was about to die and he saw the bread of salvation being brought to him he said, as the priest coming in at the door was carrying the Eucharist, "Wait, friend. It is fitting that I, who am a traitor and slanderer of my God, should be taken to meet it". So by the hands of the ministers who obeyed him he was carried to meet the body of Christ, and with tears and laments received the bread of salvation. Thus, in the fear of God, he drew his last breath.

HOW THE KING USED ALL DILIGENCE TO SECURE THE
SUCCESSION OF HIS BROTHER.

When the king heard this he gave voice to short and joyful laments with dry tears, and began to try to the utmost of his power to secure that his brother Aymer, though insufficient in order, age and knowledge, should be substituted in his place. He sent therefore two of his clerks, whom he had seen to be the cleverest at persuasion, to Winchester with his letters, mixing blandishments with threats and promises. They were to bring the minds of the monks of the cathedral church, to whom the election pertains, to unite in demanding the same Aymer as bishop and pastor of their souls. Those who were sent for this purpose were John Mansel and Peter Chacepore, clerks. They devoted the greatest diligence to carrying out effectively the king's wish, and weakened the minds of some of the monks so that they asked for Aymer as bishop, although, as I say, he was utterly insufficient and unfit for such a dignity.

And when about fifteen days had gone by, in which every day

the said clerks had laboured most earnestly to bend those who seemed more constant in the convent to the will of the king on earth, laying aside the fear of the king in heaven, the king himself came to Winchester. And going to the church of St. Swithun, that is the cathedral, as the bishop and prior were going into the chapter house, he ascended the chief seat and began the following sermon, taking as text for himself "Justice and peace have kissed each other". Then, continuing his sermon, he said, "The rigour of justice and judgment belongs to me and to other kings, and to princes and justices whose duty it is to rule the people in justice. But to you, who are men of peace and children of religion, peace and tranquillity belong. To-day, however, since, as I hear, you have shown yourselves favourable to my request, that it may be well with you, "Justice and peace have kissed each other". That is to say, once I was angry with you because you were rebellious to me and made a postulation for William of Raleigh your bishop now deceased who was not acceptable to me, but now I am become favourable to you and most friendly and mindful of your dignity. Also as you know that by a woman ruin first came into the world and by a woman the remedy, so it is in the present case. Formerly, in order to satisfy my wife the queen, who wished her uncle William, the bishop elect of Valence, to be promoted to this bishopric, I troubled you with my requests and injured you by my importunity. Now, however, I am reconciled with you, because I wish to promote my half-brother, who is akin to me by reason of a woman, namely queen Isabella my mother. I will promote the fortunes of you and your church and embrace you with cordial friendship. Besides, you ought to weigh not lightly in the scale of reasoning that I was born in this city, and was baptised in this church. Therefore you are bound to me with the bonds of great affection and you ought not in any way to resist my will but favour me in everything with willing devotion. My brother Aymer, whom you are about to demand, will illuminate this church like the sun with the rays of his royal spirit with which he is endowed from his mother, and his distinguished birth which arises from his father, and by his own gracious kindness and youth with which he will please God and man for many years we hope. Go, therefore, in peace, and when you have taken counsel return speedily, without scruple for any opposition, and according to my pious proposal, of which you have already given me hope, nominate my brother Aymer

openly before me and all men as your bishop elect and postulated by the common consent of you all." At the end of his sermon he added that if the monks were rebellious to his persuasions he would confound them all, for as the poet says "A strong man makes a petition with his sword drawn".

HOW THE MONKS OF WINCHESTER WERE DRIVEN TO POSTULATE AYMER AS THEIR BISHOP.

The monks, therefore, went away in a dilemma, and held diligent counsel together about these matters. They went over in their memory their earlier troubles, those which they had endured on account of William the bishop elect of Valence, and those still more serious which they suffered for the postulation of William their bishop now dead. And they said "Behold, the prayers of a king are armed, and it is dangerous to refuse them, and perilous for our church. For the pope obeys the king in everything and because he is in straits is afraid and avoids offending princes. So if we were to elect or postulate some other suitable person, the king would fall into anger or rather fury, and would endeavour to quash our action, even if we had chosen St. Peter himself if he were still alive. On the one hand, therefore, we should have the king as an enemy, and on the other the pope as a strong adversary, because he is corruptible. So we should be ground between two millstones and confusion and irreparable ruin would threaten us. Besides, when we postulated William bishop of Norwich to be our bishop and laid our necks under his yoke, though the king was unwilling and opposed and oppressed us, that same William, when he attained full power, though he was a native and skilled in the laws of the land, and though we hoped he would be pleasing to God in all things and temperate towards ourselves, pursued us unmercifully and damaged us irreparably, forgetful of all the benefits he had received and the innumerable injuries we had borne on his account. We were put in prison, we were led away captive, we were beaten, hungry, bloody and laden with fetters like thieves. In whom therefore for the future can we trust, in whom can we hope, from whom can we accept service? We are in terror of Scylla on the one hand and Charybdis on the other. If we do this it is death to us, if we do not do it we shall not escape the king's hands. There is this too which ought to alarm us,

that if we promote the said Aymer to the bishopric he will always be "elect" not "bishop," which has never happened to this church. Would that it never might happen! Possibly he will ask from the pope that he may retain those countless revenues as bishop elect which he has now. Is there anything nowadays that cannot be asked for and obtained in the Roman court by those who give gifts? If this were so he would be second to no man in England in riches and power, except the king himself. Then he will be able if he choose (but let us hope that he will not take after his father or be a good Poitevin), as the most powerful doorkeeper of the realm, to turn all England into Poitou or Poitou into England, and so to destroy the memory of the English on the whole earth."

At length, after considering the many difficulties in which they were involved, and that there was no refuge open to them in the bosom of our lord the pope, though he is wont to help those who flee to him, they were forced to do the will of the king. The monks of Winchester, vanquished by importunity and despairing of the pope's help, therefore demanded with a united voice, but not with united hearts, that Aymer should be bishop and pastor of their souls. He was the king's half-brother and son of Hugh the Brown, count of La Marche, and Isabella once queen of England his wife, and had been born in Poitou. He was insufficient in age, knowledge and order, and already rejoiced in annual revenues worthy of an archbishopric. In the presence of the lord king they solemnly and publicly nominated this same Aymer as their bishop elect or postulate, adding this condition, "If such a one may by dispensation of the lord pope be promoted to such a dignity".

HOW EARL SIMON OF LEICESTER CAME BACK FROM GASCONY.

M. Paris,
v. 208-
210.
1251.

At Epiphany, Simon earl of Leicester suddenly came back from Gascony in inglorious haste with only three squires in his train, and his horses lean and weary. When he reached London and found the king there, he asked for powerful help both in men and money to put down the insolences of the rebellious Gascons. He could not, he said, continue such an expensive war without royal help, though he had exhausted the issues of his earldom of Leicester. He urged on and inspired the king to this as follows: "My lord king, recall to

your mind how once, when you were last in Gascony, you had fled in confidence to those whom you thought faithful to you, yet they did not open the bosom of affection to you, nor reach out the hand of help. They had mercy neither on you when you were fleeing the snares of the king of the French, nor on the queen who was pregnant and lay ill at La Réole and brought forth a child at Bordeaux. On the contrary, they extorted your treasure and permitted you to lose your land and your honour." When the king heard this, taking pity on the earl so troubled, he replied, consoling him, "By God's head, you speak truth, sir earl, and I will not deny you the help you ask, since you fight so gallantly on my behalf. But a cry has gone up with a grave complaint that you imprison and destroy those who come to you in peace, and whom you have summoned apparently in good faith." But the earl altogether denied this, and said "My lord, you know and have proved their treachery, and how unworthy of belief they are".

WHAT THE EARL HAD DONE BEFORE HE LEFT GASCONY.

Earl Simon aforesaid, mighty and gallant in war, before he left Gascony had seized the strong castle of Fronsac, taken prisoner the besieged and levelled the castle to the ground. He had deprived a certain inaccessible hill with a strong castle called Egremont of all its inhabitants, so that all who passed by that way might go in peace. It was a place surrounded with impassable cliffs, and towers built on peaks of the rocks dominated the valley. Neither merchants nor pilgrims nor even fellow-countrymen could pass by that way without being robbed or even slain by the brigands. The earl subdued them all to the power of the king, as well as some men of Bordeaux who rebelled against the law.

HOW THE EARL RETURNED TO GASCONY WITH FRESH FORCES.

The aforesaid earl, encouraged by the royal consolation, took hope, although he had left Gascony because of the general rising of the Gascon traitors. From the treasury he received 3000 marks. He also collected no small sum of money from his earldom of Leicester and from lands which had belonged

to Gilbert of Umfraville of which he had the custody. Then rejoicing he returned, and bade the Duke of Brabant and his neighbours send to him, on his arrival, knights and squires furnished with arms to fight at his wages in Gascony. The duke, obeying him, sent 200 stout fellows and some crossbowmen with them. They joined themselves to the earl's following and thirsted like leeches for the blood of the Gascons. But the Gascons, undaunted, began to make preparations against them.

HOW SIMON EARL OF LEICESTER CAME INTO ENGLAND
BRINGING WITH HIM A THIRD BROTHER OF THE KING. M. Paris,
v. 263.
1251.

Simon earl of Leicester and his wife, bringing with them Guy de Lusignan the third half-brother of the king, embarked at Witsand to cross to England. When they had made a prosperous voyage and had almost reached the harbour the wind changed and they were driven back with great danger to Witsand. They disembarked and went to their first lodging. There were some who said in joke that there were too many brothers of the king who came empty handed into England and flowed thither that they might be filled. "The sea rejects their superfluity." However, this was a joke, after the manner of the French. The earl waited for a more prosperous wind and landed successfully at Dover. Now the earl of Leicester had left certain of his lieges who carried on the war gallantly and repulsed the attack of the Gascons. When the king heard of their arrival he hurried rejoicing to meet them, but on account of his brother, not on account of the earl of Leicester. He had bidden many magnates and citizens of London to go to meet his brother and receive him with joy and exultation. But he, when he had filled his empty saddle-bags, returned enriched to his own land.

CONCERNING THE GRAVE ACCUSATIONS THAT WERE BROUGHT
AGAINST SIMON EARL OF LEICESTER. M. Paris,
v. 276-
277.
1252.

In this same year whilst Simon earl of Leicester was making a short stay in England, the Gascons, recalcitrant and throwing off the agreement they had made, made war on the king and violently attacked those whom the earl had put in his place to keep his castles and possessions. They informed the king that the earl was a most wicked traitor. He heaped up an

infinite sum of money which he extorted both from nobles, citizens and the poor, sparing no man. He said that the king, who was in need, and about to go on a pilgrimage, would receive it all, yet in reality kept it all for himself. Further they added this grave accusation, that he called to his council peacefully certain nobles of Gascony who were most loyal subjects of the king, and then, like Simon, craftily retained and imprisoned those whom he had summoned and starved them shamefully to death. Now these remarks rendered the king suspicious of the earl. In his uncertainty therefore he sent secretly and suddenly to Gascony, Henry Wengham his clerk, a subtle and prudent man, to make enquiry into the aforesaid matters, that he might have trusty information. . . . But the earl, when he heard this was deeply angry and protested his innocence to the king, and said: "How is this, my lord king, that you lend your ear and your heart to the bidding of traitors, and believe rather in them, who have often been convicted in treachery, than in me your loyal servant, and cause enquiry to be made about my doings?" Then the king, more calmly, answered, "If all is clear, what harm will an enquiry do you? It will rather make your fame shine more clearly." The earl then was humbled and ready to go back to Gascony, and the king gave him no small amount of money at his request. Then in all haste he crossed over, in no pleasant frame of mind, and promising himself that he would take condign vengeance for the insult of such accusations. So he gathered together a great army of French knights and paid soldiers and joined to himself the king of Navarre and the count of Bigorre and many others for the extermination of his adversaries, and tamed the pride of the Gascons. Had not England been useful to them for the sale of their wines, they would all have left the allegiance of the king of England and sought out another lord for themselves.

M. Paris, *How a Worse Accusation Followed upon the First.*
v. 287.
1252.

In the same year earl Simon of Leicester was defamed and accused before all the magnates of the land across the sea. It was said that he had treated the lieges of the king of England treacherously; that he had slain them inhumanly, by hunger, by bonds and in prison; that he had occupied their castles and their lands, so that he might seem rather a

violent occupier of towns and cities and a fierce hunter of men, than the keeper of the land of his lord, whom he was trying to disinherit. It was decided, therefore, by the common consent of the Gascons, to send messengers to their lord the king of England, who should carry as the witness of this accusation, writings from the cities, magnates, castellans, and bailiffs of Gascony, and present them to the king with a doleful complaint. It was provided by the common decree that the greatest and most dignified person of all that region, namely the archbishop of Bordeaux, and some other famous magnates, should come to England with all speed to the king, that they might the better be believed to the earl's confusion. When the earl heard it he hastened to return to England, so that he might make fit answer, before the king, to each article of the accusation.

HOW THE ARCHBISHOP OF BORDEAUX CAME TO ENGLAND M. Paris,
AGAINST THE EARL. v. 288-
291.

1252.

A few days before Whitsunday there came from Gascony the archbishop of Bordeaux and magnates from La Réole and other cities of Gascony. They came to England, they made their way to London, and they found the king there. Then, exposing before him that lamentable complaint concerning the tyranny of the earl of Leicester, him who had been given them for a guardian, they accused him of the most wicked treachery. Now the king did not at once believe them, because he had found them treacherous when he was in Gascony. So he sent thither Nicholas de Molis, knight, and Drogo Valentine, to enquire diligently whether the Gascons were innocent or guilty, and whether Henry de Wingham was of one mind with them or not, and whether their cry was borne out by facts, so that all these matters might be explained more fully and certainly by truthful speakers. This, however, angered earl Simon, and no wonder. These enquirers, when they returned, informed the king that he had treated some with inhumanity, but, it was believed, only as they deserved. This, however, was not examined fully owing to the earl's absence.

When the Gascons who were in the king's presence heard this, namely the archbishop of Bordeaux and his followers, they cried out and said, "Assuredly the truth of the matter

shall be plainly shown, and when it has been shown we de-maund justice". Then they protested with an oath that they would never be loyal to or obey that earl, the destroyer. Rather than that they would provide themselves with some other lord than the king of England.

When the earl was defamed in the court of the king, and the ill report was strengthened by many witnesses, he came to England in great haste and speed. A day was then fixed for him to reply to his adversaries on these points. The earl, who found himself in straits, secured for that day the presence of earl Richard, who was well pleased at the distress of the Gascons, the earl of Gloucester, who was favourable to earl Simon in this matter, the earl of Hereford, and many other magnates and nobles who would never allow the earl to be imperilled on this account. For it was greatly to be feared that the king in a sudden impulse, since he was so kindly towards aliens, would order the earl to be taken and imprisoned as a traitor, which could in no wise be endured. When the earl had sufficiently protested his innocence, and the other side had been reduced to silence, the king assailed him. But when he found that earl Richard and all the rest favoured earl Simon, since they were ruled by discretion, he could not vent his royal wrath upon him, even provoked as he was. Still, by verbal shufflings one against the other, they provoked strife and anger. They hastily recalled acts long since over, for instance how at Saintes the earl had delivered the king from the snares of the French, and how when he first went to Gascony the king had trusted him to crush traitors, and how the king had given him by charter the custody of the land for six years, and had promised him aid and counsel but had never fulfilled his promise. And he added "Sir king, your words should be stable and certain. Keep your pact with me. Keep the promise you have made me, according to the tenor of your charter, or else give me back the expenses to which I have been put in your service. It is well known that I have impoverished my earldom irreparably, for your honour." Then the king answered, too hastily and impulsively "Know this, that I shall keep no promise I made to you, since you are an unworthy supplanter and a traitor. It is lawful to break a pact with one who has already broken it, and to proceed with open violence against the malicious." When the earl heard this he was very angry, and rising up protested openly

that the king in saying this had lied, and were he not protected by the dignity of the royal name it would have been an evil hour in which that word escaped his lips. Then the king, almost beside himself with wrath, would have ordered him to be imprisoned, had he not felt certain that this would never be endured by the magnates. Then the earl added "Who could believe you to be a Christian! Have you ever confessed?" "Yea," said the king. Then said the earl, "What worth is confession without penitence and restoration?" as though he would say, "If you have confessed, you have never been penitent or made proper atonement". Then the king, blazing into further rage, said "Never have I repented so much of any action as it repents me that I ever permitted you to come into England, or to possess any lands or honour in the same kingdom in which you have grown fat and kick". Then their friends interrupted the dispute and they were separated.

HOW THE KING OF ENGLAND ORDERED EARL SIMON TO
RETURN TO GASCONY.

M. Paris,
v. 313-
316.
1252.

Our lord the king of England, like David who sent Uriah to the perils of battle, that he who was destroyer of peace might seem to be its re-establisher, said to Simon earl of Leicester, "Go back into Gascony, you who are such a lover and rouser of war. You will find war enough there. And bring back a fit reward as your father did." By that stinging speech the king gained the grace and favour of all the Gascons who were present. But the earl, cheerful and unperturbed, answered, "I will go willingly, nor as I believe shall I return till, by subjugating your rebels, ingrate though you are, I make your enemies your footstool". Then the earl went back to the French lands, which he knew well. There he gathered together a strong and numerous army of paid soldiers by the help of his kinsfolk and friends, and promised them that they should have a worthy reward out of the booty they were to seek with him. And they, greedier than leeches, followed the steps of the earl. The earl was burning and eager to revenge his defamation.

Now the king, dissimulating, or not wishing to remember that he had given Gascony to earl Richard, his brother, and given him a charter, had a design to confer that same Gas-

cony on his eldest son Edward, chiefly at the secret wish of the queen. When earl Richard heard this he fell into wrath, and withdrew both mind and body from the court, hating its waxen flexibility.

HOW GASCONY WAS BESTOWED ON EDWARD, THE KING'S ELDEST SON.

The king by royal proclamation ordered all the Gascons who were still in London to gather together, both the archbishop of Bordeaux and those who had come with him. He declared to them his gift and openly announced that he had bestowed Gascony on his eldest son Edward. For, he said, earl Richard his brother did not care to have, nor so much as to see, Gascony. He had had enough of storms at sea, and Gascony had emptied his purse too often. This the Gascons gladly accepted, and straightway they did him homage and took an oath of fealty. And Edward lavished upon them noble gifts of gold and silver necklaces, belts and silken raiment, and promised more. The king, however, kept for himself the chief lordship, that is, allegiance. Then they feasted together in great exultation, and there were not lacking at the banquet windy threats that earl Simon, who had trusted that he should draw Jordan into his mouth, should either be cut to pieces or sent away an exile and fugitive.

Then they embarked and returned with flowing sail to Gascony. But before they had had time to recover from the trouble of the voyage on landing, or to proclaim what had been done, they found earl Simon prepared against them with a mighty host. However, they attacked him, calling together many of his enemies, and full of courage because they had a new lord who was ready to cut the horns of the earl. They collected a great and strong army and believed they would be able to subdue the earl. They discovered an ambush which he had prepared secretly to take them unawares, and captured a most strenuous knight whom he had put in charge of it, after a bloody conflict. Thus, triumphing and rejoicing, they carried the leader off captive, having dispersed the rest.

CONCERNING A MOST BLOODY BATTLE BETWEEN THE GASCONS
AND EARL SIMON.

Now the earl was not far off. He was waiting to receive the enemy at the sword's point, and was hoping, as had been secretly arranged, that those whom he had placed in ambush would attack the enemy on the other side, and was looking out for some sign that the conflict had begun. But, behold! a fugitive from the battle, mounted on a swift horse, dashed up to him to announce what had happened to his lord. Wounded, bleeding, torn, and gasping for breath, he told all that had occurred, and added that their guardian and leader, that most beloved knight of the earl, had been carried off. When the earl heard this, as though roused from sleep and thunderstruck he said, "We tarry too long. Are the enemy far away?" "No, they are close by. They are hastening to attack you. They are full of delight and praise because the fortune of war has favoured them, and we have been dispersed." He had scarcely finished his sentence when the earl, longing to free the aforesaid knight, and scarcely waiting for his army, with the rapidity of a whirlwind, led by the man who had told the tale, flew away, not sparing his horse's flanks. And when he reached the enemy his flashing sword drank the blood of many. Freeing the captives, he cut their bonds and tore off their chains, and they, all the more eager for their freedom, rushed upon the enemy. A critical and bloody conflict followed. The Gascons, trusting in their numbers, rushed all together upon the earl, thirsting to take him prisoner or slay him. The whole force of the fight turned against him. When they threw themselves upon him in a great mass he was thrown from his horse, and already in peril of his life. But behold! that knight whom he had freed shortly before, saw him and said, "O most strenuous earl, it is right that I should liberate him who freed me". So penetrating the dense line of the enemy with a rapid charge, he raised the earl to his horse and struck to the ground, to be trodden under foot, the multitude who opposed him. When the battle had lasted nearly half a day the Gascons were routed, conquered, and given over into bonds. There were taken in that conflict five of the more eminent of Gascony, and presented to the king. And on that day the earl triumphed gloriously, escaping such a danger as he had never

had before, nor did his enemies dare to murmur further against him.

M. Paris, **HOW THE KING DISTRIBUTED REVENUES AND ESCHEATS TO**
v. 329-
330.
1252. **UNWORTHY PERSONS.**

The king, with his wonted madness, did not cease to distribute escheats and vacant revenues . . . to aliens who were unknown, illiterate, rascally, and altogether unworthy, that so he might greatly wound the hearts of his natural subjects. And if we keep silence about some of these we are impelled to make a note of one. On the chaplain of his brother Guy of Lusignan, whom the king and the lord of the chaplain, the aforesaid Guy, and the whole court, were wont to use as a stupid and idle fellow to make everybody laugh with his jokes as a foolish jester, the king conferred the good church of Preston which had belonged to William of Haverhill, treasurer of the king, lately deceased, whose yearly revenue is said to total more than £100. Now I myself have seen that chaplain, who was by birth a Poitevin, altogether ignorant of manners and learning, stoning the king and his brother Guy and other magnates, as they were walking in the orchard at St. Albans, with sods, and stones, and green apples, and squirting the juice of unripe grapes into their eyes, as though he were bereft of all reason. In bearing, in words, in conduct, as well as in quality and quantity of body, he was despicable, and would have been thought more fit for an actor than a priest. See to what persons the lord king committed and caused to be committed the custody of many thousands of souls, rejecting such a multitude of learned, discreet and suitable persons whom England had produced, and who knew the native tongue and how to inform ignorance! Similarly, the king bestowed other benefices of churches which had belonged to William aforesaid, rashly, as if to provoke the wrath and hatred of all worthy persons, upon unworthy folk from across the sea, whose insufficiency and uselessness was shown by their words, which were not merely scurrilous but mad and indecent.

M. Paris, **CONCERNING THE VIOLENCE OF WILLIAM OF VALENCE THE**
v. 343-
344.
1252. **KING'S BROTHER.**

William of Valence, the king's half-brother, coming from his house which is in Hertford Castle, entered violently, and

contrary to the king's decree, lately issued by the common advice of the English, into the enclosure which is commonly called the park of the bishop of Ely, near his manor of Hatfield, and hunted there without license of anyone, contrary both to the law of the land and the honour of knightly courtesy. Then he turned aside to the manor of the said bishop. And because he was thirsty and could find no drink but beer, he violently broke the doors of the cellar, which were strongly bolted, and with horrible and dishonourable tumult, swearing and cursing beer and all who first made it, he ordered the bungs to be drawn out of the casks. With much spilling and waste, when he had drunk enough himself, he ordered the choice wine to be distributed to his servants and all who wished, without any care, as though it had been water or small beer. Now when the steward of the manor heard the bangs with which the doors were broken and the noisy shouts of the intruders, he hurried up to check their attack and to distribute freely to them abundance of wine. But he was assailed with reproaches and insults and scarcely escaped out of their hands. And when they had all drunk themselves sick, and the wine had been spilt and wasted, taking no heed whether the bungs were in the casks or not, they went off jeering and laughing. When they had gone, the servant, whom they called the steward of the manor, came up and found the doors smashed in as though in time of war and the wine flowing over the floor of the cellar. He hastened, therefore, to bung the casks and refasten the doors. When this was told to the bishop, hiding his grief and injury under a calm countenance, he said, "Why was it necessary to rob and plunder that which is given courteously and freely to all who ask for it? Accursed be so many kings, or rather tyrants, in one kingdom." Now everyone knows that this violent and impudent attacker of the church incurred the sentence of excommunication.

CONCERNING A CERTAIN DISHONOURABLE ACT OF GUY OF M. Paris,
LUSIGNAN, BROTHER OF THE SAME WILLIAM. v. 344-345.

On the third day following, Guy of Lusignan, brother of William, intending to lie for the night at St. Albans, at the abbey, sent his marshal ahead to announce his coming and to indicate his will. When the marshal came to the door of the 1252.

court, without greeting the doorkeeper, he said, "My lord is here. He is near at hand, and wishes to lodge here. Where shall he lie?" And the janitor answered, "Where he pleases". But the marshal replied, "He shall lie nowhere but in the royal palace, for he is sprung of kingly blood". The doorkeeper answered, "As you will, sir. But it is our custom here, that whoever wishes to lodge, asks for hospitality courteously, and not imperiously; for this house is a house of charity". Then the marshal looked at the doorkeeper with glaring eye and angry countenance, and said, "What folly are you talking? Where is the stable for our horses?" And he was shewn the long stable of the guests, where nearly 300 horses could be stabled without difficulty. Now on that day there were certain good men, both religious and seculars, who had come to lodge there, who had dined and whose horses were in the stable with their fodder. The marshal bursting in, and seeing the horses and servants of the guests, broke into wrath. He cut the halters and turned out both the horses and servants with furious threats, nor would he let them remain in any corner of the house, spacious as it is. But the abbot of the house had to bear all this patiently, just as the bishop had to bear the offence we have related, for the English are weakened and trodden under foot and aliens prevail.

M. Paris,
v. 365-
366.
1253.

HOW THE KING OF SPAIN CLAIMED GASCONY.

The king of Spain, Alphonse, finding that Simon earl of Leicester had left Gascony, and given up his charter of custody, straightway claimed Gascony for himself, and that the more safely because it was left to the sole rule of the boy Edward. . . . When the king therefore heard these two things, first that the earl, the man of war, had gone, and consequently that the boy was ruling, he asked the favour of the supreme pontiff for himself in order that, without any offence to the church, he might be allowed to claim and seize it. For it was his by gift of Henry II, king of the English, and he had a charter by the gift of that same king confirmed by kings Richard and John. The king of Castile therefore summoned to himself Gaston, a certain powerful noble, and some others of the magnates of that land. And many of the nobles of Gascony leaving the king of England adhered to the king of

Spain, especially the rich who used to send their wine for sale into England, for the king of England was not ashamed to keep it and plunder it at his pleasure. When the men of Bordeaux, who were favourable to the king of England, saw this, they hastily sent word to him that unless he came quickly and in force to their help, he would certainly lose all Gascony, to be seized by the king of Castile who claimed it all and hoped to occupy it. When the king heard this he was very sorry and repentant, but too late, that he had recalled earl Simon from the custody of Gascony.

Now the earl, that he might not be driven by entreaties to return, went into France. There the magnates of the king of France would willingly have kept him, and proposed to him, since he was strenuous and loyal, that he should be their seneschal, to console them and their realm, which was in desolation and despair on account of the absence of the king and the death of queen Blanche. But the earl constantly refused, that he might not seem a traitor. For the scripture says, "Abstain from all manner of evil".

HOW THE GASCONS MADE WAR IN GASCONY.

M. Paris,
v. 370.

About the feast of St. Alphege, when the Gascon traitors saw that they were free from the presence of earl Simon and every controller, and felt they were able to rave and rage as they pleased, they began, like wild horses let loose, to turn upon and trouble one another, one invading another's castles, taking his men prisoner, burning his houses, and slaying their inhabitants. First and foremost among them was Gaston, now lord of Béarn and Périgord, stained with many crimes, bound by an oath to the king, but perjured. Him the same king spared lest he should be injured, and he went over to the side of the king of Spain in order to trouble the king of England more. So he wasted a great part of Gascony and encouraged the enemy against his lord the king of England. Even Bordeaux, which used to supply the whole of Gascony with victuals, began to be in want.

1253,
April.

HOW THE KING RESOLVED TO GO TO GASCONY.

M. Paris,
v. 378-

The men of Bordeaux intimated to the king that unless he came with all speed and in force to Gascony he would lose

379.
1253.

everything. This they had said often but now did so more plainly, and added that by the tyranny of Simon earl of Leicester, he had lost many subjects and friends. This was false, for Simon had subdued to the king's rule many rebels and strong enemies. But the king, wishing to please the Gascons, informed them that if he lived he would certainly come to their help, for their honour and their advantage. And he caused proclamation to be made by a herald in Gascony that no one henceforth should heed and obey earl Simon. He signified to all and single that he deposed the earl on account of his oppressions and their complaints, and had bought back the royal charter which the latter had obtained granting wardship of Gascony for the next three years, not without great cost. Now all this greatly pleased the Gascons. But their hidden treachery now became clear, for as soon as they knew that the earl's rule was over, those whom he had thought his dearest friends, followed the change of fortune and became his most bitter enemies.

HOW THE KING CROSSED TO GASCONY.

M. Paris,
v. 383.
1253,
August.

In the same year, on the 6th of August, with a prosperous wind, the king, appointing earl Richard and the queen keepers of his realm, and committing to them the custody of his eldest son Edward, said good-bye to England, trusted himself to the sea, and took ship at Portsmouth. Three hundred great ships and a large fleet besides went with him. But the boy Edward, over whom his father had wept with many embraces and kisses, stood on the shore crying and sobbing, and would not go back so long as he could still see the swelling sails of the ships.

HOW EARL SIMON OF LEICESTER JOINED THE KING.

M. Paris,
v. 415-
440.
1253.
November.

Earl Simon of Leicester, who, as aforesaid, had been invited to be seneschal of France, on account of his loyalty and valour, but would not consent, since no man can serve two masters who are opposed to each other, came to Gascony to his lord the king of England, ready and prepared for his service, to subdue his enemies the rebels. Now the Gascons feared the earl like lightning. He had brought with him a chosen army, supported at his expense, to serve the king's cause, and a large number both of knights and squires. For the earl

had been taught to return good for evil, in the spirit of charity and humility, which passes the bounds of human feeling, and to think little of the king's impulsive words when in the sudden heat of anger at London he had stormed against him openly and indecently. Instead, he recalled the benefits that the king had bestowed upon himself; how he had given him his sister as wife; how he had granted him the earldom of Leicester; how he had bestowed upon him the custody of the heir of Umfraville. And he inclined his heart willingly to this advice, which came from Robert bishop of Lincoln, who was a great friend and father confessor of the earl.

Now the king, admiring the charity of the earl, received him with the greatest exultation. The Gascons therefore, who are the friends of fortune, when they saw that the heart of the king of Spain was reconciled with their lord the king of England, and when they saw the arrival of Earl Simon with so formidable a company and following, were humiliated, and reluctantly thenceforth returned and submitted themselves to the rule of their king. Then the king decided to return to England.

THE SUMMONS DIRECTED TO THE MAGNATES AND SHERIFFS
OF ENGLAND.

Select
Charters,
376.
1254.
February.

The king to the sheriff of Bedfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, greeting.

Since the earls, and barons, and other magnates of our realm, have firmly promised us that they will be at London three weeks after Easter day next to come, prepared and well furnished with horses and arms, to go without delay to Portsmouth, in order to cross to us in Gascony against the king of Castile, who is about to invade our land of Gascony in force in the summer next to come; we bid you also that you constrain all those of your bailiwick who hold twenty librates of land from us in chief, or from others who are under age and in our custody, to the same.

We bid you that besides all the aforesaid you cause to come before our council at Westminster within a fortnight of Easter next to come, four lawful and discreet knights from the aforesaid counties, whom the counties have chosen for this purpose to represent all and single of the same counties, namely two from one county and two from the

other, to provide, with the knights of other counties, whom we have summoned for the same day, what aid they will give us in our great necessity. And you yourself shall diligently explain to these knights and others of the counties aforesaid, our necessity, and how urgent our business is, and shall induce them to make us a competent aid for the present purpose, so that the aforesaid four knights may be able to answer our said council at the date appointed concerning the said aid for each of the counties aforesaid.

We also straitly command you that you shall have at the exchequer within a fortnight of Easter, all debts which are in arrears to us in your bailiwick, and which ought to be paid to our exchequer on or before this Easter. Know that unless you have the aforesaid debts there at that time we will not only arrest your body, but we will cause these debts to be levied on your lands and tenements, to your no small damage.

Witness Eleanor the queen and Richard earl of Cornwall at Windsor, on the 11th of February.

M. Paris, **HOW WITHIN A FORTNIGHT OF EASTER THE MAGNATES OF**
v. 440. **ENGLAND MET AT LONDON.**
1254.

The magnates of England met at London, and the king told them that he needed money and more men to repress the violence of his great enemy. That mandate was sealed with the royal seal. But all and single answered, that they had already for three weeks at London been waiting for the arrival of earl Richard and other magnates who delayed, and that they were troubled so often by royal exactions that they could hardly breathe. However, they would not omit to come to the rescue of their lord and king in person, if they were given fuller information concerning the hostile arrival of the king of Spain as he threatened. They marvelled, they said, that the same king of Castile had never claimed Gascony when earl Simon of Leicester was ruling Gascony and subdued many rebels. Taught by this argument and many others, which have already been touched upon in the last parliament, and also by earl Simon, who returned from the parts across the sea and told them the truth in this matter, the magnates avoided the traps of the king, to fatten foreigners out of the goods of England, without any danger. This crafty plan was said to have come from the sulphurous spring

of the Poitevins. In great indignation, therefore, and saddened, the magnates separated.

THE WRIT SENT FROM GASCONY.

M. Paris,
v. 445.
1254.

That writ was false and deceitful which was sent from Gascony beginning "Henry by God's grace, etc. Since the earls and barons and other magnates of our realm of England have promised that they will be at London three weeks after Easter next well prepared with horses and arms," and so forth. The messenger also who brought these letters added that the king of Castile had arrived with thousands of armed men, so many that he would not fear the forces of England or France. Yet he could not possibly have come. If with such an army he had presumed to go towards Gascony, he would have had the opposition of the kings through whose kingdoms he must pass, namely, Navarre, Arragon and many other princes and magnates, who would scarcely endure this. Besides, the Saracens, whom he troubles, would follow his footsteps, to find the land he had abandoned given over to them like a present. Moreover as aforesaid the commission on behalf of the queen and her eldest son had detected the trap of the king and "a bird avoids the snare that is too plain". They were grieved at heart and inconsolable, that their lord and governor should try to destroy his natural subjects by such arguments. Who can more easily or swiftly lead the ship into danger than the helmsman who steers it?

HOW EDWARD WAS SENT TO KING ALPHONSE OF SPAIN. M. Paris,
v. 449-
451.
1254.

Edward was sent with great pomp and circumstance to king Alphonse of Spain. He was received there with all reverence, and married the sister of the same king, by name Eleanor, at Burgos. He was girt with the belt of a knight by the king himself, who was well pleased with the bearing and beauty of the youth. Then Edward went back with his bride to his father, and was received with the greatest rejoicings, like an angel of God. John Mansel brought with him a charter of the king of Spain, sealed with a golden seal, by which he quit-claimed the whole of Gascony on behalf of himself and his heirs, to the king of England and his heirs. Then straightway the king of England conferred on his son and his wife, Gascony, Ireland, Wales, Bristol, Stamford and Grantham,

so that he himself seemed only half a king. And from that time on the king began to prepare for his return to England, having completed the project most at his heart. Yet to discreet men he seemed to have achieved nothing useful, but rather much harmful to the kingdom of England. For what aid or succour could so distant a king give against the king of France, of whom the king of England chiefly complains? He is surrounded on all sides by his own enemies, whom he can hardly resist, and such great distances of lands and kingdoms intervene. Besides, our lord the king knew the manners and religion of the Spaniards, who were filthy, ugly, despicable in their religion, and distasteful in their manners.

It was found out that the king of England had extorted from his realm for his shadowy crossing to Gascony, where he acquired nothing but what was his own already, in useless expense, twenty-seven hundred thousand pounds (without counting those lands and revenues which he had rashly conferred on persons who were unworthy, and indeed hurtful to himself and his kingdom), and had consumed the whole. Besides, he had given to his half-brothers, who were Poitevins both by birth and conduct, thirty thousand marks and also lands, revenues, custodies, horses and priceless jewels. Thus it came about, sad to say, that in the few years that were passed since his expedition to Poitou, which he lost, and now to Gascony, which he scarcely kept, he spent more and sowed more seed on the sand than any discreet merchant or buyer would give for either of them if they were exposed for sale.

So England was robbed of honour and of her goods by the sloth of her king. It was of him, it is said, that Merlin prophesied, saying, "There shall go forth a lynx penetrating all things, who shall bring ruin on his own people". Truly he was a penetrating lynx, for there was not a purse in England that he did not go through and shake out the contents. When that great and irreparable loss was explained to him by some one of his familiar friends, as though thunder-struck, and seized by fury, he answered, gasping and sighing, "By God's head! What does this mean? This must be told to no one, lest the hearts and ears of all be amazed."

HOW POPE INNOCENT OFFERED THE KINGDOM OF SICILY M. Paris,
AND APULIA TO THE KING OF ENGLAND FOR HIS SON v. 457-
EDMUND. 458.
1254.

Master Albert, going back to the royal court, told the pope that he could in no wise persuade earl Richard to receive the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia offered to him, and to expose himself and all his possessions to risk, unless first the pope would give him hostages from his own family as security of good faith, and besides would help him with a certain amount of money to be spent on that war, and also would give him certain castles which the pope had on the boundaries, to form secure refuges for him. The pope, however, seeing that this was difficult for himself, answered, "We will not submit to such conditions". Master Albert replied, "The earl said to me that if you did not do this, as above, it is as though some one were to say, 'I sell you or give you the moon, climb up and take it'." But the pope, considering that his admonition had had no effect on the earl, added, "We do not care to form an alliance or have anything in common with him".

When therefore the pope was certain that the net was spread in vain in sight of the birds, he sent secret messengers to the king of England to work upon his simplicity, for he knew that he was ever credulous and inclined to his own loss. He offered him and granted him the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia, and to acquire them he would give him such aid as he could without loss to himself, for he would turn aside all those who had taken the cross from their first proposal to go to the Holy Land, and they should all follow the king of England, and help to get Sicily and Apulia. When the Templars, and the Hospitallers, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and all prelates and inhabitants of the Holy Land, who fight the enemies of Christ, heard this, and feared even worse things, they were grieved to death, detesting the Roman tricks. But the king was so delighted with the shadowy papal promise, and his heart was filled with such empty joy, that, showing his exultation both by his voice and his manner and his laugh, he openly called his son Edmund king of Sicily, as though he had already gained his kingdom.

Now the papal nuncio instilled into his ears that he should not divulge this secret, lest it should come to the knowledge of his friends, who knew the Roman tricks, and so they should

be forewarned. The king, therefore, sent to the pope whatever he could get from his treasury or exchequer, or borrow from his brother earl Richard, or scrape together from the Jews, or extort by the plunder of itinerant justices, that he might fight Conrad, and overcome all his Sicilians and Apulians. But king Conrad, grieved that the king of England had fallen into the snares of the Roman court, sent his thanks to earl Richard, because he had not allowed himself to be ensnared, telling him that he had done wisely, and that he was prudent to withdraw from the rash proposal through want of trust in the words of the pope and the amount of his treasure; for where the earl had one silver coin king Conrad could show him a gold one for it.

The pope, however, enriched with much money, grew confident. He committed the huge army which he had got together of hired soldiers, to the leadership of Cardinal Ottaviano, and distributed money lavishly, and when he ran short told the king that he was in need of money. But the king wrote back to the pope with the instinct of the devil and greed, and sent him letters patent sealed with the royal seal, that he might take as much money as he liked as a loan from the Italian merchants, who need not be afraid of the quantity of money or excess of interest, for the king would fully acquit it. And he bound himself to this on pain of disinheritance. The pope agreed to all and accepted this command. Let the Lord, the judge of all men, whose care is of all men, judge whether he did well. It is not for me to judge the deeds of the pope. Then he caused proclamation to be made as by an imperial or royal edict, in public, that all who wished for good wages should come to the papal army, for he now had an inestimable treasure which he had received as a loan from the Italian usurers. Therefore there flocked together at the papal pay a great host of unknown Italians, unwarlike and unfaithful, caring nothing for the cause of the king or the pope, but merely for getting money, as the issue of the affair proved.

M. Paris, *HOW THE KING RETURNED FROM GASCONY AND CROSSED
v. 484. TO ENGLAND.*
1255.

On Sunday, with a favourable wind and sea, the king embarked, made a good voyage and landed at Dover. Earl Richard his brother and other nobles hastened to meet him,

for, summoned from afar off for this purpose, they had long awaited him at the English coast. They received him with joy and conferred upon him many precious gifts. Likewise the prelates, and especially the abbots and priors, since this was obligatory, for he demanded it imperiously and urgently, as a starving man asks for food, offered him costly and precious gifts, gold, silver, and desirable presents which feasted the eyes and hearts of all who looked upon them. From these the king might have heaped up a great treasure. But all, and a hundred time as many as those he received, were not sufficient to pay the debts in which he was involved. For his debts amounted to more than three hundred thousand marks.

CONCERNING THE COUNCIL WHICH BEGAN AT LONDON AFTER
THE FEAST OF ST. LUKE.

M. Paris,
v. 515-
516.
1255,
October.

After the feast of St. Luke, by royal edict, a great host of magnates gathered together. For there had come to the king, on behalf of the pope, the bishop of Boulogne. He brought with him a ring as representative of the same pope, and bestowed it on Edmund the king's son, thus investing him with the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia. Then the king's heart was raised to exultation and he rejoiced as though he were crowned king, and had received the homages, cities and castles of all the Sicilians and Apulians. And the king openly called his son in public, "Edmund king of Sicily".

The bishop, it is to be supposed, was ignorant that the chief expedition had come to confusion, and the whole treasure of the English king been wasted, and that besides he was bound in debt to a terrible extent. Or, if he did know it, he concealed his knowledge, lest he should lose the gifts prepared for him. Now all this was hidden from the king and magnates, and before the truth of the matter was known the bishop had gone back home, laden with precious gifts. The king, hurrying too gladly to the altar, in the presence of all the magnates, and trusting too firmly in papal help, took an oath by St. Edward that he would cross to Apulia. Only one matter troubled him, and that was how to go in peace with his army and treasure through the realm of the French. He considered whom he should send to ask this from the king of the French. He determined to demand his rights across the

sea and claim them in force, since France would be crushed between Apulia and England as between two millstones. He sent thither John Mansel, but this shall be told later in its own place.

M. Paris, HOW MANFRED PROSPERED IN HIS WAY ACCORDING TO HIS
v. 531. WISH.

1255,

December.

While these things were going on in England, on the other side of the Alps the wheel of fortune had made a great turn. For those whom a little before she had raised to the heights, she flung down to the depths of confusion. The papal forces were scattered. The Apulians, when they heard that the pope had conferred their land on a certain unknown and alien Englishman, without their consent, grew very angry. And they were all the more angry because the pope had turned the crusaders against them, as though against infidels. Therefore all the Apulians submitted to the rule of Manfred, and, as all joined him, even those who had been on the pope's side, there was formed a numerous and strong army against the pope.

M. Paris, HOW RICHARD OF CORNWALL WAS ELECTED KING OF
v. 601- GERMANY.

603.

1257.

In the year of our Lord 1257, which is the forty-first year of our lord king Henry III, the king kept Christmas at London. There there came to the king, who had summoned together many magnates, together with earl Richard, some of the more important men of Germany, announcing to all who were there that by unanimous consent they had chosen earl Richard to be king of Germany. And they asked for him to be their king and lord, if he would agree to their will. The archbishop of Cologne, who is arch-chancellor of the holy empire, and certain other magnates of Germany, sent their letters of witness and ratification by the same solemn messengers, declaring that no other had ever been elected to that dignity so freely, so unanimously, and without any opposition. When all were hesitating what to do, because the presence of the earl was very necessary to the English kingdom, the king said openly, "I advise you and urge you, without timidity, to accept this honour offered you and granted you by God and

man". While some were alarmed, because within the last few years two candidates chosen and promoted to be king of Germany had met with an evil end, as though God were angry, others addressed words of consolation to the earl as follows:—"O wise and prudent earl! Why do you hesitate, as though alarmed by the fate of the Landgrave Henry, and again the sinister end of count William of Holland? The pope is not thrusting you in violently. He is not supplying you with necessities out of the spoils of the church and the plunder of the crusaders, which would never be of profit to you. What the pope has acquired basely provokes not to pity but to wrath. You have plenty with the treasure collected for you in the kingdom of Germany and reserved loyally for your use. You are stocked with your own treasure, like another Octavian. You are surrounded with friends and kinsfolk, both Germans and English. Let not diffidence and cowardice deter you, like an idle or timid man. You may be encouraged and roused by the fate which once befel Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, when he was fighting for God in the Holy Land. Freely and by divine providence he was offered the kingdom of Jerusalem, to rule the inheritors of Christ, but rashly he refused it. Wherefore he felt the heavy vengeance of God, and never prospered thereafter." The king also and his brothers, especially the elect of Winchester, urged him to agree, seeing that this honour would exalt the whole English nation for ever.

When the earl heard all this, putting on the man and roused to a good courage, he said with a free and eager voice, "Trusting in the mercy of God, insufficient and unworthy as I am, I gladly accept this burden and honour offered me, as I hope by divine providence that I may not be called a coward and faint hearted". Then he added, turning round to the bishops (of whom one was Richard bishop of Bangor, who told it to the writer of this page), "If I do this because of ambition or greed, may I be burned in hell fire, and die by a sudden death before I go out of this chapel! I do it that I may restore that kingdom to a better state, if God wills, and rule those who have chosen me of their own accord as their lord, with all modesty, justice, and honour." At this speech many burst into tears, and the German ambassadors were much rejoiced. Hitherto they had been uncertain of his consent, but now, certified of his good will and favour, they went back rejoicing to their

own land, and within twenty days after Christmas announced their message to the magnates who had sent them.

M. Paris, **HOW THE KING ASKED THE MAGNATES FOR A GREAT SUM OF MONEY.**
v. 623-624.

1257.

Before the parliament was over the king, in the presence of all the people, bringing with him, and showing to all, his son Edmund, whom he set in the midst dressed in Apulian fashion, said, "You see, my lieges, my son Edmund, whom God of his free grace has called to the dignity of royal excellence. You see how clearly he is worthy of the favour of all men, and how inhuman, how tyrannical that man would be, who would deny him effectual and timely advice and help in this crisis." Then he added, that by the advice and good favour of the pope and the English church, for acquiring the realm of Sicily, he had bound himself, on pain of losing his kingdom, to pay 140,000 marks, without counting interest, "which every day grows silently but surely". He asked for a general tenth, from the whole clergy, to last for five years, namely of all their benefices, reckoned according to the new taxation, with no deduction made except for necessity. Also he asked for the first-fruits of all ecclesiastical benefices vacant for five years. Also for one-half of the fruits of those in residence in their benefices. Also from the privileged the fruits of all their benefices, but reserving sufficient issues to support them for a short time.

When they heard this, all ears tingled and all hearts beat, especially as they knew this tyranny had its starting point from the pope. At length, when they had made excuses with tears, and had begged for a truce but could not obtain it on any condition, they promised the king for his immediate necessities fifty-two thousand marks, to the irreparable damage of the English church. They added, however, this condition, that in future he should inviolably observe the great charter, which had so often been promised, sold and bought again, and should cease to plunder and impoverish them on so many pretexts. The king had never before received so rich a gift as this.

M. Paris, **HOW THE POPE GREW ANGRY WITH THE KING OF ENGLAND.**
v. 666.

1258.

About this time the pope grew angry with the king, because in observing his promises so often retarded, he had bound

himself, on pain of losing his kingdom, to correct his wonted excesses. Therefore, at the instigation of Lawrence, bishop of Rochester, and many others, the pope, after fruitless admonitions, proposed to fulminate a sentence of excommunication against the king, and to put the realm under an interdict, and heaped one severity on another. The king in his confusion counted out 5000 marks to the pope, in order that he might temper his rule and postpone this sentence. The pope assented to his price and his prayers. So, with the realm impoverished, and everywhere robbed of its goods, all hope of obtaining the kingdom of Apulia vanished into thin air, except such as lingered in the breast of the king of Germany, since he had not yet achieved the dignity of empire.

CONCERNING THE PARLIAMENT AT OXFORD.

M. Paris,
v. 695-
698.
1258,
June.

When the feast of St. Barnabas the apostle drew near, the magnates and nobles of the realm hurried to a parliament which was to be held at Oxford, and bade all who owed them military service to come prepared to defend them against attack. This they did, cloaking their going under the pretext that they were to set out to Wales against the king's enemies. They were in no small fear that out of party disagreement civil war would be born, and that the king and his Poitevin brothers would call in aliens to help against his natural subjects. Forewarned, the magnates took care to fortify the seaports.

When parliament began, the immutable proposal and design of the magnates took shape, in an urgent demand that the king should faithfully hold and keep the charter of the liberties of England, which his father John had made and granted to the English, and had sworn to observe; the charter also which Henry himself had many times granted and sworn to keep, and whose violators he had caused to be excommunicated by all the bishops of England, in the presence of himself and all his baronage, he himself taking part in the excommunication. They further demanded that a justiciar should be set up, who would do justice to all who suffered injury, both rich and poor. They also sought certain other matters touching the kingdom, to the common utility, peace, and honour of king and kingdom. By these counsels and necessary provisions they asked the lord king to be guided,

and swore with an oath and with clasped hands that they would not fail to pursue their design for lack of money, or lands, nor even for the life or death of themselves or their families.

When the king saw this, he solemnly promised to comply with their advice, and Edward his son was bound with the same oath. But John earl Warenne, and the king's half-brother, William of Valence, and others, refused. Orders were given that the ports of England should be strictly guarded and the gates of London shut at night with better fastenings, so that some one made a rhyme:—

They shut the gates of London town at night
For fear the French should break the walls outright.

But when they had delayed there for some days, discussing what they should do in such an arduous business as restoring the state of the plundered realm, they met at the house of the Friars Preachers. There they renewed their oath and league, and confirmed their design, that neither for death nor life, nor tenements, hate, nor love, nor for anything, would they be turned or hindered from cleansing the realm, in which men of noble birth, their own ancestors, were born, from foreigners, and establishing good laws. If any man, whoever he was, should resist them, they would force him to join them, however reluctant he was.

Now although the king and his son Edward had taken the oath, yet Edward began to draw back as far as possible, and so did John earl of Warenne. Henry, son of Richard, king of Almaine, hesitated, and said he would never take such an oath without the permission and advice of his father. He was answered openly, that if his father would not agree with the baronage, he should not have a single furrow of land in England. The aforesaid brothers had sworn too boastfully, calling to witness the death and wounds of Christ, that they would never resign the castles, or revenues, or wardships, which their brother the king had graciously given them, while they drew breath, although earl Simon of Leicester had freely granted the king his castles of Kenilworth and Odiham, which he had put in repair only a few days before. When they made this assertion and redoubled their oaths the earl of Leicester replied, speaking to William of Valence, who was blustering more than the rest, "Verily and without doubt

know, that you will either surrender the castles which you hold to the king or lose your head". Likewise all the other earls and barons declared the same, and protested with constant assertion.

The Poitevins, therefore, were not a little afraid, and did not know what to do. For if they took refuge and concealed themselves in any castle, without means of defence and closely besieged, they would die of hunger. For all the populace of the realm, even if the nobles refrained, would besiege them and destroy their castles. So, suddenly and secretly, while a banquet was being prepared, they fled, and, that they might not seem to flee, pretended that they wished to be present at the banquet. As they fled, they often looked back, and made some of their following climb lofty towers, to look if the barons were following. Nor did they spare their horses' flanks, till in a great state of alarm they reached Winchester, and the wings of the bishop elect of Winchester, in whom all their hope rested. They hoped in the castle of the same bishop elect they would have a safe refuge. Meanwhile the nobles, making yet a further bond, appointed as justiciar a native, a freeborn Englishman, an illustrious knight, well skilled in the law of the land, Hugh Bigod, brother to the earl Marshal, who discharged his office as justiciar vigorously, and in no wise permitted the law of the land to waver.

When the magnates were more fully informed of the flight of the Poitevins, they feared lest, having gone near the sea, they would call aliens to their help, Poitevins namely, and others from across the sea. Therefore, seeing that delay was perilous, they ordered all their following and partisans to take to arms and to horse with all speed. And thus the parliament at Oxford ended, without any certain or definite conclusion.

THE PROVISIONS MADE AT OXFORD.

It was provided that from each county there should be chosen four discreet and lawful knights who, on each day when the county court is held, should come to hear all complaints concerning transgressions or injuries done to any persons by sheriffs, bailiffs or any others; and to make the attachments which belong to the said complaints till the arrival of the chief justice in those parts. Provided that they

Select
Charters,
387-392.
1258.

take sufficient sureties from the plaintiff for prosecuting, and from the defendant for coming and obeying the law before the aforesaid justice at his first arrival. And the aforesaid four knights shall cause to be enrolled all the aforesaid complaints with their attachments in order, each hundred separately and by itself, so that the aforesaid justice, at his coming, can hear and determine the said complaints separately from each hundred. And they shall cause the sheriffs to be informed that they shall summon before the aforesaid justice, at his next arrival, on a day and to a place appointed, all officials of the hundreds and bailiwicks; so that each officer of a hundred shall cause all the plaintiffs and defendants of his bailiwick to come in order, according to what the aforesaid justice appoints for the said hundred, and a sufficient number of knights and other free and lawful men from his bailiwick, by whom the truth can best be ascertained. Provided that not all are troubled at one and the same time, but as many come as can plead and come to a conclusion on one day. Also it is provided that no knight of the aforesaid counties, by reason of an exemption from being placed on juries or assizes by the king's charter, may be excused or exempt with regard to that provision, so made for the common utility of the whole realm.

THOSE WHO WERE CHOSEN OF THE KING'S PARTY.

The lord bishop of London. The lord bishop elect of Winchester. Henry son of the king of Almaine. John earl of Warenne. Guy of Lusignan. William of Valence. John earl of Warwick. John Mansell. Brother John of Darlington. The abbot of Westminster. Henry of Hengham.

THOSE WHO WERE CHOSEN FROM THE PARTY OF THE EARLS AND BARONS.

The lord bishop of Worcester. Simon earl of Leicester. Richard earl of Gloucester. Humphrey earl of Hereford. Roger Marshal. Roger Mortimer. John Fitz-Geoffrey. Hugh Bigod. Richard Grey. William Bardulf. Peter of Montfort. Hugh Despenser.

And if it happens that any one of these cannot be present, the rest shall choose whom they will for the other necessary in the place of the absentee, to carry out that business.

THIS THE COMMONALTY OF ENGLAND SWORE AT OXFORD.

We, such and such persons, make known to all men, that we have sworn on the holy gospels, and are bound together by an oath, and promise in good faith, that each of us and all of us together will mutually aid one another, we and our followers against all people, doing right and taking nothing that we cannot take without doing evil, saving our faith to the king and the crown. And we promise on the same oath that none of us in future will take anything of lands or movables by which this oath can be disturbed, or in any way impaired. And if any one acts contrary to this we shall hold him as a mortal enemy.

THIS IS THE OATH OF THE FOUR AND TWENTY.

Each one swore on the holy gospels that he, to the honour of God and in faith to the king and to the profit of the realm, would ordain and treat with the aforesaid sworn persons on the reformation and amendment of the state of the realm. And that he would not fail, for gift or for promise or for love or for hate, for fear of any one, for gain or for loss, loyally to do according to the tenour of the letter which the king and his son together have given in this matter.

THIS IS THE OATH WHICH THE JUSTICE OF ENGLAND
SWORE.

He swears that he will well and loyally to the utmost of his power do what belongs to the office of justice, to do right to all men, to the profit of king and kingdom, according to the provision made and to be made by the four and twenty, and by the council of the king and the magnates of the land, who will swear in these matters to aid and maintain him.

THIS THE CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND SWORE.

That he will seal no writ except a writ of course, without the bidding of the king and of his council who are present. Nor will he seal a gift of great wardship or of great . . . nor of escheat, without the assent of the great council, or the larger part of it. And that he will seal nothing which is contrary to the ordinances made and to be made by the four

and twenty, or the larger part of them. And that he will take no fee otherwise than what is given to others. And he shall be given a companion in the form which the council shall provide.

THIS IS THE OATH WHICH THE GUARDIANS OF CASTLES
MADE.

That they will loyally and in good faith guard the king's castles to the use of the king and his heirs. That they will give them up to the king and his heirs and no one else, and by his council and in no other manner; to wit by important men of the land chosen to his council, or by the larger part of them. And this form by writ lasts for twelve years. And thenceforward they shall not be restricted by this ordinance and this oath from freely surrendering them to the king and his heirs.

THESE ARE THEY WHO WERE SWORN OF THE KING'S
COUNCIL.

The archbishop of Canterbury. The bishop of Worcester. Earl of Leicester. Earl of Gloucester. Earl Marshal. Peter of Savoy. Earl of Albemarle. Earl of Warwick. Earl of Hereford. John Mansell. John Fitz-Geoffrey. Peter of Montfort. Richard Grey. Richard Mortimer. James Audley.

The twelve of the king's party have chosen from the twelve of the commonalty earl Roger Marshal and Hugh Bigod.

The party of the commonalty have chosen from the twelve of the king's party the earl of Warwick and John Mansel.

These four have power to elect the council of the king. And when they have chosen them, they shall present them to the four and twenty. And what the larger part of these agree upon shall hold good.

THESE ARE THE TWELVE WHO WERE CHOSEN BY THE
BARONS TO TREAT IN THREE PARLIAMENTS A YEAR
WITH THE KING'S COUNCIL, ON BEHALF OF THE COM-
MONALTY OF THE REALM, CONCERNING COMMON NE-
CESSITIES.

The bishop of London. The earl of Winchester. The earl of Hereford. Phillip Basset. John Balliol. John Ver-

dun. John Grey. Roger of Sumery. Roger of Mold. Hugh Despenser. Thomas Gresley. Giles of Argenton.

THESE ARE THE FOUR AND TWENTY WHO WERE APPOINTED BY THE COMMONALTY TO TREAT OF AID TO THE KING.

Bishop of Worcester. Bishop of London. Bishop of Salisbury. Earl of Leicester. Earl of Gloucester. Earl Marshal. Peter of Savoy. Earl of Hereford. Earl of Almarle. Earl of Winchester. Earl of Oxford. John Fitz-Geoffrey. John Grey. John Balliol. Roger Mortimer. Roger of Mold. Roger of Sumery. Peter of Montfort. Thomas Gresley. Fulk of Kerdiston. Giles of Argenton. John Kiryel. Philip Basset. Giles of Erdinton.

And if any of these cannot or will not be present, those who are there shall have power to choose another in his place.

CONCERNING THE STATE OF HOLY CHURCH.

Be it remembered that the state of Holy Church shall be amended by the four and twenty, who are chosen to reform the state of the realm of England, when they see time and place, according to the power which they have by the letter of the king of England.

CONCERNING THE CHIEF JUSTICE.

One or two justices shall be appointed, and what power he shall have, and that he shall not hold it for more than a year; so that at the end of a year he shall answer before the king and his council for his time of office, and before his own successor.

CONCERNING THE TREASURER AND THE EXCHEQUER.

Also concerning the treasurer. That he shall give account at the end of a year. And other good men shall be placed at the exchequer, according to the ordinances of the aforesaid four and twenty. And thither shall come all the issues of the land, and nowhere else. And whatever is found to need amendment shall be amended.

CONCERNING THE CHANCELLOR.

Also of the chancellor. That at the end of the year he shall answer for his time of office. And that he shall seal no writ, except a writ of course, by the king's sole will, but that he shall do it by the council which shall be round about the king.

CONCERNING THE POWER OF THE JUSTICES AND BAILIFFS.

The chief justice has power to amend wrongs committed by all the other justices, and by bailiffs, and by earls, and by barons, and by everyone else, according to the law and right of the land. And writs shall be pleaded according to the law of the land and in suitable places. And the justice shall take nothing, if it is not a present of bread or wine or such matters, to wit, food and drink, such as it has been the custom to carry to the tables of important men for the day. And the same shall be understood concerning all the king's councillors, and all his bailiffs. And no bailiff by occasion of a plea or of his office shall take any fee, by his own hand or by any one else, in any way. And if he is convicted, he shall be punished, and the giver likewise. And it is fit that the king shall give to his justice and to the people who serve him, so that there shall be no need for them to take anything from any one else.

CONCERNING THE SHERIFFS.

Let there be provided as sheriffs loyal and important men and land holders, so that in each county a vavasour of the same county shall be sheriff, to treat the people of the county well, loyally, and rightfully. And that he shall not take a fee. And that he shall not be sheriff for more than a year together. And that in the year he shall give up his accounts to the exchequer, and answer for his term of office. And that the king shall make him an allowance out of his own revenue, according to his contribution, so that he may keep the county rightfully. And that he shall not take any fee, neither he nor his bailiffs. And if they are convicted they shall be punished.

Be it remembered that such amendment shall be made in the Jewry and its wardens that the oath concerning it may be kept.

CONCERNING ESCHEATORS.

Good escheators shall be appointed. And they shall take nothing of the goods of the dead, whose lands should be in the king's hand. But the escheators shall have free administration of the goods till they have done the will of the king, if debts are owing to him. And this according to the form of the charter of liberty. And enquiry shall be made into the wrongs done by the escheators in past time, and amendment shall be made of such and such.

No tallage or anything else shall be taken, except as it ought to be according to the charter of liberty.

The charter of liberty shall be firmly kept.

CONCERNING THE EXCHANGE OF LONDON.

Be it remembered to amend the exchange of London, and of the city of London, and of all the other cities of the king, which have been brought to shame and destruction by tallages and other oppressions.

CONCERNING THE HOUSEHOLD OF THE KING AND QUEEN.

Be it remembered to amend the household of the king and queen.

CONCERNING PARLIAMENTS; HOW MANY SHALL BE HELD
EACH YEAR AND IN WHAT MANNER.

Be it remembered that the twenty-four have ordained, that there shall be three parliaments a year; the first in the octave of Michaelmas; the second on the morrow of Candlemas; the third on the 1st of June, that is to say, three weeks before St. John's day. To these three parliaments there shall come the chosen councillors of the king, even if they are not summoned, to view the state of the realm and treat concerning the common necessities of the realm and king. And they shall be held at other times when necessary at the king's command.

Be it remembered that the commonalty shall choose twelve men, who shall come to parliament, and at other times when necessary, when the king or his council bid them, to treat of the necessities of the king and kingdom. And the com-

monalty shall hold as established what these twelve do. And this shall be done to spare the expense of the commonalty.

Fifteen shall be named by these four, namely by the earl Marshal, the earl of Warwick, Hugh Bigod and John Mansel, who are chosen by the twenty-four to nominate the aforesaid fifteen who shall form the king's council. And they shall be confirmed by the aforesaid twenty-four, or by a majority of them. And they shall have power to advise the king in good faith concerning the government of the kingdom, and concerning all matters which pertain to the king or kingdom, and to amend and redress everything which they shall think needful to redress and amend, and over the chief justice and over all other people. And if they cannot all be present, what the majority do shall be confirmed and established.

M. Paris,
v. 706.
1258,
July.

CONCERNING THE CRUEL SPEECH WHICH THE KING MADE
TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

The fears and anxieties of the barons were increased by the coming of the month of July with its pestilence-bearing lion and scorching dog star which is wont to disturb the air with its deadly barking. And above all the changefulness and duplicity of the king terrified them, which they perceived from a certain terrible saying of his.

When one day he was going by boat on the Thames from Westminster to dine outside his palace, the sky grew black, and thunder rolled, with lightning and pouring rain. Now the king, who feared a storm of this kind above all things, ordered himself to be landed. The boat was then before the noble palace of the bishop of Durham, where the earl of Leicester was at that time lodged. When the earl knew of it, he came to meet him gladly and cheerfully, and saluted him with proper reverence, and said in consolation, "What is it that you fear? The storm is over now." And the king answered him, not in jest but seriously, and with a stern countenance, "Thunder and lightning I fear greatly, but, by God's head, I fear you more than all the thunder and lightning in the world". The earl answered calmly, "Sire, it is unjust and incredible that you stand in terror of me, who am your firm friend and have ever been faithful to you and yours and to the kingdom of England. You should fear your enemies, who destroy you and speak falsely." Now all suspected that

these astonishing words arose because the earl of Leicester was eager and diligent in pursuing the provisions, to force the king and all his opponents to agree to his advice, and to destroy the king's brothers who were corrupting the whole kingdom.

CONCERNING THE MESSENGERS SENT TO THE KING OF
ALMAINE AT HIS COMING INTO ENGLAND.

M. Paris,
v. 732-
736.
1259,
January.

About the feast of St. Hilary, after holding a common council and discussion concerning the arrival of Richard king of Almaine in England, they sent solemn messengers to him, . . . to get information for the king concerning the reason of his sudden and unexpected arrival and his stay in England. Now the earl of Leicester, to the surprise of many people, was still delaying in foreign lands, and therefore the plans of the baronage were disorganised, and they greatly feared hidden snares. They were afraid that the king, though he showed them a calm countenance, would suffer with his brothers in exile, and would have made grave complaints to his brother the aforesaid king of Almaine; since the English, who had pursued his father king John even to death with mortal hatred, were pursuing his sons and nephews similarly with wrath; and as the king of England so the king of Almaine suffered similar injuries. Therefore the magnates of England decided to take an oath from the king of Almaine before he landed, that he would not in any way injure the realm of England or hinder the common provisions. But what profit would this be? He would protest afterwards that he had been forced to this oath and swore unwillingly.

HOW THE KING WENT TO MEET HIM, AND WITH HIM MANY
EQUIPPED WITH ARMS, THOUGH HE KNEW IT NOT.

The king hastened to meet him, and with him a great host of magnates provided with horses and arms by way of precaution. For it was said that the same king Richard intended to bring back with him one or more of the brothers who had been exiled by the common counsel, so that he might break down that sentence and restore them to their former status, to the anger of the barons. . . .

HOW THE KING OF ALMAINE ANSWERED THE SOLEMN
MESSENGERS SENT HIM BY THE COMMUNITY.

The king of Almaine was waiting on the other side of the sea, and collecting a strong and numerous army. He answered the solemn messengers sent to him by the community of England with an angry countenance and threatening word, and swearing, "By the throat of God, I shall neither take the oath that you exact from me nor tell you how long I shall stay in England". And he added, "I have no peer in England, for I am the son of the last king and brother to the present king, and earl of Cornwall. If therefore the nobles of England wish to reform the realm, they ought in the first place to have come to me and not to have undertaken so rash and so arduous a business, presumptuously, without my countenance or presence." One of the messengers wished to answer that speech, but a colleague restrained him. The answer was, "We often made you our leader in the reform of the realm, but through greed you planned to ensnare us, who were striving to better the state of king and kingdom and suspecting nothing of the kind; and therefore the king, withdrawing from his wholesome intention, has damaged all whom he could". Lest such hasty words should rouse conflicts, the messengers, fully informed of the anger of the king of Almaine, returned as quickly as possible. A great host of people were awaiting them.

When this was told to the nobles on the nearer side of the sea, they caused ships and galleys to be got together both from the Cinque Ports and elsewhere, and, provided with arms and armour, all most eager to meet the enemy, they prepared to receive him boldly. They were encouraged by this, that when Louis, son of the king of France, was in England, a very few English ships attacked and destroyed a numerous French fleet, contrary to their expectation. Besides, they gathered together an army of horse and foot, so that if the enemy came on, having prevailed in a naval battle (which they were not afraid of), they would receive them at the sword's point on dry land.

When Richard king of Almaine heard this, through his diligent scouts, by the advice of common friends he calmed his anger, and promised that he would take the oath which the zealots for the realm of England demanded from him. Therefore, with his queen, he set sail for England, and on St.

Julian's day landed at Dover, and so entered England, with a small and diminished household, to wit with two counts of Almaine who had only three knights with them, and the king himself with eight knights, and his queen, and his son Edmund. They were not admitted when they reached the coast into the castle of Dover, nor even the king of England, for the nobles of England were afraid to allow anyone who had not taken the oath to enter that castle, since it is the chief defence of England. The king hastened to meet Richard on his arrival, praising him greatly, and they feasted together with the archbishop of Canterbury, and spent days of festivity in great joy.

But on the morrow the magnates of England entered the chapter house of Canterbury. Bringing in the kings of England and Almaine, with all reverence, they caused the text of the gospel to be placed on the pulpit. Then Richard, earl of Gloucester, stood up in the midst, and openly and reverently called upon the earl of Cornwall, not as king of Almaine but in his own name, Richard, earl of Cornwall. He approached, obediently and reverently, and distinctly and openly took the following oath.

"Hear ye all what I now swear upon the holy gospels, that I, Richard, earl of Cornwall, will be faithful and diligent in reforming your realm of England, horribly injured by evil counsel. I will be your strong helper to expel all who are rebels and troublers of the king. I will observe this oath inviolate, on pain of losing all the lands I have in England." And when some said, "That is enough, he is sufficiently bound," the earl answered, "Since at other times we have been terribly injured in such cases, and he who has once been scalded always dreads hot water, I am by no means assured that we have not done too little, though God forbid".

THE FORM OF PEACE BETWEEN KING HENRY III AND
LOUIS IX KING OF FRANCE.

Rymer
Fœdera,
I, Part I.
383-384.
1259,
May.

We, Henry, by God's grace king of England, lord of Ireland and duke of Aquitaine, make known to all present and future, that we, by divine favour, have established a peace with the illustrious king of France, our dear kinsman, in the following terms:—

1. This is the form of the peace agreed upon between the kings of France and England.

The king of France will give to the king of England all the rights that the king of France has and holds in the three bishoprics and cities of Limoges, Cahors and Périgord, in fief and in demesne, saving the homage of his brothers, if they hold anything there for which they are his men, and saving the matters which the king of France cannot put out of his hand by reason of letters of himself or of his ancestors. The king of France will either purchase these matters, in good faith towards those who hold them, so that the king of England may have them within a year of All Saints' Day, or make a suitable exchange, by the help of trusty men nominated by both sides, to the profit of the two parties.

2. Besides, the aforesaid king of France will give to the king of England the value of the land of Agenais, in money, each year, according to the price fixed as the true value of the land by trusty men, named by both sides. The payment shall be made at the Temple at Paris each year, the first half a fortnight after Ascension, and the other a fortnight after All Saints' Day. And if it happens that the land escheats from the countess Joan of Poitiers to the king of France or to his heirs, they shall be bound to yield it up to the king of England or his heirs. And when the land is given up, they shall be quit of the ferm. And if it comes to others than the king of France and his heirs, they shall give to the king of England the fief of Agenais, with the ferm aforesaid.

3. Moreover, enquiry shall be made in good faith, at the request of the king of England, by trusty persons, chosen for this purpose by both sides, whether the land which the count of Poitiers holds in Quercy by right of his wife, was given or handed over by the king of England, with the land of Agenais, by marriage or by pledge, in whole or in part, to his sister, who was the mother of count Raymond of Toulouse recently deceased. And if it is found that this was so, and this land escheats to the king of France or his heirs at the decease of the countess of Poitiers, he will give it to the king of England or to his heirs.

4. Moreover, after the decease of the count of Poitiers, the king of France or his heirs, kings of France, will give to the king of England or his heirs, the land that the count of Poitiers now holds in Saintonge, beyond the river Charente,

in fief and in demesne, if it escheats to the king of France or his heirs. And if it does not escheat to him, he will purchase it in good manner, by exchange or otherwise, so that the king of England and his heirs may have it; or he will make a reasonable exchange, by the decision of trusty persons, named by both sides. And for what the king of France gives to the king of England or his heirs, in fief or in demesne, the king of France and his heirs shall do liege homage to the king of France and his heirs. And also for Bordeaux and Bayonne, and for Gascony and for all land that he holds across the sea, in fief and in demesne. And for the islands, if there are any that the king of England holds, which belong to the kingdom of France, he shall hold from the French king as a peer of France and Duke of Aquitaine. And for all the matters aforesaid the king of England shall do suitable services, when it is found what services are owing.

5. Moreover, the king of France shall give to the king of England the cost of the upkeep of 500 knights for two years, at the decision of trusty persons named by both sides. And the king of France shall be bound to pay this money at Paris, at the Temple, in six payments, spread over two years. And the king of England shall not spend this money, except in the service of God or the church or to the profit of the kingdom of England, and this by view of trusty men of the land, chosen by the king of England and by his magnates.

6. And by this peace the king of England and his sons shall quit claim to the king of France and his successors and heirs and brothers, for any right which the king of England or his ancestors have or had in matters which the kings of France etc., hold or used to hold in the duchy and in all the land of Normandy; in the county and in all the land of Anjou, Touraine and Maine; and in the county and all the land of Poitou; or elsewhere in any part of the realm of France; and in the islands. . . .

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We promise in good faith, on behalf of ourselves, our heirs and successors, that we will firmly and faithfully keep this

peace and composition, established between ourselves and the king of France, and all and single contained in it; and that we will not contravene it in any way in future, and that we have done nothing and will do nothing to invalidate the aforesaid matters, in whole or in part. We give up, fully and distinctly, on behalf of ourselves and our heirs and successors, to the said king of France, his heirs and successors, any right that we have or had in matters which the French king holds or held in the duchy and land of Normandy; in the county and land of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; in the county and all the land of Poitou; or elsewhere in any part of the realm of France, and in the islands. . . .

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That this peace may have perpetual validity we have caused our seal to be set to the present page.

Given at Westminster in the year 1259 from the incarnation of our Lord, on the 20th of May.

Burton
Annals,
471.
1259,
October.

HOW THE LORD EDWARD AND THE BACHELORY DEMANDED FURTHER REFORMS.

On the feast of St. Edward, king and confessor, which was celebrated a fortnight after Michaelmas, at Westminster, by our lord the king right loyally, the community of the bachelory of England signified to the lord Edward, son of the king, the earl of Gloucester, and others sworn to the council at Oxford, that the king had entirely done and fulfilled all that the barons had provided and imposed upon him, but that the barons themselves had done nothing to the utility of the commonweal as they had promised, but only to their own convenience and the king's injury, and that unless some amendment was made the agreement should undergo drastic revision.

The lord Edward at once answered for himself, that the oath which he had taken at Oxford he had taken unwillingly, but that he was not, on account of this, unready to stand by the oath, and to expose himself to death for the commonalty of England, and for the welfare of the commonwealth, according to what he had sworn at Oxford. And he enjoined upon the

barons who were sworn to the council, that unless they fulfilled the aforesaid oath, he would stand even to death with the commonalty, and cause their promises to be fulfilled. At length, therefore, the barons, seeing that it was better to fulfil their promises themselves than through others, caused some provisions to be publicly proclaimed.

HOW THE PEACE WITH FRANCE WAS DELAYED.

Wykes,
123.

On the Friday next after the feast of St. Martin, king Henry and his queen crossed over to France, with Richard of Gravesend, bishop of Lincoln, to treat of peace between the king of England and the king of France, concerning the loss of Normandy, Poitou and Anjou, which he and his predecessors had unjustly kept and detained, to the prejudice of the king of England. At length it was agreed, that the king of France should give to the king of England twenty-five thousand pounds of Paris each year, in return for which the king would give him a charter quitting all claim, and would exhibit to him charters of lord Edward his son, Richard, king of Almaine, Simon of Montfort and his heirs.

But the earl of Leicester opposed this peace, propounding that, in course of time, it might happen that these lands of the king of England would descend by hereditary right to his sons or heirs. For this reason the peace did not reach a conclusion, and because of this hindrance the king and queen were driven to delay uselessly in these regions, till the following Easter, and spent an inestimable amount of money.

HOW THE KING WAS ABSOLVED FROM HIS OATH TO THE PROVISIONS OF OXFORD.

Wykes,
128-129.
1261.

The king of England, at Winchester, at Whitsuntide, produced and showed publicly to the barons, letters from the pope, by which he was absolved from the oath that he had taken to observe the provisions of the barons. This was because it was a secret oath; because, without the consent and pleasure of the pope and cardinals of the Roman church, whose vassal the king of England is considered to be, he was unable to take an oath of such moment; and also because he took the oath unwillingly, as he said, and as he could say with truth. Then he deposed Hugh Despenser from the office of justiciar, and made Philip Basset justiciar, and removed all of his household

whom the barons had appointed. And he took away the seal from master Nicholas of Ely, and gave it to Walter of Merton. After many altercations, about Michaelmas, he secretly entered London, though he was afraid of the sedition of the barons, because they refused to meet him in Parliament. At length about the feast of St. Nicholas the greater part of the barons came to terms with the king, and some of them agreed to a form of peace, though some absented themselves.

Wykes,
133-138.
1262.

CONCERNING THE OUTBREAK OF CIVIL WAR.

In a meeting of magnates held at London, at Whitsuntide, the earl of Leicester and many others murmured against the king of England, the queen, and the lord Edward, saying that they would incur the guilt of perjury unless they would observe the provisions of Oxford. And, since all flesh is prone to evil, some of the youths of England, nobles by birth, Henry of Hastings, John Fitz-Geoffrey, John de Vesci, Geoffrey de Lucy, Nicholas de Segrave, William Pierpont, William Munchensy, whom we may truly call youths, like melted wax were twisted to any shape by certain of the barons, who were moved, not by zeal for justice, but by the greed of temporal gain. They came together against their lord and against his Christ, that is to say, the king of England, calling all the nobles of the realm to come to their help and either become degenerate subjects, oppressing their own king in the last days of his life, or else be punished according to the detestable statutes of Oxford as capital enemies, by loss of their lives and their possessions.

So almost all the nobles of the realm gathered together, some in simplicity, believing the business to be praiseworthy, some for fear of danger to their property and lives, some because of detestable gain, to fill their empty and yawning coffers, by plunder. And they gathered together a great army and began war, to their perpetual shame. For they seized the venerable father Peter, bishop of Hereford, casting aside reverence for his order and his person, and gave him over into captivity, scorning that warning of the prophet, "Touch not mine anointed". For although the bishop, in carrying on the business concerning Edmund, son of the king of England, on whom the pope had conferred the kingdom of Apulia and Sicily, had damaged the whole realm (especially

as on the pretext of that business all the inhabitants of the land, both lay and clerical, had been aggrieved by the intolerable contribution imposed upon them), yet even so it was not permissible for them to lay their hand on the holy of the Lord.

And straightway, their cruel fury growing to such madness that they subdued to their own domination castles, cities and towns of the whole realm, which belong to the lordship of the king by most ancient and hereditary right, they drove out, not only the aliens, but many others, innocent as well as guilty, from the kingdom. They put their detestable decree into execution as soon as possible, seizing the goods and possessions of the exiles and rebels, wasting and plundering, selling moveables everywhere at a low price, especially the goods of the queen, against whom, as is shown by various indications in the statutes or provisions of Oxford, they were specially resentful.

And since to Simon, who was then bishop of Norwich, and to John Mansel, who was then the king's chief counsellor, power had been given by the pope to absolve the king and all his followers from the illicit oath which they had made at Oxford, which the pope declared to be illegitimate and altogether annulled, and also to excommunicate all rebels, and all who would not be absolved, they daringly destroyed all their moveable goods that they could lay hands on, threatening them with death if they ventured to use further the power committed to them.

The earl of Leicester, . . . gathered together a great army to force the king, Edward, and their supporters, to observe the aforesaid provisions. And he lay encamped in the park of Isleworth till the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. At length, he so far constrained the king and his son, that they began a parliament at London, on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, to last for three days only.

Meanwhile the queen was in the Tower of London. One day, I know not for what purpose, she wished to go to Westminster by boat. And when she drew near to London Bridge, a great crowd of Londoners, I know not at whose instigation, showered insults and indecencies at her, otherwise than was fitting for a lady of such nobility, thinking no shame to call their queen adulteress, and to repeat it again and again, and even, horrible to tell, to throw at her stones and broken eggs

and all the filth they could think of. John Mansel, despoiled of all his goods, went secretly by night to the parts beyond the sea, never to see English soil again.

Now while the queen was planning to go to France, as quickly as possible, after the mortification of such disgrace, the time of parliament drew near, and there gathered at London a great host of people. And the king, protected by a small following, came with the rest. They trusted that the whole business would be decided there, but they trusted in vain. The end was not yet. The earl of Leicester above all the rest of the nobles of the realm, raised his horns in pride, plotting further, dreaming of greater things. Nor did his wickedness permit him to be persuaded to peace. The parliament broke up in disorder, and the king and queen went to France, about the octave of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin. The queen was left there with her sister the illustrious queen of France, but the king returned to England about the feast of blessed Michael the Archangel, to celebrate devoutly the feast of the blessed Edward, whom he venerated most of all after Christ, as he was wont to do every year.

In this same parliament, then, which the king held in such solemnity with his magnates, he sought to arrange that, with honourable conditions on both sides, he might be united in indissoluble bonds of peace and concord with the nobles of the realm. Edward, seeing that the earl, distrusting the truth of his accomplices, was inflexible towards peace, made cautious provision and looked to the future, lest what his father had done should be drawn into a precedent after his death. By crafty persuasion he united with himself John Basset and all the Marchers, the earl Marshal, and several of the nobles of the kingdom, and called them to his help, that he might repress the attack of the earl against himself, and by courage curb his audacity.

After this council, the king, with his brother, king of the Romans, the earl Marshal, and others whom Edward had united to himself, set out for Dover, that they might secure the castle of Dover, which is not without reason called the key, from those to whom it had been committed by the earl and barons. The king thought he would be bereft of much power unless he regained that strong fortification. But those who had obtained the custody of the castle refused, in so many words, to give it back to him. The king therefore, wounded

at heart, went back with his followers, empty-handed, to London.

Meanwhile, calling together his supporters from all sides, the earl of Leicester went to London, where some few of the citizens were favourable to him (the chief among them being Thomas Fitz-Richard the mayor, Thomas of Pulesdon, Matthew Bukerel and Michael Tony, and with them an innumerable host of rascals whom they called bachelors), and occupied it. The older and wiser men of the city opposed and resisted, but were not strong enough to hinder this; for which the whole community suffered loss afterwards. From this madness a detestable custom arose through the whole realm of England, that in nearly every city and borough there was made a league of rascals who called themselves bachelors, and attacked the wiser party in cities and boroughs. . . .

HOW THE DISPUTE WAS REFERRED TO ST. LOUIS.

Wykes,
138-139.
1263.

After many treaties between the parties, about the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, the king and all his friends and supporters, the earl with all his adherents, the king of the Romans, the lord Edward, the earls, barons, knights, archbishops, bishops, and all the prelates of the churches, all the clergy and the people, with a unanimous consent, agreed with the king of France concerning all the disputes which had arisen between the king and his magnates on account of the provisions of Oxford, that whatever the said king should ordain and decree concerning those provisions and statutes, without exception, both sides would observe inviolably. And that none might be free from the crime of perjury or of prevarication, all and single confirmed the above agreement by their seals, and swore in person, touching the holy gospels, that they would in no wise withdraw from the ordinance or arbitration which the king should give in this matter, about Easter.

The king of England, on the third day after Christmas, crossed to France, to be present in person at the above arbitration. Also the barons sent on their behalf to France, for the same business, Adam of Newmarch and William le Blunde and a few others. Then the king of the French, proceeding to the business of arbitration that he might quickly send the parties away, on the twentieth day after Christmas, unwisely,

and less prudently than was fitting, hastened his arbitration to a sudden decision, and, strengthening it with the apostolic authority, restored the king of England to his first power, and quashed the provisions or statutes of Oxford, and decreed that the king should choose whom he wished as justices, chancellors, treasurer, bailiffs and ministers. The king, therefore, returned to his own land. And the more he rejoiced at this the more were the barons mournful and confounded. And they were not ashamed, as prevaricators, to withdraw from that arbitration, to attack the king again with their usual rioting, to gather together in force and revenge the provisions, and to trouble their adversaries more fervently than their wont.

Wykes,
140-141.
1263.

HOW WAR BROKE OUT AFRESH.

About the beginning of Lent, the king went to Oxford, and, calling together such magnates as considered it dishonourable to withdraw from their fealty, treated with them as to how he could defend himself against his adversaries, or do condign vengeance upon them for their prevarication. And the royalist magnates tried to take vengeance on the burners of their houses where possible. Meanwhile the earl, lying at London, joined to himself as many as he could, and forced Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, over persuaded at the urgency of his mother, to withdraw, though he had previously been loyal to the king, and thus rendered a faithful man faithless.

Nor must I omit to mention, how the crowds of London, in their first fury, on the first Monday of Lent in the year aforesaid, rose against the king of the Romans, who was wont to be the chief protector of their community, and had not scrupled to defy the wishes of the king of England, when grievous towards them. Thus they rewarded benefits with evil, contrary to the Gospel. Now, under the leadership of Hugh Despenser, whom the barons called justiciar, and had made keeper of the Tower of London of their own will, the furious hosts of London, whom no one could number, went out with a few companies, and proceeded in order to Isleworth, the manor of the king of the Romans. They burnt with its buildings that manor, which he had surrounded with a ditch and a moat, and, seizing all the goods that they could find there, put them to their own uses. They emptied a certain pool, which the king had rashly caused to be made, by breaking the dam

which retarded the flow of water, not only of water but of fishes too. Then they returned to London with joy, as those who rejoice when they have done evil and exult in wickedness.

Not content with this crime, they razed to the ground the king's house, which was situated in a suburb of London near Westminster, and left not a single stone that they thought useful to themselves, destroying beams, bricks and tiles, and all the stone which they could not carry away from the towers. And, in a similar fury, they burned down the manors of all those who adhered faithfully to the king, or served him in any office, especially the lands of William of Valence, the king's brother, whom they reckoned without reason among the aliens. Concerning this, a memorable event happened, which I cannot pass over in silence. When they were trying to destroy a certain manor of Walter of Merton, near London, which by most ancient right pertained to his prebend of St. Paul's of London, because he exercised the office of chancellor, among the other buildings which they were trying to break down, they overthrew a certain chapel, built in ancient days to the honour of St. Cuthbert. But by divine vengeance a great beam fell suddenly and killed four of the destroyers.

HOW THE JEWS OF LONDON WERE ROBBED OR SLAIN.

Wykes,
141-143.
1263.

Amongst other matters, I must not pass over in silence the slaughter of Jews, which took place about that time in London. For, when those who were tarrying in London became in want of necessary expenses, especially as their own property was not sufficient to maintain so great a party, they declared it glorious to redeem their poverty by the wealth of others. They made therefore an unexpected attack upon the Jews, of whom a large number dwelt trustfully in the city of London, little suspecting the loss that would come of it. They were moved, not by zeal for law, but by greed of temporal gain, and, forgetful of humanity and piety, slew all they could find in the city, sparing neither age nor sex. They committed unheard of murders, for they slew the old men with those yet older, the babe with the old man, children crying in their cradles, or babes unweaned, at their mother's breast. Altogether they killed nearly 400 Jews, of every condition and sex. And although these were not sealed with the mark of our faith,

yet it seemed inhuman and impious to slay them without reason, since, according to the canons, they should be cherished, if only for humanity's sake, and also because they are created after the image of God, and because according to the prophet, "At the last the remnant of Israel shall be saved". Not one of them could escape the danger unless he would ransom his life with a great sum of money. Of those who feigned to be willing to receive holy baptism almost all, when the tumult was over, returned to their first state of unbelief, denying Christianity and made the worse, so that they lived in sin and died apostate.

Among the authors of this wickedness, John FitzJohn was notable. He slew that most famous Jew of London, Kok, son of Abraham, with his own hands, and added to his own treasure his wealth, in which he was said to exceed all the Jews of England, and even all other Jews. Also, later, he gave no small part of this to the earl of Leicester, though unwillingly, so that neither of them should be free from the guilt of plunder and murder. Nor can it be calculated how much the exchequer suffered by reason of this crime, for the Jews were wont to increase the royal treasure not only by tallages, but by pleas, gifts, escheats, and presents.

Wykes,
143-147.
1264.

CONCERNING THE SUCCESS OF THE KING AT NORTHAMPTON,
NOTTINGHAM AND ROCHESTER.

In the forty-eighth year of the reign of king Henry, on the 2nd of April, that is the Saturday in the vigil of Passion Sunday, the day on which the church all through the world sings the hymn, "The royal banners forward go," the king of England, with his brother, the king of Almaine, and his son the lord Edward, and a great army, came from the parliament at Oxford, whither he, first of the kings of England for a long time, had boldly entered, scorning ancient superstition. For it is commonly said that the blessed maiden Frideswide had by her prayers obtained a promise, that no king should ever enter the aforesaid city, without danger to his life. There he heard that a great number of the barons who had left the king, had occupied the town of Northampton and the castle near by it, either to secure themselves there for a time against the king and his supporters (whose numbers they thought were small), or to wait an opportunity to transfer

themselves, with their forces, to their captain the earl of Leicester, who was lying at London, which with similar presumption he had previously occupied.

The king, trusting in the strenuous valour of his eldest son Edward, and supported by the courage of others of his adherents, boldly attacked the town of Northampton, which the aforesaid magnates at first, but in vain, tried to defend. Their principal leader was Simon de Montfort, younger son of the earl of Leicester, recently knighted, and no mean imitator of his father's audacity. When the magnates of the king, early in the morning, almost at dawn, had begun vigorously to attack the above town, and had completely overthrown a part of the wall with which it was girt, that they might prepare an entry for their forces, the said Simon, clad in mail, and mounted on a foaming horse, imprudently launched himself at the breach in the wall, to repel those who wished to enter. But the horse on which he was mounted, forgetful of the safety of his lord, despising the check of the bit, and goaded by the spurs, carried its unwilling rider to the breach, and threw him into the moat. Those outside hastened to draw their distinguished prisoner, almost unwounded, out of the moat. Afterwards, rejoicing, they yielded him up to the lord Edward, who vehemently opposed his being slain.

Then the other besieged, thinking no more of the defence of themselves or the town, were struck motionless by consternation, and took no further trouble to resist the besiegers. The king entered the city in state and delivered over into captivity all the nobles whom he found in it; but Peter of Montfort with a few men entered the castle, hoping in vain to secure himself there against so great a host. The royal army pressed those shut up in it so closely, that, on the second day, they were obliged to yield themselves up to the will of the king. On that occasion there were taken prisoner a very large number of nobles who were not as yet knighted, and a hundred or more knights. Among the more famous taken captive were Adam of Newmarch and William Furnival.

The royalist magnates thus victorious, laden with spoil and enriched by the plunder of their captives, that they might fill the purse of their greed to the full, paid no heed to holy places or orders, but with wicked daring gathered everything which they could find in the city, or inside or outside the churches, and applied it to their own uses. Thus they stained the be-

ginning of their fight with a blemish of sacrilege which could never be atoned for, only to lose that they had gained in a very short time when fortune changed; and not undeservedly, since they had reduced a flourishing city to misery and plundered it of all its goods.

The king, encouraged by his success, then went to Leicester, and, scorning ancient superstition, entered the town which kings in time past dared not look upon, on his way to Nottingham, to fall upon that most secure fortress, which knows no equal in the kingdom of England, so well is it entrenched by nature and art. William Bardulf, a strenuous and loyal knight, to whom the barons had hastily committed that castle, prudently resigned it on the king's coming.

Now while the king, at Nottingham, was keeping Easter, with the nobles who refused to desert him, it was announced to him that the earl of Leicester, fallen into great wrath to avenge the capture of his son and his accomplices, for he considered it would be inglorious to leave it unavenged and unpunished, had taken with him no small number of the citizens of London, in the week which is commonly called Passion Week. For the whole church in memory of our Lord's passion is then wont to occupy itself more fervently than usual in holy works and to expiate sins committed by penance. Paying no heed to the holy time, he had besieged earl Warenne, in the castle of Rochester, which the king had committed to his custody, and had attacked the besieged on Good Friday and Holy Saturday. Bringing up machines and engines, he had taken by force the outer wall, and shut them up in the tower. But the besieged, turning necessity into eagerness, drove back the besiegers with all their strength and sheltered themselves in one of the towers which was impregnable, awaiting the speedy arrival of the king.

When the king heard this, flying as it were to their deliverance, not sleeping at night, he came in five days with a great army from Nottingham to Rochester. The earl, forewarned of his coming, went away secretly in the silence of the night with his hosts, and again took refuge in London, leaving the foot-soldiers at Rochester to their fate. The besieged, when they found out that the besiegers had fled, made a sortie at dawn and cut off their hands and feet.

HOW EARL SIMON DEFEATED THE KING AT THE BATTLE
OF LEWES. Wykes,
147-152.
1264,
May.

When the Londoners had thus fled, the king, glorying in his triumph, visited the southern coast districts of England which are commonly called the Cinque Ports, to bind the men of the ports by love, or force them by fear, to attack the Londoners with a pirate fleet, or at any rate by their strength to cut off their supplies so that no necessary victuals could be brought by ship to the multitude gathered there.

But the king's army could not move freely through the hilly districts of Surrey and Kent, and the Welsh bowmen, shooting from a distance, hindered them greatly in the narrow lanes. However, when the unarmed bowmen attacked the armed hosts, they were seized by the royal forces and punished with condign vengeance by beheading. While, therefore, the king was tarrying with his innumerable army in that district, lacking victuals, no small number pined away with hunger. The horses neighed in pain and grew weak for want of fodder.

When the earl of Leicester heard this, rejoicing and full of courage, he gathered together a great host of the barons. Surrounded by an innumerable number of Londoners (for it is written, "The number of fools is infinite,") he conceived a bold thought, and decided to seek out the king and his followers, by art and strength. He moved by rapid stages, with his forces, towards the priory of Lewes, where the king was then staying, and pitched his camp close to the royal army, about 7 or 8 miles away. Then he denounced the king with a terrible threat, saying he must either cause the provisions to be observed, or at once meet him in the fortunes of war. I will say nothing of how he sent messengers to beg the serene king of Almaine to induce his brother, the king of England, to agree to some form of peace which he had drawn up, promising him fifty thousand marks if he would cause such a peace to be confirmed, according to his will. But the former, perceiving and considering that it would be the manifest disinheritation of the king of England, his brother, and his heirs, and to the downfall of his own power, refused to admit it. The king of England, trusting in the multitude of his friends, and contemptuous of the small number of his adversaries, thinking that they would dare nothing against him, rashly freed all and single from their homage to himself and

his brother the king of Almaine—most unwisely. The earl and his accomplices, indignant, surrendered to the king the fealty and homage with which they were bound.

On the 14th of May, the Wednesday next before the feast of St. Dunstan, those degenerate subjects, with unheard of iniquity, prepared to attack their own king. Early in the morning, they arranged their ranks and prepared their hosts for hattle, as though they would catch the others in their beds; and marching with standards flying through dense woods, under the leadership of the earl, descended the slope of a certain hill which is close to the town of Lewes, where the king was then lying, in much fear for himself. Then some of the royal forces, rousing from sleep, saw the standards, and awakened the king and the whole army, who were still in bed. Stupefied, they roused at the summons as best they could, provided themselves with weapons, and went out to meet that profane host. Immediately with a loud clangour of trumpets both armies fell upon each other with angry countenances. But by the intention of the earl the whole weight of the fight was turned against the kings of England and Almaine who were captains of that whole host.

The lord Edward, who commanded the flower of the whole army, leaving his father and his uncle, turned with all his force against the Londoners, whom he specially hated, that he might avenge the insults done not only to himself but to his father and mother. The Londoners, who were strong in numbers but ignorant of warfare, under the command of Henry of Hastings, who was almost the first to flee from the fight (putting his fear before his courage), thought it safer to trust to the security of flight rather than to wait the fortunes of war. So they abandoned the litter of the earl of Leicester, on which he had dishonourably fixed his standard so that it might be thought that he, weak or ailing, was resting in it. He had put in it certain citizens of London, namely, Augustine Hadstoke, Richard Picard and Stephen of Chelmsford. They had refused to put on armour as rebels against their king, so he would expose them to their fate as if they were cowards or unfaithful.

As soon as the Londoners saw the lord Edward with his hosts, to which they felt themselves unequal, rushing upon them with drawn swords, they turned their backs, giving rein to their horses, followed Henry, and trusted to find themselves

a remedy in flight. But the lord Edward slew most cruelly those who were left behind in the rush, and pursued the rest in their flight at full speed. All whom he could overtake he slew at the sword's point and returned to the battle with his blade still thirsting for blood. Both he and his followers and their horses were so wearied with that extreme labour that they could hardly breathe.

Meanwhile the kings of England and Almaine, whom he had left alone, surrounded by an infinite host, after a gallant fight were no longer able to sustain the attack of the multitude, and fled to the convent church. Alas! those whom they hoped would aid them to escape death, were forced to surrender themselves to those traitors. And when they were taken prisoner, all who had fled into the town threw down their arms, to share the king's disgrace, without further resistance, giving themselves up to their captors. Even the lord Edward himself, with his kinsman Henry, the eldest son of the king of the Romans, was so exhausted with fatigue that he could fight no longer, and, seeing that no helper was left, did not blush to share his father's disaster. However, the earl of Warenne, William of Valence, and Hugh Bigod, in whom he most trusted, dismayed at the royal misfortune, fled from the battle to Pevensey castle, where a fleet was ready, and without delay crossed over to France, and there remained with the Queen of England, waiting for better times.

It was said that in the battle and flight of the Londoners nearly five thousand were killed, of whom the greater part, enemies of the king, met by God's just judgment their due for the capture, or rather depopulation, of Northampton. They had no right to complain, for they had experienced the changefulness of fortune, victors bowing their necks to the vanquished, changing the highest for the lowest, and the lowest for the highest. They fell into the hands of their adversaries and made rich the enemy whom they had previously despoiled with their own spoil. On the morrow the victors met, to decide what should be done with the captives.

CONCERNING THE TREATMENT OF THE VANQUISHED.

Wykes,
152-154.
1264.

So the earl, having gained a glorious victory, by the permission of God, whose judgments are secret, could now ordain as he wished without any opposition, and extorted from the

king and lord Edward a certain oath, which the earl also took with his followers. And he issued a statute, which was called by the unwonted name of the Mise of Lewes, to which the king and the lord Edward affixed their seals, together with his and those of his followers. In this it was contained, that the lord Edward, and Henry, eldest son of the king of the Romans, should be held as hostages for the Marchers who had not been taken prisoner in that battle, till by five nobles expressly named from the kingdom of France, and by those whom they associated with them, the state of our realm should be ordered. All believed that the business would be carried on faithfully, without guile. But their hopes were vain, for it became clear that the aforesaid ordinance could not be made without difficulty.

What more shall I say? He at once handed over his distinguished hostages to Henry of Montfort, his eldest son, to keep, and he caused them to be guarded, not like hostages, but like prisoners, sometimes in the castle of Dover, sometimes elsewhere, less honourably than was fitting. He treated the king of the Romans, who had been taken prisoner, with his son Edmund, who was still a child, ignominiously, placing them in the strictest custody. Almost all the nobles of the realm, who had previously adhered to the king, were taken prisoner and shut up in the castles. He subjugated the castles, cities, and towns of the whole realm, the lands and booty of his captives, to his own lordship, giving very small shares to his helpers, of whom, after the earl of Gloucester, the chief were Hugh Despenser and John Fitz John. This afterwards was to his own damage.

The earl, encouraged by his successes, lifted up and glorying beyond measure in the courage of himself and his sons, whom he loved most tenderly, so that in zeal for their advancement he was not ashamed to show unheard of audacity, divided the inheritance of the captives and the lauds of the king by line. Without the lands of the king of Almaine which he held, he applied eighteen baronies to his own uses. As a tutor takes about his pupil, so he led the king through all the districts of the realm, and, overthrowing the order both of nature and law, was not ashamed to rule his king, by whom rather he should have been ruled. He set himself over him, so that the name of the earl altogether overshadowed the majesty of the king. Oh, wantonness of unheard of crime, which exceeded the pride

of Lucifer himself! He was not content merely to place his seat above the sun and be like the most High, so that he might halve the kingdom between himself and the king, or share the royal majesty like a colleague, but raised his power even above the sway of the king.

HOW THE KING SUMMONED A PARLIAMENT AND SOUGHT TO
KEEP THE PEACE.

Select
Charters,
411-412.
1264,
June.

The king to Adam of Newmarch, greeting. Since now, the tumult which lately took place in our realm being over, peace may be ordained and established between ourselves and our barons, by the help of divine grace: and to observe that peace inviolate through the whole of our realm; by the advice of our barons, it has been provided, that in each of our counties throughout England, to protect and secure those parts, keepers of our peace should be appointed, till other provision is made by us and our barons, concerning the state of our realm.

And since, trusting in your fidelity and industry, we have by the advice of the said barons appointed you our keeper in the county of Lincoln during our pleasure: we bid you, enjoining you by the faith in which you are hound to us, to be diligent in the keeping of our peace there and in all matters which pertain to the keeping of our peace: forbidding in our name firmly and publicly through all the aforesaid county, that any one, on pain of disinheritance and peril of life and limb, shall attack or rob any other, or perpetrate homicides, arson, robberies, exactions or any other enormities, or any damage whatever to any one contrary to our peace. Nor in future shall any one carry arms in our realm without our license. . . .

And if you find any such malefactors and disturbers of our peace, or, as aforesaid, men carrying arms, you shall cause them without delay to be arrested and kept safely, till we give other orders concerning them. And for this purpose if necessary you may take the whole posse of the said county, with all the posse of the counties near by, to aid the keepers of the same counties in such matters, when there is need. And if perchance such malefactors escape, which we on no account wish, then you shall cause their names to be sent to us so that we may do what is just concerning them.

And since, at our forthcoming parliament, it will be necessary for us to treat concerning the business of ourselves and

our realm with our prelates, magnates and other lieges, we bid you to send thither to us on behalf of the whole county, four of the more lawful and discreet knights of the said county, chosen by the consent of the same county; so that they may be in our presence, at London, in the octave of the forthcoming feast of Holy Trinity at the latest, to treat with us concerning the aforesaid business.

Do you behave faithfully and diligently in all these matters, that we may not be forced, through your negligence, to seize you and yours.

Witness the king at St. Paul's at London on the 4th of June.

THE FORM OF PEACE DETERMINED UPON.

Select
Charters,
412-414.
1264,
June.

This is the form of peace approved in common and in concord by our lord the king and the lord Edward his son, the prelates and magnates and commonalty of the realm of England; namely, that a certain ordinance made in the parliament held in London, about the feast of the nativity of blessed John the Baptist last past, for preserving the peace of the realm, till the peace talked of between the said king and barons at Lewes in the form of a certain Mise, should be carried out, to last all the days of the said king, and also for the time of the lord Edward when he becomes king, up to a term to be settled hereafter, shall remain firm, stable and unimpaired. The said ordinance is as follows:—

For the reform of the state of the realm of England, there shall be elected and nominated, three discreet and faithful persons of the realm, who shall have authority and power from the lord king to elect or nominate, acting for the lord king, nine councillors. Three at least, alternately or in turn, shall always be present in the court.

And the king, by the advice of the same nine, shall ordain and dispose of the custody of the castles, and of other business of the realm.

Also the king shall appoint by the advice of the said nine, a justiciar, a chancellor, a treasurer, and other officials greater and less, for matters concerning the rule of the court and kingdom.

The first three electors or nominators shall swear, that according to their conscience, they will elect or nominate

councillors, whom they believe to be useful and faithful, to the honour of God and the church, to the king and kingdom.

Also the councillors and all officials, greater and less, shall swear on their creation that they will faithfully exercise their offices, according to their power, to the honour of God and the church, and to the utility of the king and kingdom. And that they will accept no gift except the food and drink which are commonly presented at table.

If the aforesaid councillors, or some, or any one of them, shall be guilty of malversation in the administration committed to them, or ought to be changed for any other reason, the king, by the advice of the first three electors or nominators, shall remove those who should be removed, and substitute and supply in their places other faithful and suitable persons. If the officials, greater or less, are guilty of malversation in their offices, the lord king shall remove them by the counsel of the aforesaid nine, and substitute others in their place without delay by the advice of the same.

If the first three electors or nominators are disagreed as to the election or nomination of councillors, or perchance the councillors in appointing officials or in carrying on other business of the king or kingdom, whatever is agreed upon by two-thirds shall be firmly observed ; provided that of this two-thirds one shall be a prelate of the church, in matters concerning the church. And if it chances that two-thirds of the said nine are not agreed in any matter, the disagreement shall be submitted to the settlement of the first three electors or nominators, or the majority of them.

And if it seems to the commonalty of prelates and bishops to be fitting, that some or any one shall be substituted or supplied in place of some or any of the first three nominators, the king shall substitute two or one other, by the advice of the commonalty of prelates and barons.

The king shall do all the aforesaid by the advice of the said nine, or they shall do it in his place and by his authority.

The present ordinance shall last till the Mise drawn up at Lewes, and afterwards sealed by both parties, shall be consummated in agreement, or some other provision which both parties have agreed upon.

This ordinance was made at London by the consent, will and order of the king, prelates, barons and also the commonalty, then and there present. In witness of which Robert

bishop of Lincoln, Hugh bishop of Ely, Richard earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, Humphrey Bohun, William de Montchesney, and the mayor of London, have put their seals to this document. Done in the parliament of London in the month of June, 1264.

Also it was ordained that the state of the English church should be reformed.

Also it was ordained that the aforesaid three electors and councillors, of whom mention is made in the said ordinance of London, and keepers of castles, and other bailiffs of the king, should always be natives. Yet aliens should go, stay and return in peace. Laymen wishing to reside in their lands, and clerks in their benefices, merchants and all others about their business, shall go freely and remain in peace so long as they come peaceably without arms and not in suspicious numbers. None of them shall be promoted to any office or bailiwick in the realm or the household of the king.

The charters of liberties and of the forest lately granted to his native subjects by the king, and the statutes concerning redress of grievances, sheriff's tourn, suits of court, and other matters, which the king last year caused to be proclaimed in every county by his letters patent, together with the praiseworthy and long approved customs of the kingdom, shall be observed for ever; and provision shall be made for their being observed better and more fully.

Also it is provided that the king and lord Edward shall remit all injury and rancour against the barons and those who took their part, so that they will not aggrieve any one of them because of what has been done in the late tumult, nor permit them to be aggrieved by their followers. And all bailiffs when taking office shall swear that they will aggrieve no one for the said reason, but will do justice equally to all.

And let good security be provided for the observation of all these things.

THE WRITS FOR THE PARLIAMENT OF 1265.

Select
Charters,
415.
December.

Henry, by God's grace king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, to the venerable father in Christ, Robert, by the same grace bishop of Durham, greeting.

Since after the grave conflict which lately took place in our kingdom, our dearest and eldest son Edward was handed over

as hostage, for securing and establishing peace in our kingdom, and now, blessed be God, the aforesaid tumult has ended : and since to provide for his deliverance, and to establish full security for peace and tranquillity, to the honour of God and to the utility of our whole realm, and to fulfil it completely : and with regard to certain other matters, which we cannot arrange without the advice of yourself and our other prelates and magnates : it is necessary that we should have dealings with the same : we bid you, asking you by the faith and love in which you are bound to us, that, setting aside all pretext and all other business, you will be in our presence at London, in the octave of St. Hilary next to come, to treat in the aforesaid matters, and to give your advice with us and with the said prelates and magnates, whom we have summoned thither. In no wise, as you love us and our honour and your own and the common tranquillity of our realm, omit to do this. Witness the king at Worcester, 14th December.

(The same writ was addressed to the archbishop of York, the bishop of Carlisle, the dean of York, ten abbots and nine priors of the northern province, and ten bishops and four deans of the southern ; and a similar one ten days later to fifty-five abbots, twenty-six priors, the master of the Temple and the prior of the Hospitallers ; also to five earls and eighteen barons.)

Also it is commanded to every sheriff throughout England, that he shall cause to come two knights from the more lawful, prudent, and discreet of each county, to the king at London, in the said octave, in the form aforesaid.

Also a writ was sent to the citizens of York, the citizens of Lincoln and other boroughs of England, that they might send, in the above form, two of the more lawful, discreet and prudent persons, both citizens and burgesses.

Also, in the said form, command was given to the barons and good men of the Cinque Ports.

CONCERNING THE CAUSE OF EARL SIMON AND HIS QUARREL
WITH THE EARL OF GLOUCESTER. Rishanger, 30-33.
1265.

In the year of grace 1265, which is the forty-ninth year of the reign of king Henry the third, after the Conquest, the king was detained in the custody of earl Simon, together with Richard, his brother, king of Almaine, Edward his eldest son,

and certain other captive nobles. Now earl Simon took the king of England and his son, whom he had removed from Wallingford, about with him both last year and this, till he had occupied all the strong fortresses in the land. And thenceforth he showed himself harder to please in treating of peace according to the form aforesaid, because he had the king and kingdom altogether in his power. At length he placed the king of the Romans in the Tower of London, Edward and Henry the king's sons in the castle of Dover, and carried the king of England about with himself. But wherever he went he was received honourably and royally, and the earl showed him all due reverence.

Meantime certain valiant knights, well skilled in arms, namely, Roger Mortimer, James Audley, Roger Leyburn, Roger Clifford, Hamo Lestrangle, Hugh Turberville and certain others, resenting such treatment of the king and the royal offspring, rose with one accord against the earl of Leicester, to repress his audacity. Earl Simon, allying himself with Llewelyn prince of Wales, entered the castle of Hereford and transferred his prisoner there from Dover. Then he recovered that castle of the earl of Hereford which is called Hay, and took the castle of Ludlow, and proceeded towards Montgomery. There peace was made between earl Simon and the aforesaid nobles, and hostages were given by them. Then the earl went to the south to meet the army which, it was said, was to come from France to help the king. . . .

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This year, while Edward the king's son was kept in custody at Hereford, a disagreement arose between Simon earl of Leicester and Gilbert of Clare, for the following reason. The earl of Leicester was not content to keep the king of England captive, he also caused the royal castles to surrender to him, and disposed of the whole realm at his pleasure; and, which was particularly offensive, he claimed for himself alone the issues of the kingdom, the ransoms of the captives and other profits, which should have been divided amongst them equally according to the form of their agreement. Also he was clearly held in contempt by his sons, who were become very proud, and who had caused a tournament to be proclaimed at Dunstable at this time against the earl of Gloucester, to which the

Londoners and a great host of knights and armed men went. When their father Simon heard this, he reproached them for their presumption and ordered them to desist. He threatened that if they did not obey him he would put them in a place where they should enjoy the light of neither sun nor moon. When the earl of Gloucester heard this he was angry beyond measure. Many who had been ready for that tournament were vexed to be disappointed, especially on account of the expense to which they had been put for the said business. They upbraided him and said of the earl that it was ridiculous that an alien should presume to subdue the whole kingdom to himself. Gilbert's indignation was increased because when he asked and required Simon to surrender to him the king of Almaine and certain other captives taken prisoner in the battle by Gilbert himself and his men, Simon gave an off-hand answer.

For these reasons their first friendship turned to hate, to such a degree that neither consideration of his oath nor his ancient devotion could pacify Gilbert. He went to the noble knights of the March, who have been mentioned above, and whom earl Simon had ordered to leave the realm by public edict, and united himself in alliance with them. They had been joined by John of Warenne, earl of Surrey and William of Valence, earl of Pembroke. Earl Simon therefore, taking the king from Hereford and gathering a strong army, proposed to attack these knights. Meanwhile a plan was formed by some prelates to reconcile the earls of Leicester and Gloucester: but nothing came of it.

HOW THE LORD EDWARD ESCAPED AND WON A BATTLE AT Rish-
EVESHAM. anger, 33-

While these things were going on, Edward, the king's son, 1265.
was kept prisoner in Hereford castle, but was allowed by his May-
keepers to take exercise, by riding, outside the city, in a certain meadow. When, by racing, he had tried and tired out several horses, he at length mounted one picked steed, and, putting spurs to it, said good-bye to his captors. He crossed the river Wye, and with two knights and four squires who were in his confidence journeyed towards the castle of Wigmore. His keepers pursued him but went back, tricked, to Hereford, when they saw the banners of Roger Mortimer and Roger

Clifford hastening to Edward's help. These things happened in the vigil of Trinity by the advice of the said knights.

Edward, thus freed from custody, got together a large army. Many joined him, and he united in his support the counties of Hereford, Worcester, Shropshire and Chester, with their hundreds and townships, cities and castles. He besieged and took the town of Gloucester, which the earl had lately obtained. The garrison who were there fled to the castle. After fifteen days the castle was surrendered, and when all had been constrained to take an oath that in future they would not bear arms against Edward, they were sent away free. But the earl of Leicester levelled with the ground the castle of Monmouth which the earl of Gloucester had lately taken and fortified, when its garrison were forced to surrender. Then he entered the land of Glamorgan which belonged to that earl, met the prince of Wales, and they together wasted everything with fire and slaughter. Meanwhile Edward, hearing that many of Simon's party had gone to Kenilworth castle, joined the earl of Gloucester, who had now come thither from Worcester, and coming up suddenly at a rapid rate, took the earl of Oxford with about thirty knights before they had entered the castle. Simon, son of earl Simon, had already taken refuge there.

Now Simon earl of Leicester, with the king, as ever, in his company, returned from South Wales, and about the feast of St. Peter *ad Vincula* came to the manor of the bishop of Worcester which is called Kempsey, and remained there. On the morrow, Edward returned from Kenilworth to Worcester, which is only three miles from that manor. Hearing of his arrival, Simon and the king went away in the darkness of the night and took up their quarters by the town which is called Evesham. Next day, which was the day of the Invention of St. Stephen, Edward moved from Worcester and crossed the river near the village which is called Cleeve,¹ and closed the way of the earl to his son, who was in Kenilworth, and of the son to his father. On the morrow he drew near to the town of Evesham on one side, and on two other sides there came up the earl of Gloucester and Roger Mortimer. The earl of Leicester, shut in on all sides, must either surrender or fight. On the third day, which was the 5th of August, both armies met in a great field outside the town and there fought a terrible

Aug.

¹ Clive in the original. Probably Cleeve Prior, N.E. of Evesham.

battle. The earl's side succumbed and the whole weight of battle turning upon him, he himself was slain. At the hour of his death there was thunder and lightning and such darkness that many were stupefied. There fell with him also in that battle twelve knights . . . and other also of lesser rank with a host of squires and foot soldiers, and especially a very large number of Welshmen.

So that great hero, earl Simon, finished his labours. He spent not only his goods but himself on behalf of the oppression of the poor, the cause of justice and the rights of the kingdom. He had a praiseworthy knowledge of letters; rejoiced in assiduous attendance at divine offices; was frugal in life, and more often watched than slept at night. He was a man of his word, of stern countenance. He trusted greatly in the prayers of the religious, and always paid great reverence to ecclesiastics. He was a friend of the blessed Robert, called Grossetête, bishop of Lincoln, and gave him his children to bring up. By his advice he undertook arduous tasks, tried doubtful experiments, brought to a conclusion what he had begun, and especially those actions by which he thought he would acquire merit. This same bishop is said to have enjoined upon him, for the remission of his sins, to take up this cause for which he contended, even to death, saying that the peace of the English church could not be established without a sword, and constantly affirming that all he did in that cause would be crowned with martyrdom. Some say that once that bishop laying his hand on the head of the earl's eldest son said to him, "My dearest son, both you and your father will die on one day by one death, but it will be for justice and truth". Rumour tells that Simon after his death shone with many miracles, which were not publicly told, for fear of the king.

CONCERNING THE CONTINUANCE OF THE WAR AND THE
TERMS OFFERED TO THE REBELS.

Rish-
anger, 42-
44.

In the year of grace 1266, which is the fiftieth year of the reign of king Henry III, the king spent Christmas, with the queen and the king of Almaine and the legate Ottobon and a formidable army, at Northampton. And there good and reverend men were busy in bringing about peace between the king and the younger Simon. Simon submitted himself to

1266.

the arbitration of the legate and the king of Almaine his uncle and Philip Basset, saving to himself life and loss of limbs, and excepting perpetual imprisonment.

So, having received hostages, he presented himself in the king's presence at Northampton. And when he came, the king of Almaine, in the presence of the king of England, thanked Simon for saving his life, and said that he would have been killed at Kenilworth, when Simon the father fell, if he had not been saved by the help of this Simon, so enraged were the captors at the death of their leader. Wherefore Simon was now received by the king with the kiss of peace, and would have obtained full royal grace had not the envy of the earl of Gloucester and the fury of some others stood in the way. It was agreed therefore that Simon should give up the castle of Kenilworth to the king and leave the kingdom, to receive every year five hundred marks from the royal treasury till peace should be established in England.

But those who were in the castle rejected these conditions, and refused to give up the castle to the king or to Simon himself, who came thither under conduct. They said they had not received the custody of the castle from Simon, but from the countess, who was driven out of the realm some time previously. They refused to yield up the castle to any living person, except the countess herself and none other. The king therefore went with an army to besiege the castle; but they held it for half a year against the king and his army. At length, for lack of victuals, the castle was yielded up to the king, saving the life, limbs and necessary goods of those who had held it. It is marvellous that the king dealt so gently with those who had ravaged his land and ventured to hold that castle in the midst of the kingdom against their king, and a little before had seized a rider of the king, and cut off his hand, and sent him back in derision to the king on behalf of the disinherited.

Meanwhile, while the king was intent on the siege of the castle of Kenilworth with his whole army, the disinherited, knowing that other parts of England were deprived of military force, wandered, ravaging and robbing, through Cambridge and Huntingdon. At length, on the feast of St. Lawrence, they entered the isle of Ely. Taking their stand there, they plundered the adjacent district, stocking the island with necessaries. The bishop of Ely, who went to the king to announce this misfortune, was received indignantly and was

blamed for it by many. Then the community of the counties was summoned to protect them and prevent the enemy's egress. But the disinherited, alarmed, forced the people to retire to the town of Norwich. Some they set to bring booty and carry victuals. They entered the city and plundered it, carrying off abundant spoil. Similarly, entering Cambridge, they took prisoner Jews and other rich men, whomsoever they pleased, and carried them off into the island to be ransomed at their pleasure.

On the feast of St. Bartholomew the apostle, a great parliament was held at Kenilworth. There king Henry granted to his barons the ancient charter and asked for a tenth for three years from the whole English church. And reply was made by all, and the legate agreed, that first peace should be made if possible, and afterwards they would answer the king concerning these matters. The king agreed to this. It was therefore provided, by assent of the king, Edward, the legate, the bishops, abbots, and all the barons who were there present, that six men should be chosen, three bishops and three barons of native birth, and that they should choose six other barons of native birth who should ordain concerning the state of the realm.

*Annals of
Waverley,
371.
1266.*

THE DICTUM DE KENILWORTH.

*Select
Charters,
419-425.*

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, Amen. To the honour and glory of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and of the glorious and most excellent mother of God, the Virgin Mary, and of all the blessed through whose merits on earth intercessions are received, and of the holy catholic and apostolic Roman church, which is the mother and mistress of all the faithful, and of our most holy father and lord Clement, supreme pontiff of the whole church: for the honour, prosperity and peace of the most Christian prince Henry, illustrious king of England, and of the whole realm and church of England: we, Walter bishop of Exeter, William bishop of Bath and Wells, Nicholas bishop of Worcester, Richard bishop of St. Davids, Gilbert of Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, Humphrey of Bohun, earl of Hereford, Philip Basset, John Balliol, Robert Waleraund, Alan de la Zouche, Roger of Somery, Warin of Basingbourne, having full power from the king and the other barons, councillors of the

realm, and magnates of England, according to a form written down in public letters, strengthened with the seals of the said king and others, to make provision upon the state of the land with regard to the deeds of the disinherited, have provided by divine grace what we thought fit, according to the rule of law and equity, for the pleasure of God and the peace of the realm; excepting no person in this matter, but having before our eyes God only, acting before all things as if in the sight of Almighty God, and in order preferring the head to the members.

1. We say and provide that the most serene prince Henry, illustrious king of England, shall have, fully obtain and freely exercise, his lordship and royal power, without any impediment or contradiction, by which, contrary to the rights and laws and long standing customs of the realm, the royal dignity might be offended. And we provide that full obedience and humble service be given to the same king and his commands and bidding by all and single, greater and less, of the same realm. And all and single shall seek justice and answer in justice by writs to the court of the lord king, as they used to do before the time of the late disturbances.

2. We also ask the same king and reverently persuade his piety, that he should appoint such persons to do and render justice as seek not their own interests, but what becomes God and justice, that they may rightly settle the business of his subjects, according to the laudable laws and customs of the realm, and thereby make the throne of the royal majesty strong in justice.

3. We likewise ask and persuade the same king to keep and observe ecclesiastical liberties in full, and the charters and liberties of the forests, which he is bound to keep and observe strictly and by his own oath.

4. The king shall provide that those concessions which he has made lately, of his own free will and not under compulsion, shall be observed, and other necessities which have been devised by his ministers, for his benefit, shall remain and endure. And also the English church shall have full restitution of her liberties and customs, which she used to have till the time of this disturbance, and shall be permitted to use them freely.

5. We say and provide that the aforesaid king shall altogether remit rancour against, and spare, all and single who from the beginning of the present disturbance of the realm,

and because of it, up to this time, have committed any injury or offence against him or the royal crown, and who have come to his peace within forty days after the date of this our provision; so that in no wise and on no cause or occasion shall he take any vengeance, on account of such past injuries or offences, against the same offenders, or inflict any penalty upon them, of life or limb or imprisonment or exile or fine, saving those matters which are contained in our present provision below.

6. We say also and provide that all places, rights, property and other matters appertaining to the crown shall be restored to the same crown and to the king, by those who detained them in occupation, unless they show that they possess them by a reasonable warrant from the same king or his council.

7. We say also and provide that all writings, obligations and instruments which the said king or Edward his eldest son or their lieges made or issued hitherto, on account of the provisions of Oxford, or on account of the disturbance in the realm, at the instance of the late Simon of Montfort, earl of Leicester, and his accomplices, shall be wholly annulled and quashed and held as null and void. Also the prejudicial and damaging acts of the said Simon and his accomplices, and contracts concerning immovable property made by them when in power, shall be null and void.

8. We humbly ask the lord legate and the lord king, that he, the legate, will forthwith prohibit, on pain of ecclesiastical constraint, that Simon earl of Leicester shall be reputed by anyone as a saint or righteous man. For, Holy Church holds, he died under excommunication. And that the vain and foolish miracles told about him by some persons shall be uttered hereafter by no one. And that the lord king shall be pleased to prohibit this same strictly under penalty of death.

9. We humbly and reverently beseech our lord the venerable father Ottobon, cardinal deacon of St. Adrian and legate of the apostolic see, that he will give the benefit of absolution, since he knows that it is desirable, both for the king himself and for other men, greater or less, of the kingdom who did not observe those charters, which they were bound to observe on pain of sentence of excommunication, already issued abroad.

10. Also we ask and beseech that no man of whatever rank shall take corn or victuals or goods of any kind in the name

of a loan, or under a promise of future payment, without licence of those to whom the goods or property belong, saving the approved customs of the realm.

11. As for London, we counsel and urge and advise the aforesaid king, to make provision by his council as to the reform of the city, with regard to lands, revenues, lordship and liberties, and to make this provision quickly.

12. Concerning the state and business of the disinherited, among other things which we have ordained and decreed, wishing to walk in the path of equity and according to God's will, we have provided, with the consent of our venerable father the cardinal deacon of St. Adrian and legate of the apostolic see and of the noble Henry of Almaine who have like power, that there shall be no disinheritance, but a ransom. Namely, those who began the war and persevered until now: those who falsely and maliciously held Northampton against the king: those who attacked and fought against the king at Lewes: those taken prisoner at Kenilworth, who came from plundering Winchester, or had elsewhere been fighting the king, and whom the king has not pardoned: those who fought at Evesham against the king: those who were in arms against the king at Chesterfield: those who in greed and for wealth and without compulsion sent their followers against the king or his son: those bailiffs and ministers of the earl of Leicester who robbed their neighbours, and brought about homicides, arsons and other evils: shall pay the value of their lands for five years. If they pay that ransom they shall have their lands again. Provided that, if the land is to be sold, none shall have it except the man who holds it of the king's gift, if he will give as much as any buyer in the open market and at the same terms. Similarly, if the land must be let to farm, none shall have better right than he who holds it of the gift of the lord king, if he will give as much as anyone else for it to farm, and have it on the same terms. Similarly, he who gives satisfaction for the whole land shall have the whole, he who gives a half shall have a half, he who gives one third shall have one third. If on the last term fixed the ransomer has not given satisfaction, half of the remaining land shall remain to those on whom the land has been conferred by the lord king. But it shall be permissible for the ransomer to sell within that term the whole or part of the land, according to the form of sale mentioned above, and similarly to let it out to farm.

14. Also the earl of Ferrers shall be punished up to the value of his land for seven years, and the knights and squires who were robbers and were with the chief rioters in the war and plunderings. If they have not lands and have goods, their ransom shall be one half of their goods, and they shall find sufficient security that they will keep the peace of the king and kingdom henceforth. Those who have nothing shall come and take oath on the holy gospels, and shall find competent security, that they will keep the peace of king and kingdom henceforth, and undergo sufficient satisfaction and penance according to the judgment of the church; excepting those hanned, whom the king alone can pardon.

Given and published in our castle at Kenilworth, on the 31st of October, in the year of Christ 1266, the fifty-first year of the reign of Henry king of England.

HOW THE KING SPENT HIS LAST YEARS IN PEACE AND HIS SON WENT ON CRUSADE. Rish-
anger, 57-
58.

About the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, king Henry, with a great army, came to Shrewsbury to come to Wales to fight against its prince Llewelyn who had supported earl Simon's party against the king. But he sent messengers to the king and paid £32,000 sterling to have peace. So by the intervention of the legate the land of the four cantreds which the king had stolen from him by right of war was restored to the prince. 1267.

In the year of grace 1268, which was the fifty-second year of the reign of king Henry, the king, with the queen and the legate Ottobon, was at London. Ottobon called a council at London, in which he made many decrees for the reform of the church of England. And not long after, at Northampton, he gave the sign of the cross to the king's sons, Edward and Edmund, the earl of Gloucester, and many nobles. When this had been done he went back, with an inestimable treasure, to Rome. Rish-
anger, 58.
1268.

In this year St. Louis, king of France, sent special messengers to Edward the English king's son, begging him to hasten to hold converse with him. Edward journeyed with Rish-
anger, 60-
61.
1268.

all speed to the king of France. The king received him with a joyful countenance, and embraced and kissed him, and explained the reason for which he had summoned him. He said he had vowed to go again to the Holy Land, and he wished for a comrade to fight the barbarous rabble of the pagans. When Edward heard this he answered, "You know, my lord the king, that all the substance of England is wasted, on account of the war between the king and the magnates; and my own substance is too small to pursue such a task in the presence of such a lord". Then the king of France answered, "I will lend you thirty thousand marks of good and lawful money, or rather I will give it you freely. Agree so far with my wishes." Now since Edward was a man of great stature, great strength and courage, strong beyond measure, the king of France thought himself fortunate to obtain such a comrade. Edward, therefore, who desired the expedition as much as the king of France himself, agreed to his wish, and at once pledged Gascony to the king of the French, accepting from him the money necessary for his journey to the Holy Land. Then he returned to England to seek permission of his father the king. His piety moved the old man to tears, and he agreed to his desire and gave his son his blessing, allowing him to take as many as he wished as followers for his expedition. On this occasion he was signed with the cross, as aforesaid, by the legate.

Wykes,
226-227.
1268.

Henry, king of England, moved by pious devotion, wished that the venerable relics of the most blessed king Edward the Confessor, whom he loved with a special reverence, before all other saints, should rest no longer in a humble shrine, and that so bright a light should no longer lie hidden under a bushel but be set on a candlestick, and give a flood of spiritual light to all comers and goers. So on the 13th of October, which that year fell on a Sunday (on the very day, that is, on which long before the saint had first been placed in his humble shrine), he gathered together all the prelates and magnates of England, and the more powerful of all cities and boroughs of his realm, to make famous the solemnity of the translation. There came also no small number of common people to venerate those relics. The king transferred those relics from their old shrine in the presence of the great multitude, and bore them on the shoulders of himself and his brother the most serene king of

the Romans, calling to his help his noble sons Edward and Edmund, the earl of Warenne, Philip Basset, and other important persons of the realm, as many as could lend a hand in the supporting of so noble a burden. With due reverence he placed them in a golden shrine ornamented with most precious stones, in an eminent place. All this was done in the conventual church of the monastery of Westminster, 1269. which the king himself had constructed from the foundations, out of the issues of his royal treasury, most magnificently, removing such portions of the old church as were of no value. It surpassed all the churches of the world in expense and beauty, and had no equal. On the same day the monks of Westminster for the first time celebrated the divine mysteries in the new church. And in the royal palace after the function of the translation was over there was held so magnificent a feast as amazed and astonished all.

This year, in May, Edward, son of the king of England, with Edmund his brother, four earls, and as many barons, and many other nobles, began his journey to the Holy Land, taking with him his wife Eleanor. Rish-
anger, 64.
1270.

HOW KING HENRY DIED AND WAS BURIED IN HIS CHURCH
AT WESTMINSTER. Wykes,
252-253.
1272.

On Wednesday, which was the feast of St. Edmund, once archbishop of Canterbury, namely November 16th, Henry most serene king of England, of pious memory, laying aside the burden of flesh and putting off the carnal man, changed the transitory glory of this world for the heavenly palace, to reign for ever with the King of Kings in heaven. On the Sunday next following, which was the feast of the blessed king and martyr Edmund, in that most noble church of Westminster, which he had built, with sumptuous and incomparable toil, from the foundations, he was buried with all fitting honour. The magnates of the realm attended the ceremony with due reverence. His body, decked in precious garments and the royal diadem, as all who were present agree, when he was carried, in his coffin, by certain nobles of the realm chosen to this office, to the grave, shone with greater beauty in death than had ever been seen while he lived. An event well worthy of note happened, when in that place, where the blessed king and confessor Edward had lain buried for many years till his

relics were translated to the shrine, the body of king Henry, who while he lived was wont to love the same St. Edward before all saints and to venerate him with greater devotion, was taken for burial and laid to rest right nobly.

Rish-
anger, 74-
75.
1272.

This king, though imprudent in worldly matters, was all the more devoted to God. Every day he was wont to hear three masses, and wished to hear more. He was assiduous in attending private celebration, and when the priest raised the body of Christ he was wont to hold the hand of the priest and kiss it. Now it chanced once that St. Louis, king of the French, speaking to him concerning this matter, said that he himself was not always free to hear mass but rather to hear sermons. The king answered him graciously, but said that he would rather see his friend often than hear one speak of him, however well he spoke. He was of small stature and compact shape, with a slight droop of one eyelid, so as to conceal a part of the blackness of the pupil. He was strong but headstrong. Since he had a fortunate and happy ending, many thought that he was the lynx signified by Merlin's prophecy, penetrating everywhere.

Heming-
burgh,
ii. 1.
1274.

CONCERNING THE CORONATION OF KING EDWARD AND THE
BEGINNING OF HIS REIGN.

In the year of our Lord 1274, on the 2nd of August, Edward, son of king Henry, landed in England. On August the 19th, the feast of the blessed martyr Magnus, he was exalted and crowned king of England, in the second year of his reign after his father's death. Brother Robert of Kilwardby, archbishop of Canterbury, anointed him as king and Eleanor his wife as queen, at Westminster in London, while crowds rejoiced and shouted, "Long live the king". He was good to look upon, of great stature and fine shape, taller by a head and more than ordinary men. He was young, too, for he had not yet completed the thirty-sixth year of his age.

1275.

HOW EDWARD CAUSED TO BE SUMMONED A GREAT AND
GENERAL PARLIAMENT.

Eng. Hist.
Review,
xxv. 236.
1274.

A writ to the Sheriff of Middlesex.

Edward by God's grace king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, to the sheriff of Middlesex, greeting.

Since for certain reasons we have prorogued our general parliament, which we proposed to hold with the prelates and other magnates of our realm at London, within a fortnight of the Purification of blessed Mary next to come, to the morrow of the Sunday after Easter next to come: we bid you to cause four knights of the more discreet in the law from your county and also six or four citizens, burgesses, or other upright men from each city, borough, and market town of your bailiwick, to come thither on the said morrow of the Sunday after Easter, to treat with the magnates of the realm concerning the business of the same realm. Also you shall cause our letters directed to certain persons in your bailiwick to be handed or sent to them without delay. You shall in no wise omit this, and you shall inform us fully concerning the execution of this our command at the aforesaid date. Witness myself at Woodstock, on the 26th of December, in the third year of my reign.

Because from the very first he was anxious to establish just laws and improve those that were inadequate, for he was just, prudent and discreet, he called together his magnates in the third year of his reign and by the common counsel issued at London what is called the first Statute of Westminster, which contains forty-seven clauses.

Heming-
burgh,
ii. 1.
1275.

HOW LLEWELYN, PRINCE OF WALES, DEFIED KING
EDWARD, BUT WAS SUBDUED.

Flores
Hist. iii.
45, 47, 48.

About the nativity of blessed Mary, the king stayed awhile in the district about Chester. He had caused Llewelyn, prince of Wales, who was unwilling to come to him in person, to be summoned to his parliament at Westminster. Llewelyn however refused to appear, saying that he remembered the death of his father Griffith, who fell from the Tower of London, broke his neck, and died.

49.
1275.

Amaury, son of Simon de Montfort once earl of Leicester, and his sister, a lovely maid, who was to have been married to Llewelyn prince of Wales, were captured at sea near Bristol, and taken to the king. This was God's providence, said the king, for he had not known that his kinswoman was about to marry his enemy.

1276. After Easter many nobles assembled for a parliament at Westminster.

To this, as to other parliaments, Llewelyn was summoned, but did not appear. However, he sent messengers to make terms, and offered no small amount of money for the daughter of the earl of Leicester, whom he wished to marry. The king would not agree to the marriage or accept the money, unless Llewelyn restored the lands which he had invaded to their rightful lords, and repaired the English castles which he had destroyed.

1277. A fortnight after Easter the king left Westminster, and hastened towards Wales, with all the military service of his land. He took with him as far as Salisbury the exchequer and the justices of the bench, and they remained there for some time, hearing cases according to the customs of England. The Welsh were alarmed at the approach of the king and his army, and fled to their usual lurking places in Snowdon. The king, by the help of the men of the Cinque Ports, occupied all their lands as far as Snowdon. When Llewelyn prince of Wales learnt that his manors and castles had been burnt and destroyed, he took with him some of the more powerful of his land and went to the king about Advent of the same year to ask for mercy, and not judgment. King Edward therefore accepted homage and fealty from the more important men of Wales, and took their prince, Llewelyn, with him to Westminster. He received from him 50,000 marks, and it was agreed that each year he should pay 1,000 marks into the exchequer at Westminster for the island of Anglesey and for the district of Snowdon. Then the so-called prince, carefully instructed, was allowed to return to those parts. His successors were to lose the name of prince, and the other lands in Wales which he had lately acquired were to be reserved for the king of England and his successors.

Heming-
burgh, II.,
I. 5-7.

HOW THE KING MADE INQUIRY CONCERNING THE PRIVILEGES
OF HIS NOBLES.

1278.

In the year of our Lord 1278, a fortnight after the feast of St. John the Baptist, the king held his parliament at Glou-

cester and issued what is called the statute of Gloucester, containing fifteen clauses. In August he made the statute of *quo warranto*.

Soon after he disquieted some of the magnates of the land by means of his justices, who sought to know by what warrant they held their lands. If they had no good warrant, he took possession of their lands. Among the rest earl Warrene was summoned before the king's justices and asked by what warrant he held. He produced an ancient and rusty sword, and cried, "Here, my lords, here is my warrant! My ancestors came over with William the bastard and conquered their lands by the sword, and I will defend those same lands by the sword against any, whosoever he may be, who seeks to occupy them. For the king did not conquer and subdue the land by himself, but my ancestors were his partners and helpers." Other magnates adhered to him and his argument, and went off angry and in disorder. When the king heard of this he feared for himself, and ceased from his mistaken policy. Besides, soon after the Welsh rose in rebellion, and the king had great need of his magnates. So when the king was holding a certain parliament, and the sons of the magnates were standing in his presence at vespers, he said to them, "What were you talking about while I was in consultation with your fathers?" And one answered, "You will not be angry if we tell you the truth?" "No," said the king. "Sire, we were saying this:—

Le Roy cuvayte nos deneres
 E la Rayne nos beau maneres
 E le Quo Waranto
 Sal mak wus al to do."¹

HOW KING EDWARD MADE A TREATY AT AMIENS WITH THE KING OF FRANCE.

Flores
 Hist.
 III. 52.

In the year of grace 1279, the seventh of king Edward's reign, about Ascensiontide, king Edward crossed the sea, with his queen, whose mother the countess of Ponthieu, once queen

¹ The king desires our money,
 The queen our manors too,
 The writ of "By what warrant"
 Will make a sad to-do.

of Castile, had died. Therefore the king of England went to Amiens and was received honourably by his kinsman Philip, king of France, who had awaited him there with the more important magnates of his realm. Philip handed over to Edward for perpetual possession the Agenais, Limousin, Périgord, Saintonge, the county of Ponthieu, which belonged by hereditary right to the queen of England, and other lands. In return he received homage from the said king and queen of England. Thus all dispute, contrary to expectation, was ended between the kings of France and England.

Select
Charters,
458-459.
1279.

THE STATUTE THAT THE KING MADE CONCERNING RELIGIOUS HOUSES, SOMETIMES CALLED THE STATUTE OF MORTMAIN.

The king to his justices of the Bench, greeting. Since provision was recently made that religious persons should not enter upon the fiefs of anyone without the licence and permission of the chief lords of whom those fiefs are immediately held: and since nevertheless religious persons have afterwards entered upon fiefs, both the king's own and those of others, by appropriation or purchase or sometimes by receiving them as a gift: wherefore the services due from such fiefs and provided in the beginning for the defence of the realm have been unduly withdrawn, and the chief lords have lost their escheats: we, wishing to provide a suitable remedy in this matter, by the advice of prelates, earls and other lieges of our realm present in our council, have provided, decreed, and ordained, that no religious or other person whatsoever, on pain of forfeiture, shall buy or sell any lands or tenements, or receive such under colour of gift, or lease, or any other title, or presume to appropriate such to himself by art or ingenuity in any fashion whatsoever by which such lands or tenements may in any wise fall into the dead hand.

We have provided also that if any, religious or other, ventures to contravene the present statute in any way by art or ingenuity, it shall be permitted to us, and to other chief lords of a fief so alienated, to enter upon it and hold it in fee and inheritance within one year of the time of such alienation. If the immediate chief lord shall be negligent and fail to enter upon such a fief within the year, then it shall be permissible for the next mediate lord of that fief within the next six months to enter into and hold that fief as aforesaid. Thus

each mediate lord may do if the nearer lord is negligent in entering upon the fief. And if all the chief lords of such a fief, who are of full age and within the four seas and out of prison, remain negligent or remiss for a whole year, then we, on the completion of one year from the time of such purchases, gifts or other appropriations, shall be permitted to take such lands and tenements into our own hands, and enfeoff others in them, by certain services to be done to us thence for the defence of our realm: saving to the chief lords of such fiefs wardships, escheats, and other incidents pertaining to them, and the services due and accustomed.

Wherefore we bid you cause this statute to be read before you, and in future see that it is firmly kept and observed. Witness the king at Westminster on the 15th of November in the seventh year of his reign.

HOW THE WELSH ROSE AGAIN IN REBELLION, AND LLEWELWYN AND HIS BROTHER DAVID WERE SLAIN.

Heming-
burgh, ii.
9-14.

In the year of our lord 1282 David, brother of Llewelyn prince of Wales, who had fought gallantly in two previous Welsh wars for the king of England against his brother, and upon whom the king had conferred many gifts and possessions in England, and his own dear kinswoman as wife, made a league with his brother Llewelyn. However, Llewelyn told him he should never have his friendship unless he showed himself as fierce an enemy to the king of England as previously he had been a true friend. So, making a strong league . . . they seized at Flint castle,¹ Roger of Clifford whom the king had made seneschal there, and put him in prison. Then they wasted with fire and sword whatever they could lay hands on belonging to the king or the English. All this began in the holy time during the passion of our Lord.

1282-
1283.

When the king heard of it, like a good son of the church, he sent to his spiritual fathers in the Christian faith, the archbishops and bishops, and asked them to cause those evil doers and their accomplices and supporters to be publicly and solemnly denounced in their dioceses as excommunicate. For they were enemies to the tranquillity and peace of Holy Church and of the realm, had committed robberies, homicides, arsons, and many enormities, and therefore had incurred

¹ Really at Hawarden.

the sentence of excommunication. He believed, he added, that their rebellion and malice might be more easily suppressed by the secular arm, if he had the help of the spiritual sword on whose assistance in this case he might rely.

Then the king gathered together a great army, and about Pentecost set out to Wales, and forced the rebels to flee to the mountains. The mariners of the Cinque Ports who were acting valiantly but believed themselves to be in great danger, took the island of Anglesey. They put the Welsh to flight and slew some of them. "Now," said the king, "Llewelyn has lost the finest feather in his tail." And he caused a bridge to be made across the Menai Straits to the entrance into Snowdon across a number of boats joined together, with beams and planks laid over them so that sixty armed men could cross abreast.

Now while the king was in the castle of Aberconway and was not yet ready to cross, some of our men, seven knights banneret with about 300 men at arms, to make fame and reputation for themselves, while the bridge was still incomplete and unsafe, were rash enough to cross over it, at low tide. When they had reached the foot of the mountains and were some distance from the bridge, and the tide had come flooding in so that they could not return to the bridge on account of the depth of water, the Welsh issued from the mountain heights, and marched to attack them. Our men, taken by surprise and afraid of such large numbers, preferred to trust themselves to the water rather than to the enemy. They rushed into the water as they were, weighted and in their arms, and were instantly drowned. Among them was that knight, Luke de Tany, who had long been seneschal of Gascony. The king had in his army many Gascons and Basques who had come with great pomp to his help: but not all of them returned. Yet the Lord that day preserved that most valiant knight William Latimer, who was carried on his horse's back through the midst of the waters. That terrible drowning took place on the feast of St. Leonard the confessor.

However, on the feast of St. Nicholas following, Llewelyn came down from the mountains with a single squire, to spy out whether the inhabitants of the valleys were loyal to him as they used to be. He left his whole army on the brow of the hill overlooking the river. . . . His men had previously seized Orewyn Bridge, and there were stationed at it on the

one side many Welsh and on the other many royalists. The king himself, however, was then at Rhuddlan. Now when our men, who were led by John Giffard and Roger Mortimer the younger, saw that the Welsh were posted at the bridge and a large army on the brow of the hill, they took counsel with each other as to what should be done. One, Elias Walweyn, answered: "If we remain here we can neither advance nor cross. But there is a ford not far off, unknown to the Welsh, where we could cross, though with difficulty. Therefore let some stout men follow me, and we will attack the Welsh who are now at the bridge in the rear, and thus open an entrance over the bridge for the rest of our army. Afterwards we can proceed against the rest of the enemy." They did this, and crossed the ford which was unknown to the others: wherefore it has been known from that day to this as the ford of Elias. Then, cutting down the Welsh who were at the bridge, they opened a way for the rest of our army.

Now the tumult reached the ears of Llewelyn who was hidden near by in a grange. . . . And he said, "Are not my Welshmen at Orewyn bridge?" "They are," he was answered. "Then I should not be afraid if all England was on the other side." But as the noise and tumult from his army grew louder, as they saw the English hastening towards them, Llewelyn with his boy bestirred himself to climb away secretly, for when he understood what had happened he feared for his own safety. But he was perceived by one of our men, Stephen of Frankton, who did not, however, know who he was: and he pursued Llewelyn with a few men, and pierced him with a lance as he fled, lightly armed, and then went away and returned to our army. So the Welsh stood in their array on the brow of the mountain waiting for their prince and lord, but in vain. As our men climbed up, they aimed arrows and darts at them, and by a combination between our archers, who were planted among the horsemen, many perished, as they stood valiantly waiting for their lord. At length however our horsemen climbed the mountain above them, slew some, and put the rest to flight.

As our men were on their way back after the victory, Stephen went to look who the two were whom he had killed. When he saw Llewelyn's face he recognized him, cut off his head, and carried it with much rejoicing to the king. The king ordered it to be sent to London. So a silver circlet was

put upon it to show that it was the head of a prince, and it was carried on a lance by a horseman through Cheapside in London with a great escort of citizens, and finally set up on the lance on a high tower of the royal palace, where it might long be seen by all who passed by. Thus was fulfilled that prophecy in which Llewelyn had put his trust. For it is said that when he proposed to go to war against the king of England, he asked a witch what would come of it. She, consulting the devil, bade him go on boldly with his project, for he should ride crowned through the midst of Cheapside at London. So he believed from this that he would become king of the English, and continued his mistake even to death. Then when he was dead the devil fulfilled the promise which he had not made good while he lived.

Now the king caused his peace to be proclaimed, and received homage and fealty from the magnates of Wales, and decreed firm peace throughout Wales, and ordered certain Englishmen and Welshmen to pursue David. Then he returned to England. David, fleeing from the slaughter aforesaid, lurked in the bogs and marshes for almost a year. However at length he was captured, on the vigil of St. Maurice, and taken to the king. At the parliament of Shrewsbury which the king held after Michaelmas, as a seducer and traitor, convicted of robbery and homicide, he was drawn and hanged. Then his body was cut into four parts, and the four pieces sent to four different parts of England as a perpetual reminder of what had happened. But his head was taken to Loudon, and set up on high on the royal tower beside that of his brother.

Flores, III. HOW THE KING MADE NEW PROVISIONS CONCERNING THE
63-64. CHURCH AND THE PEACE OF THE REALM.
1285.

At this time king Edward summoned the magnates of his realm to Westminster and issued certain statutes, amongst which was one in which he cut down the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical judges. And as previously he had ordered that religious persons must not increase their landed possessions, he was now pleased to ordain that they must not diminish them. Later, at Winchester, about the Nativity of blessed Mary, certain statutes were issued to restrain the mad insolence of robbers and thieves.

THE STATUTE ISSUED AT WINCHESTER.

Select
Charters,
470-472.

I. Since from day to day robberies, homicides, arsons, are committed more frequently than they used to be, and felonies cannot be tracked out by the oath of jurors, who are more willing to allow felonies committed against strangers to pass without penalty, than to indict evildoers, of whom many are men of the same district, or at any rate, if the evildoers are from elsewhere, the receivers are of the vicinity: and they do this because no oath is put beyond doubt to jurors or to the district where the felonies were committed with regard to the restitution of damages, for no penalty has hitherto been provided for concealment or negligence: our lord the king, to abate the power of felons, has established a penalty in such cases, in order that for fear of the penalty more than for fear of their oath they shall not spare any one henceforth, nor conceal any felony. He commands that solemn proclamation shall be made in all county courts, hundred courts, markets, fairs, and every other place where people are wont to assemble, so that no man may be able to excuse himself on the score of ignorance, and that each county shall henceforth be so well watched, that as soon as felonies or robberies have been committed fresh pursuit shall be made from township to township and county to county.

IV. To secure the peace yet further, the king has commanded that in the large towns which are walled, the gates shall be shut from sundown to sunrise. No man shall lodge in the suburbs or outskirts of the town except by day, and not even by day unless his host will answer for him. Every week, or at least every fortnight, the bailiffs of the town shall make inquiry concerning men lodged in the suburbs or outskirts of the towns, and if they find any host who is receiving or lodging in any way people who are suspected of designs against the peace, the bailiffs shall do what is lawful. It is commanded also that henceforth watches shall be kept, as they used to be, namely from Ascension Day to Michaelmas, in each city by six men at each gate, in each borough by twelve men, in each town in the land by six or four men, according to the number of its inhabitants. They shall keep watch throughout the night from sundown to sunrise. If any stranger passes by them, he shall be arrested till morning.

Then, if nothing suspicious is found about him, he shall go free, but if anything suspicious is found, he shall be handed over to the sheriff, who shall receive him without danger and keep him safely, till he is delivered in due form. If they do not allow themselves to be arrested, the hue and cry shall be raised upon them, and those who form the watch shall follow with all the town and the neighbouring towns, till they are taken and delivered to the sheriff as aforesaid. No man shall be proceeded against for arrest of such strangers.

V. It is also commanded that the high roads from one market town to another shall be broadened, wherever there are bushes, or hedges, or dykes, so that there shall be no dyke, undergrowth or bushes where men could lurk to do evil, near the road, for 200 feet on the one side and 200 on the other. This statute does not apply to oaks or great trees which are clear beneath. If by default of the lord who will not abate dykes, undergrowth, or bushes as aforesaid, robberies are committed, the lord shall be answerable: if murder, he shall be fined at the king's pleasure. If the lord is unable to abate the undergrowth, the county shall help him. It is the king's will that in his own demesne lands, whether woods within or without the forests, the roads shall be widened as aforesaid. If perchance a park is near the high road, it is fitting that the lord of the park should diminish his park, till there is the space of 200 feet near the high road, as aforesaid, or else make such a wall, dyke, or hedge, that evildoers cannot come or go to do evil.

VI. It is also commanded that every man shall have in his house armour to keep the peace according to the ancient assize. Every man between fifteen and sixty years of age shall be assessed and sworn to arms according to the amount of his land or chattels. For fifteen librates of land and chattels to the value of forty marks, he shall have a hauberk, a cap of iron, a lance,¹ a knife and a horse. For ten librates of land and chattels to the value of twenty marks, he shall have a coat of mail, a cap, a lance and a knife. For a hundred shillings worth of land, he shall have a doublet, a cap of iron, a lance, and a knife. For forty shillings worth of land, or more up to a hundred shillings worth, he shall have a lance, bow and arrows, and a knife. Whoever has less than forty shil-

¹ Espe. It is uncertain whether this was lance or sword.

lings worth of land shall be sworn to bills, poleaxes,¹ knives and other small weapons. Whoever has chattels worth less than 20 marks shall have lances, knives, and other small arms. Every one else who is able shall have bows and arrows outside the forest and bows and bolts inside.

View of arms shall be taken twice a year. In every hundred or franchise two constables shall be chosen to hold the view of arms. They shall present before the justices assigned when they come into those parts the defaults they have discovered concerning armour, watches, and the roads. They shall also present all persons who harbour strangers in the upland townships, and will not be answerable for them. The justices assigned in each parliament shall present in their turn to the king, and the king will appoint a remedy.

Let sheriffs, bailiffs of franchises or outside, greater or less, who hold their bailiwicks in fee or in any other way, take care in future to follow the cry with the county. They shall have horses and arms to do this according to their position. If any one neglects to do so, the defaults shall be presented by the constables to the justices assigned and by them to the king as aforesaid.

VII. The king commands for the honour of Holy Church that henceforth no fair or market shall be held in a churchyard.

Given at Winchester on the 8th of October in the 13th year of the king's reign.

HOW THE KING CROSSED TO FRANCE, AND REMAINED FOR
THREE YEARS IN FOREIGN PARTS.

Flores
Hist. III.
64-65;
Heming-
burgh,
II. 16.
1286-1289.

In the year of our Lord 1286, the fourteenth of the reign of king Edward, Philip son of that Philip king of France, who had lately died in Aragon, was crowned as king of France. He sent solemn messengers to the king of England, chiefly to arrange for the settlement of the discord which had arisen between the French, the Aragonese, and the Spaniards, in the time of his father. For Philip was the son of the sister of Peter, father to Alfonse the then king of Aragon, who was to marry Eleanor, the king of England's eldest daughter. To bring these and other matters to a desirable conclusion, Ed-

¹Faus, gisarmes. These were weapons probably developed out of the sickle and the scythe.

ward crossed the channel on the 24th of June, with a large company of bishops, earls, barons, and other nobles. He was received honourably by the king of France, and escorted to St. Germain's near Paris. There he stayed for some time. He sought from the king of the French certain lands which his grandfather king John had lost, and obtained £10,000 sterling to be paid each year at the Tower of London . . . for Normandy, which belonged to him by hereditary right.

The king remained in foreign parts for three years almost continuously, and then, returning to England, heard numerous complaints concerning his justices. After an inquiry he exiled his chief justice, Thomas of Weyland, for ever, and put down the mighty from their seat and exalted the humble.

Heming-
burgh, II.
17-18.
1288.

CONCERNING A STRANGE RIOT THAT TOOK PLACE AT BOSTON
FAIR.

In the year of our Lord 1288, certain gentlemen arranged among themselves that they should hold a joust or tournament at Boston during the fair, dressed in the religious habit. Half were to wear the habit of monks and the others the habit of canons, and it was prearranged that the monks should engage the canons. When the joust was held, some of them plotted to rob the market. One day at vespers, as they had arranged beforehand, the flimsy tents and booths were fired in three or four places. The fire blazed up, shot high in the air, and the merchants made their way out wherever they could, carrying with them their more valuable wares. But those pseudo-religious, who had previously occupied the ends of the streets and the bridge over the river, seized their goods and killed some of them, then loaded the ships which they had ready and went off in the darkness. The fire thus kindled devoured a great part of the market, and the greedy flame consumed the church of the Preaching Friars. The author of this deed was a certain Robert Chamberlain, a valiant gentleman, who when convicted confessed to it. As he was drawn on his way to be hanged he begged pardon of those merchants with loud laments, but he would not reveal who had been his accomplices. However, they found many valuables secreted under the floor in his fine houses at Boston.

HOW THE JEWS WERE DRIVEN OUT OF ENGLAND.

Heming-
burgh, II.
20-22.
1290.

In the year of our Lord 1290 the king held his parliament at London after Easter, and passed the third statute of Westminster and an explanation of the statute of *quo warranto*. In that same parliament the magnates complained to the king of the malice and perfidy of the Jews. By usury and forged documents they had impoverished many of the magnates and seized money all over the land.

It was ordained therefore by the king and his secret council that on a certain day, between prime and terce, all the Jews in every city should be captured and driven out of the land. All were inspired with equal zeal, for they thought they would be doing God great service if they removed the race that rebelled against Christ from among Christ's faithful servants. The deed was done, and on a certain date all were seized and before another fixed date all were driven out. All their immoveable goods, and their starrs and bonds, were confiscated, but the king allowed them to carry off the rest of their moveable property, together with their gold and silver. Many were displeased at this.

Some Jews of London, who were among the most notable and richest of all the citizens and had immense treasures, hired a great and tall ship from the Cinque Ports. And when she was laden they embarked and went their way. And as they were going down the Thames near the sea the master of the ship anchored her without orders in midstream, for he had been thinking matters over and was grieved that so much wealth should go out of the country. When the tide went down the ship was left stranded, and he said to the Jews: "My lords, you are already heavy in the water, and much more evil is likely to come. Come and walk with me on the dry land upon the sands. The tide will not come for a long time." They agreed gladly and went with him. He led them and drew them further from the ship, till he knew the tide would be rising again. Then when the waves began to come he ran to the ship and climbed up into her by a rope. The Jews, following more slowly, shouted to him to save them. "Call to your Moses," he said, "instead of to me. He brought your fathers through the Red Sea and he can snatch you out of these waves if he chooses." So they cried to the Lord and to Moses, but were not heard, for

the sea swallowed them up, and they were drowned in the midst of the waves. The sailor, however, returned and told all to the king, and earned himself favour and reward.¹

Flores
Hist. III.
71-72.
1290.

HOW QUEEN ELEANOR DIED AND WAS BURIED IN ALL HONOUR.

On the 29th of November, just after the beginning of the nineteenth year of King Edward's reign, queen Eleanor, the king's consort, died at Harby in Lincolnshire. She first received the sacraments of those about to die with all devotion, and begged the king, who granted her petition, that whatever had been taken from any one unjustly, by herself or her servants, should be restored, and reasonable satisfaction made to the injured parties. Her inward parts were buried at Lincoln, but her body was taken to London on the 14th of December, and lay the following night at the church of the Holy Trinity at London. Next day, which was Friday, December 15th, the corpse, royally attired, and followed by the king, prelates, and magnates of the realm, was borne to the Brothers Minor, and, after mass had been said, to St. Paul's, where it lay that night. On the morrow, Saturday the 16th of December, after masses had been celebrated by many bishops, the body was taken to the Preaching Friars. There mass was said, and the body carried on to Westminster with equal ceremony. On the morrow, Sunday, December 17th, after ceremonies of royal magnificence such as never before had been seen or even heard of, it was buried at the feet of Henry, king of England of glorious memory, father of king Edward. On the Tuesday following, December 19th, the heart of the queen was buried with due solemnity at the church of the Preaching Friars.

Heming-
burgh, II.
22.

In memory of the queen the king caused two beautiful crosses to be erected, one at Charing and the other in West Cheap. Every Wednesday for a whole year afterwards, wherever he was, he caused money to be distributed to the poor and others who wished for it. At the end of the year he assigned a fixed revenue to the monastery of Westminster, on this condition, that on the day of her death for ever after they should give alms with a special service to all who sought them.

¹ According to another account he was hanged for his treachery.

HOW THE LORDSHIP OF SCOTLAND WAS GRANTED TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

Heming-
burgh, ii.
29-37,
1291.

In the year 1291 the matters which here follow were examined, and to make them clear the following points must be noticed.

In the year of our Lord 1251, the 36th of the reign of king Henry father of king Edward, Alexander king of Scotland married Margaret, the daughter of king Henry and sister of king Edward, with all due ceremony. The marriage was solemnized at York at the feast of the nativity of our Lord. In process of time Alexander had by this wife a son and a daughter, the son named after his father and the daughter after her mother. Now the son, though he grew up to manhood, died in the lifetime of his father. The daughter in course of time was married to the king of Norway. When queen Margaret of Scotland died, the king married a second wife, the daughter of the count of Flanders, but had no children by her. When he had reigned for many years in much worldly prosperity, one dark night, I know not by what impulse, he had a sudden longing to visit his new wife, who was a few miles away. It was the holy time of Lent. So he set forth with a few of his household in the pitchy darkness of the night, but his horse stumbled, the rider fell to the ground, broke his neck, and died instantly.

When he was dead and buried, and the succession to the realm had to be settled, it was found that there was no nearer heir than the little daughter of the king of Norway, the only child of his wife, who was, as explained above, the daughter of the king of Scotland. Now since she was niece to or at any rate a relation of king Edward, they sent to Gascony to him (for he was making a stay of three years there) magnates of the realm of Scotland to seek his favour. He saw that the succession to the Scottish realm belonged by hereditary right to his niece. Therefore he advised them to choose from the more noble and prudent of that kingdom four¹ wardens, to preserve the possessions and revenues in the Scottish treasury for the use and utility of the said heir, his niece. They did this for some years, prudently and faithfully. After some time when king Edward returned to

¹ Six were appointed, but two died.

his own country, he sent messengers to the king of Norway and fetched away the child with great magnificence. But because she was so young and had to be carried over a great distance of sea, she fell ill, and could not endure the perils of the waters. They set her ashore at the Orkney islands, hoping she would recover, but her illness increased, and in the end she died there.

Now after the child's death the council of the realm of Scotland was divided. Some of the magnates, about half, favoured John Balliol, lord of Galloway, and the rest Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale. The wardens, fearing lest sedition should break out, by the advice of the magnates of Scotland sent to the English king for his counsel in their difficulty. He sent back envoys of his own, namely the bishops of Durham and Carlisle and John of Vescy, who urged them with gentle and persuasive speeches to submit themselves freely to his settlement of the succession. Parliament was called and consulted, and then almost all the magnates submitted themselves absolutely to his counsel and settlement.

The king therefore called together his magnates and clergy and held a parliament at Norham, as being on the boundary of the two kingdoms, a fortnight after Easter in the year of our Lord 1291, the nineteenth of his own reign. Thither at the king's bidding came clerks practised in both civil and canon law, and many religious with their chronicles, . . . and several bishops including the archbishop of York, to make a final settlement concerning the lordship of the realm of Scotland. The king declared that he, as his predecessors had been, was and ought to be chief lord of the king and kingdom of Scotland. They carefully examined past history, and, when required to answer collectively and individually, said on their consciences that the supreme lordship of the Scottish realm belonged to the king of England, unless there was anything to the contrary by which the extracts from the chronicles were put out of court. Edward therefore summoned before him the prelates and magnates of the realm of Scotland, in the parish church of Norham, on May 10th in the aforesaid year, 1291, and propounded the following request by a certain knight of his, Roger Brabazon.

“Since in the book of Wisdom special charge is laid upon rulers that they who judge the earth shall love justice: and since according to apostolic doctrine the fruit of justice is

sown in peace, which is an ordered tranquillity where equals and inferiors range themselves each in his place: and among mortals there is nothing more greatly to be desired or more pleasant to discover than peace: our illustrious lord the king, consulting the interests of his principate in these matters with which he has been charged by the prince of peace, . . . and seeing that this peace is threatened in the realm of Scotland by the death of king Alexander and his offspring, who was closely related to our lord the king, which greatly troubles him: in order to do justice to all who claim any right of inheritance in the kingdom of Scotland, and to re-establish peace among the people of that same kingdom: has caused you magnates to come hither, and has himself travelled hither from distant parts, that he may, by right of the superior lordship which is his, do justice to all and remove all hindrances to the peace of the said kingdom. His intention is not to usurp anything unduly or delay justice or check or diminish liberties, but to do justice to every man, as supreme lord. And, in order that the said business may be carried through to a fitting conclusion, our lord the king asks for your courteous consent to his being recognised as superior lord, and he wishes to work to complete and preserve justice by your advice."

That petition was read out in French by the said knight in the presence of the king and magnates of both kingdoms, and had been drawn up by friar William of Hotham, at that time provincial of the Preaching Friars in England. Also extracts were read from the chronicles, privileges, and other papal and royal letters, showing how Scottish kings had done homage to the kings of England and recognised them as their lords. An early date was fixed for consultation and reply. When in the discussion some showed themselves hard to persuade, the king swore by St. Edward that he would either make good the right of his realm and of the crown of St. Edward, of which he was now the only keeper, or else he would die there in pursuit of it: for he had summoned all the knighthood of England in order that they might pursue his request even to death, if by any chance he were balked and refused. However, those magnates who were claiming the succession to the Scottish realm could not deny the English king's right so clearly expressed, and granted him the same lordship in writing.

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When this lordship, then, had been granted, and all had submitted to his will, the king asked for the custody of the castles and of the whole realm, that he might prove his right by peaceable seisin and they might the more speedily obtain justice: and the aforesaid claimants trusting in his justice and good faith granted this in writing.

The king sent these two letters afterwards under his privy seal to various monasteries, that they might be placed in their chronicles for a perpetual memorial of the matter.

Heming-
burgh, II.
37-39.

THE ARBITRATION THAT WAS MADE CONCERNING SCOTLAND.

When all this had been done and the realm set in order and keepers placed in the castles and towns, the king returned to the south, fixing his return for the feast of All Saints in the following year. At which date he returned, and ordered that fifty arbiters should be chosen from the realm of Scotland, discreet men skilled in the law, and associated with them from England thirty chosen men.¹ He ordered all, in loyalty to the oath they had taken and with the fear of God before their eyes, to weigh the desires of the petitioners and bring the business of the succession to a suitable conclusion.

They dispersed, as they were ordered, and heard the petitions of all who claimed any right in the kingdom of Scotland. They set aside almost all the claimants, and finally came to John Balliol and Robert Bruce, whose petitions were explained in their letters as follows. Since there was no nearer royal heir, recourse had to be had to David, once earl of Huntingdon, and brother of William, once king of Scotland, who ruled there at the time of Henry II. This David had three daughters. He gave the eldest to John of Balliol, the next to Bruce, the last to Hastings. It was by descent from these three that the said John, Robert, and also John of Hastings, claimed the succession. However, since a kingdom must never be divided, and, some said, ought to go to the nearest royal blood, Robert Bruce, although he was the child of the second sister, yet as he was nearer of kin by one

¹ There is some confusion here. The arbiters, eighty from Scotland and twenty-four from England, were appointed in June, 1291. The court began to sit in August 1291, but was then adjourned for a year, till June 1292, when it reopened in the king's presence.

step, claimed that he should be admitted to the succession as the nearest heir.

The arbiters, however, did not admit this argument, and adjudged the succession to the realm of Scotland to John Balliol, as the descendant of the eldest sister. Our lord the king approved their award and restored to the same John the kingdom of Scotland in its entirety, saving to himself homage and fealty. On the day of St. Andrew the apostle John Balliol was made king of Scotland after the Scottish fashion, which is as follows. At the monastery of Scone there stood a great stone in the church near the high altar, hollow and like a chair. Upon this it was customary to place kings about to be crowned. This placing of a new king belonged by hereditary right to the earl of Fife. The king must take an oath that he would justly rule and defend holy mother church and the people subjected to him, and establish good laws, and continue such as had long been in use, even to his death. When the new king had been seated on the stone masses were celebrated, and, except at the elevation of the holy body of our Lord, he remained seated throughout.

On the day of the blessed protomartyr Stephen, the same king of the Scots did homage to our king at Newcastle on Tyne, in the year of our Lord 1292. The king restored to him all his rights entire and unimpaired, together with all his castles, and then returned to the south.

HOW WAR AROSE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND
ENGLAND.

Heming-
burgh,
ii. 40-45.
1293.

In the year of our Lord 1293, there arose a bitter conflict between the English king's mariners of the Cinque Ports and the French king's Norman sailors, in the following way. A certain ship from the Cinque Ports put in at Normandy and remained there several days. One day two of her sailors went to draw sweet and fresh water from a spring hard by, and it happened that they found some Norman sailors there. Provoked by them, they took to hard words, and from hard words to hard blows, and in the end swords were drawn, one of them was killed, and the other fled and took refuge in the ship with his comrades, relating to them the disaster and the fact that the Normans were in pursuit. They drew off to

sea, hoping to slip away, but the enemy followed to catch them. However, the pursuit was difficult and they crossed over and told all that had happened to the mariners of the Ports, and asked their help.

The pursuers' rage still continued, and they collected several friends and sought for English ships in the channel. One day they encountered six English vessels, attacked them, and completely ruined two of them. Then they hanged men with dogs at the yardarms of their ships, and so sailed the channel, making no difference between a dog and an Englishman. When some of those who escaped told this story to the mariners of the Cinque Ports, they soon assembled, burning to wreak vengeance for such an insult, and looked for the enemy. They did not find them as they had hoped, so entered Sluys harbour in force to take their revenge. They killed some, drowned others, and carried off six ships. Thenceforward there were constant encounters from one side or the other, with shipwrecks and plundering, for each side thirsted for the blood of the other.

15 May,
1293.

After this sort of contest had gone on for a long time, they exchanged messengers and agreed to meet on a certain day . . . in full force. The standard was fixed in the middle of the sea between England and Normandy, and there by mutual arrangement they anchored a large empty ship to indicate the meeting-place. The English sought allies from Ireland and Holland, while the Normans summoned French, Flemish, and Genoese sailors. When the day came, they met, equipped with weapons of warfare. Now there was great disparity of courage between them, and there was also great inequality of weather, for there was snow and hail and a strong wind. Battle was joined, and in the end Almighty God gave the victory to our men, and they slew many thousands at the sword's point, besides those who sank with their ships, and whose numbers were beyond reckoning. Our men brought home with them about 240 ships laden with spoil.

Now when this was told to Philip king of France, although his brother Charles of Valois was the originator of this naval battle, he sent envoys to the English king and demanded that amends should be made, and the prime movers in the matter handed over to him for punishment, and a large sum of money paid to him, in compensation for the plundering of his merchants. Our king answered prudently that he would make

answer to all that was asked through his own representatives. He sent envoys and requested the king of the French, as his father and lord, to name a certain day and place on which and to which both sides with common counsel should come to arrange amicably concerning these matters and to do whatever the facts of the case suggested to be necessary. But the king of France would not accept that offer, and by the common counsel of his magnates caused the king of England to be summoned by writ to make answer for these injuries in his court at a certain date.

When he did not appear on that day, it was ordered and declared by the court of the French king that all his land over seas should be seized, and that he should be again summoned for another date, on pain of forfeiture of all his possessions across the sea. Now the king of England was afraid of treachery, for he had been warned by some of his friends, and did not go in person, but sent Edmund his brother, earl of Leicester, with his letters on the appointed day, to do what justice should demand in the matter. When Edmund appeared and offered himself with sufficient powers on behalf of the king of England, they did not receive him. Instead, they pronounced Gascony and all the lands of the king of England forfeit for contempt.

Now Edmund, hoping for peace, made various agreements with the French king. It was reported that our king would marry the sister of the king of France and all trouble would be at an end. Meanwhile the seneschal of the English king in Gascony would not allow the agents of the French king to enter Gascony to take possession, and a great dispute arose. Then the king of France summoned Edmund and asked him as a mediator and lover of peace to allow the French to enter four or five towns, Bordeaux, Bayonne, Langon and Marmande, and this for the sake of peace. For, he said, he could not conclude peace unless his magnates saw the sentence of his court put into execution. He promised by his royal honour that full peace would follow if the request were granted. Edmund answered that he dared not venture or presume to take such a step, and at once asked the pleasure of the English king concerning this, and his consent. The king, who had great confidence in his brother, replied by letters patent that whatever Edmund thought well to do in his name should hold good.

When he had received these and had communicated their contents to the king of France, the latter promised him on his honour and royal word that all should be restored after a short time in complete peace. Edmund was simple enough to believe this, and, trusting the royal word, asked for no security, considering that the royal promise made every precaution unnecessary. He wrote at once to the seneschal of Gascony that he should yield seisin of the same cities to the ministers of the king of France. As soon as he had done this, the French began to introduce an immense army, first of all secretly and a few at a time, afterward in larger numbers and openly. When Edmund heard this and suspected treachery, he begged the French king to remember his promise and forbid such doings. "Wait," said the king, "till forty days are over, and then I will restore all." When that period was over, and Edmund again requested him to the same effect, he answered hastily that he was unable to revoke what had been done by his court and pronounced in judgment by the twelve peers without their common counsel. Then he went away with a changed and half disdainful countenance.

Now Edmund had many friends in the court, for he had married the queen of Navarre, mother of the king of France. He got secret warning, and guessed at treachery from various signs, and hastily and secretly left the court. He came to his brother in England, and related all that had happened in order, not without great grief, saying that in this matter he had been a fool and given himself away. Though the king was dismayed at what he heard, he comforted his brother kindly. Soon he summoned his magnates together with John, king of the Scots and held a parliament at London. He had the whole series of events recited in their presence, and besought their advice and help, swearing that if he had no more following than one boy and one horse he would pursue his right even to death, and revenge his injuries. But they all with one accord answered and declared that they would follow him to life or death. Also the king of the Scots who was present with the other magnates promised help. The king gave thanks to God and to them, and dismissed them with many expressions of gratitude, adding and requesting that they should come, equipped and ready, when they received warning from him.

HOW EDWARD RENOUNCED HIS HOMAGE TO THE FRENCH KING, AND SENT AN ARMY INTO GASCONY.

Heming-
burgh,
ii. 45-49.

The king, thus assured of their help, straightway dispatched two friars of the order of Preachers with letters of credence to the king of France, and renounced his homage. They spoke to the king as follows. "Our lord the king of England, not without reason, is astonished that in your letters lately directed to him you called him neither friend nor dear kinsman, according to your custom hitherto. He has speculated concerning this, and after several conjectures has come to the conclusion and believes that you no longer regard him as your friend. Therefore he informs you that as you believe and hold him unfriendly, so he likewise reckons and holds you unfriendly. And as he has now no confidence in you, so likewise in the future do you have no confidence or trust in him." They added also: "Since on our journey towards you in your country we were captured, detained, and practically imprisoned for four days and a half, we request and demand that you give us the position and privilege of envoys". When their speech had been heard and ratified, one of the magnates on behalf of the king answered that that capture, delay, or imprisonment had not arisen from the order and with the knowledge of the king, and, on the contrary, displeased him greatly. He offered amends, horses, expenses, and other necessaries, and begged them to receive his offer as the expression of his good will. They were given safe conduct and returned quickly to their own land, where they told the king all they had heard and seen.

When the king had heard all, he soon sent off 500 men at 1294. arms and 20,000 foot to Gascony under John of St. John, who had once been seneschal of that land, and John of Brittany, and that very valiant knight William Latimer. They made all ready for their expedition at Portsmouth, and put to sea about the feast of St. Peter *ad Vincula*. A contrary wind arose, and the ships were scattered off the coast of Cornwall. However they were gathered together again at Plymouth about the feast of St. Denis, spread sail once more, and after many and various stormy perils at length, about the feast of the Apostles Simon and Jude, landed in Gascony at Chateau d'Oléron, near the mouth of the river Gironde. The lord of that city yielded himself up to them and the king of Eng-

land, and received them with much rejoicing, and treated them courteously. Then they went to Macau and the citizens surrendered on the vigil of All Saints, and on the morrow they anchored with the whole fleet before Bourg on the sea. . . . The citizens there were willing to surrender, but were afraid of the Picards who were in the garrison. When the Picards saw that they wished to surrender, they sallied from the castle and slew many of them. The citizens sent to the English to tell this tale and ask help, whereupon the English came to their rescue. The royalists withdrew into the castle and the citizens surrendered. When morning came and our men wished to attack the castle, the Picards asked for a truce for three days, so that they might send a messenger to Bordeaux. If no help came they would then surrender. A messenger was sent, but the constable of Bordeaux and the marshal of France sent back word that they could not come so quickly, but the garrison must defend themselves and resist boldly, especially as they had sufficient victuals and other necessaries to last a week. However when they heard this they surrendered at once, saving life, limbs, horses, and arms, and went away in peace.

After eight days our men turned back to the town of Blaye, two leagues distant from Bourg, and there again the garrison sought and obtained a truce, but surrendered and departed when no help arrived. Our men found abundant supplies in the city and castle and about 2050 casks of wine.

After some days our men left Roger Mortimer and Richard Boys with much people of the land in charge of those two strong cities, and set out for Bordeaux, which is five leagues distant from Bourg. They remained in the Gironde opposite the city for two days. Missiles were exchanged, but they made no progress and the citizens would not surrender. They therefore went up the river to Rions, and the lord of that place willingly surrendered to them with the town and the castle. There for the first time our men brought the horses out of the ships. They had been at sea for 17 weeks and some days.

At length, when both men and horses were rested, our army was divided into two parts. John of Brittany and William Latimer, with 300 horse and 7000 picked foot, remained where they were, to win over the people of the land. John of St. John with the rest set out to Bayonne, which is situated on the sea coast in the west, close to Spain, and is a

very strong and almost impregnable city, about five days' march from Rions, or thirty leagues of the country. For when the citizens of that city had heard of his arrival they had called him to them, because they loved him greatly since his period of office in the past. He had been, as I said, keeper of all Gascony on behalf of the English king, and had treated them humanely.

When he came near the city and the citizens had been informed of his arrival, they made an attack on the Frenchmen who had been set over them on behalf of the French king, killed many of those who were in the city, and shut up the rest in a very strong fortification of the same place, for they hated them, because they abused the power which had been wrongly committed to them. The citizens yielded up the city to the new arrival, and carried on the siege of the castle vigorously, telling the weary leader to rest himself and his men and not trouble about the siege. After some days the garrison saw they could not hold out no longer and surrendered, but on the understanding that the keeper of the castle should remain on behalf of all and the rest depart unharmed. So the keeper, Jordan Bertram, remained and the rest went off.

After a while, when their strength was renewed, our forces set out to storm St. Sever. The citizens at once surrendered and the French royalists departed on terms. Hugh de Vere was made keeper with 200 horsemen and many foot. Then John returned to Bayonne and remained there in security for a considerable time.

CONCERNING THE CONFUSION AND CAPTURE OF OUR FORCES
IN GASCONY.

Heming-
burgh,
ii. 49-52.
1295.

Now when the French king heard of the arrival of the English in Gascony, he sent his brother Charles and his constable Ralph de Nesle, with many thousand horse and a large army, to capture them and lay waste the land. They reached Rions on Palm Sunday, not in procession with branches of palm but in battle array with lances. They besieged our forces there for eleven days and did them much injury. Some of our men went out to exercise their knightly valour against the enemy, but they were beaten back by the great force like sheep into a sheepfold. When our men found they could not hold out, they took counsel and decided that in that Easter week

they would retreat by boat and at night-time, and would send their horses by land along the bank of the Gironde to Bourg and Blaye.

However, their plan was hindered in the following way. A certain knight, one John Giffard, was in custody. He had been given the charge of the castle of Podensac, but when the French came up and besieged him had surrendered, on the condition that he and his English should depart freely wherever they would, but the French might do what they pleased with the Gascons. Now the Gascons had surrendered to him in the beginning, and remained with him. Accordingly the French did this, and hanged about 50 Gascons. At this the Gascons were enraged and troubled, and were ready to go to war against us for treachery. The English, anxious to calm them, took judicial proceedings against the same knight, so as to find out the truth of the matter and prove their own innocence.

As the marshal of the army, Ralph of Gorges, on that very Wednesday on the evening of which they were to depart, was sitting in tribunal to do justice upon that knight, and upon certain foot-soldiers who were in custody for various reasons, the rest of the foot, who had drunk more wine than usual, because all things were in common during their sudden move, came up and said that they would not allow justice to be done upon them, nor their comrades to be in any way molested, when in such straits. The knights who were collected to do justice resisted the foot, and they wrangled till one foot-soldier was struck down and died. Soon parties were formed and, to their own ruin, horse and foot divided, each going their own way till the evening.

When evening came the horsemen fled to the ships, left their horses, and hurried to Bourg and Blaye. Many of them however could not get aboard the ships for they were prevented by the foot, and took refuge, with difficulty, in the castle. When morning came the French entered, finding no man to resist them, killed the foot who had stayed behind, seized the horses, armed, saddled, and bitted, of the fugitives, and soon drove out the rest who were in the castle. Besides many men at arms they captured 12 knights. . . . These they sent captive to France in strict custody. They razed Rions to the ground through hatred of the English.

Then they set out to St. Sever . . . and besieged it for nine

weeks, doing as much harm as possible. The Frenchmen died by thousands, like pigs, on account of the use of arms and the excessive heat. Charles had them buried in a new cemetery which he made on the field and caused to be consecrated by some bishops who were in his company. At length when Charles had lost many men, he began to incline more willingly than usual towards peace. Messengers came and went, and at length he made terms with our forces. They might go freely forth with all their belongings, and he would do no harm to the city, or its citizens, nor destroy it. They should return to their former position and keep all their possessions.

Accordingly, our men retired to Bayonne, and Charles had the place stocked with victuals and various necessaries, and well fortified, and then, leaving keepers and many knights, returned to France and did not come back again. When our forces heard of his departure, they returned, put the others to flight, and occupied the place as before.

HOW THE KING SEIZED THE TREASURES OF THE MONASTRIES AND CHURCHES. Hemingburgh,
ii. 53-54.

The king of England, I know not by whose advice, unexpectedly seized all the coined money and everything that had been deposited in the cathedral churches, religious houses, and all treasuries of laymen and clerks, and of the Friars Preachers and Minor, and of all other orders, on the 4th of July, by means of agents appointed for this purpose. He ordered all to be placed in his treasury at London. He thus obtained a great deal of money which he never afterwards restored. 1294,
July.

HOW THE KING SEIZED THE WOOL.

In the same year, about the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, he seized all the wool in the country, whether it belonged to clerks or laymen, and retained it till the merchants paid a great sum of money and thus redeemed it.

HOW THE KING EXACTED ONE HALF OF THEIR PROPERTY FROM THE CLERGY, ONE TENTH FROM THE LAITY AND ONE SIXTH FROM THE CITIES AND BOROUGHS. Flores,
iii. 90-91.
1294,
Sept.

On the vigil of St. Matthew the Apostle, having summoned the clergy to Westminster, the king besought them to give

him aid to the best of their ability. Therefore, the scribes and Pharisees went forth, hesitating as to how much the king would get from them. Wishing for further information, they made the dean of St. Paul's their mouthpiece, William of Montfort. But when he stood before the king he fell speechless to the ground. He was picked up by the king's servants and died miserably in their arms. The king watched all this with unmoved countenance, and persisted in his request. As yet it was unknown how much each would pay to the king. One man told one story and another another, and for some days they chewed the bitter grape, till at last they assembled in the monks' refectory at Westminster, and a certain knight, John of Havering, rising up in the midst, made the following speech. "Venerable fathers, the king's demand is this, that you should give him one half of your ecclesiastical revenues for a year. If anyone objects, let him rise up now in the midst of this assemblage, that his person may be known, and that he may be written down an enemy to the king's peace." When they heard this, the prelates were dismayed and submitted to his wish.

November. Not long after, . . . the king caused the property of the laity to be taxed and one tenth to be paid to the royal treasury. As to the merchants and burgesses, he directed the sixth penny to be paid by all who possessed sufficient.

Flores, III. HOW THE WELSH ROSE AGAIN IN REBELLION AGAINST THE KING OF ENGLAND.

Now while the king's heart was vexed with all these troubles, he was informed that the Welsh were again in rebellion. The Welsh, adding new sins to their old ones, partly because of the unaccustomed yoke laid upon them and aggravating them, partly because their pay seemed to them insufficient when they were mustered for war, made a sudden attack upon Roger of Pulesdon, who had been sent thither to carry out the king's commands. They robbed him, hanged him, and cut off his head. Then raging in the spirit of evil they wasted all the English border with fire and slaughter.

November, 1294. When Edward heard this, he left Westminster, and gathering an army, on the morrow of St. Brice's day hurried to Wales. They fled at his approach, as though from a snake, and sought their fastnesses in the forests. Thousands of our

men fell ill and died, worn out by the roughness of the ground, the bad weather, and the damp of the wide marshes. Still, they cut down hundreds or more of the Welsh, whom they caught outside the depths of the woods, at the edge of the sword. Cynan, the author of the mischief, was caught and sent to Hereford. On St. Matthew's day he was first drawn at the tails of horses, and then died by hanging. Two of his servants underwent a like sentence.

Finally Morgan and another, Madoc, whom they called their prince, finding that the right part of the royal army was the stronger, were struck with terror, and meditated coming to the king to make peace. Morgan submitted first, and received mercy rather than judgment. When Madoc perceived this, he repented and also besought the royal clemency. He obtained peace and was unpunished save that he was put in custody in the Tower of London. Then the king withdrew from those parts, having bowed the necks of the rebels, and fined those wicked scoundrels who had attacked Roger of Pulesdon.

HOW THE SCOTS ALSO BEGAN TO REBEL AGAINST THE
KING.

Heming-
burgh,
ii. 77-78.

The Scots, who are fickle, restless, and unstable, began to rebel against the king of England in the following manner, hoping to shake off the yoke of their due servitude. First of all they suggested to their simple king that to relieve expenses he should remove all the English, whom he had maintained, so they said, very expensively, from his court. This was by way of precaution, so that their rebellion should not be known to the English from the outset. When our king sent letters to the king of Scotland, bidding him send help against the king of France, an answer was given, too abruptly, excusing himself on the score of weakness. Entreaties and commands were then made again and again, not merely to the king but to the magnates of the land, but they always sought for some frivolous answer, because their confederacy was not yet as strong as they wished. For they had held their parliament at Scone, and appointed twelve peers after the manner of the French, four bishops, four earls, four barons, by whose advice and direction thenceforward Scotland was to be ruled. Also they had appointed envoys, and bade them go with all speed

to the king of France, and make the best treaty they could. And this they did.

Heming-
burgh,
ii. 85-86.
1295,
July.

HOW IT WAS ARRANGED THAT EDWARD, SON OF KING JOHN OF SCOTLAND, SHOULD MARRY JOAN, NIECE OF KING PHILIP OF FRANCE.

To the most excellent prince, his lord, and, if it pleases him, his friend, Philip, by God's grace illustrious king of France, John, by the same grace king of Scotland, sends greeting in the name of the Lord. Be it known to your highness that we make, appoint and ordain by these our present letters, our trusty and well beloved, the reverend fathers William bishop of St. Andrews and Matthew bishop of Dunkeld, and John of Soules and Ingram of Umfraville, knights, our attorneys, proctors, and special envoys, to treat with you, if it is your pleasure, concerning the betrothal and marriage of the lady your niece or kinswoman to Edward our eldest son and heir. We give them general, free, and full power, and also special command, to arrange and conclude the betrothal and marriage aforesaid. . . .

In witness of which we have caused our seal to be affixed to the present letters.

Given at Stirling, on the 5th of July, in the year of our Lord 1295, and the third of our own reign.

Heming-
burgh,
ii. 89-91.

HOW THE SCOTS VENTURED FURTHER, AND KING EDWARD DEMANDED SATISFACTION.

Having made a treaty in this fashion with the French king and his subjects, the Scots soon raised their horns and prepared for battle. Meeting together, they decreed that all and single who held lands, possessions, or revenues in Scotland, should on pain of forfeiture of the same come prepared with arms to resist the English king, and further to do whatever was thought good by the king on the advice of the twelve peers. Since many noble English, who held lands there, would not come to that assembly, their lands were handed over to others, who would hold them and defend them at the common direction. Those nobles, and indeed all the English, were thenceforward regarded as public enemies, and cast forth from the realm, if they had not already left it, of their own accord. Among them Robert Bruce, son of Robert IV

of whom we have spoken above, would not come on that date, and his land of Annandale was give away to John Comyn of Buchan that he might possess it in domain and defend it as his own.

Meanwhile our king still believed that help would be sent, but was deluded, and at length was given the following shameless answer. They said that neither their king nor themselves were in any way bound to obey his entreaties or commands, especially as they had obtained from pope Celestine the benefit of absolution from that unlawful fealty and homage which the English king had wrung from their own by force. When the king heard this he was amazed, and, aware of their treachery, bade them as his lieges, even if they refused to help him, at least admit no French or Flemish to their land. If they wished to remain in his allegiance, let them hand over to him three castles, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Edinburgh,¹ at anyrate till the end of the war with the king of France. But they refused to do it. . . . About this time there were some English merchants in the ports of Berwick. The Scots seized them in their fury, killed some, beheaded others, and so destroyed some of them utterly, though others fled and told all to the English king. . . . And soon the king ordered the king of Scotland to be summoned before him to answer concerning these matters on a certain day.

HOW THE KING IN HIS NECESSITY CALLED TOGETHER A GREAT AND MODEL PARLIAMENT. Select Charters, 484-486. 1295.

The king to his venerable father in Christ, Robert, by the same grace archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, greeting.

Since a most just law, established by the wise circumspection of princes, urges and decrees that what touches all should be approved by all, so it is clear that common dangers should be met by remedies provided in common. You no doubt know, and it is already spread abroad all through the world, we believe, how the king of France fraudulently and deceitfully tricked us out of our land of Gascony, and wickedly detains it from us. Now, not content with the

¹ Really Jedburgh.

aforesaid deceit and wickedness, he has got together for an attack upon our realm a great fleet and a host of warriors, with which he has already invaded our land and its inhabitants, and proposes, if his force corresponds with the detestable project of iniquity he has conceived, which God forbid, to remove the English tongue from the face of the earth.

Now since darts that have been foreseen wound less, and your interests especially, as well as those of your fellow citizens of the same realm, are concerned in this matter, we bid you and enjoin upon you, by the faith and love in which you are bound to us, to be present in person at Westminster on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Martin in the winter next to come: forewarning the prior and chapter of your church, the archdeacons and all the clergy of your diocese, causing the prior and archdeacons in their own persons and the said chapter by one proctor, and the said clergy by two, having full and sufficient power from the same chapter and clergy, to be present with you, to discuss, ordain, and do, at that time and place, together with ourselves and the other prelates and magnates and other inhabitants of our realm, whatever may be necessary to meet these dangers and malicious schemes.

Witness the king at Wingham, September 30th.

The king to his beloved kinsman and liegeman Edmund earl of Cornwall.

Since we wish to discuss and treat with you and other magnates of our realm concerning the provision of remedies against the dangers which in these days threaten our kingdom: we bid you, and enjoin upon you by the faith and love in which you are bound to us, be present in person at Westminster, on the Sunday after the feast of St. Martin in the winter next to come, to discuss, ordain, and do, together with us and the prelates and magnates and other inhabitants of our realm, whatever may be necessary to meet such dangers.

Witness the king at Canterbury, October 1st.

The king to the sheriff of Northamptonshire.

Since we wish to discuss and treat with the earls, barons, and other magnates of our realm, concerning the provision of remedies against the dangers which threaten our realm in these days: wherefore we have commanded them to come to us in the Sunday after the feast of St. Martin in the winter next to come, to discuss, ordain and do whatever may be necessary to meet such dangers: we bid you and enjoin upon you, cause two knights from the aforesaid county, and two citizens from each city of the same county, and two burgesses from each borough, of the more discreet and powerful, to be elected without delay, and cause them to come to us at the said date and place: so that the said knights may have full and sufficient power, for themselves and for the communities of cities and boroughs aforesaid respectively, to do whatever may there be ordained by the common counsel in these matters: so that the business may not remain unfinished for want of such power. And you shall have there the names of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, and this writ.

Witness the king at Canterbury, October 3rd.

HOW THE GREAT PARLIAMENT GRANTED THE KING AN AID. Flores,

On the vigil of St. Andrew the apostle, the king besought the clergy and magnates whom he had summoned to Westminster, to grant him an aid. Those who in the previous year had paid him $\frac{1}{10}$, now granted him $\frac{1}{11}$: those who granted $\frac{1}{6}$, now offered $\frac{1}{7}$. The archbishop of Canterbury, after consultation with his suffragans, offered $\frac{1}{10}$ of ecclesiastical property. The king thought he was going to get more, and would not hear them. But when the clergy would not move left or right from their first offer, he was unwilling to afflict them, and on the morrow of the Conception of blessed Mary gratefully accepted their gift.

HOW EDMUND THE KING'S BROTHER CROSSED TO GASCONY WITH AN ARMY. Hemingburgh, II. 72-74.

Edmund, brother of the king, this year crossed over to Gascony at the royal command, with the earl of Lincoln, 26

bannerets, 700 men at arms, and many foot. They landed about Mid Lent at Bourg and Blaye, and remained there with our forces whom they found there, rejoiced at their arrival, till Easter. Many Gascons and others joined them, till their force in a short time had grown to more than 2000 armed men.

On Wednesday in Easter week they moved and encamped over against Bordeaux, about one league from the city. When the citizens perceived them, they and the French sallied out to meet them. They were in sight of each other, and thirsting for battle. However, our men waited, and partly retreated, feigning flight, till they were separated by a considerable distance from the city. Then, turning round, they forced them to retreat, killed about 2000 and pursued the others right to the city gates. Some of our men, indeed, entered with them, and were shut in when the gate was closed. . . . In the morning, the citizens, fearing that the siege would continue, set fire to the houses of the suburbs round the walls. Our sailors also sallied out and set fire to other houses. So that that Thursday the flames consumed almost the whole suburb.

On the Friday, because our forces could not storm so strong a city and had no siege machines, they went to Langan, three leagues beyond Rions. The lord surrendered the town freely to them, and the French fled. They remained there three days, and meantime sent to St. Macaire to surrender. But the men of St. Macaire sought and obtained a truce for three days, sent to Bordeaux for help, and when they heard that they could not have it, surrendered. Still, the garrison continued to hold the castle and were besieged by our forces for three weeks and yet not taken.

Meanwhile five burgesses of Bordeaux came to Edmund to make a secret agreement with him. In return for £5000 of silver, they would surrender Bordeaux to him at dawn two days hence, if when the English entered the city they would spare all who bore the sign of St. George. But when these five got back to the city they were captured, imprisoned, and a few days afterwards hanged. When our forces arrived to enter freely, they were beaten back by the citizens, who had been forewarned of their coming and had closed the city gates firmly. Our men then recognized that they were deluded, and after consultation, set out to Bayonne and were honourably received.

But when Edmund had collected many paid soldiers, and used much treasure, as a kindly and generous man, since he could not retain so large a host because he had no wages for it, his face fell and he sickened, about Whitsuntide. So with his failing money his spirit failed also, and after a few days he went the way of all flesh. He ordered our forces to carry him with them and never bury his bones till his debts were paid : and this they did. After a truce was made, they took his bones to the king his brother, and by him they were given honourable burial, at Westminster in London.

HOW THE EARL OF LINCOLN BECAME LEADER IN PLACE
OF EDMUND EARL OF LANCASTER.

Heming-
burgh,
ii. 74-75.
1296.

After the death of Edmund the earl of Lincoln, by the consent of the whole army, was put in command. He was a kindly, handsome, and very valiant leader. After resting the army for a while, about the feast of St. John the Baptist he went out and besieged the city of Dax for seven weeks, and every day made an attack on the city. The besieged, trusting in their valour and their youth, often made a sortie from the city and returned again after a skirmish. When our forces heard that the Count of Artois were coming to the rescue, they retired to Bayonne. And again after a short time some of our men went out towards Toulouse, and burnt many towns and cities, and returned with much booty for the winter.

HOW THE KING OF ENGLAND WENT TO WAR AGAINST
SCOTLAND.

Heming-
burgh,
ii. 91-92.
1296.

When on the day appointed the Scottish king neither appeared in person nor sent envoys, the king gave orders that all the lands which he held in England should be seized : and this was done. Then, after consultation with his magnates, he again summoned the king of Scotland and his magnates to appear at Newcastle-on-Tyne, on the 1st of March, to make answer concerning the aforesaid matters. Meanwhile a great army was got together, and the king went in force with his nobles on the day and to the place fixed. Those he had summoned, however, neither appeared nor sent messengers, and the king was advised to proceed further to the border.

On March 30th the town and castle of Berwick were cap-

Flores, iii.
96-98. tured, and the English slew all they found there, except a few who afterwards abjured the city. On April 6th the king of Scotland renounced his homage to the king of England, in writing, on behalf of himself and all Scots who held land in England. While the king of England remained at Berwick to fortify the walls and ramparts of the town, the Scots . . . invaded England, burnt the towns of Hexham and Corbridge, and murdered the inhabitants. . . . Then they returned to Scotland and besieged earl Patrick's castle of Dunbar. The garrison feigned to seek aid from the English king, but allowed the Scottish earls to enter the castle. On hearing this the king of England sent 2000 horse and 40 standards to the relief. But the Scots were in such force that 5000 of the others fled.

Then the besieged requested the leaders of our army to allow them to dispatch a certain knight called Robert of Keating, whom the king of France had knighted that year, to the king of Scots to ascertain his pleasure. As security they gave the earls of Menteith and Badenoch as hostages. Robert returned after dinner the same day with 500 horsemen and 40,000 foot. Battle was joined, and there perished that day the said Robert, and Patrick Graham, a valiant knight, and the son of William Sinclair who carried the Scottish banner and others, at least 10,000. On the morrow when the king of England came up the besieged surrendered to him with loud laments. . . .

April.

He then captured Edinburgh, which was almost impregnable, driving out the warlike garrison, who defended it for some time. Then going on towards the coast, he was eager to hunt out the Scottish king—king only in name—from his hiding places. He reduced the towns of St. Andrews and Perth and the neighbouring villages. Finally the Scottish king, bereft of all his defences, surrendered to the English king, by a written document, on the morrow of St. Thomas the Martyr.

June.

July.

Heming-
burgh,
ii. 108,
112.

CONCERNING THE SETTLEMENT OF SCOTLAND.

When this was done, and the common seal of Scotland had been broken after the dispatch of the said letter, the king proceeded to visit the mountainous parts of Scotland. . . . When he had passed through Moray as far as Elgin, he decided to

go no further, for all seemed peaceful, but to return to Berwick, where he had ordered parliament to be held. On his way back he came through Scone, and ordered the stone on which the Scottish kings were wont to sit at the time of their coronation to be removed to London in token of the kingdom having been conquered and resigned. He held his parliament for many days at Berwick on Tweed. All the magnates of Scotland and Galloway came thither to him, and he received their homage and fealty.

In the same parliament he appointed a new treasurer for Scotland, a new seal, and a new chancellor. Also he appointed justices, and ordered that all who held any lands of the royal domain should be summoned to do homage, and all other tenants should take oaths of fealty and recognise that thenceforward they should be subject to his lordship, and this in writing, for a perpetual memorial of the conquest. The king ordered and commanded that John once king of Scotland and the two John Comyns, and the other magnates of that land, should either travel with him or precede him to the south. They were to remain south of the river Trent, and not return on pain of capital punishment till the war between himself and the king of France was concluded. . . . The king himself also returned to the south, having appointed a date for the meeting of his magnates, at Bury St. Edmunds, on the morrow of All Souls' Day.

HOW THE CLERGY REFUSED TO GRANT MONEY FOR THE FRENCH WAR.

Heming-
burgh,
ii. 116-
119.
1296,
Nov.

On the morrow of All Souls' Day, the king held his parliament at Bury St. Edmunds, and there at his request there was granted $\frac{1}{12}$ from the people, $\frac{1}{8}$ from the cities and boroughs and $\frac{1}{5}$ from the clergy. But the clergy made answer, that they had no power to grant, nor he to accept, anything, without both of them incurring excommunication according to the bull.¹ This they did not believe the king would wish, and certainly themselves were anxious to avoid. The king was displeased at this answer, and they were adjourned to another

¹ *Clericis laicos*, which had been issued by pope Boniface VIII on 29th February, 1296.

parliament at London on the morrow of St. Hilary. Meanwhile they were to think matters over, so as to make a better response.

1297,
Jan.

When the day came and the clergy were assembled, the archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Winchelsea, after consultation with the king's messengers, gave the following answer.

"You are well aware, my lords, that under Almighty God we have two lords, a spiritual and a temporal. The spiritual is our lord the pope, the temporal our lord the king. Though we owe obedience to both, yet we owe greater obedience to the spiritual than the temporal. To please both, however, we are willing to send, at our own expense, special messengers to our spiritual father the pope, asking for licence to make this grant, or at any rate direction as to what we should do. We believe that our lord the king, like ourselves, would fear and wish to escape the sentence of excommunication set forth in the bull."

The king's messengers answered, "Appoint some of your own number, my lords, to carry back that answer to the king for you. We dare not carry such a reply, for we know what his anger will be."

They did this. The king was enraged, and growing hot with wrath, placed the archbishop of Canterbury and all the clergy of England outside his defence and protection. He ordered also that all the lands bestowed upon the English church should be seized into his own hands. It is said that a miracle happened, for on the very day on which the king outlawed the clergy, our forces were defeated by the French in Gascony. The king's justice of common pleas when sitting in court made a public announcement to all present, as follows: "You, sirs, attorneys of archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and all other clerical personages, go to your lords and tell them, that in future in the king's court no justice shall be done to them in any circumstances, however dreadful the injury that has been done to them may be. But justice shall be done to all who make complaint concerning them, and ask for such." . . .

Henry of Newark, archbishop elect of York, the bishops of Durham, Ely and Salisbury, and some others, were afraid of the king's displeasure and suspected grave peril would come of it. They therefore decided that they would deposit $\frac{1}{5}$ of the ecclesiastical property of that year in a consecrated building,

for the protection of the English church and defence in so urgent a crisis. Thus they would escape the king's anger and yet avoid the sentence of the bull, for whatever the clergy deposited the exchequer took. . . . The archbishop of Canterbury, however, remained firm, and would neither make a grant nor deposit anything. He preferred the king's anger to sentence of excommunication. All his property was therefore seized, his vessels of gold and silver, and his horses. The members of his household deserted him, and no means of sustenance remained for him. The king gave orders, on pain of forfeiture, that no man should receive him in hospitality either within or without a monastery. So was made vain that saying of the apostle, "Receive ye one another, as Christ also received us". Thus he remained in the house of a simple rector, with one priest and one clerk, and had no where to lay his head in the whole archbishopric.

No justice was done in those days to the clergy, and they suffered many injuries. Religious persons were robbed of their horses on the king's highway, and could get no redress until they made ransom.

HOW THE BARONS IN THEIR TURN OPPOSED THE KING.

On the feast of St. Matthew the apostle in the same year, the king assembled all the magnates of the land except the clergy, and held his parliament at Salisbury. There he requested various magnates to cross over to Gascony, but they began to make excuses.¹ Then the king was angry, and threatened some of them that they should either go or else give up their lands to others who would. Many were scandalised at this saying, and a schism arose. The earl of Hereford and the earl Marshal excused themselves, and said that they would willingly exercise the duties which belonged to them by hereditary right, if the king himself went with them. The king repeated his request and asked the earl Marshal to go. "Willingly, O king," he said, "I will go with you, and march before your face in the first line of battle, as is my duty by hereditary right." The king answered, "You will go without

Heming-
burgh,
ii. 121-
122.
1297,
Feb.

¹ Edmund had concluded an alliance with Guy, count of Flanders, and intended himself to go to Flanders while another force operated in Gascony.

me, with the rest". "I am neither bound nor am I willing, O king, to set forth without you." The king in a rage burst out, "By God, sir earl, you shall either go or hang". "By that same oath," replied the earl, "I will neither go nor hang."

Then, without waiting for permission, he went away, and the council was dissolved. The two earls, Hereford and Marshal, with many magnates and more than 30 chosen bannerets, collected a large following, 1500 men equipped for war. The king began to grow afraid, though he dissembled. They went to their estates, and would not allow the king's agents to take wool, or hides, or anything out of the ordinary, or to make any exaction from unwilling persons. Nay more, they forbade them on pain of life and limbs to enter their estates, and prepared for resistance.

Flores, III. HOW THE KING CROSSED TO FLANDERS, AND IN HIS AB-
100-103. SENCE THE BARONS SECURED A CONFIRMATION OF THE
1297, CHARTERS.
Mar.

In the year of our Lord 1297, on the 26th of March, the metropolitan of Canterbury and his suffragans met in St. Paul's to discuss the state of the church. Two advocates and two Friars Preacher rose up and proved by argument that the clergy might lawfully assist the king in time of war despite the apostolic constitution. . . . All dispersed, their consciences burdened by a saying of the archbishop's, "Let each man save his own soul".

July. Then the archbishop was admitted to the king's favour, and his barony restored to him. On the 14th of July the king made his farewells in the great hall at Westminster, and the archbishop and bishops, the earl of Warwick and other barons, took an oath, and the rest who were present with outstretched hands declared their loyalty to Edward the king's son.

Meanwhile the earls had absented themselves till their petition concerning the welfare of the country should be heard. For they said it was unprofitable that the king should cross to Flanders; and that they would not do service there, for it had never been customary from their predecessors. Besides, the Scots, like the Welsh, were now returning to the fray. On the plea first and foremost of the desolate state of

the community, they asked the king in future to take no tallage from England, and again, to let them have the liberties contained in the great charter more fully henceforth. Because they were not heard immediately on these points they went away indignantly. The king therefore, to encourage unanimity and get the victory by gentle means, ordered the articles in the said charters to be observed, and in return for this concession exacted $\frac{1}{8}$ from the people, which was straightway granted. Also he sought a subsidy from the clergy, who said they would send letters to the supreme Pontiff asking for licence to grant one. A truce was proclaimed between the king and the earls that they might come to one mind. However, when the time for consultation had passed, and the earls still did not present themselves, the king perceived that there was no small danger in his delay, to his friends across the sea who were awaiting his arrival. On the vigil of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, therefore, with 500 ships and 1800 horse, Aug. he embarked.

That very day the earls and barons went to the king's exchequer at Westminster, and forbade the barons of that place to cause the sheriffs to levy the $\frac{1}{8}$ from the people of England. It had not been granted, they said, with their knowledge, and without them no tallage ought to be exacted or imposed. Now when the earls and barons gathered together, and the majority of the people took their side, fear fell upon the inhabitants of the country. In the imminent danger, and by favour of the primates and magnates of England, Edward the king's son, who represented his absent father, renewed the great charters of liberties and of the forest, and certain alleviations of his father's yoke. His father confirmed these at Ghent on November 9th. Because at this time the Scots were wasting the English borders, the earls were granted $\frac{1}{6}$ to repress their obstinacy.

The king of England after crossing the channel landed at Sluys, and reached the famous city of Bruges. He stayed there a night, but was warned of a French trap, and prudently left that city for Ghent. The Welsh who were in his army and certain other brigands of English blood plundered at Damme and Ghent and elsewhere, and many were hanged there. At length, after a truce had been made between the kings of France and England and their allies for two years, the king 1298, returned from Flanders, and landed at Sandwich on March 21st. Mar.

Select
Charters,
494-496.
1297.

THE CONFIRMATION OF THE CHARTERS AND SOME ADDITIONAL ARTICLES.

I. Edward, by God's grace king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, to all who see and hear these present letters, greeting. Know that to the honour of God and Holy Church and to the profit of our whole realm, we have granted, ou behalf of ourselves and our heirs, that the great charter of liberties and the charter of the forest, which were made with the common consent of the whole realm in the time of king Henry our father, shall be kept in all their points, without any blemish. And it is our will that these same charters, under our seal, shall be sent to our justices, as well of the forest as others, and to all the sheriffs, and to all our other ministers, and our cities throughout the land, together with our letters, ordering them to cause the said charters to be published, and to inform the people that we have granted them to be kept in all their points.

VI. And since divers people of our realm suspect that the aids and mises which they have made us hitherto, for our wars and other needs, by their grant and goodwill, may, however they have been made, turn into bondage for them and their heirs, because they will be found eurolled, and also the prises which have been made throughout our realm by our ministers, in our name: we have granted, on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, that we will not draw into a custom such aids, mises, or prises, on account of anything that may be discovered, by roll or otherwise.

VII. Also we have granted, for ourselves and our heirs, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and others of Holy Church, and to the earls, barons, and all the commonalty of the realm, that in future for no necessity will we take such manner of aids, mises, or prises, from our realm, except by common consent of the whole realm, and to the common profit of the same realm, saving the ancient aids and prises due and customary.

Be it remembered that this same charter in these words was sealed under the great seal of the king, in Flanders, namely at Ghent, on the 5th of November in the 25th year of the reign of our lord the king, and was sent into England.

HOW IN THE KING'S ABSENCE WILLIAM WALLACE AND THE SCOTS REBELLED.

Heming-
burgh,
II. 127-

In the month of May the treacherous Scots began to rebel. Earl Warenne, to whom our King had committed the care and custody of Scotland, in his place and in his name, pleaded the bad climate and said he could not keep in good health there. He remained in England therefore, though in the north, and was lazy in pursuing those of the enemy who ought to be exiled. This was the spring and origin of the evil. The king's treasurer, Hugh of Cressingham, was pompous and puffed up and loved money, and never built the stone wall which the king had ordered to be made on the new rampart at Berwick. This turned out to be to our disadvantage. The justiciar, however, William of Ormesby, did obey the royal commands, and exiled without distinction of persons all who would not do fealty to the English king. Among these there was a certain robber, William Wallace by name, whom he had often exiled. When he became a wanderer and a fugitive, he gathered all the exiles about him and became as it were their prince.

128.
1297.

HOW WALLACE WAS VICTORIOUS AT THE BATTLE OF STIRLING BRIDGE.

Heming-
burgh,
II. 137-

The earl [Warenne] gave orders that they should go to the bridge and cross. Now it was a strange idea to begin with, and had terrible results, that prudent men in such force, when they knew the enemy were on the watch, should go to a narrow bridge, where it was hard for two horsemen to cross at the same time. Those who were at the battle said that if from early morning to the eleventh hour the army had crossed without let or hindrance, there would still have been a considerable part of the army on the wrong side. There was not a better spot in all Scotland for delivering over the English into the hands of the Scots, and many into the hands of few.

140.
1297,
Sept.

When the enemy saw that as many had crossed over as they thought they could vanquish, they came down from the hill and stationed men armed with lances at the foot of the bridge, so that from henceforward none could cross or return. Many fell into the river and were drowned when crowding on to the bridge in retreat.

Thus when the bridge had been seized, all who had remained there perished, to the number of 100 men at arms and about 5000 foot. Among these were 300 Welshmen. Though many of these lost their lives, some got across the water by swimming. One of our knights also, though with difficulty, crossed the river on his warhorse. There fell that day among the Scottish lancemen that treasurer of our lord the king whom I have mentioned, Hugh of Cressingham. He was rector of the church of Rudby, had been justice of assize in Yorkshire, held prebends in many churches, and had the care of many souls. Yet he had never put on spiritual armour or priestly vestments, only the shield and coat of mail in which he perished.

Earl [Warenne], who had been on the south side of the bridge throughout, ordered the bridge to be broken down and burnt, when Marmaduke (Twenge) and his men had returned. He committed the charge of Stirling castle to the same Marmaduke, and promised, pledging his faith, to return with reinforcements within ten weeks: but he never fulfilled his promise. Forgetful of his great age, he hurried to Berwick with such speed that the horse he rode, though it reached the stable of the Minorites there, did not live to eat its food. Then he went on south to the king's son, and left the country altogether deserted. This disaster happened on Wednesday, September 11th, in the year of grace aforesaid.

Heming-
burgh,
II. 173.
1298.

HOW KING EDWARD ON HIS RETURN FROM FLANDERS WENT TO WAR AGAINST SCOTLAND.

In the year of our Lord 1298, as soon as the king had returned from Flanders, he summoned a parliament at York for Whitsuntide. And he sent letters to the Scottish magnates . . . bidding them lay aside all excuses and present themselves in the same parliament. Otherwise he would count them his open enemies, and attack them with all speed. When they neither came nor sent, the king arranged with his magnates, who had hastened to him from Berwick and been welcomed with the kiss of peace, that they should meet him with horses and arms at Roxburgh, on the morrow of St. John the Baptist's day.

HOW THE KING MET AND CONQUERED THE SCOTS AT
FALKIRK.Heming-
burgh,
177-180.
1298,
July.

On the day before the feast of St. Mary Magdalene two earls . . . sent a scout to the king, who said, . . . "My lord the king, the Scottish army and all your enemies are scarcely six leagues distant from you, near Falkirk, in the forest of Selkirk. They heard that you were proposing to return to Edinburgh, and decided to follow you, and to attack your camp the next night, or at any rate to slay and plunder the last of your camp-followers." The king said, "As the Lord lives, who to this day has ever delivered me from peril, there will be no need for them to follow me. I will go to meet them this very day."

So he ordered his men to arm themselves, but did not tell them where he was going. He himself put on his armour and was mounted first of them all, and cheered on the rest. With his own mouth he spoke to those who sold provisions, and bade them pack up quietly and follow him without any panic. When all was made ready, the king set out, about the third hour, from Kirkliston on the way towards Falkirk. . . . He marched gently without any hurry. When he reached the moor on the nearer side of Linlithgow, they stopped there for the night, lying on the ground, with shields for pillows and their armour for bed. Their horses, too, had no food except their bits, and were tethered beside their masters. When they had rested awhile, and were starting off again in the middle of the night, it happened that the king's charger, watched carelessly by a small boy, put its foot upon the king as he lay. When the news spread that the king was hurt, a shout went out that there was treachery and that the enemy were ready to attack them. They made ready for conflict. However, when they understood what had happened, and that the king was only slightly injured, they pitied him and grew calmer. The king mounted forthwith and they passed through the town of Linlithgow at dawn.

Then lifting up their eyes to the hill opposite, they saw many spearmen on the brow of the hill. Thinking that this must be the Scottish army, they hastened to climb up in battle array, but found no one. However, they pitched a tent there, and the king and bishop heard the mass of Magdalene, for it was her feast that day.

While the solemnities were going on, and men began to be able to see each other by daylight, our men saw the Scots drawing up their line and preparing for battle. The Scots had arranged their folk in four companies, in the shape of circles, on the hard ground, and on one side [of a hill] close to Falkirk. Spearmen sat in these circles, with their lances slanting, linked together, and facing outwards from the circles. Between the circles were spaces in which were posted archers. Lastly, in the rear, were the horsemen.

Now after mass the king was told all this, and hesitated, and proposed to pitch camp till men and horses had had some food, for they had not tasted since the third hour of the day before. But they said, "It is not safe, sir king. There is only a narrow stream between the two armies." "What then?" said the king. "Let us ride on," they said, "in God's name: the field is ours and the victory also." Then the king said, "Be it so, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost".

Forthwith the leaders of the first company, namely the earl Marshal, the earl of Hereford, and the earl of Lincoln, flung their line directly against the enemy, not knowing that there was a morass between. When they came in sight of it, they went round it on the western side, and were delayed. The second company, under the bishop of Durham, which was composed of 36 chosen bannerets, were aware of the morass, and veered to the east to avoid it. When they hurried too much, so as to be first in the fray, the bishop ordered them to wait till the king's third line came within reach. But that valiant knight Ralph Basset of Drayton answered him and said, "It is not your business, bishop, to teach us about battle. Mass is what you understand. Go and celebrate mass if you like. We will do all that pertains to knightly valour." So they hastened on, and immediately after fell upon the first circle of the Scots. The earls with the first company came up on the other side. On the arrival of our men, the Scottish horse fled without striking a blow. A few however remained to direct the circles of foot-soldiers, or schiltrons as they were called. . . . When the archers were slain, our men threw themselves upon the Scottish spearmen. . . . The mounted knights could not break through because of the forest of lances, but they killed some in the outer ring and wounded more with their lances. Meanwhile

our foot showered arrows upon them, and others stoned them with round stones, which were very plentiful there. So many were killed and others were panic-stricken, and the outer rings of the circles recoiled upon the inner, and the cavalry broke through and trampled them down.

HOW A TREATY WAS MADE WITH FRANCE, AND EDWARD
MARRIED A FRENCH PRINCESS.

Heming-
burgh,
ii. 184.

In the year of our lord 1299, on the feast of the translation of blessed Thomas the martyr, messengers from the pope came to the king at Canterbury, a bishop and other dignified and learned persons. The bishop, who was learned and eloquent, explained before the king and all the people, as he had already done in France, the arrangement lately made by the pope between the kings of France and England. Amongst other things he said, that to the honour of God, and for the exaltation of Holy Church, and in order that all subjects might rejoice in the peace, the pope had directed that the English king should marry the sister of the French king, in August. If any should say that this was not permissible because they were related, his answer was that this was to be done by dispensation of the pope, which had blotted out all kinship between them.

185.
1299.
July.

That marriage was solemnized at London, on the Thursday Sept. within the octave of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, to the great joy of all the magnates and people of both lands.

CONCERNING THE PARLIAMENT HELD AT LINCOLN.

Flores, iii.
303-304.

In the octave of St. Hilary the king held his parliament at Lincoln. There the earls and barons made complaint concerning the wicked and violent robberies everywhere committed by the officials and household of the king. They again demanded that the liberties contained in the great charter should henceforth be kept in their original vigour for ever. Also they requested that the king would cause disafforestations to be carried out. . . . After a delay of several days, the king, perceiving that they would not abandon their position or help him in his necessity, answered that he was ready to grant and ratify what they asked, and anything else which they might ask for or wish confirmed. So the charters of liberties

1300.
Jan.

and of the forest were renewed, and sealed with the royal seal, and sent to every county in England. When they had been proclaimed to the people, the archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops pronounced sentence of excommunication against those who should break the same.

In return for this confirmation, the earls and barons granted the king $\frac{1}{15}$ of moveable goods, on the feast of St. Michael next to come. But the archbishop of Canterbury would grant nothing on behalf of the clergy, either of spiritualities or temporalities, without the special licence of the supreme pontiff.

The king made his son Edward prince of Wales, which pleased the Welsh greatly, because he was born in Wales and held the earldom of Chester.

The king and barons thus came to an agreement, and dispatched to the pope an elegant letter sealed with a hundred seals, petitioning him to protect the rights which the English had always had in the realm of Scotland, and to close his ears to the false suggestions of the perjured Scots.

Heming-
burgh,
II. 231-
232.
1303.

HOW THE KING AGAIN INVADED SCOTLAND AND COMPLETED ITS CONQUEST.

1304.

The king collected a great army, which met at Roxburgh at Whitsuntide. He set out by easy marches, plundering, burning and wasting as he went, and traversed the whole land and the mountains as far as Caithness.¹ There was none to resist him. All the inhabitants fled to the marshes and islands. . . . On his return he besieged Stirling castle, which he had deliberately left alone hitherto, in order that men deserting from his army might be afraid to pass through the enemy's country. He wintered at Dunfermline, where he was joined by the queen, who had been staying at Tyne-mouth. When winter was over, he began a determined attack on the castle. He had many wooden machines which could cast stones weighing 100, 200, or even 300 pounds. With constant blows he battered down the walls and towers. However, the besieged did not yield as yet, but defended themselves gallantly with their machines, and killed many. The king ordered the ditch to be filled with beams and

¹ The most northerly point reached in actual fact was Kinloss, west of Elgin.

wood, but they set fire to them and burnt them all. At length he brought up machines by which his men could climb the walls, and filled up the ditches with stones and earth. When the besieged saw this they asked him over and over again to grant them life and limbs. But the king would not hear them, or hear of any condition except that they should submit to his grace and sentence. They held out awhile, fearing death, but at length, panic-stricken and unable to endure further, they surrendered and gave up the castle on the day of St. Margaret the Virgin. . . . The king returned victorious. . . . On his way back he ordered that his justices of common pleas and his exchequer, which had now, with his chancery, been at York for seven years, from Trinity Sunday, 1297, to the present Christmas, should return to Westminster.

HOW THE KING MADE AN ORDINANCE FOR THE GOVERN-
MENT OF SCOTLAND.

Flores, iii.
124-125.
1305,
Sept.

In the octave of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin the king's council met at the New Temple. There were present the bishops of Chester and Worcester from England and the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow from Scotland: the abbots of Westminster and Waverley from England, and two from Scotland: four earls, two English and two Scottish, and both English and Scottish barons. For twenty days they took counsel together for the confirmation of the royal peace in Scotland. . . . By the ordinance and consent of both parties justices and clerks were appointed for Scotland north and south of the Scottish sea,¹ to go forth by twos to settle the peace of the country, decide suits, and put an end to disputes. . . . Then the bishops, abbots, earls and barons of Scotland swore on behalf of themselves and their heirs and all who should live in Scotland in the future, that they would stand by the ordinance aforesaid.

HOW ROBERT BRUCE MURDERED HIS RIVAL JOHN COMYN.

Flores, iii.
128.
1306.

A new tumult of war arose in Scotland. For Robert Bruce earl of Carrick came first secretly and later openly to some of the nobles of Scotland, and said to them, "You know how this people proposed to crown my [grand] father as king of this country, but by the English craft it was arranged other-

¹ The Firth of Forth.

wise. Now if you will crown me as king, I will fight your wars, and deliver the land from slavery to the English." Thus he spoke, and soon he had the support of many treacherous persons. John Comyn, however, a noble and powerful knight, steadily refused his consent, and for this Bruce slew him in the church of the Minorites at Dumfries.

March.

HOW ROBERT BRUCE WAS CROWNED KING OF SCOTLAND.

On the day of the Annunciation of our Lady, a Friday, that murderer Robert Bruce, troubler of two kingdoms, had himself crowned king, like another Adonijah, at Scone.

Flores,
iii. 129.
1306,
March.

HOW THE KING SWORE TO AVENGE THE MURDER OF COMYN.

The King caused public proclamation to be made throughout England, that all who were bound to become knights in succession to their fathers, and had the wherewithal, should come to Westminster at Whitsuntide, and each should receive the emblems of knighthood, except the charger, out of the royal wardrobe. Three hundred youths appeared, the sons of earls, barons, and knights, and were provided with cloth of purple, tunics and robes of cloth of gold, such as became each of them. Since the royal palace, large as it was, was too small for so great a multitude, the fruit trees at the New Temple were cut down and the walls demolished, and there were set up pavilions and tents where the novices might clothe themselves in their gorgeous robes. That night the knights to be kept their vigil in the Temple church—or as many of them as it would hold. But the prince of Wales, by his father's bidding, kept his vigil in the church of Westminster. There was such blowing of trumpets and shouting for joy that the convent could not make themselves heard from one side of the choir to the other. On the morrow the king girt his son with the belt of a knight in the palace, and bestowed upon him the duchy of Aquitaine. Then the prince and new-made knight went into the church at Westminster, to deck his comrades with like splendour. The pressure of folk before the high altar was so great that two knights died and several fainted, although each had at least three knights to escort and protect him. In spite of the great crowd, the

prince girt his comrades upon the high altar, after horses had been sent through to divide the throng.

Then with much pomp and ceremony two swans were brought before the king, adorned with golden nets and gilded beaks, wonderful to look upon. And the king vowed a vow, by God and the swans, that he would march into Scotland, there, dead or alive, to avenge the injury to Holy Church, the death of John Comyn, and the perjury of the Scots. The other magnates also took the same vow, and declared that they were ready to go to Scotland while the king lived or after his death, with his son the prince, to fulfil the royal oath. Thus all were of one mind. And the king bade them farewell, and on the morrow of Holy Trinity they left Westminster, intending to meet the king in Scotland a fortnight after St. John the Baptist's day. Flores, iii. 131-132.

CONCERNING THE ROUT OF THE SCOTS AT METHVEN. Flores, iii.

On the morrow of St. John the Baptist's day, the so-called king of Scotland with his accomplices, dressed in white shirts over their armour, fought a battle with the earl of Pembroke, Aymer of Valence, near Methven. Many of the Scots who took the part of the pseudo-king perished that day at the sword's point. He himself, indeed, was three times thrown from his horse, and three times rescued by that magnificent fighter Simon Frazer, and at length by the stratagem of the white shirt made good his escape. 132-133. 1306, June.

After this the king of England arrived in Scotland with his magnates and the prince of Wales. Some of the Scots received him honourably, some retreated, many sought their hiding-places in the woods. The royal army wandered all over Scotland in pursuit of the fugitives. Some they killed, some they took alive. . . . These last, while the king lived, were put in strict imprisonment.

HOW THE KING RETIRED TO CARLISLE FOR THE WINTER, AND HELD A PARLIAMENT THERE. Hemingburgh, ii. 252-254.

The king of England held his parliament at Carlisle, and there made various statutes. 1307.

And there came there, with a great retinue, a Spanish car-

dinal, sent from the pope to make arrangements for the marriage of the son of the king of England to the daughter of the king of France, according to the ordinance which pope Boniface of good memory had made concerning this. After a sermon, and much discussion as to the value of peace, he and the other bishops present put on their vestments, and, with candles lighted and bells ringing, excommunicated Robert Bruce with his supporters, as perjured and a danger to the common peace and tranquillity.

Much was said in the parliament by many persons concerning papal oppressions in the English church. A document appeared suddenly in the midst of the assembly as though it had fallen from heaven, and was read at once in the hearing of the king, the cardinal, and all the rest, prelates and others, who were there.

Heming-
burgh,
II. 265.
1307.

HOW AT EASTERTIDE THE SCOTS RENEWED THEIR REBELLION.

In the year of our Lord 1307 soon after Easter that new king of Scotland Robert Bruce gathered together many foreigners from the island and began to ride forth in Lothian. Many joined him who had been exiled by the justices of the king of England, who had sat the previous year in Scotland, to judge evildoers and those who advised, favoured, or helped the new king. Since according to English law they sentenced the Scots to burning, dragging behind horses, and hanging, the Scots rose with one accord and joined Bruce, saying they would rather die than be judged by English law. In great numbers, and full of courage because of it, they went forth to meet the English.

Heming-
burgh,
II. 266.
1307,
July.

HOW THE OLD KING SET FORTH ONCE MORE TO FIGHT AGAINST THEM, BUT DIED ON THE MARCH.

Now when the English king heard of the malice of Bruce, he bade his magnates meet him at Carlisle, prepared for battle, a fortnight after St. John the Baptist's day. Now because the king meanwhile was troubled with dysentery, and none save the attendants in his bed-chamber could speak with him, a rumour went abroad among the people that the king was dead. When the king heard that, he ordered all to

be made ready for a march to Scotland. On the 3rd of July he moved his camp about two miles out of Carlisle. That was a Monday. On Tuesday he rode another two miles. On Wednesday he rested. On Thursday he reached Burgh on Sands, and proposed to stay there till the morrow. Now it was his custom to lie in bed each day till the ninth hour. But on the Friday when he was lifted up by his servants that he might eat, he died in their arms.

HOW EDWARD II SUCCEEDED HIS FATHER, AND PROMOTED
PETER OF GAVESTON.

Vita Ed-
wardi II,
ii. 155-
157.
1307,
July.

Edward, the first after the conquest, paid the debt of nature in the 35th year of his reign, on the day of the Translation of St. Thomas. His son Edward II received the kingdom, a youth of great strength and vigour, and then in the twenty-third year of his age. He never completed his father's purpose, but changed his designs to another. He recalled Peter of Gaveston, who had lately abjured the realm at the bidding of the king his father.

Now this Peter, while king Edward was still alive, had been chamberlain and comrade of the young Edward, who was then prince of Wales, and dearly beloved, as soon appeared clearly enough. For the young king, when Peter had returned from his exile, conferred upon him the earldom of Cornwall, with the consent of some of the magnates of the land, to wit Henry of Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and others. Lacy, indeed, when there was a doubt whether the king could separate the earldom from its connection with the crown, maintained that the king had the power to do so, for other kings had twice done this. Yet the greater part of the barons of the land did not agree, partly because Peter was an alien from Gascony, partly through envy. For the magnates of the land envied him, since he alone found favour in the eyes of the king, and lorded it like a second king, to whom all were inferior and none equal. Well nigh the whole land, children and old men alike, hated him and prophesied evil of him, and his name was in ill repute. Yet they could not alienate the king's goodwill from Peter, for the more the king heard of their effort to quench his affection, the more his love and devotion increased, to such an extent that in order to strengthen Peter and supply him with friends, he gave him

as wife his own niece, daughter of the former earl of Gloucester, Gilbert. And in truth this marriage did strengthen his position to no small degree, for it greatly increased the favour of his friends, and curbed the dislike of the barons.

1307,
Dec.

Meantime the archbishops, earls and other magnates of the land had been summoned to the burial of the late king. He was interred with all honour in London at Westminster beside his father king Henry III. Afterwards, to increase Peter's reputation yet more and make his name famous, with the king's aid and at his advice, proclamation was made in Peter's name that a tournament would be held in the town of Wallingford, which is of the demesne of the earl of Cornwall. The day fixed was the Saturday next after St. Andrew's day. Now this tournament roused the earls and barons to yet greater hatred of Peter. When the appointed day came, on the one side there were three or four earls with a strong following, the earl of Warenne, the earl of Hereford, the earl of Arundel, and not a few barons. On Peter's side there was no earl of note, but nearly all the younger and stronger knights of the realm, who could be got together by praying or paying, supported him. In the tournament, therefore, they got the upper hand and carried the day, though the other party were left in possession of the field. For the law of the contest is this, that he who loses most and is most often thrown from his horse is the doughtier and braver.

From day to day, for these reasons and others, the ill-feeling increased. Peter was a conceited fellow of proud bearing. All those whom the custom of the realm made his equals, he considered lowly and abased, and in no respect near to himself in courage. The English earls and barons, on the other hand, despised Peter, as an alien and a poor gentleman, promoted to great honour and dignity, and forgetful of his former position. He was mocked at, therefore, by nearly everyone. Only the king continued so devoted to him, that a public order issued from the royal court, that no one should call him by his name, Peter of Gaveston, but rather earl of Cornwall.

1308,
Jan.

At length, on the return of the messengers who had been sent to Philip king of France, to arrange a marriage between the daughter of the said king and the king of England, and had achieved their object, the king prepared to cross the sea, and embarked. Now the kingdom was left in charge of Peter. He who so recently had been an exile and an outcast, was

now, marvellous to relate, governor and warden of the realm. When the marriage had been celebrated, the king returned with his wife, rejoicing, to England.

HOW PETER OF GAVESTON WAS EXILED A SECOND TIME. Vita Edw.

Now since those who were in the royal council saw that danger was threatening the whole land from such discord, and feared that in the future the ill-feeling as yet recent would so extend its roots that it would become inveterate and impossible to get rid of, they formed a plan of reconciling the king and his barons. By the common counsel the earls, barons and other magnates were summoned to treat of peace. They came to London, but not without an armed force, for they feared treachery, and there the king awaited them. Although the matter was considered and reconsidered for long, they could come to no conclusion, for many on whose advice and discretion the matter depended hesitated, being anxious to please both sides. At length, after many and various experiments, since they would consent to no other plan, it was agreed and promised by the king that Peter of Gaveston should leave the realm. Sentence of excommunication was pronounced by the archbishops and bishops against him, if he lingered in England after a fixed date. The date appointed was St. John the Baptist's day, on which same feast a year before Peter had abjured the realm for the first time. When the day came, therefore, the king and Peter and a great company set out for Bristol, and there after a short time Peter, licensed by the king, crossed with a large following to Ireland, and subdued all that land to his power at the king's bidding.

159.
1308.

April.

May.

June.

HOW GAVESTON RETURNED A SECOND TIME, AND FRESH DISPUTES AROSE. Gesta Edw. 35.

In the year of our Lord 1309, Peter of Gaveston, a year of whose exile had elapsed, returned from Ireland to England, though he was not invited, about the translation of blessed Thomas the martyr. On the morrow of St. James' day in a parliament held at Stamford, with the consent of the earls, barons, and other magnates, there were confirmed to the same Peter the earldom of Cornwall and all the other lands and revenues which he had previously held by the king's gift, in the hope that he would conduct himself better in future to-

1309,
June.

July.

wards the magnates of the realm. Certain other magnates, however, who were not present at the time, resented this greatly, and from that day forth were kindled increasingly to wrath against Peter.

Vita Edw.
162-163.
1310.

CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT OF ORDAINERS.

When Christmas was over all the barons met at London at the king's bidding. When they delayed coming to the usual place, and the king inquired the reason of the delay, they answered his messengers by saying that they were bound to come at the bidding of their king and natural lord, but so long as their chief enemy, who had troubled both them and the kingdom, lurked in the king's chamber, access would not be safe, and therefore, they protested with one voice, they could not obey the king's order. If, they added, they must appear in the king's presence, they would come not in peace as they were wont to do, but armed. The royal dignity need not be injured by this, for every man by natural affection is bound to choose the safest way for himself.

At length the king, by the counsel of his advisers, sent away Peter to a safe place for the time being, so that either the business might reach a satisfactory conclusion, or at anyrate it should not be his tarrying that prevented it. Then the earls and barons gathered together, and went to the king to hear the cause of their summons.

Gesta
Edw.
36-37.

In the end the king yielded to the prayers of the magnates, and agreed that they should choose from among the prelates, earls and barons, certain discreet persons, who for the honour of God and Holy Church, and the profit of the realm, and the welfare and peace of the people, should make decrees and ordinances, and reduce to writing whatever was consonant to law and reason. A time was fixed and definitely appointed for the said ordainers, from the 16th of March in the year of our Lord aforesaid, the fourth of the king's reign, to the feast of St. Michael next following, and from that feast to the same feast in the next year, to decree, ordain or define all that could be done for the praise of God and the welfare of the church, the king, his household, the realm, and the people, as aforesaid.

March.

The chosen ordainers were to keep and observe and cause to be kept and observed by themselves and their followers those same ordinances when completed with all the articles

contained and more fully explained in them. If it chanced that any one of the ordainers, by death—which God forbid—or by any other reason was prevented from proceeding freely in the making of ordinances, they might substitute someone else, to proceed and treat with the other ordainers on the aforesaid matters. The ordainers might bind themselves and take an oath in common to ordain and do, and also to observe and cause to be observed, all and single aforesaid, without challenge from the king or his council in futurc.

The king's grant and these conditions were contained in a certain letter patent under the king's seal, which letter was in the possession of the prelates and magnates. A copy of this is written in another book . . . and there there follows a copy of another patent under the seals of the prelates, earls and barons. This remained in the king's possession. It contained the names of the magnates who made the aforesaid petition. From them were chosen six bishops, namely London, Salisbury, Chichester, Norwich, Llandaff, and Bangor : eight earls, namely Gloucester, Lincoln, Lancaster, Pembroke, Hereford, Richmond, Warwick, and Arundel ; and six barons, namely Hugh de Vere, William Marshal, Robert FitzRoger, Hugh Courtenay, William Martin, John de Grey, whose duty it was to compose and treat of the above ordinances.

A clause was inserted in the patent to state, that such a grant made by the king and such power conceded by him to the ordainers, should not be drawn into a custom or be to the prejudice of the king or be in any way a claim from or grievance to his heirs, but was given of the king's grace and of his own free will.

HOW THE ORDINANCES WERE ISSUED AND GAVESTON
EXILED A THIRD TIME.

Vita Edw.
169-171.
1311,
June.

When the feast of St. John the Baptist drew near, a meeting was held at London of the ordainers, who had been given power in the previous year to ordain, correct, and bring to a better state anything that had been attempted contrary to the law of the land and to the common injury. The limit of their power was fixed at the following Michaelmas. In order therefore that before their jurisdiction expired, their statutes and ordinances should be made public, they summoned our lord the king and other magnates, that the ordinances might be re-

cited before them and either rejected or approved. "For what touches all should be approved by all." The king therefore left Scotland and came to London and was lodged at the house of the Friars Preachers. However, as some of the magnates delayed, in whose absence business could not be carried on, the king set out to visit the holy places at Canterbury, and returned about the end of August.

When all the interested parties were present, the year's work was produced, and the heads recited one by one, and a copy presented to the king's advisers. Now the king protested that he found certain points inconvenient, and certain others malicious, and argued and reasoned that he was not bound to give his consent to them, since when the commission was granted an exception was made in favour of the royal majesty. But the barons knew that these excuses were frivolous and feigned and intended to gain time. Accordingly they pressed him closely, and set against the convenience of the king the grievances of the whole country.

Now among these ordinances there was one which troubled the king more than all the rest, for it concerned the expulsion and exile of Peter of Gaveston. He could in no wise be persuaded or induced to consent to this. He offered to satisfy the barons in the following way. "What you have ordained and decreed," he said, "may as you request hold good and stand for ever, so far as it concerns my own inconvenience: but you must cease to persecute my brother Peter, and allow him to hold the earldom of Cornwall." This he begged over and over again, now with blandishments, now with threats. The barons however persisted, giving various reasons, as loyal subjects of the king consulting his interests, and added at the last this, that Peter should be exiled according to the ordainers' will, or else each of them would look to his own defence.

The king's advisers saw therefore that unless he assented to the decrees and petitions of the ordainers, the realm would be disordered and peace destroyed. They knew also that civil war never comes to a good end, as witness the battle of Lewes, and the battle of Evesham, in which that noble earl Simon of Leicester fell in the cause of justice. They considered how harsh and dangerous would be dissension between the king and his barons, how the desolation of the whole land would follow, how in the uncertainty of the

issue the king might even be taken prisoner, and, like Rehoboam who forsook the counsel which the old men gave him and took counsel with the young men, he might be deprived of his throne and kingdom. For these and other reasons the king's advisers began to persuade him assiduously, and urge him for the sake of his realm, his people, and himself, to deign to accept their advice. If he did not assent to the barons' decrees, and grant their ordinances without deceit, danger would come of it and perpetual shame to him and his.

The king therefore was prevailed upon by their warnings and persuasions to agree, for himself and his successors, that the ordinances, provisions or statutes, by whichever name they are called, should be held inviolate and valid for ever. A copy of the ordinances was sent under the great seal to every county, and was there to be publicly proclaimed by all.

THE ORDINANCES.

Stat.
Realm,
I. 153.

I. First it is ordained that Holy Church shall have all her liberties, as formerly, as she ought to have.

II. Further it is ordained that the king's peace shall firmly be kept throughout the realm so that every man may come and go and tarry according to the law and usage of the realm.

VI. Further it is ordained that the great charter shall be kept in all its points, in such manner that any obscure or doubtful point in the said charter may be explained by the said ordainers and others whom they call to them for that purpose, when they see occasion and season during their time of office.

VII. Further, because the crown is so much abased and dismembered by various gifts, we ordain that all gifts given to the damage of the king and decrease of the crown since the commission made to us, of castles, towns, lands, and tenements, bailiwicks, wardships, marriages, escheats, and releases, whatsoever they be, in Gascony, Ireland, Wales and Scotland as well as in England, shall be repealed, and we repeal them altogether, and they are not to be given again to the same persons except by common consent in parliament. And if such manner of gifts or releases shall be given henceforth, contrary to the aforesaid form, without con-

sent of his baronage, and that in parliament, until his debts are acquitted and his state becomingly relieved, they shall be held to be null, and the taker shall be punished in parliament by the award of the baronage.

VIII. Since it was formerly ordained that the customs of the realm should be received and kept by men of the country and not by aliens, and that the issues and profits of those same customs, together with all the other issues and profits coming from the realm, whatever they may be, should come in their entirety into the king's exchequer, and be received by the treasurer and chamberlains and delivered for the maintenance of the king's household, and otherwise to his profit, so that the king might live of his own without making prises other than ancient dues and rights: which provisions have not been kept: we now ordain that the said customs together with all the issues of the realm as aforesaid, shall be received and kept by men of the realm, and delivered to the exchequer in the above form.

IX. Since the king ought not to undertake war against anyone, or leave his realm, without the common consent of his baronage, on account of the many perils which may come to him and his realm; we ordain that the king in future shall not leave his kingdom or undertake any war without the common consent of his baronage, and that in parliament. If he does otherwise, and summons his service for such an enterprise, the summons shall be null. And if it should chance that the king should undertake a war or leave the realm by the consent of the barons, and it should be necessary to appoint a guardian in his realm, he shall appoint one by the common consent of his baronage, and that in parliament.

XIII. Since the king has been led astray and ill advised by evil counsellors, we ordain that all such evil counsellors shall be put away and wholly removed, so that neither they nor others like them may be placed near him, or retained in any office of the king; and that other suitable persons shall be put in their places: and the same arrangement shall be made concerning the servants and officials of the king's household who are unsuitable.

XIV. Since many evils have come about through such counsellors and such ministers, we ordain that the king shall

appoint his chancellor, the chief justices of both benches, the treasurer, chancellor and chief baron of the exchequer, the steward of his household, keeper of the wardrobe, controller and clerk to keep his privy seal, a chief keeper of the forests on this side Trent and one on the other side, and also an escheator on this side Trent, and one beyond, and the chief clerk of the king in the common bench, by the counsel and consent of his baronage, and that in parliament. If it should by any chance be necessary to appoint one of these ministers before the meeting of parliament, then the king shall appoint him by the good council which he has near him, till parliament. Thus it shall be done henceforth concerning such ministers, when necessary.

XV. Also we ordain that the chief keepers of the ports and of castles on the sea coast shall be appointed and created in the above form, and that these keepers shall be of this country.

XVI. And since the lands of Gascony, Ireland, and Scotland are in peril of being lost for want of good ministers, we ordain that good and sufficient ministers shall be appointed to guard them, according to the form contained in the last clause but one.

XVII. Also we ordain that sheriffs shall be appointed henceforth by the chancellor, treasurer, and others of the council who are present, or if the chancellor is not present, by the treasurer and barons of the exchequer, and by the justices of the bench; and such shall be appointed as are suitable and sufficient, and have lands and tenements out of which they can answer to the king or the people for their doings. None others than such shall be appointed. They shall have a commission under the great seal.

XX. Since it is well known and has been found by the examination of prelates, earls, barons, knights, and other good people of the realm, that Peter of Gaveston has misled and ill-advised our lord the king, and enticed him to do evil in various deceitful ways . . . we ordain, by virtue of the commission our lord the king has granted us, that Peter of Gaveston, as an open enemy of the king and his people, shall be altogether exiled from England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, and from all the dominion of our lord the king, both on this and on the other side of the sea: and that he shall

avoid the realm of England and all the above lands, and all the dominion of our lord the king, between now and All Saints' day next.

XXVIII. Since the people feel themselves much aggrieved because men are emboldened to slay and rob, because the king through evil council gives them his peace too easily, contrary to law: we ordain that no felon or fugitive shall be covered or protected in future for any manner of felony by the king's charter of peace granted to him, or in any other way, except in cases where the king can give grace according to his oath, and this by process of law and the custom of the realm: and if any charter shall be granted henceforth to any man in any manner, it shall avail nothing and be considered null. No open evildoer against the crown and the peace of the land shall henceforth be aided or maintained.

XXXIX. Likewise we ordain that the chancellor, treasurer, chief justices of one bench and the other, chancellor of the exchequer, treasurer of the wardrobe, steward of the king's household, all the justices, sheriffs, escheators, constables, inquirers into any matter, all bailiffs and ministers of the king, shall be sworn at the time when they receive their bailiwicks and offices to observe and keep all the ordinances made by the prelates, earls, and barons chosen and assigned for that purpose, and each one of them, without in any point contravening them.

Vita Edw.
173-175.
1311,
Nov.

After the feast of All Saints, since the king had sworn to stand by the ordinances of the barons, he prepared to send Peter into exile, since he intended in a short time to provide for him. Before Peter left England, on the advice of some of his party, he demanded and obtained from the king letters testifying his good conduct and loyalty. The king put his seal to this, and many magnates did the same, though they were to be blamed rather than praised for doing so. Among them Gilbert earl of Gloucester, who was but a youth and worked upon by the king's entreaties, gave his witness to the letters and confirmed them with his seal. Later, coming to a wiser decision, and excusing himself as being under age, he recalled his mistake and broke off the impression of his seal from the letters. Peter therefore provided with this evidence

against his adversaries, went secretly to Flanders, concealing his destination from almost every one. After this the earls wishing to proceed further in accordance with the ordinances, decreed that all accomplices and supporters of Peter should leave the royal court on pain of imprisonment, lest they should incite the king to recall Peter.

HOW GAVESTON RETURNED A THIRD TIME, BUT WAS CAP-
TURED AND PUT TO DEATH.

Vita Edw.
175-182.
1312.

Now the king was excited to uncontrollable anger, because he might not keep a single member of his household at his own wish, but the whole ordering of the house was done at the direction of another, as though he were out of his mind. Out of hatred to the barons, therefore, he recalled Peter, and swore by God's soul, as his way was, that he would do as he chose. Peter returned to England by way of Flanders, for he was suspicious of the king of France. But however perilous France might have been for him, England was to prove more so still. It happened to him, as the saying is, that wishing to avoid Charybdis he fell into Scylla.

After his return he was cautious, and concealed himself, it was thought, sometimes in the king's chamber, sometimes at Wallingford, sometimes in the castle of Tintagel. But when Christmas was at hand the king and Peter set out for the north, and kept that feast at York. Meanwhile the king was treating with his council as to Peter's position. Since there was no safe place for him in England, Ireland, Wales, Gascony, or France, he proposed to arrange for his stay in Scotland until the barons' attack ceased, or he could make better provision for him elsewhere. This empty hope was checked at the outset. For when Robert Bruce was requested and invited to keep Peter safely on condition of peace: even when many offers were made to him, and in the end that the realm of Scotland should be handed over tranquilly to Robert forever: it is said that he would make this answer only to the king's demands: "How should the king of England keep his bond with me, when he does not keep his promises, even strengthened by an oath, to his own liege men, whose fealty and homage he has received, and with whom in return he is bound to keep faith? There is no trust to be put in so fickle a fellow. His promise shall not deceive me." Thus the king's hope was unavailing, and the king's promises made vain.

When the earls heard and were assured that Peter had returned, and that the ordinance they had drawn up against him was of no avail, they met together with the primate Robert archbishop of Canterbury. The primate, fervent in spirit and zealous for the peace of the realm, drew his sword and struck Peter with anathema, thus depriving him of all grace, for he who is formally under the ban is seldom free to work out his purpose. The barons for their part sought to find remedies, and were chiefly intent upon the defence of the ordinances.

The following earls bound themselves together by an oath: Thomas earl of Lancaster, Aymer earl of Pembroke, Humphrey earl of Hereford, Edmund earl of Arundel, Guy earl of Warwick. These five earls, doughty warriors, of distinguished birth, and surrounded by a host of armed men, took counsel together as to the capture of Peter. For long it was unknown what was decided in their deliberations or what trap they were preparing for Peter. However, after events revealed all. It was a wise and prudent deed, to conceal their intention, lest if it were disclosed it should confirm him in his freedom to do ill. Then each of the earls separately went his way and the earl of Gloucester, though he was not privy to the earls' plan, promised that he would confirm whatever the earls did, whatever they arranged on this expedition. The earl of Lancaster went to the north, and the other earls caused tournaments to be proclaimed in various places. By this pretext the district would not be alarmed at the sight of arms, and yet they could collect all the men they needed. So they moved from place to place till they got beyond York. The earl of Lancaster began his march about sundown.

Thus Thomas hastens on by night, and bides his time by day,
So none may find him, none his unassuming course betray.

With these precautions he came, suddenly and unexpectedly, to Newcastle, where were stationed the chargers and horses of Peter, or rather of the king. Also there were a number of weapons, to which Peter trusted for defence and resistance. But the earl seized them all, drove away the keepers, and gave everything into the custody of his own men, to be faithfully restored to the king, since they were his.

Shortly after this the king and Peter parted. The one re-

mained at Scarborough and the other at Knaresborough. When the earl of Lancaster heard this, he posted himself between them so that the one could not return to the other. Meanwhile the other earls could besiege Peter. When Peter therefore saw that the siege was begun, that aid from the king was cut off, that the castle lacked provisions, and that he had not enough companions to make a fight, he sent to the earl of Pembroke and agreed to surrender on one condition. This was that the earl of Pembroke should guarantee his safety until the beginning of August. If in the meantime he was satisfied by the earls' proposals, well and good. If not, he should be restored to his original position, to the castle which he had evacuated and the sister whom he had left.

The earl, rejoiced at this capture, without consulting his allies, on his own initiative, took Peter and agreed to the condition and pledged his lands and tenements to the king for the safe keeping of Peter in the form aforesaid. The king was well aware of this, indeed it was by the king's advice that matters had been so arranged. He hoped that before the date fixed he would be able to give Peter adequate help. If Peter had waited for August he would have returned on his own terms. For the pope and the king of France would have found a remedy, since the king of England would have given them Gascony in fee.

Earl Aymer therefore left the north with his prisoner Peter, and went towards the inland parts of the country. When they had been travelling for five days or more they reached the county of Northampton. Then summoning Peter he said, "You are weary with the journey and need rest. Close by there is a small town, a pleasant spot with ample housing. I am going away for a time for a certain business. Do you wait there till I come." Peter gladly accepted the earl's offer. He sent him to the town of which he had spoken with a guard: but he never saw him again in England.

When the earl of Warwick heard all that was being done concerning Peter, he took a strong force, raised all the countryside, and went secretly to the place where he knew Peter was. He reached the town early on a Saturday morning. He went in through the gate of the courtyard and surrounded the chamber. Then he cried with a loud voice, "Arise, traitor! You are taken!" When Peter heard the earl, and saw that his force was the stronger and that his

own guard made no resistance, he put on his clothes and came down from his room. So he was taken and led off not like an earl but like a thief: and he who was wont to ride on palfreys was forced to go on foot. However, when they had gone some way from the town the earl ordered that Peter should be given a horse for greater speed. A crowd followed, shouting noisily and blowing horns. Then Peter put off his belt of knighthood, and journeyed towards Warwick like a thief and traitor, and was there imprisoned. In this wise the dog of Warwick, as Peter called him, bound that same Peter in chains.

Now while Peter was kept in prison, without delay intercession was made for him to the barons by the earl of Pembroke. As soon as he learnt that Peter had been captured, he hurried to the earl of Gloucester lamenting, and begging him to avenge the insult done to himself, and restore Peter to his keeping. He added that unless the earl came to his help, he would be eternally disgraced and lose the lands he had pledged. It is said that the earl of Gloucester answered, "Sir earl, the injury done you must not be ascribed to earl Guy. What he did he did by our advice and help. If you have pledged your lands as you say, you have certainly lost them. I can give you no further counsel except to learn to negotiate more cautiously in future."

Then the earl, finding his entreaties thus refused, went away in confusion and came to Oxford. Gathering the university of clerks together, he laid his case before them, and caused a copy of the agreement he had made to be read before the assembled clerks and burgesses, and made his complaint, either in order that they should give him advice and help in recovering Peter, or in order that his just dealing should be made so plain that none would conjecture otherwise concerning him. For some suspected that in taking Peter he had committed by cunning such a grievous sin as to hand Peter over to death willingly though, perhaps, he could not have captured him by a long siege. Neither the clerks nor the burgesses, however, cared to meddle or deal with an affair that did not concern them.

On another day not long after Peter's capture, the rest of the earls met at Warwick, to discuss the death of Peter, and finally decided that on account of his kinship to the earl of

Gloucester he should not be hanged as a thief nor drawn as a traitor, but suffer capital punishment like a noble and a Roman citizen. Then the earl of Warwick sent a swift messenger to Peter, bidding him look to his soul, for this should be his last day on earth. The messenger hastening forth came to Peter and said, "Look to yourself, my lord, for this day you shall die the death". Peter, when he heard the word death, sighed, and said, groaning, "Where are my gifts with which I had won so many friends, and had trusted to have sufficient power? Where are my friends, in whom was my confidence, my protection, and my whole ground of safety, who were strong in youth, of unblemished honour and courage kindled to great deeds, who had promised in my cause to fight, to go to prison, even to undergo death? Truly my pride, the confidence roused by their promise, the king's favour and the king's court, have brought me to this pass. I have no help, all remedy is vain, the earl's will be done."

About the third hour Peter was brought out of prison, and the earl of Warwick handed him over, bound, to the earl of Lancaster. Peter, when he saw the earl, fell to the ground and besought him saying, "Gentle earl, have pity upon me". But the earl said, "Raise him up. By God he shall be dragged forth." And those who saw it could not restrain their tears. Who could, indeed, who saw Peter, lately in such glory, now seeking pity for so lamentable an end? He was led out of the castle and hurried to the place where he was to suffer the penalty. The other earls followed afar off that they might see the end, except earl Guy, who remained in his castle.

When they had reached the place which is called Blacklow, and which belonged to the earl of Lancaster, a messenger sent from the earl bade Peter remain in the said place. Then at the earl's bidding he was handed over to two Welshmen. The one pierced his body, the other cut off his head. Then they told the earl that this had been done, but he did not believe it till he saw the head. So when the deed was done the earls went each his way. But some Dominican friars took up Peter, and, stitching the head to the body, bore it to Oxford: yet because he lay under sentence of excommunication they dared not bury the corpse in their church.

Vita Edw. HOW CIVIL WAR WAS THREATENED, BUT THE KING AND
181-190. MAGNATES CAME TO TERMS.
1312.

In the future perchance someone will wonder why Peter was slain at the bidding of the earl of Lancaster rather than by the other earls. Let such a one know that in slaying Peter the earls of England undertook such a grave matter as had never yet occurred in our days. For they slew a great earl, whom the king had taken as his brother, loved as a son, chosen for comrade and friend. He must be great, then, who should defend such a deed. Therefore Thomas earl of Lancaster, of finer stock and greater power than all the rest, took the danger upon himself, and ordered Peter to be slain after his three exiles, that is, after he had refused to heed three legitimate warnings.

This earl Thomas was related to the king in the second degree, for they descended from two brothers who make the first degree, namely King Edward the first and his brother Edmund earl of Lancaster. His mother was queen of Navarre, his sister was queen of France, his sister's daughter was queen of England. Being of royal descent, therefore, on both sides, he was more noble than the other earls. By the resources of his patrimony you may estimate his power. He had five earldoms in England, Lancaster, Leicester, Ferrers from his father, and Lincoln and Salisbury from his wife. The lordship of many noble earldoms was thus concentrated into one man's hands. Thomas alone could now do as much as once could be done by earl Edmund Longsword, Lacy, and Ferrers severally. I do not believe that any duke or count serving the Roman empire could do as much from the revenues of his estates as Thomas earl of Lancaster.

After the end of Peter, when rumour carried the news of his death to all ears, the land rejoiced, and all who dwelt in it were made glad. I may say with confidence that the death of a single man, unless he had injured the state, had never before been so welcome to all. Land and people rejoiced to have found peace by Peter's death. Only those of his household and those whom he had promoted were distressed at the death of their lord. For he had given many gifts to many men, and caused some to climb from the stable to the chamber, of whom some were now knights who had never thought to be so. To sum up the matter in a few words,

All those who hated Peter are joyous at his end
And none are found to sorrow save here and there a friend.

After three days or more, the earls met at Worcester to discuss what had happened and take counsel against the future. They knew that when the matter came to the king's knowledge he would if he could seek revenge, as though for an injury done to himself. Therefore, prudently and warily, they considered that if they could not justify their proceedings by law, they could at anyrate defend themselves and their property by force. For by law it is permitted to meet force with force, and what each man does for his own protection he seems to do rightfully.

When the king was told that Peter was dead, he grieved greatly, and after a little said to the bystanders, "By God's soul, he acted like a fool. It was never by my advice that he fell into the hands of the earls. This was what I always warned him against. What has happened now is what I foresaw. What had he to do with the earl of Warwick, who never loved him? I knew, if he once caught him, he would never let him out of his hands!" This hasty saying of the king's excited many to mirth when it became known. But I am sure that the king grieved over Peter like a father over his son. The greater the love, the greater the grief at misfortune. Such love is shown in the lament of David for Jonathan, whom he is said to have loved with a love passing the love of women. So our king also said, and added that he would avenge Peter's death.

Summoning his counsellors, he asked their advice as to what should be done, being firmly resolved to destroy those who had slain Peter. With the king was the earl of Pembroke, whose interest it was to fight the earls. Hugh Despenser, who perchance deserved more than Peter, also lurked near the king. Henry de Beaumont was still in the court, though by the ordinances he ought to have left it: so were Edmund of Mauley and other knights who used to be in Peter's household. They urged the king to gather an army of those faithful to him and attack his enemies boldly. He would certainly triumph because he was defending his own right, while the faithless, who did not keep troth with their own lord, could not possibly be victorious, so they said. They protested that no such unheard of crime had ever before

been committed against any king, and that the crime of treason could not be atoned for. Others, however, were more prudent and far-seeing, and would on no account give their assent to the king beginning a conflict with the barons. For if the king were taken prisoner it would be ridiculous, and if the earls were destroyed it would be of no profit to the king, especially as Robert Bruce had now occupied the whole of Scotland and forced Northumberland to pay tribute. It would be better to defend the kingdom instead of destroying its defenders.

However, the former advice pleased the king, for it chimed better with his own wish. Men more readily accept the advice that agrees with their wish. The king was naturally drawn to it also by his indignation against the earls on account of Peter's death. Magnanimity is rare, and the suggestion of evil men is unceasing. For those who had fled to the king after Peter's death desired war rather than peace. They feared that if the king agreed to the barons' requests, it would be to their own loss. For the guilty man is always afraid.

The king therefore proposed to go to war against certain of the barons to revenge Peter, and either to deprive the earl of Warwick of his head or to banish him for ever and confiscate his property. He called his knights to arms, collected them into a camp, gathered together foresters and archers and supplied himself with foot-soldiers. Meantime he summoned the barons and earls to a parliament. But they, mindful of their own safety, prepared to obey his command in the following way. The earl of Lancaster brought with him 1000 armed men, and 1500 foot-soldiers. The following of the earl of Hereford was an armed host of Welshmen, rugged and fierce, but neither despicable nor small in numbers. The earl of Warwick hastily summoned his sturdy men of Arden. Every one of the other barons who were of the earls' party strengthened the common army as much as he could. In this way, they set out to the parliament. And when they reached London they did not at once go to the king, but sent messengers to announce their arrival and humbly inquire the reason of the summons.

When the king heard that the earls had come, and after what fashion, he called together his council to discuss the

next step. He wished to know whether if he should fight the earls, he might or might not hope to be victorious. Some, who were well-informed of the strength of both sides, dissuaded him altogether from a conflict for the present. For whatever happened to the king himself, his party would certainly perish, since the other side outnumbered the royal army by two to one. Possibly they said this to frighten him, because they wished for peace instead of war. At the same time there were with the king, Louis brother of the king of France, and a certain cardinal who had come with him from overseas. These every day used all their influence and energy to bring about a reconciliation.

Now the earl of Gloucester played the part of a mediator, and urged the king earnestly to peace and concord towards his barons. "These whom you call enemies," he said, "are your friends. These whom you fight are your friends. What was done was for your profit, and for your profit they make great outlay. If you destroy your barons, you lay low the honour of your realm. They are not bound to suffer this, nor are they doing any wrong if they protect their own rights."

And the king answered, "There is none of you that is sorry for me, there is none that fights for my right against my enemy. Even you yourself, my nephew, my leader, my friend, desert your uncle and befriend his enemies. I protest that they are no friends of mine who try to reduce my property and my right. If I may use the royal right like other kings, may I not call back an exile into peace by my royal power? They have robbed me of my right by their own authority. They have cruelly slain him to whom I granted peace. The earl of Lancaster, my nearest kinsman, whose five earldoms should be enough for him without seizing more, attacked my men at Newcastle, and carried off what is mine by right. If a less important man had done the same, he could be accused of theft, and be condemned for robbery with violence. The earls, summoned to parliament, arrive to the shame of the king armed and with a great army. Since they have seized my goods and slain my men, it is likely that they seek to depose me myself, seize my crown and set up another as king."

But the earl replied, "Sire, if your earls have dared anything to your injury, they must make amends; and if they are willing to make satisfaction, they must be reconciled.

The common saying is that no man should be slow to welcome atonement. It would be well first to call the earls together and calmly put forward the grievances they have done you. From their answer it will be clear whether the matter is to end in justice or injury. The custom is to try gentle measures, and proceed to sterner if they are unsuccessful."

The king agreed, and the earl went therefore as mediator to the earls, and laid the king's complaint and allegations of injury in order before them. After consultation they answered: "We are barons of our lord the king of England, and loyal as far as is humanly possible. We have not presumed or attempted in any way to rob him of his royal right, and we have not planned anything to his prejudice or hurt. It is true that we ordered the execution of a certain exiled traitor, who was skulking in the land after his exile had been decreed. This was not to the shame of the king nor against his peace. We did it not by our own authority, but proceeded according to the ordinances which were issued and published by the assent of the king and his barons, and which the king cannot revoke or change at his own pleasure. For nothing may be decreed without the counsel and common consent of the king and his barons, therefore by the same reasoning nothing may be repealed."

The earl of Lancaster answered to the king's charges against him that he never consented to plundering or robbery: that he never attacked the king's men or seized the king's goods. When he came to Newcastle he found many articles, which he knew belonged to the king, left neglected and exposed to seizure by all who chose. Therefore, to keep them safe for the king, he took possession of them and gave them into safe keeping for the use of the king, after a complete inventory had been taken. They all made answer that they had not come armed to parliament out of contempt for the king but on account of some of whom they had suspicions. . . . It would be clear from all these answers that they had done no wrong to the king's crown, and they protested that it had never entered their minds to wish to set up another king. . . .

In the midst of this tumult and while reports of all kinds were flying hither and thither, while one man was urging peace and another war, there was born to the king a fine son,

such as he had long desired. He was given the name of his father, Edward. He was born on St. Brice's day, which is celebrated yearly just after the feast of St. Martin. This welcome birth came in an accepted time, and by God's good will fulfilled two useful purposes, for it greatly soothed the grief the king had felt at Peter's death, and it gave the kingdom an heir. If the king had died without issue, the crown would certainly have been disputed. Long live the child Edward, therefore, and may he obtain from his noble ancestors a combination of the gifts of each. May he emulate King Henry the second's energy, king Richard's probity, reach as ripe an age as king Henry, be as wise as king Edward, renew the strength and beauty of his father.

When the king heard the earls' answers, therefore, their prudent sayings and plausible excuses, and considered also how strong the baronial force was, he simulated affection and promised to obey their wishes. Therefore, that he might not seem inactive, he bade the magnates under a form of concord to explain their petitions, and they should be answered as reason dictated. But they said they sought nothing except that the king should confirm the ordinances, whose action was in great part suspended, as he had promised before, and should pardon his liege and faithful men for the death of the traitor Peter.

The king answered: "I have granted, and do now grant, the ordinances, save with regard to fiscal privilege. I forgive the death of Peter, but I will never call him a traitor." Now the barons thought this concession of small moment. "For," they said, "if the king forgives the death of Peter, he does not reject his suit, or make any accusation against his wife or children. But if he were called traitor, no suit would be possible in future. If the king intends to claim the earldom of Cornwall again, it is first necessary that Peter should be declared to have died a traitor. Otherwise the king cannot acquire the earldom except through Peter himself or his death without issue. Neither of these conditions can be fulfilled, for Peter is dead and his children survive. Unless Peter is held to be a traitor, therefore, the ordinances are impaired and the king cannot claim the earldom of Cornwall."

But the king replied, "A king should not be fickle, or revoke without reason what he has previously granted. We forgave Peter every offence, and therefore cannot call him a

traitor. A kindly benefit should be lasting. Let the barons ask whatever they think right. I will do their will in everything, but I will never accuse Peter of treason." On this ground therefore the dispute continued, and neither party had its way. Indeed, the king was anxious to prolong negotiations, so as to put the barons to trouble and expense. Soon afterwards he left London and went to Windsor to visit the queen.

Rymer,
Foedera,
II. i. 191-
192.

THE AGREEMENT MADE BETWEEN THE KING AND THE
MAGNATES.

This is the treaty of peace concerning certain rancours and grudges which the king had conceived against the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Warwick, and certain other barons and great men of his realm for various reasons: drawn up and accorded before the honourable father Arnold, by God's grace cardinal priest of St. Priscus, and Arnold bishop of Poitiers, sent to England by our holy father the pope, and before Louis of France, count of Evreux, and before the earls of Gloucester and Richmond: by the earl of Hereford, Robert of Clifford, and John Botetourte, sent to London with sufficient power to do, treat, and accord on behalf of the said earls of Lancaster and Warwick, and by the earl of Pembroke, and Hugh Despenser, and Nicholas Segrave, deputed by the king to hear and report to him on the same treaty.

First, the said earls and barons shall come before the king in his great hall at Westminster, and, kneeling in all humility, do obeisance, and swear that what they did . . . was not done in any despite of him. And they shall humbly pray him to remit his ill-will and rancour against them, and receive them to his grace.

They shall give back all that was taken at Newcastle on Tyne, or elsewhere by reason of Peter of Gaveston, namely all the jewels and all the horses which are still alive and everything else of any kind. The restoration shall be made at St. Albans on the feast of St. Hilary next to come. If any of the horses are dead, they shall give their price and value at the same time and place. . . .

Also it was treated and agreed that at the next parliament, which is to be on the third Sunday of Lent next to come, at Westminster, at the beginning of the parliament, surety shall

be given to the said earls and barons, their adherents, followers, and all their allies.

Besides this, the king shall release and remit to the said earls and barons, their helpers, followers, and allies, all rancour, illwill, anger, obligation, claim, and accusation, which has arisen because of the death of sir Peter of Gaveston, in whatever manner, since he married his dear consort Isabel, queen of England: whether concerning the capture, detention, or death of the said Peter, or concerning entry into towns or castles, or sieges, or carrying of arms, or capture of persons, or alliances, or whatever it may be, or in whatever manner it may concern or regard the person of the said sir Peter, or the action that took place concerning him.

A copy of this indenture was made and read on the Wednesday next before Christmas in the year of grace 1312, in the cardinal's chamber at London, and in his presence. . . . And in witness of the above matter, one part of the indenture remained in the king's keeping and the other was given to the aforesaid John Michael to carry to the earls and barons.

About the feast of St. Matthew the earls met at London, and remained there awhile, neither sending to the king nor receiving any order from him. However, that it might not be by their means that reconciliation was delayed, they sent to the king asking him to fulfil the promises he had made so often and remit his rancour against his barons. The king did not agree at once, but as usual delayed. At length, since public opinion already indicated, and the king knew by his own inquiries, that he must satisfy the earls' demands, and that it was safer for him and his to meet them rather than to seek a remedy after mischief had been done, and since he was urged by the cardinal and Louis, he sent word to the earls and barons to come to his presence, laying aside all suspicion, and having sought and obtained whatever security they wished. They should then obtain the grace they had so often sought.

On the morrow, therefore, the earls came to the king, and did reverence to him, as was fitting, on bended knees. He received them kindly, raised them up, and gave each the kiss of peace, absolving them from every offence with which he had previously charged them, granting them all that they had

Vita Edw.
194-195.
1313,
Oct.

asked and should ask in future, and confirming all this with an oath and a document sealed with the great seal. As a further sign of agreement the king invited the earls to dinner, and on the next day himself sat at the table of the earl of Lancaster.

Vita Edw. CONCERNING THE DEATH OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTER-
192, 196- BURY, AND THE LAMENTABLE STATE OF THE ENGLISH
199. CHURCH.
1313,
May.

At this time there died the primate of Canterbury, Robert of Winchelsea, whose memory is blessed, for he strengthened the temple of the Lord and protected the church. Of him especially it might be said, "There was none like unto him to keep the law of the Most High". For he went up and built him a wall on behalf of the clergy.

Now when the archbishop was dead, the prior of the church of Christ at Canterbury and the convent of the same place proceeded to an election, and unanimously chose Thomas of Cobham, a noble man, and a professor of both canon and civil law. He at once set off overseas and exerted himself in the prosecution of his rights. But two causes hindered him. Already during the primate's illness the pope had sent a bull reserving to himself the disposition of the archbishopric and the election of the future pontiff. Also the king of England sent to the supreme pontiff, begging him to promote his own clerk, the bishop of Worcester, to the archiepiscopal see. These causes hindered the elect, and the unanimity of those electing did him no service. The pope at the king's urgency, and, so it was believed, on the payment of a large sum of money, conferred the archbishopric and set the said bishop over the English church.

What a contrast there was between the man elected and the man preferred! The elect was the flower of Kent, of noble birth, had lectured in arts and on the decretals, was a master of theology, very suitable for the see of Canterbury. The bishop chosen was a simple clerk, with little education, but great skill in theatricals. It was by this that he obtained the royal favour. He was taken into the king's household and after a short time made treasurer, then bishop of Worcester, later he held the office of chancellor, and now, lo and

behold! he has been promoted to be archbishop! Some wonder at his good fortune, but I wonder more at the pope. Why should he reject so excellent a person, and knowingly choose so unsuitable a candidate, when he was plainly informed of the merits of both? But Lady Money rules everything in the papal court.

If perchance you are ignorant of the customs and manners of the Roman court, learn now what they are. It loves cases, lawsuits, quarrels, which cannot be settled without money. A case which once enters the papal court is wellnigh interminable. This is why permission was given to appeal straight to the pope without intermediary. Every man must be content with one church, as the chapter *De Multa* gives warning. However, eminent persons are excepted, they receive dispensation indiscriminately, all, that is, who give enough money. This wondrous vanity, this detestable greed, of the papal court has scandalized the whole world. In the past it was an unheard of thing that a man from this side of the Alps should be elected as pope. Henceforth may it never happen that so near a neighbour may ascend the papal throne.

For eight years and more pope Clement V has ruled the church, but what profit there has come of it escapes my memory. He called a council at Vienne, and disposed of the Templars, granted indulgences on behalf of the Holy Land, collected a huge sum of money, but did no good at all to the Holy Land. He granted tenths to kings, and spoiled the churches of the poor. It would be better for rulers not to have a pope than to be subjected daily to such exactions. Whether this could be, however, is not for me to discuss, for it is as much as sacrilege to dispute concerning the power of a prince.

England beyond all the lands in the world feels the pope burdensome. Out of the plenitude of his power he presumes greatly, and neither prince nor people oppose him. He reserves all the fat revenues for himself, and instantly excommunicates those who resist. Legates come and plunder the land, those armed with his bulls claim prebends. He has conferred all the deaneries upon aliens, though by law natives should be preferred. The residence of deans has now vanished altogether, and the number of canons is greatly diminished. Does not the pope rule spiritual matters and the emperor temporal? Why then does the pope presume further against

the clergy than the imperial majesty against laymen? The emperor exacts nothing from anyone without reason, but the pope charges, confers and reclaims as he likes. Lord Jesus, either take away the pope from our midst, or lessen the power which he takes to himself over the people. He who abuses power committed to him deserves to lose his privilege. What shall I say of the clergy, who nowadays flock to the papal court, and buy dignities and prebends at high prices, as though in a market? If we call it simony, then the pope himself cannot be exculpated, for simony binds both sides, both him who sells and him who buys. Perhaps, however, the pope will say he is above the laws and in consequence not bound by them.

Vita Edw. CONCERNING THE SUCCESSES OF ROBERT BRUCE, AND THE
199-206. KING'S DEFEAT AT BANNOCKBURN.
1314.

Meanwhile Robert Bruce invaded the parts about Northumberland, burnt towns and boroughs, slew men, carried off their beasts, and forced many to pay him tribute. For the citizens and inhabitants, recognising that they had no help from the king and that they were unable to resist the fierceness of Bruce, made terms with him as best they could, paying a fixed tribute from time to time. The amount he extorted in a short time amounted to £40,000. Also he broke down the walls of towns and castles in Scotland, that they might afford the English no protection if they came in future. He seized two strong castles of the English king, Edinburgh and Roxburgh, the one by treason of a certain Gascon, who was akin to Peter of Gaveston, and to whom the king had given the custody of the castle. Perjured and treacherous, he threw in his lot with Bruce and yielded up the castle. The other castle was taken by the energy of James Douglas, who was on the Scottish side. He approached the castle stealthily one night, and set ladders which he had secretly brought up against the wall, and by means of these climbed the wall, and led his men in while the garrison were asleep or off their guard. He attacked those he found and took the castle. He would have taken Berwick castle in the same way if a dog had not waked the garrison.

At length Bruce turned his attention to the siege of Stirling castle, which the elder Edward, king of England, had formerly

besieged with his whole army for three months and more before he could take it. The keeper of the castle saw that the siege was begun, that his supplies were insufficient, that Robert and the Scots were lying in ambush. Accordingly he made a truce on this condition, that he should either induce the king of England to come to his defence, or, if he could not persuade him, surrender the castle without delay. This agreement was confirmed, and St. John the Baptist's day fixed as the date.

About the middle of Lent messengers came to the king and told him of the destruction of the Scottish towns, the capture of castles, and the overthrow of their walls. The constable of Stirling came also and told the king of the agreement he had made in his necessity. He urged the king to lead an army into Scotland to defend the castle and the land.

Now when the king heard this he sorrowed greatly, and could hardly refrain from tears at the capture of the castles. He bade the earls and barons come to his help, and turn out the traitor who had made himself king. The earls replied that it would be better that all should meet in a parliament and agree what should be done, instead of proceeding so rashly, for thus the ordinances decreed. The king answered that the matter was urgent and demanded haste, and that he could not wait for a parliament. The earls declared that they would not go to battle without a parliament, lest they should offend against the ordinances.

However, the king's advisers and those in his household advised him to demand from all the service they owed and boldly set out for Scotland. So many would come to his help that Bruce and the Scots could not resist them. What of the earl of Gloucester, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Hereford, Robert of Clifford, Hugh Despenser, the king's household and the other barons in England? All these would come, and he need not trouble about the rest of the earls. Accordingly the king exacted from all the service which they owed, and ordered supplies to be provided. Also he sent the earl of Pembroke on ahead with an armed force, to investigate the Scots' devices and prepare the king's way into Scotland.

When all necessaries had been collected, the king and the other magnates, with a number of carts and waggons set out for Scotland. When the king reached Berwick, he stayed

awhile, waiting for the coming of his army. However, the earl of Lancaster, the earl Warenne, the earl of Arundel and the earl of Warwick did not come, but sent trained soldiers to do their service on their behalf. When St. John the Baptist's day had almost come, six or seven days before, the king left Berwick with his army and set out for Stirling. He had more than two thousand armed men, not counting the crowd of foot-soldiers. There were enough men to overrun the whole of Scotland. Some thought that if all Scotland could be gathered together in one place, it could not withstand the royal army. All agreed that no such army had left England in our days. The carts if placed end to end would have stretched twenty leagues.

The king therefore was confident and encouraged by so great and so valiant a host, and hurried on day by day towards the appointed place, not as though he were leading an army to battle but as though he were on his way to St. James. Halts for sleep were short, and halts for food still shorter. Horses, horsemen and foot-soldiers alike were worn out with weariness and hunger, and if they did their business badly they were not to be blamed.

Now the earl of Gloucester and the earl of Hereford commanded the first line of the royal army. On Sunday, the vigil of St. John's day, they passed through a certain wood and drew near to the city of Stirling and behold! the Scots were running through the wood as though in flight, for a certain knight, Henry of Bohun, had pursued them up to the margin of the wood. He had resolved that if he could find Robert Bruce, he would either kill him or carry him off captive. But when he reached the wood, Robert himself issued from the coverts. Henry saw that he could not resist the Scots in such force, and turned his horse to go back to his comrades, but Robert attacked him and with an axe which he was carrying cut off his head. His squire was also overwhelmed by the Scots, when he tried to protect or at any-rate to avenge his lord.

This was a bad beginning. On the same day a skirmish took place, in which the earl of Gloucester was unhorsed and Robert of Clifford basely fled, and while our men were in pursuit of the Scots many on both sides were slain. However, as dusk was falling, the whole army met at the certain place where they were to spend that night. But there was no rest,

and they spent a sleepless night. They thought the Scots were more likely to attack in the darkness than to wait for daylight.

When morning came they found the Scots were prepared for battle, with a great host of armed men. The veteran and experienced men on our side advised that there should be no fighting that day, but that they should wait till the morrow, partly on account of the solemn festival, partly in view of their late labours. Useful and honourable as this advice was, it was scorned by the younger men, who thought it lazy and cowardly. The earl of Gloucester however advised the king not to fight that day, but to remain quiet because of the festival and thus greatly refresh his army. But the king scorned the earl's advice, and grew hot with anger, calling him traitor and liar. "It shall be clear enough to-day," cried the earl, "that I am neither traitor nor liar," and forthwith prepared for battle.

Meanwhile Robert Bruce admonished and instructed his men, supplied them with food and drink, and fortified them in every way possible. When he learnt that the English army was in the field he led his own out of the wood. He had about 40,000 men, and divided them into three bodies. None of them mounted, but each was armed with light armour, not easily to be penetrated by a sword thrust. They had daggers at their sides and lances in their hands, and they moved forward close together in a sort of thick hedge, which could not easily be broken.

When the time came for engaging, James Douglas, who led the first company of the Scots, attacked the earl of Gloucester fiercely. The earl received him boldly, once and again broke his line, and would have come off victor had he had faithful comrades. But in a sudden rush his horse was killed and he himself fell to the ground. He had no defender, because of the weight of his armour he could not easily rise, and so of 500 armed men whom he had brought at his expense to the war, he alone died. When they saw their leader thrown from his horse, they stood thunderstruck and proffered no help. Cursed be the army whose courage fails in a crisis! Twenty armed knights could have rescued the earl, yet of the whole 500 not one came to his help. The Lord confound them! Others said that the earl died as the result of too sudden an advance. There was a dispute between him and

the earl of Hereford as to which should precede the other to battle. The earl of Hereford said the right was his, because he was constable of England. Gloucester said that his ancestors had always stood in the first line of battle, and that therefore the right belonged to him by prescription. While therefore they were arguing after this fashion, and the Scottish host was coming near, earl Gilbert dashed into battle, hoping to come off victor in the first conflict.

Giles of Argentine, a strenuous knight and experienced in warfare, was holding the king's rein and saw the earl's fall. He hastened anxiously to rescue him, but could not. Yet he did what he could, and died himself with the earl, esteeming it more honourable to die in such company than to escape death by flight. Those who die in battle for their country live for ever in renown. On the same day Robert of Clifford, Pain Tibetot, William Marshal, all powerful, distinguished, and valiant knights, were overcome by the Scots and perished.

Now when those of the king's party saw the earl's host exhausted and his comrades ready to flee, they declared it would be dangerous for the king to tarry longer and safer for him to retreat. At their persuasion therefore the king left the field and hastened to his camp. As soon as the royal standard vanished the whole army rapidly dispersed. Two hundred knights and more, who had not drawn a sword or struck a blow, took to flight.

The king reached the castle, hoping to take refuge there, but he was driven away like an enemy. The bridge was drawn up and the gate shut. Wherefore many considered the warden of the castle not guiltless of treachery, although he appeared armed in the host that very day to fight for the king. As for me, I neither acquit nor accuse the warden, but consider that by God's counsel it happened that the king did not enter the castle. Had he entered then, he would never have escaped with his liberty.

When the king met with this repulse, no refuge remained for him, so he made his way to Dunbar and there took ship, and sailed to Berwick. Others who had no ship went by land. The soldiers laid aside their weapons and fled unarmed, with the Scots pursuing them for fifty miles. Many of our men were killed and many taken prisoner. The inhabitants

of the land, who had previously feigned goodwill, now slew our men wholesale, for Bruce had made proclamation that prisoners were to be brought to him and the captors would be rewarded. Therefore the Scots were eager to capture magnates so as to be able to extort large sums of money. In this way were taken the earl of Hereford, John Giffard, John of Wylington, John of Segrave, Maurice of Berkeley, barons of great power, and many others whose numbers cannot be reckoned. Many were ransomed and set free after payment. It was no advantage to have a cognizance, for the ransom was all the greater. Five hundred or more were thought to be dead who had been taken prisoner and were ransomed later. Amid all this misfortune one piece of good luck occurred, namely that while our men were fleeing, many of the Scots turned aside to plunder. If all the Scots had joined in the pursuit, few of our men would have escaped. However, while Bruce and his followers attacked our waggons, many of the English got away safely to Berwick. So sudden a dispersal of an army by foot-soldiers has never been heard of in this age, except when the flower of the French fell before the Flemings at Courtrai.

HOW THE KING CONFIRMED THE ORDINANCES AND RULED
AT THE WILL OF HIS BARONS. Vita Edw.
208, 209.

After this the king, by the advice of his friends, left Berwick in safe keeping and came to York, and there held council with the earl of Lancaster and the other magnates and sought a remedy for his misfortunes. The earls said that the ordinances had not been observed, and that that was why the king had prospered so ill. For he had sworn to abide by the ordinances, and the archbishop had excommunicated all who contravened them. No good could come, therefore, they declared, unless the ordinances were more fully observed. The king said he was prepared for anything which should be for the common welfare, and promised that he would observe the ordinances. The earls replied that nothing was done while aught remained to be done, but that if the ordinances were to be observed, they should be put into execution. This the king granted, for he could deny them nothing.

Accordingly the chancellor, treasurer, sheriffs and other officials were removed, and others substituted, according to the

tenour of the ordinances. The earls also wished Hugh Despenser, Henry of Beaumont and some others to be sent away from the king's court, till they had made answer and satisfaction upon certain charges brought against them. However, on the king's persuasion this was postponed, but Hugh Despenser was obliged to go into hiding. They put off the attack on Bruce and the recovery of Scotland to the next parliament, on the plea that the earl of Hereford and other barons who had been captured had not yet returned.

1315. At length about the Purification of the Blessed Mary all the earls and barons met at London to treat concerning the state of king and kingdom and the attack on the Scots. First they ejected from the king's council Hugh Despenser and Walter of Langton, bishop of Chichester, formerly treasurer. Then they removed all superfluous members of the royal household, burdensome, so they said, both to king and kingdom, and thus cut down the daily expenses of the king to £10. Then the parliament began a peaceful discussion, and was prolonged to the middle of Lent.

Vita Edw., CONCERNING THE TROUBLES AND WARFARE OF THE YEARS
213-222. WHICH FOLLOWED.

By various signs it was clear that God's hand was stretched out against us. In the previous year there was so much rain that men could hardly get in their corn or store it safely in their granaries. This year worse things happened. Floods of rain washed away almost all the seed, so that Isaiah's prophecy seemed to be fulfilled: "ten acres of vineyard shall yield one bath, and thirty measures of seed shall yield three measures". In many parts the hay was under water so long that it could neither be cut nor stacked. Sheep died also and other animals in a sudden pestilence.

Meantime it befell that a certain knight, Adam Banaster by name, of the house and household of the earl of Lancaster, had committed murder, and, despairing of pardon and increasing his sin, began to rise against his lord. He believed the king would be pleased if he attacked the earl, who had so often resisted the king and forced him to change his policy. He began therefore to attack the earl's lands and especially

the county of Lancaster, and, so some reported, raised the royal standard as though at the king's command, and on this pretext gathered together many adherents. He entered the earl's castles secretly and carried off the arms prepared for Scottish campaign, and much money. He procured the help of 800 men, some hired, some driven by fear of death, for they had either to leave their homes or join him. When the earl heard of this traitor's madness, and realised its danger, he straightway bade his knights seek out that faithless one with all prudence, and attack him when he had found him.

Six hundred armed men set out, therefore, eager for the death of Adam Banaster. When they had reached the spot where Adam had stationed his army, they divided into two companies. The first was to attack the enemy, the second to come up and bring matters to a conclusion if the first was insufficient. When Adam learnt this, he met the first company boldly with his supporters and accomplices, and would have altogether dispersed it, had not the second company come up. When Adam and his followers saw their adversaries increasing in number, and thought many more were at hand, they began to waver, and after a little yielded before the enemy's attack and took to flight. Many as they fled were slaughtered. The pursuers' chief object, however, was to seize Adam the leader, and present him, alive if possible, to the earl. He had fled to a barn, and hid there, but only for a short time. He could not long lie hidden who had fought the whole countryside like an enemy. His adversaries besieged the house and bade him surrender. Conscious of his guilt, however, and certain of death whichever way he turned, he took courage from despair, and valiantly opposed his adversaries. Some he slew, and wounded more, but at length, seeing that they could not take him alive without great danger, they made a rush and slew him. Then they cut off his head and carried it to the earl.

Payne of Turberville had received the custody of the land of Glamorgan from the king, and began to remove the existing officials and appoint new ones. At this Llewelyn Bren was much moved, and would not hold any peaceful intercourse with Payne. Now this Llewelyn was a great and powerful Welshman of those parts. While the earl of Gloucester was

alive he held high office under him, and now resented the power he had lost since Payne's appointment. Wherefore he constantly assailed Payne with reproaches, and in the hearing of several persons threatened him as follows. "The day will come," he said, "when I shall lay low the pride of Payne, and pay him back for what he has done to me." Therefore Llewelyn was accused before the king of sedition, of seeking occasion for rebellion, and of being about to rouse the Welsh anew unless the king took precautions. When Llewelyn heard that he was thus defamed to the king, by the advice of his friends he went to the court, to excuse himself if possible, or at any rate palliate his offence. But the king cast him off, though he swore and protested that he was the son of death,¹ if the crime charged upon him were true. He was ordered to come to Lincoln and answer there concerning these matters.

Now when Llewelyn received this command, he went back secretly and speedily to his own land, and revealed what he had been plotting. Before this his words had been threatening, but now he proceeded from words to wounds. On a day when the keeper of Caerphilly was holding a court outside the castle, Llewelyn came up with his sons and supporters, seized the constable and carried him off, killed several of his servants, and wounded many who had come to the court. He also attacked the castle, but the keepers defended it and he could not force an entry, but burned the whole of the outer ward. The feud was now quite open. Llewelyn threatened to kill Payne, Payne avoided his traps till he should be in a stronger position.

Meanwhile Llewelyn fell upon the lands in Payne's charge with violence, slaughtered, hurnt, and plundered. Also he had taken to help him nearly 10,000 Welshmen. They removed all their goods, oxen, cows, and other victuals to the hills. Their refuges were the fastnesses of the mountains and the hiding-places of the forests. When the king was told of these and other evil doings, he commanded his servants saying, "Go quickly and pursue that traitor, lest worse come of it through delay, and all Wales rise against us". The matter was put in charge of the earl of Hereford. The affair seemed specially his concern, for the land of Brecknock which be-

¹ 1 Sam. xx. 31.

longed to the earl bordered the land of Glamorgan. As the poet says, "When your neighbour's wall is burning, look to your own".

So the earl went away to his own land to pursue Llewelyn, and both Roger Mortimers aided him. William of Montacute was commander of the king's army on the one side, John Giffard and his comrades on the other. Henry of Lancaster and others who had lands in the neighbourhood helped him, so that the Welsh were besieged on all sides and had no place of refuge. Llewelyn saw now that he had miscalculated and was not strong enough to resist, for twice or thrice the Welsh encountered the English on plundering raids, but were always worsted. He offered, therefore, to submit to the earl upon terms, namely that he should have his life and limbs, his lands and other moveable goods, and he offered a large sum of money as satisfaction for his offence. The earl, however, would accept nothing but unconditional surrender. At length when our army had drawn near and had discovered where the Welsh were camping Llewelyn addressed his men as follows. "It is not safe to fight the English. I was the cause of the business and I will yield myself up for the whole people. It is better that one man should die than that a whole race should be exiled or perish at the sword's point."

Accordingly Llewelyn left the mountains and surrendered to the earl, submitting himself unconditionally to the king's will: and the earl sent him to the king to await mercy or justice.

Even earlier there had arisen a dispute at Bristol, concerning the customs in the harbour and market, concerning privileges and other matters, in which fourteen of the more important citizens seemed to have the prerogative. The community objected and said that all burgesses were of one condition and equals in liberties and privileges. They had frequent altercations among themselves about these matters, till at last they asked for judges of the king's court to take cognizance of the case and bring it to a lawful issue. However, the fourteen caused foreigners to be placed in the commission, and, it was believed, they were bribed and favoured the party of the fourteen. The community declared that it was contrary to the liberties of the city to submit local disputes to the settlement of strangers, but the judges considered

these merely frivolous excuses, and paid no heed to their liberties or privileges.

When the stronger among the community saw that their pleas were rejected and their case overthrown, by favour rather than reason, they went out angrily from the hall where, according to custom, the proceedings were held, and informed the populace, saying: "Justices have come who favour our adversaries, and they allow strangers to be admitted, to our prejudice, wherefore our rights will be for ever lost". At this the vulgar herd turned to rebellion, and all were awe-struck at the tumult which arose. They went back again with a numerous following into the hall where the case was now turning to their disadvantage. They attacked those they encountered with fists and sticks, and killed nearly twenty men that very day. Not unreasonable fear overcame all, both gentle and simple, and many clambered through the windows of the top room on to the roof, and broke their arms or legs in jumping to the ground. The judges also were afraid, and begged that they might go in peace. The mayor, calming the fury of the mob, though with difficulty, sent them away unharmed.

On this account eighty men were indicted and condemned, after an inquiry held before the king's justices at Gloucester. They were afterwards summoned from the county court, on pain of exile if they refused to come or disobeyed. However, they entrenched themselves in their city, and would not obey the king's command unless they were forced.

The fourteen who were opposing the community abandoned their houses and revenues and left the city; for they thought it useless to stay among their enemies in such a disturbance. The rebellion lasted for two years and more, although they were frequently bidden to come to terms by the king. The king would rather lessen the penalty of the culprits than seek vengeance and destroy a good city. However, the rebels persisted, and continued to scorn his royal order and command. They did not come when summoned, they did not obey, but protested that the proceedings taken against them were unjust, and altogether contrary to their privileges and liberties.

The king therefore was unwilling to pander further to their maliciousness, and summoned the knights and more important men of the county of Gloucester to London, and bade them, in virtue of an oath there taken, to declare fully the case of

Bristol and whose the injury was. They all agreed that the community of Bristol was favouring the rebellious party and that the eighty men were the authors of the mischief. So he sent earl Aymer of Pembroke to Bristol, and he, calling the leaders of the community, said to them, "The king has examined your case and found you guilty, and orders you to obey the law. Give up those homicides and criminals, and preserve your town and yourselves in peace. I promise that if you do this, you will find the king peaceable and merciful towards you." The community answered, "We were not the cause of the mischief and we have done nothing wrong against the king. Certain persons were trying to rob us of our rights, and we defended them, as was proper, in return. If the king has recalled his charges against us, if he has granted us life, limbs, revenues and our plunder, we will obey him as lord and do whatever he wishes. Otherwise we shall go on as we have begun and defend our privileges even to death."

When the king was informed of their contumacy, he thought it would set a bad example, and ordered the town to be besieged. The attack was not to be abandoned till the besieged had been captured. At once the town was invested, and entrenchments and ramparts set up against it. Maurice of Berkeley guarded the approach by sea. There were present also John Charlton the king's chamberlain, Roger Mortimer, John of Wylington and many other barons and knights, as well as Bartholomew of Badelesmere, the instigator of the whole affair. In the castle close to the town were stationed men with machines of various kinds for throwing stones. For some days the besieged tried to defend the city, for they hoped the besiegers would not stay long, partly because the earl of Gloucester in his recent siege had retired without pressing matters to a conclusion, and partly because they knew that the king was going to Scotland and would need the help of his magnates. It was a vain hope, however. There would be no retreat till the city had fallen. The machine from the castle was used vigorously, and broke down walls and buildings. The townsmen seeing this were thrown into confusion and full of fear. They surrendered the city, therefore, and their leaders were put in prison. It was impossible to punish so many offenders, but it was necessary to make an example of some.

Vita Edw. 224-229.
1317. HOW ILLWILL AROSE BETWEEN THE KING AND THE EARL OF LANCASTER.

In the previous year it had been decreed, that the king should take no important or difficult step without consulting the earls and magnates, and that the earl of Lancaster should be his principal counsellor. However, whatever pleased the king, the intimates of the earl strove to overthrow, and whatever pleased the earl the king's intimates declared to be treasonable. So at the instigation of the evil one the households of each stood in the way of the other, and would not allow their lords, by whom the land should have been defended, to be of one mind. Indeed, for many years now Robert Bruce had always left the earl's possessions untouched when he was plundering lands on the Scottish march. He hoped, it was said, to escape by the earl's good offices the penalty with which he had so long been threatened, and keep the kingdom he had claimed by some agreement. . . . The earl it was said, tried to establish Bruce in the kingdom of Scotland, so that if he was not strong enough alone to resist the king he might at anyrate by Robert's help bring the king's threats to nought.

Vita Edw. 227-231. When spring was at hand, the king sent messengers to the Roman court. On their arrival they asked the pope on the king's behalf to deign to absolve the king from observing the ordinances, although he was bound to do so by an oath. They asserted that the said ordinances, although they had been issued and confirmed by the common consent of the magnates, were injurious to the realm and dangerous to the English church. Also they asked that sentence of excommunication should be pronounced against Robert Bruce and his adherents, and the land of Scotland placed under an interdict, till Robert should make reparation for his offences against the king of England and entirely relinquish the kingdom of Scotland, of which he was unlawfully in occupation. They further entreated the pope to come to the help of the king, who had spent all his money in the defence of his realm. The king's intention, they added, was to go to war against the pagans with the utmost zeal, as soon as the realm was at peace, if he could find means. The pope answered that he could not absolve the king from observing the ordinances, for, as he had understood, they had been drawn up by trusted persons who

would not have ordained anything to the prejudice of church or kingdom. Nor could he place Scotland under an interdict until he was satisfied concerning the right of the parties concerned. Nor was he inclined to subject the church or ecclesiastical tenths to the power of laymen, but rather he would reserve it for his own disposal, and if necessary, give abundant help out of the revenues of the church if the king took up arms for the help of the Holy Land. He promised however to send legates into England who should make diligent inquiry concerning these matters and by apostolic authority bring all controversies to a fitting end.

Meanwhile the season at which kings are wont to go to war drew near, and, according to the tenour of the ordinances, the king called together his magnates to a parliament, that they might discuss in common what should be done, before he went to war. But on the appointed day the earl of Lancaster did not appear. Meanwhile he was bidden by his fealty and homage to come to parliament: or if he did not come, on pain of forfeiture of all his English possessions, he was ordered to send a representative. Then the earl sent messengers to make his excuses to the king and to explain the reasons of his absence. They came as they were ordered and said to the king: "Sire, if it please you, be not angry or surprised that the earl of Lancaster does not come to parliament. He is afraid of certain mortal enemies who are protected and cherished in the royal court. Their enmity to him has been shown plainly enough, for they have carried off his wife, to his shame and dishonour, and thus made clearly evident the sort of love they bear him. The earl asks therefore that you will be pleased to drive those evil-doers from your presence, and then he will come to you at any place you choose to assign. He also asks permission to take vengeance for the injury done him and demand satisfaction without offence to yourself."

The king answered, "I will avenge the earl's contempt when I can: I will not drive away my friends: let him seek a remedy for the rape of his wife by law and not otherwise". Then calling together his friends and intimates, the king said before them all: "You see how the earl of Lancaster does not come to parliament, and disregards my commands. What think you should be done?" Some answered, "He who disregards his lord's commands is guilty of contumacy and should

in consequence lose his fief, as perjured, if he has one. Let the king pursue his defiant subject and capture him, and then shut him up in prison or drive out of the realm." Others however said, "It is no light matter to take the earl of Lancaster prisoner. The Scots, and a great part of Wales, will hasten to his rescue. It is better to take another way, and first treat of some form of agreement." . . . By the intervention of the magnates, therefore, it was agreed that the king and the earl should meet at some place for a day of reconciliation without clash of arms. They hoped that if the two could exchange arguments and speak to each other, they would more rapidly come to a settlement than if mediators came and went between them. But since the secrets of great people cannot be kept hidden, the earl soon heard that the king had sworn to have his head or throw him into prison if he came to such a meeting.

Thenceforward the earl resolved not to go near the king without a guard. He collected all his adherents at his castle of Pontefract. Meanwhile the king was at York, and had ordered his army to meet there. However, the earl would not allow those on their way to the king to pass through his lands in arms. He set watches over the bridges, and would not permit chargers or weapons to be taken across them. This he did, he said, as seneschal of England, whose business it was to watch over the interests of the realm. If the king wished to take up arms against anyone, he should inform his seneschal. The king saw that his plans were hindered and his design brought to nought, and did not know what to do or where to turn. At length by the persuasions of the earl of Pembroke and the intervention of the cardinal legates who had now come to England, it was arranged that all should meet a fortnight after Hilarytide at Lincoln, and there reparation should be made for wrongs, and justice done upon evildoers.

When this had been settled, the king set out on his way to London with all his followers. When he came near to the earl of Lancaster's castle of Pontefract, he ordered his men to put on their arms. Either he was afraid where no fear was, or else some foolish persons had egged him on to this. At anyrate they went past armed and in companies as though to besiege the city. Then the earl of Pembroke said to the king, "Sire, what counsel is this that you have adopted? Why is it that you have taken up arms so hastily? There is no

enemy here, nor any to molest us. Is not all in suspense till a fixed date? Has not an agreement been made, confirmed by a pledge and set down in writing? It is base to go back upon an agreement, deceive him who has trusted you, and break a pledge." The king answered, "I have been told that the earl of Lancaster is lying in ambush, and hopes to take us un-awares". "Nay, sire," said the earl, "that cannot be. The earl would leave the kingdom and his fief and all that he possesses rather than meditate such treachery." At length, on the earl's representations, the king desisted from his enterprise and continued his march to London.

While matters were in this state, the cardinals returned to London. They had set out for Scotland to perform their duties as legates there, but as they went through Northumberland had been used ill by certain robbers. For they encountered a certain Gilbert of Middleton and his accomplices, who searched their baggage and stole a large sum of money. Therefore the legates suspended their business for a time, till they could obtain vengeance in parliament upon those evil-doers. Meantime they proceeded against them by spiritual means and solemnly and publicly cut off Gilbert and his adherents from communion with the faithful.

CONCERNING THE RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE EARL AND THE KING. Vita Edw.
233-237.
1318.

Now when at the feast of St. Hilary the king and the other magnates should have met in parliament, some of the king's counsellors met and said, "It is unwise to hold a parliament. If the king comes and the earl of Lancaster comes, and all their followers, evil rather than good will be done by the assembling of so numerous and so heated a multitude. It is better first to establish firm peace and full concord between the king and the earl of Lancaster through mediators, and then fix a day and a place for parliament." This was done. By agreement the archbishops, earls and barons of the king's party, and the advisers of the earl, met at Leicester to discuss these affairs. The earl was asked to give his consent to many requests on the king's behalf. But he could be persuaded to nothing unless the ordinances were to be observed in their entirety. When therefore the archbishop and the other earls saw that he could not be moved, they granted on their own

and the king's behalf that the ordinances should be faithfully observed, and had a charter drawn up to this effect strengthened by the oath and seals of all. The earl of Lancaster in return promised his due fealty and gave security to the king and his followers, always excepting his grievance against earl Warenne for the rape of his wife. Thereupon they agreed on a date for parliament, at Lincoln, on the morrow of Trinity.

How harmful that dispute was, and to what evils it led! While the king was quarrelling with his barons, his enemies gained confidence. All Scotland was lost, and Northumberland lying wasted. One town alone remained to the king in Scotland, Berwick, strong and powerful and girt about with an impregnable wall. But while he committed it to the burgesses for safe keeping, the children of perfidy betrayed it to the enemy.

When the day appointed for parliament drew near, the king came to Northampton, with a chosen band of armed men. And while he was waiting there for the magnates, an impostor appeared at Oxford who declared he was son of the king, and that the English throne was his by right of birth. He said he had been stolen out of his cradle and the king who was reigning put in his place. He went to the king's manor, where the Carmelites were beginning to build, and wished to take seisin of it. Then the king heard of him, and ordered him to be seized and brought before him. But even when confronted with the king he did not recall what he had said, but affirmed steadfastly that he was the true heir and that the king had no right to rule. The report of this went abroad through all the land, and troubled the queen beyond measure. Then the king took counsel with the wise as to what should be done, and after long discussion it was agreed that he who does not spare the fame and honour of a ruler should be condemned to capital punishment, as it is written, "He who curseth a ruler shall die the death". So that poor fool was drawn from the court and, after that penalty of traitors, was hanged. Truly he made his claim in an evil hour, and pleaded his cause badly, when he lost at one and the same time life and kingdom.

So the king waited for the magnates, as I said, at Northampton. Now there were with him the earl of Warenne,

Roger of Amory, Hugh Despenser the father and Hugh Despenser the son, Hugh of Audley, William Montague. All of these had large retinues, so that you would have thought they had come to war rather than to parliament. When the earl of Lancaster heard of it, he would not go, though summoned more than once. All those I have named he considered his capital enemies. Now I will explain the reasons of their enmity briefly. The earl of Warenne had carried off the earl of Lancaster's wife, or at anyrate had abetted those who seized her. It is not surprising, therefore, that the one wished to seek revenge and the other to avoid the penalty if possible. All the others hated the earl because he wished to maintain the ordinances, for by the ordinances they had been removed from the king's court and had lost the lands which they had received from the king. They were making plots, therefore, against the earl, but their plots came to nothing, because he was at once informed of his enemies' machinations.

When the king saw that none of his schemes against the earl could be carried out, and considered how dangerous this dispute was to himself, because the Scots were in rebellion, and he could not go against them without the help of the earl of Lancaster: and considered also that Berwick had been lost disgracefully, and that Norham would be lost also unless the besieged were rescued before Michaelmas: and further considered the expense to which he had been put in opposing the earl: he decided to lay aside all rancour and go to any place selected to make an amicable agreement with the earl concerning all disputes. All against whom the earl said he had a grievance should satisfy the earl on his own terms, and give sureties, warranty or pledges. This was agreed upon at the instance of the queen, the earl of Hereford, and other nobles whom the earl of Lancaster thought to be trustworthy.

Accordingly the earl and king met, and after friendly converse renewed their friendship and mutual favour, and broke bread together in token of agreement. Roger Amory and the rest, except Hugh Despenser and the earl of Warenne, entered the earl's presence in all humility, and were admitted to his grace. Further because provision was made in the ordinances that the king should make no gift and undertake no important or arduous business, except by the consent of the earls and barons and this solemnly expressed in full parliament, it was

provided that twelve men¹ should be chosen of the more discreet in the whole realm, four to be bishops, four earls, and four barons. Three at least of these should always accompany the king. If any difficulty arose in the king's court it should be settled by the authority of these twelve. For it would be difficult, for every matter which might crop up, to gather together all the magnates of the realm.

Vita Edw. HOW THE KING WARRED AGAINST THE SCOTS, BUT WITHOUT SUCCESS.
241-245.
1319.

After Easter all the magnates of the realm with the king assembled at York, and after taking counsel together agreed to meet in arms at Newcastle, on the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, and begin from there, by God's grace, a prosperous campaign. The magnates granted the king as a subsidy for the war the 18th penny of all England.

Then the king sent messengers to Scotland to demand the kingdom, and offer terms of peace to Bruce, namely safety of life and limb. . . . Bruce answered that he cared very little about peace with the king of England, and the kingdom of Scotland was his own, both by hereditary right and by conquest. He declared that he was secure in these rights, and neither ought to nor wished to recognise any man as his superior or lord.

At the appointed date the king, earls, and barons assembled at Newcastle. Thomas earl of Lancaster was present, with the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Hereford, the earl of Warenne and the earl Marshal, brother of the king. So were Hugh Despenser, Roger of Amory and Hugh of Audley, the three sharers of the Gloucester inheritance. They had married three sisters, who by a family agreement had divided the earldom of Gloucester between them. Other barons of England also who are bound to furnish defence to the king were there, and foot-soldiers flocked thither in thousands. They were all the more eager because the king had granted each man that he might take the enemy's goods to the value of £100 without restitution. The king made the same concession to all the sailors, that they might attack the

¹The real number was seventeen—eight bishops, four earls, four barons, and a banneret to represent the earl of Lancaster.—Treaty of Leake, *Fœdera*, II. ii. 370.

enemy boldly from the sea, and enrich themselves out of the spoils. This grant brought many volunteers to plunder the Scots, since there was no fear of restitution, such as is often required after peace has been made.

The king set out first to Berwick with his whole army. This siege was to take place first advisedly, because the town had withdrawn from his rule, and in order that he might not expose his forces to danger by leaving unconquered enemies in their rear. The army spread round about the city on the land side, and began to make entrenchments and fortifications with all speed, while on the side open to the sea the sailors of the Cinque Ports watched the entrance and exit so closely that none could get out.

While this was going on in Scotland, and it seemed that there was nothing to be feared from the enemy in England, James Douglas and his accomplices, ever busy with their plots, would have done us injury and inestimable damage, had not God, the Lord of all, protected us against them. By the counsel of Achitophel he chose out ten thousand men, and resolved to seize the queen of England, who was then near York. Assuredly if the queen had been taken prisoner, Scotland could have bought peace for herself. But the counsel of Achitophel was turned into foolishness, nor would God suffer so great a wrong to be done to Israel. For one day a scout was captured at York, and when he saw he was to be put to the question, he promised that if he might escape the penalty he would reveal all the machinations of the Scots. The more important citizens agreed to this. The archbishop of York was there at the time and the bishop of Ely, then chancellor. The scout then informed them that our enemy James Douglas was about to come secretly with a chosen band to those parts, to carry off the queen and slay those whom he could take unawares. "They were in hiding at such and such a place," he said, "on such and such a day, and when opportunity occurs they will carry out their plan." Hardly anyone believed him, for the English king had begun to ravage the lands of the Scots, and it seemed more necessary for such an army to defend its own territory than to come 100 miles from its own district to seek battle. But the scout added that if the issue did not confirm his saying he would willingly submit to capital punishment.

Then the archbishop and the chancellor went forth from

the city with their retinue, the sheriffs and burgesses and their followers, monks, canons, and other religious, as well as all others who had been found capable of bearing arms, and they brought the queen back to the city and then dispatched her by water to Nottingham. For that was a safer place, and James and his schemes were not to be feared there.

On the day on which, according to the scout's story, the Scots were to be found in their hiding-places, the laymen, clerks, and religious once more went forth from the city. They moved secretly and silently, to take the enemy unawares, lest they should flee if they got warning beforehand. However, when the Scots saw our men approaching in a disorderly fashion, they said, "These are not warriors but huntsmen: they will not accomplish much." Then they set fire to a great heap of hay which had been collected at that point, and the smoke went up and overspread the sky. The smoke blinded our men, and they found those whom they imagined in flight drawn up ready for battle. In fact they were men picked from all Scotland, excellent and ready for anything. Our people, though more numerous, were unskilled in military matters and cleverer at flight than fight. When battle was joined, therefore, many were slain and still more taken prisoner, but the Scots returned safely to Scotland with their captives.

Word of this was carried to the English king and to our army which was besieging Berwick, and immediately, I know not by whose advice, the siege was abandoned. The king tried to meet the Scots in their flight by one route, and the earl of Lancaster by another. However, the Scots by a happy stratagem departed into their own country another way. But why was the siege abandoned which had cost so much trouble to begin? Some say Robert Bruce had friends. . . . The king's retreat from the siege was laid to the charge of the earl of Lancaster: so was the expedition to seize the queen, and the safe return of the king's enemies to their own country. Some such accusations of treason were made publicly, and evil reports were current concerning the earl and his followers. It is said commonly that he received £40,000 from Bruce for giving him his secret help, and that in the siege, when the wall was being attacked, not one of the earl's own followers joined in the onslaught: also that Berwick would have been surrendered if the earl had not given advice

to the contrary : also that when James Douglas was going back to Scotland he passed through the earl's army, while the earl unarmed went through the midst of the Scots.

Now when the earl of Lancaster learnt that his reputation was thus defamed, and that common report and rumour bore evil witness, he went to the king and said : " You know, sire, that I was in your company with all my retinue in Scotland, and that I put myself to no small expense there to recover Berwick. But now it is being said all over the kingdom that it was at our wish that the attempt failed. I cannot stop men's mouths, but I offer to purge myself by the arbitration of good men, or, if need be, by hot iron. Or if an accuser will come forward and allow his name to be written down, I offer to prove my innocence by lawful means." The offer of the earl seemed reasonable, since there were only rumours, and no proved transgression. Therefore the earl was admitted to purgation with a group of his peers. . . . After this the new king of France¹ demanded homage from the king of England for his land of Gascony. Since such service could not be done except in person, the king arranged by the advice of his council a truce for two years with the Scots, and prepared to cross over to France. The truce displeased some of the magnates, because it seemed a diminution of the royal dignity. . . . However, the king did not make a truce so much because he was going to France as to hinder the Scots from the plundering to which they were given, especially in the winter. In past years the king used to station wardens in the march for the whole winter, but the oppression of the wardens injured the inhabitants more than the onslaught of the enemy. For the Scots spared the inhabitants of Northumbria for a while in return for a moderate tribute, but those appointed as protectors seemed to have time for daily exactions. Besides, the king could not go to France and lead an army to war simultaneously. He was to cross after Easter, the season at which kings are wont to prepare for a campaign.

HOW HUGH DESPENSER THE FATHER AND HUGH DESPENSER THE SON WERE DRIVEN INTO EXILE.

Vita Edw.
254-258.

After the king's return a great dispute arose among certain barons and Hugh Despenser the son, chamberlain of the king, 1321.

¹ Philip V, 1316-22.

Hugh, who had married the eldest of the Gloucester heiresses, and whose share had included almost the whole of Glamorgan, was devoting all his energy and ingenuity to acquiring lands adjacent to his lordship. He first entered fraudulently and kept the castle of Newport, which had fallen to the lot of Hugh of Audley. He particularly desired certain castles once bestowed by the royal munificence upon Roger Mortimer, and in consequence induced the king to reclaim the said castles. Further, he advised that the land of Gower should be added to the royal domain, on various pretexts prejudicial to Marcher law, because John Mowbray had entered upon it without the royal licence, though it was held of the king in chief. The king, who met all Hugh's wishes as far as possible, had a certain process begun against John, in prejudice of Marcher law. Both John and the earl of Hereford resisted, perceiving that this was to the common prejudice, and humbly besought the king not to introduce a new law contrary to customs long used and approved. Hugh Despenser urged it persistently, declaring that both in Wales and England the king enjoyed this privilege, that no man should enter without the king's licence upon a fief held in chief. If any one attempted the contrary, the fief so occupied should be confiscated to the crown. The others alleged the laws and customs of the March which ought not to be infringed. But Hugh scorned both the laws and the customs, and said that the barons who alleged them were showing themselves treasonable.

Then the barons, indignant at such an affront, went away indignantly, and gathering in Wales, unanimously agreed to pursue, depose, and utterly destroy Hugh Despenser. The chief of those who took part in this compact and bound themselves by an oath were the following: John of Mowbray, the earl of Hereford, Hugh of Audley, Roger of Clifford, Roger of Amory, and Roger Mortimer the uncle and nephew among the rest. These and many others assembled, and the hand of the earl of Lancaster was with them. Every one of them distrusted Hugh, for he had offended each one of them. John of Mowbray was angry on account of the land of Gower, where Hugh was trying to supplant him: Hugh of Audley on account of the castle kept from him: the earl of Hereford for the injury done to his son: Roger Clifford for the disinheritation of his mother, procured by Hugh to his prejudice: Roger of

Amory, coheir of the earl of Gloucester, could not be expected to love his rival. The two Mortimers became enemies of Hugh because he plotted to despoil the one and swore to revenge on both the death of his grandfather. The earl of Lancaster laid to Hugh's charge the mark of ignominy which he had received at Berwick, and wished to revenge it when opportunity offered.

Before they took any action, they requested the king to dismiss Hugh Despenser from his presence, or give him over to chosen keeping, so that on a certain day he might submit to justice and answer the charges brought against him. Otherwise they would hold the king as king no longer, but altogether withdraw from any homage, fealty, and oath which they had taken to him, and proceed on their own authority, as men without a king, without a ruler, and without a judge, for want of justice, to do vengeance upon Hugh, and take such revenge as they could for the crimes of such evildoers.

The king, very angry at the baronial demand, marched towards Gloucester and beyond, and took from Roger of Amory, because he was supporting the opposition, the castle of St. Briavel's with its liberty and appurtenances. Also he ordered the lands of Hugh of Audley to be confiscated, because, so the king asserted, he was taking the barons' part contrary to an oath he had taken to the king. At length when he could not suspend the barons' proposal without the form aforesaid, he returned, with his Hugh always at his side, to London.

The barons no longer delayed the execution of their plans. First they besieged the castle of Newport, and took it easily, and put Hugh of Audley into possession as right directed. Then, with no great trouble, they occupied the other castles which Hugh Despenser held in Wales. The keepers did not care to defend the castles, nor the Welsh, who cursed Hugh's rule, to protect them. For the barons were accompanied by a strong force of 800 armed men and many thousands of foot-soldiers. Hugh Despenser did not come up to the defence and the keepers could not resist unaided. Whatever of value they found in the castles they divided among themselves, contrary to the law of warfare. They did not distribute oxen, sheep and horses, but agreed without contention what each should take. For they thought it right that the goods of him on whose account the kingdom and the magnates were troubled should be made public property.

Now the dwellers in that land, about 30,000 men, came to the barons and said, "Let your indignation cease towards us. We never loved the rule of Hugh Despenser and are ready with one accord to obey your commauds." They were admitted to peace on the understanding that they should completely throw aside their homage to Hugh, and never recognise him as lord, but remain faithful to the king, and preserve their services unimpaired for that place and at that time to the true heir. All this they confirmed, touching the holy gospels, and in a special form of words.

When the barons had thus completed their work in Wales, they decided to carry out the same sentence in England. They occupied, scattered, and made public property all the goods that they could find belonging to Hugh the father or the son. For it was the earl of Lancaster's wish that they should not only rise against the son, but should also destroy the father. For he had never found an opportunity to satisfy his long-standing grudge against the father. Meantime the barons of the march took an oath, together with the earl, to pursue, destroy, and disinherit for ever both Hugh the father and Hugh the son. Therefore, as I said, they took possession of their goods, despoiled their manors, broke into their parks, and, perhaps because Hugh the father had once extorted an unjust payment from many on account of the king's beasts, he now suffered vengeance upon his own beasts, which he greatly loved. . . . When the king heard of this fury on the part of the barons, he called together his advisers and took their counsel. . . . Then he summoned the barons to a parliament and ordered them in the meantime to stop their attack.

15 May.

Gesta
Edw. 61-
65.
1321,
May.

On the Sunday next after the feast of St. Dunstan the bishop, in the fourteenth year of king Edward, there assembled in the chapter house of Pontefract priory, at the bidding of the earl of Lancaster and in his presence, the following lords. First the earl himself with his men, Thomas of Multon, Thomas of Furnivall, Edmund Deyncourt, Henry Fitz-Hugh, Ralph of Greystoke, Gilbert of Atone, Marmaduke Twenge, Nicholas Menille, Henry Percy, John Marmillone, Philip Darcy, William FitzWilliam, John Fauconberg, John Deyncourt, and Robert Constable of Flamborough, barons and bannerets. All and single, by unanimous consent and goodwill, on behalf of themselves and the friends and allies

whom they could attract to their league, granted, that since already various outbreaks had occurred in divers parts of the land, to the disturbance of the peace, the dishonour of king and kingdom, and the no small damage and injury of the people, they all and single agreed, and each promised faithfully and conceded on his own account, that they would be of one mind and united for the defence of their lands and homes. So that if any man rebelled against the earl or against one of themselves, whoever he was, and however it came about, to their damage and dishonour, they would all be ready with help and defence against those who wished to trouble them maliciously. To do this the better, each would make preparations to the best of his ability, so that the general peace of the land might be preserved and the quiet and comfort of the people maintained. Each had confirmed this agreement, or rather league, written in French, by affixing his seal.

Then, because it seemed to the aforesaid lords that the business required the counsel of the magnates, and especially of the prelates, the earl of Lancaster wrote to the archbishop and all other prelates of the province and diocese of York, to meet on the Sunday next after the nativity of St. John the Baptist, at Sherburn in Elmet, to treat with the same lords on matters touching the convenience and tranquillity of the people. On that day the archbishop, the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, abbots and priors and many barons, bannerets and knights, from both north and south, assembled in the parish church of Sherburn. Then in their presence John of Bek, knight, at the earl's bidding, read out certain articles, which, he said, were open to correction. I do not insert them here word for word as they were read out in the French, but summarize their sense, for they were veiled with soft phrases.

The first article contained among other things the provision that, if they were aware of any considerations or grievances broached to the injury or dishonour of people or crown by evil counsellors or unworthy ministers of the king, they should describe these grievances and explain them clearly in the presence of the earl, so that a fitting remedy might be provided for them by unanimous consent and common discussion.

Also it seems, honourable lords, that those who have received offices by which the realm has to be governed, namely the chancellor, treasurer, chamberlain, justiciar, keeper of the

secret seal, escheators and others who should have been appointed by election, but received their offices contrary to the ordinances, are the cause of the novelties, evils, and oppressions with which the people are aggrieved. It is desirable therefore that a remedy should be speedily found.

Also it is necessary to find a remedy for innovations begun against the magnates of the land by such ministers, namely that those who seek for lands and tenements held from the king by accustomed services are repelled and made to forfeit all their possessions: and also concerning others who contrary to the law of the land are disinherited and adjudged by the king's power without any consultation of their peers.

Also concerning justices who by royal commissions and the instigation of evil counsellors make inquiry concerning various trespasses, and cause magnates of the land to be indicted, so that, seeking out various pretexts, they may disinherit them by their plots, contrary to the usual laws and to the oppression of the people.

Also the aforesaid evil counsellors have appointed itinerant justices at London, and cause the king to issue the writ *Quo warranto* against the inhabitants of the same town, to make them answer how they hold the revenues and liberties which they and their ancestors held, and which they enjoyed from the time of the conquest onwards. By oppressions of this kind the said evil counsellors are striving to disinherit and afflict the people beyond measure.

Also there must be discussion upon the grievances done to foreign and native merchants, who after they have bought their goods are forced contrary to custom by these evil ministers to go to St. Omer, and there, contrary to their privilege and to liberties granted them long since by royal charter, sell to the great expense and grievance of the people.

Also there must be discussion as to how the earl may annul the confederations and alliances already begun with foreign powers, which if completed would be to the destruction of you and us and the whole people of England.

Also there must be discussion concerning the way in which the king at the instigation of those counsellors keeps all the defenders and experts in the law of the land, so that if magnates or others are cited by the king, they will have no advice: whereas his predecessors kept only two serjeants at most for his pleas.

When the articles had been read, the earl asked the prelates to adjourn for a while and then reply favourably to his proposal. They took with them a copy of the articles and went to the house of the rector of the church, and after discussion gave the following answer to the earl.

“Honoured sir, the prelates and clergy of this diocese and province who have met here at your request thank you humbly and cordially for your devotion to the realm and this part of it. All of us fear a Scottish invasion, to waste our land as they have wasted it on previous occasions, and if, which God forbid, they appear as before to do evil, then all of us agree to assist you and the other magnates and the community hither summoned, to the utmost of our ability, to repress the malice of the enemy, saving always the state of the clergy and church. As to the movements lately begun in the kingdom, they humbly and devoutly beseech you and the rest here united with you, that out of respect to God and the reverence and honour of Holy Church, the salvation of the realm and the tranquility of the people, there may be a cessation of such movements, and that in the coming parliament concord and agreement may be brought about between the king and his lieges by peaceful negotiation in Christ, which will be more fitting. We are all of opinion that a suitable remedy will be found, by God’s grace, in the said parliament, for all the other matters shown forth in the articles you have shown us here.”

When this answer had been read in the earl’s presence, he returned special thanks to the prelates and clergy, and then all were allowed to disperse.

After the magnates had bound themselves together by an oath, they began to journey towards London from the north, for parliament, through the town of St. Albans. The earl of Lancaster did not come with them, but sent excuses. Then they reached Waltham and remained there or thereabouts for four days. While there, the earl of Hereford and Roger Mortimer sent under their seals letters to the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, and all the community of London. . . . The letter was read in full husting, and then the mayor and certain aldermen left the husting, and went to the Guildhall to discuss further. At once they sent to the king at Westminster to ask what they should do. He forbade them to hold any

*Annales
Paulini,
293-297.
1321,
July.*

intercourse with the barons: they should guard the city for him as they had promised. Then the earls and magnates moved from Waltham on the Wednesday next after the feast of St. James the apostle and advanced to London, armed for the most part and in great pomp, yet did not enter the city but remained outside at Islington and Smithfield. They divided into three parties. Roger Mortimer lodged at St. John's Clerkenwell with his household. The earl of Hereford with his army was entertained at the earl of Lancaster's house in Holborn: Roger of Amory at the New Temple: Hugh of Audley at the priory of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield. The other magnates were housed in Smithfield and the neighbourhood of Holborn and Fleet Street and the places near by, peaceably and without confusion. The number of magnates, it was reported, was 1500, in addition to newcomers and their servants.

Several days passed by in delays, and meantime the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Ely, Salisbury, Lincoln, Hereford, Exeter, Bath, Chichester, Rochester, and others, with the clergy and people met for parliament, devoted all their energies to bringing about a reconciliation between the king and his earls. They held constant meetings, sometimes at the New Temple, sometimes at the Carmelite priory, both before dinner and afterwards, and went backwards and forwards between the king and the barons to calm both parties. On the Wednesday next before the feast of St. Peter *ad Vincula* the magnates sent to the mayor of London to summon him and others of the city to an interview. They consulted the king and he gave them permission. Then the mayor and community chose Robert of Swalclive, recorder of the city and other prudent men, and they went forth on the Thursday following to the said earl and magnates, to Holborn, to the earl of Lancaster's house. There the earl of Hereford addressed them pleasantly and courteously, and explained that the magnates had come for the comfort and utility of king and kingdom, and to destroy Hugh Despenser, father and son, and all their accomplices, because they led astray king and kingdom. And he adduced many arguments in proof of this. He said also that the two Hughs had obtained admission to the Tower of London to the destruction of the city, and committed many other enormities. Robert and the other envoys asked for a truce till the following Thursday, so that

in the meantime they might discuss matters with the mayor and community. They then summoned twelve lawful men from each ward and explained to them what the earl had said. It was agreed that all should be reported to the king before they made answer to the earl and barons. They chose three fit persons for this purpose to send to the king. When they had explained, he put off his answer till the following day. On the next day, which was Friday, he forbade the community to take an oath to maintain any quarrels, and said that his will was to destroy all his enemies, though they were his brother or his son.

Time went on, and the king made one delay after another, annulling one day what he had conceded the day before, and thus the parliament was postponed, so that the magnates did not appear before the king. This delay was put down to Hugh Despenser, who was in a great ship of the king's full of armed men in the Thames about Gravesend, sometimes nearer and sometimes further off, and who sometimes went to visit the king by night. The wrath and hatred of the magnates had now reached such a pitch that they talked of rising in insurrection against the king, and burning all the parts from Charing Cross to Westminster, because they believed that Hugh the son was hidden in the king's chamber and bringing about these delays. By the intervention of the Holy Spirit, however, Aymer of Valence, earl of Pembroke, newly returned from over the seas, and John of Brittany earl of Richmond, the archbishop, and other prelates, acted as mediator for peace between the king and the earl and barons. Isabella herself also, the queen, prayed on bended knee on the people's behalf. They besought the king and so urged him that, induced by fear, he confirmed the petitions and statutes of the earls and barons on the vigil of the Assumption of August. Blessed Mary, which was a Friday. On that day all the earls and barons came to await the king's arrival into the great hall at Westminster—a wonderful spectacle. After a long wait the king came into the hall, escorted by the earls of Richmond and Pembroke, and regarding the crowd with a stern countenance. For the hall and all the court before it was full of horse and foot. Then after the earls and barons had saluted the king, the agreement between them was reduced to writing and read aloud. Finally they departed,

having obtained the king's peace and his charter for all their transgressions.

Vita. Edw. 261. After all this had been done, Hugh the father went to the parts across the sea, but Hugh the son remained in the channel, for the king had earnestly commended him to the protection of the sailors of the ports. He became a sea beast, preying upon the merchants who passed that way. He occupied the sea, took their merchandise and other goods, and not a vessel crossed unhurt. He attacked a great ship of Genoa, commonly called a dromond, killed her crew, and turned to his own uses the untold wealth with which she was laden.

Ann. Paul.
298-300.
1321,
Oct.

HOW THE DESPENSERS RETURNED AND THE KING TRIUMPHED.

The same year, a fortnight after Michaelmas, the queen was on her way towards Canterbury, and sent messengers to Leeds castle to arrange to stay there on her journey. Answer was made to them that the queen could not enter there. Notwithstanding this reply, the queen went in person to the castle and asked for hospitality. Answer was made by the wife of Bartholomew of Badelesmere, to whom the castle then belonged, that she dared not without her husband's permission open the gates or extend hospitality to any one. The queen, very angry at this, was lodged at the priory hard by, and while she made a short stay there, six of her men were killed by the castle garrison.

When this was discovered and told to the king, he was enraged, and hastened to besiege and take that castle in force. On the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist he caused proclamation to be made by his writ in London, that no man need be alarmed at his setting forth against the said castle, and that every man should keep the peace. Yet on the same day proclamation was made that if cross-bowmen came to the siege, they should have 8d. a day, archers 6d., knights 2s., squires 1s. The mayor of London sent to the king's help 500 armed foot-soldiers, and 1000 men from the county of Essex. So many men flocked in day by day from various parts that they numbered more than 30,000, so it was said. The siege lasted till the vigil of All Saints. Then those who were guarding the castle, Bartholomew Burghersh, lady Badelesmere, Walter Colepepper and many others, surrendered

to the king in hope of pardon, saving their life and limbs. Bartholomew Burghersh was taken to the Tower of London and imprisoned there. The wife and sister of Bartholomew of Badelesmere were shut up in the castle of Dover. On All Souls day next following Walter Colepepper was drawn, and twelve of his accomplices, good men and strong, were sentenced and hanged.

Meantime, while the king was engaged in the siege, the earl of Hereford, Clifford, Mortimer, Bartholomew of Badelesmere and other magnates, came to the town of Kingston with a host of armed men, and remained there and thereabouts for a fortnight. They gave reasonable satisfaction for all their victuals and necessaries, so that there might be no complaint, and they went no nearer to Leeds castle, but withdrew as though ashamed and afraid, and went back each man to his own district.

Then the king sent out forces and occupied the other castles of Bartholomew, and of the earl of Hereford, of Roger of Amory and Hugh of Audley. None were found to resist, for the vengeance taken at Leeds had terrified all. So the king stretched out his hands to the manors of the barons who had procured Hugh's exile, and seized their goods, and plundered all their adherents and supporters. When he had occupied the baronial strongholds in the east, he decided to do the same in the west. He gathered together a strong army to go into the march and attack the magnates who occupied that part. For there was the safest refuge of the barons, and the king could not penetrate thither except in strong force. Vita Edw.
262-271.

There came to the king's help his two brothers, Thomas the earl Marshal and Edmund earl of Kent, both stout fighters for their age. The earl of Pembroke, too, joined the king, because the earl of Lancaster had accused him of treachery. He had found him, he said, perfidious and fickle, and had advised his barons to repudiate his help. The earl of Arundel was on the king's side, because of his kinship to Hugh Despenser. The earl of Warenne and the earl of Richmond adhered to the king, and so did many powerful barons. They promised to help him and revenge the injury done to him to the best of their power. Robert le Ewer, Aquarius as he is otherwise called, led the foot, and Fulk Fitzwarin the knightly

array. . . . The king therefore set out with his army to Cirencester, and spent some days there, for Christmas.

1322.

Jan.-Feb.

The barons had already occupied Gloucester, so the king turned aside to Worcester, and did not even there cross the Severn because the baronial party was guarding the bank. He sent armed men and foot-soldiers ahead to Bridgenorth to prepare for his crossing there. The Mortimers resisted, and made a fierce attack. They burnt a great part of the town and killed some of the king's servants. So the king passed by, leaving the town on his left, and came to Shrewsbury to cross into the march there. The barons could have hindered his passage if they had wished. However, the Mortimers were unwilling to do anything more, because the earl of Lancaster had not arrived at the appointed day. They were afraid to undertake any great enterprise without the earl, and therefore without him would not further resist the king. When they saw that the earl would not come to their rescue in their necessity, they abandoned their allies and surrendered to the king's pleasure. The other earls in consternation went to the earl of Lancaster, and with tears related to him what had happened. The earl received them all into his protection and swore to give his aid in defending the common quarrel.

Then the king left Shrewsbury and passed into the march, and easily occupied all the castles, for there was none to resist him. When he reached Hereford he upbraided the bishop for supporting the barons against their natural lord, and confiscated much of his property in revenge. Finally the king returned to Gloucester and received Maurice of Berkeley into his grace. Nevertheless he ordered him to be put in custody and his castle of Berkeley to be confiscated.

About this time Andrew Harclay, knight, came from the north to the king and said: "Sire, the truce with the Scots is at an end, Robert Bruce has invaded England and is burning, plundering, and slaying on the borders. There is none to defend the people, none to make himself a wall for them. It would be wise, my lord king, to set aside all other business, and first come to the rescue of your troubled people. They cannot resist the fury of the Scots without the king's help." The king answered: "Andrew, know this for certain. If Robert Bruce was threatening me from behind, and I saw my men, who have committed such enormities against me, in

front, I should attack those traitors, and let Bruce go away unmolested. It is not surprising that the Scots, who are not bound to me by any tie, invade the kingdom, if those men, who are bound to me by fealty and homage, rise in rebellion, rob my subjects and burn my towns. If the servants attack their master, how much more will the stranger do so!" . . . So the king said to the knight, "Go back to your own district and guard the fortress committed to your charge. As for me, I shall pursue these traitors wherever they flee, and not turn back till they abandon all hope."

So he ordered strong men and armed, and foot from each county to be assembled, and a great army to be got together with all speed to vanquish his enemies. He called all those his enemies who took the barons' part, as it is written, "He who is not with me is against me". Twice or three times he caused solemn proclamation to be made that all who had joined the barons should return to the king's peace by a certain day. If not, they should remain thenceforward public enemies of the king, to be punished, and with no hope of return.

About the same time the Despensers, father and son, returned from exile, for their reconciliation and peace had been proclaimed throughout the realm at the royal bidding. They returned, I say, to England, because the king considered that it was through envy that they had been exiled. The barons could still have come into peace, and perhaps have obtained the king's pardon and mercy. But what they were now doing and planning was to the confusion and loss of all. Too much puffed up by the protection of the earl of Lancaster, they were slaying those who opposed them, plundering those who stood aloof, and sparing no one. To their greater condemnation they attacked the king's castle at Tickhill, and laboured with all their strength to capture it.

The king was greatly disturbed at this, and set out for Coventry and waited there some days for his army. Thence he led his army to the great river which is called Trent. There is a large bridge there by which it may be crossed. The king sent a strong detachment of armed men on foot on in advance to the bridge to see whether any one would oppose his crossing. For the earl of Lancaster and all his following were in the town of Burton on the other side.

When the earl found that the king intended to cross the

river, he sent strong men well armed and foot to defend the bridge. But when the two parties had skirmished for three days or more, and returned to the same conflict on the morrow, the king found a ford higher up, and he and the rest of his army crossed there. When the barons heard and saw that the king had crossed, they left the bridge, mounted their horses, and took to flight. But why did the earl of Lancaster flee, he who had so often resisted the king, especially since he had with him the earl of Hereford and the flower of the knighthood of all England? It is true that the king's force was now both large and strong. He had in all about 300,000 men. . . .

The king pursued the fugitives as far as the castle of Tutbury, which belonged to the earl of Lancaster. There he found the gates open because after the earl's flight none dared resist. The keeper of Kenilworth castle also, when he heard of the earl's flight, surrendered the castle to the sheriff. At Tutbury the king found Roger of Amory in extremity. He was sick to death, and did not survive longer than the third day : and in truth it was well for him that he did not endure to the wretched end with his fellows. That same Roger, once a poor and needy knight, had risen by his industry and worth to be the king's special friend, so much so that the king gave him his niece in marriage, and one third part of the earldom of Gloucester which fell to her. However, as he took the barons' side against the king, many branded him with ingratitude.

The earl of Lancaster and the earl of Hereford and their adherents came in their flight to Pontefract. They made a short stay there and then, after determining on a plan, set out for Scotland. They hoped for a refuge there, for Robert Bruce, so it was said, had promised them help against the king.

March.

When they had reached Boroughbridge, to rest there one night at least, that strenuous knight Andrew Harclay, who had been informed of the earl's flight, and had ascertained his progress and his intention, came up with about 4000 men whom he had suddenly led to that place. When the earls, who were inside the town and half housed already, heard that Andrew and his followers had come to capture them, they went forth from the town to meet the enemy in two divisions. The earl of Hereford with his men-at-arms crossed

the bridge, but none of them mounted his horse. The bridge was narrow, and did not give room enough for horsemen in martial array. The earl of Lancaster with his men marched to a ford. However, Andrew Harclay, wise soldier that he was, had stationed a company of men at arms at each exit.

The earl of Hereford was the first to attack the opposing party. He was seriously wounded and finally killed. Three or four knights perished with him in the same fight. Roger of Clifford and some others were severely wounded and returned to the town. The others who were trying to cross by the ford were destroyed miserably by a rain of arrows. After the death of the earl of Hereford the army lost heart and turned back. However, the earl of Lancaster treated with Harclay for a truce until the morrow, and when this had been arranged every man went away to his lodging.

However, during the night the sheriff of York came up with a large armed force to attack the king's enemies. Trusting in this support, Andrew Harclay entered the town very early in the morning, and took the earl of Lancaster and almost all the other knights and men at arms without a wound. He carried them to York and shut them up in prison. Some left their horses, and taking off their armour sought ancient and worn garments for themselves, and went along the road like beggars. But their ingenuity profited them nothing. Not one notable person escaped of the whole number.

On the fourth or fifth day after the capture of the earl of Lancaster the king came to Pontefract and ordered the earl to be brought to him without delay. Immediately at the king's bidding he was fetched, and imprisoned that night in a certain new tower. It is said that the earl had recently built that tower, and intended to shut up the king in it for ever when he had captured him. . . .

This was the common story, but I have heard no evidence of its truth.

On the morrow the earl was led into the hall before the justices assigned, and each of his transgressions recited singly, and for each a special penalty pronounced. First he was to be drawn, then hanged, and lastly lose his head. However, out of respect for his royal blood, the drawing was omitted, and the hanging suspended, and one penalty decreed for all. The earl wished to excuse himself on certain points and tried

to make various statements, but the justices would not allow him to be heard, since the words of those who are condemned, if they do no harm can do no good. Then the earl said: "This court is indeed a violent one, where no answer is heard nor any excuse admitted".

It was a terrible sight to see the earl of Lancaster, who so recently was a terror to the whole land, sentenced in his own castle and home. In the end he was brought out of the castle, and, mounted on a sorry horse, led to the hill. Then he raised his head as though in prayer, and a certain spearsman at the second or third blow struck off his head. These things were done in the month of March in the fifteenth year of the king's reign.

Gesta
Edw.
78-79.
May.

In the year of our lord 1322, a fortnight after Easter, king Edward held a parliament at York, in which the following arrangements were made concerning those involved in the earl's quarrel. Some the king pardoned of his own grace for their wrong doing: and some were dismissed after ransom: many were committed to prison, according to the measure of their offence, some to remain there for a time and others for ever. Many were condemned to various kinds of death. Their names, and the places where they died, appear more fully in the process instituted against the earl, and recited in the same parliament. There also the king made Hugh the father earl of Winchester, and Andrew of Harclay earl of Carlisle.

Stat. of
the Realm,
I. 185-190.

HOW THE PARDONS GRANTED TO THE ENEMIES OF THE
DESPENSERS WERE REVOKED, AND THE ORDINANCES
REPEALED, IN THE PARLIAMENT OF YORK.

Whereas in the parliament of our lord the king, Edward, son of king Edward, summoned to Westminster within three weeks of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, in the fifteenth year of his reign (1321), at the prayer of Humphrey de Bohun then earl of Hereford and other great men of the realm, it was granted and accorded that no man, of whatever rank or condition he might be, for alliance made at any time . . . or for homicides, robberies, felonies or other things which could be regarded as trespasses or felonies against the king's peace, committed by the same great men, their allies and adherents, in pursuing and destroying Hugh Despenser the son and Hugh Despenser the father, their allies or adherents . . . should be

appealed or challenged, taken or imprisoned, hindered, molested or aggrieved in any manner whatsoever. . . . And then it was shown to the same our lord the king, at his parliament summoned to York, three weeks after Easter in the said fifteenth year of his reign (1322), by the prelates, earls, barons, knights of the shire and commonalty of the realm there assembled at his bidding, that the said statute, ordinance, provision and acquittance had been made sinfully and wrongfully, contrary to reason and common right, and contrary to the oath taken by the king at his coronation : and that the assent they gave to the said statute etc., was given for fear of the large force which the earl of Hereford and the other great men allied with him brought to Westminster, with horses and arms, to the injury and humiliation of all the people : and that they would never have agreed to the said statute etc., except by reason of that outrageous and undue compulsion : wherefore they prayed our lord the king for the safety of his soul and theirs to cause the tenour of the said statute etc., to be brought before them in the said parliament at York, that they might examine, repeal, and altogether annul them. . . .

Our lord the king for the above reasons and to remove an evil precedent for time to come, in his full parliament at York, by his royal power, by the counsel and consent of the prelates, earls, barons, knights of the shires and commonalty of the realm, there assembled at his bidding, completely repeals and annuls for ever the said statute, ordinance, and provision, and all the acquittances made by the same.

Whereas our lord the king, son of king Edward, on the sixteenth of March in the third year of his reign (1310) for the honour of God and the welfare of himself and his kingdom, granted to the prelates, earls and barons of his realm, that they might choose certain persons from among the prelates, earls, barons and other loyal persons, whom they thought fit to call to them, to ordain and establish the state of the household of our lord the king, and of his realm : . . . and the archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, the bishops, earls and barons, chosen for this purpose, did make certain ordinances : . . . and since our lord the king at his parliament at York within three weeks of Easter in the 15th year of his reign, caused the same ordinances to be rehearsed and

examined by prelates, earls and barons, among whom were the majority of the said ordainers who were still living, and by the commonalty of the realm : and by that same examination it was discovered in this parliament that by the matters thus ordained the king's royal power was restrained in various ways, contrary to duty and to the injury of the royal power : . . . it is accorded and established in the said parliament by our lord the king and by the said prelates, earls and barons and commonalty of the realm assembled at the said parliament, that everything which the said ordainers ordained, and the contents of the said ordinances, shall cease for the future, and lose their name, force, virtue and effect for ever. . . . For ever hereafter . . . matters which are to be established for the state of our lord the king and of his heirs and for the state of the realm and the people, shall be treated, accorded, and established in parliament, by our lord the king, and by the consent of prelates, earls, barons, and the commonalty of the realm, as was formerly the custom.

Gesta
Edw.
79-84.
1322,
Aug.

HOW THE SCOTTISH DANGER INCREASED, AND IN THE END
A TRUCE WAS MADE FOR THIRTEEN YEARS.

Oct.

At the same parliament a royal expedition to Scotland was also discussed, and about the feast of St. James following the king set out with a great army for Scotland. He besieged Berwick, but had no success, and soon after returned to England. Soon after Michaelmas, Robert Bruce with no small army pursued the English into England, so swiftly and so warily that he would have captured the king in Byland abbey, off his guard and quite unprepared, had not the mercy of Christ preserved him. The Scots climbed up among the trees through the midst of a wood, and at the first attack the English were scattered among the enemy. The earl of Richmond and many others were taken prisoner, and still more slain.

The king hastily left Byland and on the Friday next before the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist came, early in the morning, with his brother the earl of Kent, Hugh Despenser the son, John Cromwell and John of Ros, his intimate advisers who were members of his household, to Bridlington. On the morrow he hurried away to Brustwick, guided by Robert of Scarborough, the prior of Bridlington.

Such terror fell upon all the inhabitants of the land that

each sought to make the best arrangement for his own safety. The muniments of our monastery of Bridlington, with our chalices, vestments, silken copes, the true cross, relics and other precious things, were packed on to carts and waggons, and only one chalice left in the monastery. The prior and the convent, eight canons only remaining in the house, made their way to our church of Goxhill in Lincolnshire across the Humber, and remained there for a whole fortnight.

Meanwhile Robert Bruce king of Scotland was at Malton, wasting and burning the countryside, carrying off fat cattle from Kilham and Rudston and the adjacent parts, and taking many prisoner. We were so alarmed that with the consent of the brethren who remained in the house we sent Robert of Baynton, our fellow-canon, to Malton, to treat with the Scots, for he had relatives among them, that they might spare our manors and our monastery from burning. He did this, and brought back with him to the monastery nine Scots and eighteen horses, who took away with them to their leaders victuals, bread, wine and beer, which they preferred to carry in their own bottles. The Scots wasted the whole countryside with fire and sword, and on the Friday next after the feast of St. Luke the evangelist returned to their own parts with no small booty.

There was no one at that time who could or dared resist the enemy's raids. It came of our sins, for in those days the Lord, who chastens his own sons, stole away the hearts of the English, and gave them over to be tortured by that wicked people. Henry of Huntingdon tells us that a certain man of God prophesied to the English that the Scottish race, whom they despised, should rule them to their confusion. What greater confusion could come to the English than to see the king driven by the Scots from place to place in his own realm, the people scattered hither and thither, and perishing like sheep without a shepherd. And because we were afraid of a sentence of excommunication for communicating with the Scots and supplying them with victuals, at the next visit of our diocesan, in chapter at Bridlington we sought and obtained from him the benefit of absolution.

Now we have related some public disasters and notable invasions, but have omitted more of which we know. The crafty enemy so often invaded the north of England, as we

have heard, from credible reports, that many farmers of those parts, who had abundant wealth in flocks and herds, are now obliged to beg their bread through the countryside. It was commonly supposed and rumoured also, that the enemy would not have dared to attack the districts near York if they had not been in conspiracy with some English.

Andrew Harclay, earl of Carlisle, did not escape blame of this kind. While the Scots were fighting the English on the hill near Byland, as aforesaid, this same Andrew with twenty thousand horse and foot remained at Boroughbridge, plundering the country, and waiting the issue of the affair, and paying no heed to the misfortune of the king, who might have incurred terrible misery and never-ending disgrace. Also the same Andrew came to terms and made a treaty with Robert Bruce, king of Scotland. . . . Also he wrote to the mayor and community of the town of Newcastle, begging and praying them to consent to make terms. . . .

1323,
Mar.

Not long after a certain valiant fighter, Anthony Lucy, a knight banneret, considering that the disinheritance of the king and the overthrow of the king might result from terms such as these, seized the said earl by the king's order and put him in sure keeping till he could consult the royal majesty. But when the king's secret will had been made known to him, the earl, girt with his sword and with spurs on his heels, was brought before a court of judges, and there on account of his treachery he was stripped of his knightly belt, his spurs were hacked off with an axe, he was deprived of the title of earl, and then he was drawn, hanged, beheaded, and cut in pieces, and the pieces set up in various places.

In the year of our Lord 1323, at the instigation and by the agency of Henry of Sully, a treaty was made at Newcastle, with the knowledge of the kings of England and Scotland, between the earl of Pembroke, Hugh Despenser the son, Robert of Baldock archdeacon of Middlesex, William Harley, knight, William of Ayermin, canon of the church of St. Peter at York, Geoffrey Scrope, on behalf of the king of England, on the one hand, and William bishop of St. Andrews, Thomas Randolph earl of Moray, John of Menteith, and Robert Lowther, knights, Walter of Twyham, clerk, envoys of the king of Scotland, on the other, with respect to the establishment of perpetual peace between England and Scotland.

However, since it seemed to them, after many and various arguments had been propounded, that so arduous and burdensome a matter ought not to be concluded without further counsel and deliberation, by the assent of the aforesaid parties a truce was made for the thirteen years next following, in the hope that meantime a perpetual peace might be ordained between the same realms.

HOW EDWARD OF ENGLAND WROTE TO KING CHARLES IV OF FRANCE TO COMPLAIN OF TROUBLE IN GASCONY. Fœdera, II. i. 488. 1322, June.

To the most excellent prince Charles, by God's grace illustrious king of France and Navarre, his dear brother, Edward, by the same grace, etc., greeting and rejoicings at his success.

Since grievances and injuries are inflicted day by day by your seneschals of Périgord, Quercy and Toulouse, upon us and our ministers and subjects in Aquitaine, we cannot refrain from approaching your magnificence both by letters and envoys, with a view to removing such grievances and injuries.

Also news has freshly come to our ears that your seneschals, beyond their wont and contrary to the ordinances of your predecessors, once kings of France, daily continue to inflict injuries and grievances upon us and our officials and ministers there.

We beg your serenity with affectionate entreaties to be pleased to restrain your seneschals and their officials, notaries, and others, from doing such grievances and injuries to us and ours.

Given at Rothwell, June 4th, 1322.

HOW THE KING OF FRANCE PROMISED REDRESS, BUT REQUIRED EDWARD TO PERFORM THE HOMAGE DUE FROM HIM. Registrum Ade de Orleton, II. 334-335.

Dear and beloved brother. We have received your messengers, who have laid before us, well and prudently, all for which you sent them to us, and have requested us on your behalf to postpone your homage which you owe us, on account of your other preoccupations. Dear brother, we will that you know that we are always anxious to do well towards you as far as we can, and that while you were busy with the Scottish war and other important matters, we refrained from pressing

you with regard to the said homage, on account of the love we bear you. However, dear brother, we do not now see that you have, thanks to God, by this time such great hindrances or such plain reason for asking for postponement, and being unable to come to do the said homage. Know that we have already refrained for a long time, and that if we delay further we may be blamed, which you would not wish. We have therefore replied to your envoys, that they bid you to be at Amiens to do the said homage in the octave of the nativity of St. John the Baptist next to come. We beg you as urgently as possible not to fail to be there.

Concerning the affair of the *bastide* of St. Sardos, about which your messengers have spoken to us, whatever was done was done without our knowledge or consent. Assuredly, dear brother, we cannot believe that such evildoers came from you or by your command or that you would wish to support them in their crime.

As to injuries done by our people to yours as you have been informed, we have ordered and do order that they be redressed, if there are such, and that they be stopped, and we will not allow our people to injure yours.

Given at Limoges, the Thursday after Christmas, 1322.

Reg. Ade
de Or-
leton, II.
335-336.
1323,
Jan.

HOW THE KING OF FRANCE EXPLAINED THE AFFAIR OF ST.
SARDOS.

Charles, by God's grace king of France and Navarre, to our well-beloved Antoine Pasquin, serjeant-at-arms, greeting and affection. Since lately our seneschal of Périgord, by virtue of an order from our court, that we decided to make a *bastide* at the place known as St. Sardos, in the diocese of Agen, notwithstanding the opposition of the proctor of the duke of Aquitaine . . . went to the place aforesaid and set up our sign or pennoncel there, and afterwards had public proclamation made in his assizes that at a certain date he would come to accomplish all the matters contained in the said order: certain evildoers, with the consent and at the bidding of Ralph Basset, knight, seneschal of Gascony on behalf of the said duke, the seneschal of Agenais, the constable of Bordeaux, on behalf of the same duke, master Raymond Durand, lieutenant of the said seneschal of Gascony, master Austin Jordan,

Arnold de la Moley, proctor of the same duke, Raymond Bernard, lord of Montpezat, and Bernard de la Cassaigne, councillor of the same duke, after the matter was closed as aforesaid, came by night to the said St. Sardos, plundered some of the inhabitants of their goods, and carried away their booty with them. Others they slew miserably and hung some of them on gibbets, and, not content with this but proceeding from bad to worse, burnt all the houses of the same place which were built there of old, and committed various other excesses and crimes, to the dishonour of our royal majesty.

Given at Luserches in the Limousin, on the first of January in the year of our Lord 1323.

HOW THE KING OF FRANCE TOOK POSSESSION OF GASCONY
IN PUNISHMENT FOR THE ABOVE AFFRAY. Geoff. 16
Baker,
Chron. 15.

In the year 1322, Philip son of Philip king of France went the way of all flesh, and his brother Charles¹ received the crown. Charles sent to England Andrew de Florence and another knight, to summon the king to present himself before the new king of France, and do homage for the duchy of Aquitaine and the rest of his lands in the said kingdom. Now although Hugh Despenser and Robert of Baldock by prayers and gifts persuaded those envoys, as they thought, to leave the king uninformed as to the reason of their arrival, yet on their departure they warned him, as it were by way of advice, to present himself to the king to do homage.

After this warning or summons, the said Andrew de Florence, who was a notary of Charles, without the knowledge of the council of the English king, made a public¹³²⁴ instrument, in virtue of which the king of France, after proceedings against the king, caused some lands in the duchy of Gascony and the county of Ponthieu to be seized for his own purposes. The king of England as he was informed, did not believe that the aforesaid summons had any legal validity.

On behalf of the king, his uncle Charles of Valois took seisin. He greatly hated the English. With a great army, performing an errand he liked well, on the pretext that the king of England as duke of Aquitaine had been disobedient

¹ Charles IV, 1322-1328.

and refused to do homage, he seized into the possession of his nephew the king, the county of Ponthieu and the whole of the Agenais. Finally he reached the town of La Réole, and found it defended by Edmund of Woodstock, brother to the English king and earl of Kent. In the end they made a truce, to last long enough for proposals of peace to be discussed between the kings. The town was surrendered, and each party returned to its own district.

Baker,
15-20.
1324.

HOW ROGER MORTIMER ESCAPED AND WENT TO FRANCE,
WHILE IN ENGLAND THE QUEEN AND THE MAGNATES
GREW HOSTILE TO THE KING AND THE DESPENSERS.

In the year 1324 Roger Mortimer, who had been imprisoned in the Tower, by the help of traitors and bribing of his guards, escaped and took refuge in France. There he joined the party of Charles of Valois, the enemy of his own countrymen. . . .

The following Lent, in a parliament at London, as the result of an inquiry held concerning Adam, bishop of Hereford, by lawful men of the county of Hereford, because Adam had taken the part of the Mortimers, the king's enemies, and given them horses and arms, and helped Roger to escape, to all which accusations the bishop refused to make any answer, the temporalities of the same bishop, or rather traitor, were confiscated by royal authority. Thenceforward Adam conceived relentless hatred against the king and his friends. He was a man of great natural cunning, full of worldly wisdom, and industrious in wickedness. In his anger he made poisonous preparation for the degradation of the king and the destruction of many of his nobles, as shall be told in due course. Not openly but secretly he roused the ancient hatred of the magnates against the earls of Winchester and Gloucester, the two Hughs, which had been to some extent allayed after the king's victory at Boroughbridge, or rather hidden, for fear of the king's power.

Now the king's clemency, it was said, had spared many of the nobles who had taken up arms against him under the earl of Lancaster. The earls, who controlled the king's mind as they chose, considered them worthy of death, a death which they could only escape by the favour of the said earls. Therefore many of them promised the fairest manors of their inheritance to the said earls in return for life, and sold them,

not as cheerful gifts, but sadly and of necessity. The earls therefore became hateful to all men, not only because they were loved by the king more than all the rest, but because in their pride and ambition they impoverished noble knights by exacting cruel ransom, and disinherited their sons by reducing their fathers' estates. It seemed to every man that to submit to three kings at once in England was a burden beyond bearing. Many loved the king greatly, but hated the king Hughs all the more because they feared them. . . . The bishop of Hereford, bereft of his temporalities, bore them a bitter grudge. So did Henry of Burghersh, bishop of Lincoln, for although by royal promotion he wore the badge of honour, yet because he knew himself to be guilty of the same crime as Adam, he was afraid and therefore hated. All the knights and friends of those bishops were anxious and angry, and held their hands only out of respect for the king's peace.

To the shame of all, they roused the quick womanly wrath of the queen against the earls. For the earls by their greedy counsel and ordinance had diminished the household of the queen, and had fixed her revenues with precision, at a smaller annual rate than had been customary. When she found her greed frustrated or her extravagance checked—both are common vices of that sex—she grew angry not only with the Despensers, but with her husband, for heeding their advice more than hers. Here was a lamentable position for a lady of royal blood, the daughter of a king, the only sister of successive kings, Louis, Philip, and now Charles, but married to a miserly monarch. She was to have been a queen, but instead she was made a handmaid, to receive pay from the Despensers, whom she loathed with unutterable loathing. She longed to complain to her brother the ruler of France concerning her husband, and to consult with her uncle Charles of Valois as to some crafty deed by which she might turn her husband's heart to her again and be revenged on the Despensers. She was cut off by the broad sea that separates England from France. She wished the sea were dried up, or that there were a broad safe bridge, so that she might herself be the bearer of the numerous letters she dispatched to her brother and her uncle.

Now who should console the injured queen amid such difficulties but another victim of the Despensers, whom she cursed, namely the bishop of Hereford? With him she

bewailed their common predicament, and he spoke of his broken heart. When sometimes she was silent, weary of weeping rather than of complaining, that crafty one would not allow her injury to be soothed. Professing a compassion that was feigned so far as the queen's troubles went, though real enough concerning his own, he rather increased than appeased the indignation with which she was bursting. The bishop of Lincoln was in the confidence of both, and knowing in what cave he would find the fox, he flattered the queen with deceitful pity. With his complicity, the bishop of Hereford engineered a new intestine struggle, and assured the queen that she would succeed in her wishes if she visited her brother and uncle in France and besought their help against the Despensers. Now the queen approved his plan, because it chimed with her wishes and would bring about the desired end, and cast about for a pretext for crossing over.

HOW THE KING OF ENGLAND WAS TRICKED.

At this time, as I have said before, there was an agreement between the kings of England and France to treat concerning peace, and it was necessary to find a competent envoy. Though the king himself wished to go, since the matter was so important, the earls of Winchester and Gloucester dissuaded him, for they were afraid that, deprived of their company, he might fall into the hostile hands of others, whom they knew were enemies to themselves. They dared not cross with him, for they knew well that the king of France hated them bitterly, thanks to the efforts of his sister and Roger Mortimer. The queen, therefore, coaxed the king, and used all her feminine skill to conciliate the other magnates, and promised that she would do her utmost for the peace of the kingdom: the bishops aforesaid brought secret pressure to bear upon the king's advisers with the same object: most of the magnates agreed: and in the end the queen was entrusted with the embassy she had so greatly desired.

1325.

So Isabella, only sister of her only brother the king of the French, presented herself to his affectionate embraces, while she treated between the twokings, her brother, and her husband, duke of Aquitaine and count of Ponthieu. While she dealt with this business, her husband remained throughout Lent and the summer in Kent, so that messengers might come and go the more easily between himself and the queen. Finally

the parliament of the French agreed that if the king of England would resign his right in the duchy of Gascony and the county of Ponthieu to his eldest son Edward, the king of France would give full seisin of the said duchy and county to the same son, and rest content with the homage which should be done him by the new duke, Edward his nephew. King Charles sent letters, patent and otherwise, concerning safe conduct for the eldest son and his dispatch to him.

There was great discussion in England at Langdon and Dover concerning this. Some advised that the king should go over in person. They said many misfortunes might befall his son, exposed to the astuteness and cupidity of the French, and bereft of the protection of his father and the English. "Who can prevent the French king," they said, "from marrying the child to someone unworthy of him, or giving him a keeper or tutor?" Now this was wise advice, but the earls of Winchester and Gloucester did not agree, because they dared not themselves either go with the king to France or wait for him in England, for the reasons explained above. The bishop of Lincoln supported them vigorously, to their own loss, for he hoped that in the end the conclusion plotted between himself and the queen and the bishop of Hereford would be reached. The king, over-persuaded by the earls, and fearing that if he went in person the nobility would again rise against the earls and renew the civil strife which had been lulled, gave his consent to those who advised that he should send his son.

Accordingly he had made for his son a charter touching the said duchy and county, which should he had and held by himself and his heirs kings of England. He added that if in the lifetime of his father the son died, these same lands should return to the father's possession. Also he took precautions, by certain conditions, against the king of France giving Edward in marriage or putting him in charge of any tutor or keeper whatsoever. This ordinance was made by the consent of the prelates and other nobles of the realm at Dover, on the morrow of the Nativity of blessed Mary, in the eighteenth year of the king's reign. On the following Thursday Edward the king's eldest son embarked, together with Walter bishop of Exeter and a sufficient number of other nobles. Subsequently, about the feast of St. Matthew, he did homage to his uncle the king of France, under protestations made by both sides.

Fcedera I. HOW THE KING OF ENGLAND COMPLAINED TO THE POPE
I. 613. CONCERNING THE TREACHERY OF THE KING OF FRANCE.
1325.

To the Pope, Edward by the same grace king of England, and lord of Ireland, sends devout kisses of his blessed feet.

It will not escape the memory of your holiness, how when discord arose between the magnificent prince Charles, king of France and Navarre, and ourselves, on various points, your benignity urged us both, by frequent apostolic writings, to consent to treaties of peace in order to avoid the evils of war: and how subsequently you dispatched to the aforesaid king and ourselves the archbishop of Vienne and Henry bishop of Auray to negotiate concerning peace. We remember that we have already fully informed you by letter concerning all that they did in the matter.

By the advice of those messengers, who gave us to understand that the presence of our dear consort Isabella, queen of England, would quiet the movements of the king her brother, and that by her intercession all discord would be removed, and that by her and on her account we should obtain not merely justice, but favours and many graciousnesses, we sent the same our consort into those parts, where she has remained up to the present, not without much anxiety on our part touching her absence and long delay. In the end, out of respect to that same king by their advice, we allowed that king to lay hands on the whole of the duchy of Aquitaine, till homage had been done to him, as he required. Afterwards, in the hope that after homage had been done full restitution would be made to us, by the king's consent and the advice of your messengers, we transferred the same duchy and our other lands in the possession of the said king by a perpetual gift to our eldest son Edward, and sent him to the presence of the said king to do homage as was due. Nothing remained further but that to keep peace and strengthen the bond of love, we should do all that had been asked of us, without peril of disinheritance.

The said king, however, when he had received the homage of our son for the said duchy, restored to him a part of the duchy, keeping the letter of his word, but up till now has neglected to restore to him the land of the Agenais, and various other parts of the same duchy. We understand that

your messengers have gone back home while the business is still in this unfinished condition. We are troubled and disturbed, not without reason, at this. We fear that unless the said restitution is made, worse dangers than before are to be feared.

Wherefore we beseech your holiness to write to the said king and deign to urge him after the manner of your blessedness, that he may root out all grudges and indignation, consider the numerous ties of alliance and connection between his and our own royal houses, which were drawn up in the past and strengthened by various securities: and that he may restore the said duchy in its entirety to our son, his nephew, whose honour he should seek by the tie of nature. Thus the bond of friendship between that same king and ourselves may remain unimpaired, and no ground may be offered for a renewal of earlier discords.

Given at Sheen, October 18th.

HOW QUEEN ISABELLA CONSPIRED AGAINST HER HUSBAND. Baker, 20-23. 1325.

Now when the business for which the queen had been sent into France was finished, immediately after Michaelmas her husband wrote to her, and bade her bring her son back to England with all speed. She wrote in reply that her brother the king of France loved them too well and detained them against their wishes. She sent back a large part of her own and her son's household, but spent the rest of the year in transacting various pieces of business which she had gone to deal with. Walter bishop of Exeter was not ordered to return to England, yet because he saw that he was shut out altogether from the queen's secret council, and that Roger Mortimer and other fugitives and enemies of his lord had usurped his place in the queen's intimacy, he secretly made his way home again. England was greatly concerned at the queen's delay, to the king's displeasure, and at her keeping his son outside the kingdom. Some said they were kept against their wishes, others said that she had entered into illicit relations with Roger Mortimer, both with himself and with other English fugitives whom she had found in France, and was unwilling to return. But while these and other explanations were put forward, some false but some approximating to the truth, the bishops of Lincoln and Hereford, knowing the scheme for

whose conclusion the angry dame was waiting, dissimulated their knowledge.

1326.

Now when she had pondered her revenge for a whole year, at length by the advice of her lovers she prepared the cup for offering. At the end of the year she went to Hainault, and without the advice of the English magnates, married her son, who was beloved and respected by everyone, wedding him to Philippa daughter of the count of Hainault. And those nuptials, though rashly undertaken, were afterwards blessed with noble offspring. An army was assembled of soldiers of Hainault and Germany, hired with the dowry of the bride. The commanders were John count of Hainault and Roger Mortimer, by this time the chief and nearest of the queen's private household.

A favourable wind carried the fleet destined for England to the port of Orwell on the Friday next before Michaelmas. The earl Marshal and Henry of Lancaster entered into alliance and went to meet it, together with an eager throng of barons and knights. Nor were prelates absent, taking part faithfully with the leaders against prince and fatherland, for the devisers of this wicked crime went to meet the arrival of their pupil, learned in wickedness, on the day appointed. Not as shepherds of lambs and sheep, but as tyrants over fierce wolves, they assumed the leadership of these troops. The two elders from whom arose the Babylonian iniquity against Susanna, but on behalf of Jezebel, these priests of Baal, I say, children of Jezebel, namely the bishops of Lincoln and Hereford, and those also of Dublin and Ely, gathered a great army with the same queen.

The speech-making was left to that eloquent traitor the bishop of Hereford, who in a full assembly of conspirators wound up with this conclusion, that the king must be constrained to submit to the advice of the nobility there assembled. The resentment of the queen also must be appeased by the execution of her will upon the earls of Winchester and Gloucester. However, since all felt certain that the king, a great worshipper of friendship, would not dismiss his friends the said earls, on whose slaughter the queen was determined, from his company without security, unless against his will, and also that he would protect those who in his judgment were innocent from the rage of their rivals, they finally agreed to seek the king's presence in force.

So episcopal letters were sent out from the army to fellow-bishops and other friends, announcing that so many leaders, earls, and French barons with very large forces had been dispatched by the king of France, to protect the rights of the queen his sister, that all England would hardly be sufficient to supply them with provisions. The flock without a shepherd fell into consternation, awaiting the triumph of one party, and ready to submit to the stronger. One lie was spread abroad by the army to every part of the realm, namely that the Roman pontiff absolved all the English from their sworn fealty to the king, and would excommunicate all who took up arms against the queen. This falsehood was confirmed by the two cardinals, who joined the queen's army, and made the aforesaid statements.

In the year of our lord 1326 . . . civil war, such as often vexes the English, was renewed by the army just mentioned. However, it could not last long, for the king and earls, whom the treacherous band of armed men were seeking, feeling too weak to resist, fled and tried in vain to secure themselves in fortresses suitable for defence. The king when he discovered through his scouts that almost the whole community of the land had joined his wife, because of terror at the false reports, went to Wales with the two earls and Robert Baldock and a few other intimates of his household. The earl of Winchester was sent to the protection of the town and castle of Bristol. The king himself reached Chepstow, with the earl of Gloucester and Robert Baldock and some others, but very few, and embarked in a ship, intending to go to Lundy island.

Lundy is an island in the river Severn, about two miles long. It is rich in pasture and in oats, and produces rabbits in abundance. Also it has nests full of doves and pigeons, and provides fresh water from springs for those who dwell upon it, though surrounded on all sides by salt water. It has but one entrance, where two men could hardly go abreast on foot: on every other side approach is prevented by high cliffs of rock. The king wished therefore to sail to this island, so abundantly supplied with provisions by nature, and stocked plentifully with wine, oil, honey, corn, malt, fish, salt, meat, and coal.

But a contrary wind altogether prevented him, and therefore, when the storm was yet hardly abated, he landed at Glamorgan, and betook himself to the abbey and castle of

Neath. There he remained in hiding, trusting too confidently in the false promises of the Welsh, who assured him that they would stand by him for life or death.

The queen, now in a strong position, under the banner of her son, who was pursuing his father not through malice, but led away by evil counsel, ordered the army to move in pursuit of the king. They reached Oxford, and there before the university, in the presence of the queen and the boy duke of Aquitaine, who had been brought there, and also of Roger Mortimer and his satellites, the chief deviser of this ruin, Adam the bishop of Hereford, preached publicly concerning the arrival of the queen and the reason for the army, taking as his text, "My head, my head!" by virtue of which he drew the conclusion that it would be necessary to cut off from the realm the sick head, which could not be bound up by all the bandages of Hippocrates. Then the army moved to Gloucester, and was swollen by many who came to the queen's help from the north.

Ann.
Paulini,
315-317.

HOW THE LONDONERS TOOK THE SIDE OF THE QUEEN.

Meanwhile the queen and her son Edward had sent letters sealed with their seals to the mayor and community of London, begging their help in the cause for which they had come to England. Then, in spite of opposition in some quarters, the whole city rose with the greatest eagerness, promising that they would defend the queen's cause even to death, and destroy traitors and enemies of the realm. On the same day, namely October 15th, a Wednesday, they dragged out John Marshal, a citizen of London, who was a member of Hugh Despenser's household and one of his secret advisers, and had betrayed the plans of the same city, from his house about noon and cut off his head in the middle of Cheapside market. Then they went to the bishop of Exeter's house and attacked it with fire and sword wherever they could get in, and plundered his treasure and carried off all they could lay hands upon.

Meanwhile the bishop of Exeter arrived from a certain manor of his, and as he was passing through the midst of the city to the Tower, and had come in through Newgate, he heard at the church of St. Michael in the Cornmarket the commotion and shouting of the mob, and was afraid, and

turned aside in flight to St. Paul's. However, they followed him, and others hurried up as though they were mad, and they captured him at the north door of the church. They struck him on the head, pulled him off his horse, dragged him cruelly through the churchyard, to Cheapside market, where they stripped him and cut off his head, and the heads of his two squires, J[ohn] of Paddington and W[illiam] Wall. His body lay naked for a whole day in the middle of the market-place, a terrible sight for all beholders, but his head was sent to the queen at Bristol.

But that same day after vespers had been sung in St. Paul's, the minor canons and vicars of the same church sought for his body, on account of the dignity of his position, and carried it away to St. Paul's. There it lay the night through, and next day was taken to the church of St. Clement Danes near the manor of the said hishop. He had sought for the bestowal of the collation to the same church upon his successors in the church of Exeter for ever, from the brothers of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Warwick, and compensated them by another church, which was worth double as much, so it was said. Now the rector of that church, ingrate as he was, though he had been promoted by the said bishop, would not allow the bishop holy burial in his churchyard, and therefore the body was carried to the church of the Holy Innocents, hard by St. Clement Danes, but deserted and ruined. There it was buried, without the head. Later, on February 17th, by the agency of the dean and chapter of Exeter, the corpse was exhumed and taken to Exeter.

HOW THE QUEEN CAPTURED THE KING AND HIS FRIENDS. Baker, 24-26.

On leaving Gloucester the queen hastened with her army to Bristol, which was occupied, as I have said, by Hugh Despenser the father, with the intention of besieging both town and castle if necessary. However, despair, which is wont to open even the strongest places, compelled that noble earl to submit himself and all his possessions to the mercy of an angry woman. Both castle and town, therefore, were surrendered. When she had entered, the furious woman ordered the earl without question or answer to be tortured. . . . In the end his body was hanged on the common gallows.

This done, the queen turned towards the March, and remained at Hereford a month. She divided her army, and sent with one half of it Henry earl of Leicester and Rhys ap Howel, a clerk and a Welshman by birth, to seize the king and his adherents. The said earl was brother and heir of Thomas earl of Lancaster. Rhys, his colleague, had once by royal sentence been imprisoned in the Tower of London, but restored to liberty by the queen's influence. Both the earl and Rhys had possessions and wide lordships near the place where the king was hiding, and Rhys especially knew the whole district well. The earl and clerk bribed the Welsh with a large sum of money, and by the aid of Welsh scouts found the king in the monastery of Neath and Hugh Despenser the son seeking refuge in the wilderness. The king, Hugh the earl of Gloucester, Robert of Baldock, and Simon of Reading were thus captured, but others dismissed without pursuit. The king by the advice of the bishop of Hereford was given into the keeping of the earl of Leicester, and taken to Kenilworth castle, where for a whole winter he remained in honourable imprisonment, guarded not otherwise than befitted a captive king.

HOW THE QUEEN REVENGED HERSELF ON HER ENEMIES.

The queen was meantime at Hereford, with the master of all her malice, the bishop of that city, in command of her army. Edmund earl of Arundel, John Daniel, and Thomas Micheldevre, were beheaded at the persuasion of Roger Mortimer, who hated them with a perfect, but not prophetic, hatred. Afterwards the earl of Gloucester, Hugh Despenser the son, was exposed dishonourably in his chains to all eyes, and without delay for the sentence of any judge, was drawn from the same city of Hereford, hanged, beheaded, and quartered. His head was sent to London bridge, and his four quarters distributed to the four parts of the realm. Simon of Reading also was drawn and hanged there. Master Robert of Baldock, after much contumely, was committed to the prison of the bishop of Hereford, and there spent a miserable existence till the following feast of the Purification. Then the bishop of Hereford, author of all this evil, had him taken to London. The Londoners, not without the hishop's secret consent, seized him and imprisoned him in Newgate, seeking an occasion against

him as a traitor, that they might add him, drawn and hanged, to the number of the slain. After many inquiries they could find no stain of treason or felony upon him, but treated him with such inhumanity that he died in torment the same year soon after Easter.

HOW THE KING WAS FORCED TO RESIGN HIS KINGDOM. Baker,
26-28.

When all that has been related and more also had been done by the queen, the bishop of Hereford, and Roger Mortimer, as each of them pleased, they transferred themselves to London. There, soon after Epiphany, a parliament was called by them whom none could resist, and there it was resolved and decreed that on behalf of the whole realm three bishops, two earls, two abbots, four barons, and two knights from every county in England, with two burgesses from every city and chief town of the same county, and also from the Cinque Ports, should be sent to the king in his captivity at Kenilworth, to do what is described below.

John Stratford bishop of Winchester, Adam of Orleton bishop of Hereford, Henry bishop of Lincoln, chief colleagues in the transaction of the business, were sent. In the train of the bishop of Winchester, you, noble knight, who saw these things and wrote concerning them in the French tongue, you whose poor interpreter I am, you, I say, Thomas de la More, adorned their company with your wise and distinguished presence. The bishops of Winchester and Lincoln went ahead of the rest, and had a private interview with the king and his keeper the earl of Leicester, to induce him to resign the crown to his eldest son.

The three cajoled the king cleverly enough, promising that he should have no less honour after laying down his burden than the royal majesty had been accustomed to receive from all in former times. Also they added, perverting the word of truth, that it was of great merit before God to lay down a temporal crown for the sake of the peace of his subjects. That peace they said could only be attained by this one way. In this they spoke like the chief priests with Caiaphas the high priest. On the other hand they threatened him that, unless he resigned, the people, throwing off their homage and fealty to him who had abdicated, and repudiating his sons also, would exalt a king of other than the royal

line. By urgent promises and threats of these and other kinds, the royal heart, though not without sobs, tears and sighs, stooped to the bishops' warnings. For he was more ready to end his life for Christ's sake than to see while he still lived the disinheritance of his sons or the long troubling of the realm. He knew that a good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep.

Finally that unnatural ambassador, Adam of Orleton bishop of Hereford, brought the other envoys to the king's castle, and arranged them in order according to rank in the king's chamber. But for himself, by general permission, he kept the office he had long desired. The king, dressed all in black, came out from an inner room and presented himself to his servants. But because he knew the business for which they had come, in sudden grief he lost command of himself, and fell in a faint. The earl of Leicester and the bishop of Winchester ran to him, and raised him up, half dead. When he was restored to consciousness and strength Adam of Hereford addressed him, and explained the reason of the envoys' arrival. With marvellous impudence he felt no shame at wounding the king's spirit, though he knew that of all mortals he was the most obnoxious to him. He ended by saying that the king must resign his crown to his firstborn son, or, if he refused that, suffer the election as king of whosoever they thought most fit to preserve the realm.

When the king heard this, he replied with tears and moans, that he grieved greatly that his people were so far angered against him as to hate his rule. Finally he added that it was his pleasure that as his son was thus accepted by the people they should have him as king. On the morrow the same envoys through William Trussell, a knight, on behalf of the whole realm, repudiated homage and allegiance to Edward of Carnarvon, once king. Thomas Blount knight, steward of the royal household, broke the rod which signified his office, and announced that the royal household was dismissed. Then they returned to London and reported the king's answer in full, in fact more fully than it had been made.

The community of the realm, ever scornful of the old and greedy for the new, received the resignation joyfully, and immediately exalted his eldest son Edward, an eleven-year-old¹

¹ He was in actual fact fifteen years old at this time.

boy of good disposition. His tender age was all the more acceptable to some of them, because they thought they might threaten the flock of the kingdom at their will, under so youthful a shepherd. So large a dower was assigned to the queen, Isabella of Carnarvon, that scarcely one-third of the possessions of the royal crown remained for her son the king and his queen Philippa. The queen, the bishop of Hereford, and Roger Mortimer, ordered 100 marks a month from the royal treasury to be spent for Edward of Carnarvon, who was committed to the custody of the earl of Leicester.

CONCERNING THE IMPRISONMENT OF KING EDWARD, HIS
SUFFERINGS AND DEATH. Baker,
28-34.

So that noble lord Edward, late king, suffered patiently the loss of his royal crown and liberty, for love of Jesus Christ the crucified, and remained with his kinsman the earl of Leicester, lacking nothing of such things as are needed by a recluse and half monk. In his depth of misfortune the servant of God made no complaint, except that his wife, whom he was incapable of not loving, and of whose embraces he had been bereaved already for more than a year, would not come to see him, nor allow her son the new king or any of her other children to comfort him by their presence. How many loving charms he sang in a soft voice, like another Orpheus, but all in vain! How often he wept in grief that she, so noble, so graced with nature's gifts, could fall into treachery. At times he swore to those who heard him that from the moment when he first saw her he became incapable of loving any other woman. His love and his patience in all other troubles so moved the earl and his household to compassion that they did not fail to talk of the noble knight's devotion to a wife whose heart was harder than adamant. Therefore that iron-hearted lady, moved not by love, but anger, began secretly to fear lest she should be forced by the church, which is wont to take pity upon the miserable, to return to the husband she had repudiated. For she argued that if by his bearing of adversity and the rich fragrance of his virtues he had inclined to pity even his enemies, whom she had appointed, all the more would he provoke to compassion neutral persons, children of piety.

Perplexed by these and other considerations, the fierce lioness, hastening to take the advice of her master, that priest of Baal

the bishop of Hereford, received from him the answer that of a surety matters were critical when the earl began to pity his kinsman Edward. Therefore that cruel woman, by the ordinance of her sly master the bishop, ordered that Thomas Gurney and John Maltravers, two wicked knights, should receive Edward from the keeping of the earl of Leicester and take him wherever they chose, so that no persons friendly towards him or neutral should have free access to him, or know where he was staying. These two wicked traitors were given prime authority to have the custody of every fortress, castle or tower, in whatever part of the realm they should visit, as long as and whenever they chose. No man in the realm, on pain of confiscation of his property and of his life, should oppose this order.

Edward, sure of a life full of grief, was taken from Kenilworth by night between his enemies, first to Corfe castle, then to Bristol, where he was shut up for some time in the castle, until some burgesses of the town got to know of it, and took steps for his release and escape to foreign parts. As soon as Edward's keepers heard of this plan, they carried him off in the dark silence of night to Berkeley. His torturers treated Edward with an inhumanity greater than that of wild beasts. They would not allow him to ride forth except by night, nor to see or be seen by anyone friendly towards him. When he was riding they forced him to wear mean clothes and have no covering for his head. When he wished to sleep they prevented him. They prepared food for him, not such as he liked, but such as he loathed. They contradicted his every word, called him madman, and, to sum all up in a few words, opposed his will in every possible way, in order that through cold, or unsuitable or disgusting food, or for very sadness, he might be seized by some common ailment and die. On the contrary, however, since he was of fine natural constitution, strong to labour, and patient by God's grace under all afflictions, he overcame by nature and grace all the cunning of the evil ones. The slaves of Belial more than once administered poison to the servant of God, but he either shook it off by his natural strength . . . or else, as I myself rather believe, the Most High reserved his confessor for a more open martyrdom.

I am writing, honoured knight, of proven facts, which would be given to the world more plainly, if fear of enemies of that most devoted king, still surviving, did not forbid me to make

clear the truth, which cannot remain hid for ever. Then Edward was carried off, as I have said, towards Berkeley, Satan's officers riding on either hand. They led that pattern of patience by the barns belonging to Bristol castle, and there that scoundrel Gurney put a crown made of straw on the head once consecrated by holy oil, daring to lay hands on Christ's anointed, and mocking at him with bitter sarcasm the knights said, "Avant, sire kynge," which is to say, "Forward, sir king". Now they were afraid that if they went direct they might meet some friend of Edward's, or some merciful hand stretched out to deliver him, so they turned to the left, riding through the marsh about the mouth of the river Severn. The enemies of God plotted how they could disfigure Edward, so that he might not be recognised easily by any one, and decided to cut off the hair both of his head and his beard. So when they came to a watery ditch, they told him to get down to be shaved. When he had seated himself on a molehill, the barber brought a basin full of cold water taken from the ditch. When he and others said that the water would do well enough, Edward said, "Whether you wish it or not, I will have hot water for my beard," and to make his promise true began to weep copiously. William Bishop, a servant of those who took Edward away, told me this when he was still alive after the great pestilence. He had confessed and was repentant and trusting in divine mercy.

At length they reached Berkeley castle, and there, exercising the virtue of patience, the recluse or anchorite, the noble Edward . . . awaited a heavenly kingdom in exchange for the earthly. His wife Isabella grew impatient, because the life of the husband she hated was so prolonged, and complained to her master of Hereford, pretending that she had evil dreams, wherefore she feared—and in this she spoke truly—that her husband, if ever he were restored to his pristine dignity, would condemn her as a traitor to the flames or perpetual bondage. Now the bishop, knowing himself to be guilty of treason, was as much afraid of this as Isabella. The fear of others, whom he had leagued together against God and against his anointed, affected him also. Not a few of both sexes and of great dignity, both ecclesiastical and secular, would have been glad to see the cause of their fear reconciled with Edward, whereas, as each feared, she was thirsting to ruin him. Threatening letters were sent to Edward's guards, accusing them of keeping

him less strictly than they ought, and treating him too tenderly. Also it was hinted to them, but only obscurely, that his death, whether natural or violent, would be equally welcome. This was encouraged by the sophistical deceit of the bishop, who wrote "Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est".¹

Now that sophistry, if divided into two parts, first, the consistency of the first three words "Edwardum occidere nolite," and the second of the other three "timere bonum est," seems to suggest no evil. But the receivers of the letter, who knew the bishop's mind, altered it to be read in this sense, "Edwardum occidere nolite timere," and then added, "bonum est," thus accentuating the evil advice of him who was guilty of evil, though he did not dictate it. That cunning sophist made use of that device because he knew that, without his written consent, the executors of the cruel command would not dare to slay Edward, lest by and by they should be accused of having done this without the consent of the magnates of the realm. Yet the bishop, who had determined upon Edward's death, and yet thought that he might be accused of complicity, made careful provision, that the same authority . . . explained or accented in one way might encourage foolish persons to slay the innocent, but in another sense might cause himself to be thought innocent of such a crime.

And it happened as he planned. The slayers of Edward, who thought that the friendship of Isabella and the deceitful bishop would be confirmed towards them, found her and the bishop eager demanders for the pledge given into their charge, namely the lord Edward, and threatening them with death as the payment of traitors, for their wickedness. Amazed, they did not know what to do, and showed the letter of Isabella and the bishop, with the seals of other conspirators, in witness of their consent. The bishop did not deny the letter, but admitted it was his. However, he interpreted it in the sense full of innocence and loyalty, but never ceased to threaten them and drive them to flight, as false interpreters of his letter and men who had used the in-

¹ Which according to punctuation may mean, "Do not slay Edward : it is a good thing to be afraid " ; or "Do not fear to slay Edward : it is a good thing " .

nocent ill on his authority. So much concerning that sophistical letter.

Edward was taken to the castle I have named before and was received humanely and kindly by Thomas of Berkeley, the lord of the fief. But when they had received the letter, his torturers exercised the power committed to them concerning the custody, of the castle. They ordered Thomas of Berkeley to hold no intercourse with Edward: and he, not only very sorry for Edward, but also ashamed that he himself might not do what he wished to do, and what was previously his right to do, took leave of Edward with sighs, and went away to some of his other possessions. Then there began the persecution of Edward which continued to his death. First they shut him up in a safe room and tortured him for many days, almost to suffocation, by the exhalation from corpses in the vault below. The servant of God bewailed this as the worst pain he had ever endured, at the window of his room one day, to carpenters who were working outside. When the tyrants saw that they could not overcome so valiant a man by these means, one night, on the 22nd of September as he lay in bed, they fell upon him, crushed him down and suffocated him with beds and the weight of more than fifteen strong men.

So there perished that valiant knight, after a cry which made known to all within and without the castle that he was suffering a violent death. That dying cry roused many in the village of Berkeley, and some in the castle, so they said, to compassion and to prayers for the holy soul that was passing away. . . . Isabella and the bishop of Hereford harried the treacherous servants of Edward, of good and glorious end, namely Thomas Gurney and John Maltravers, and outlawed them, that they themselves might seem to have hands and hearts unstained, and drove them into exile, as I have said before. Gurney fled to Marseilles and was recognised there within three years, captured, and brought back to England to receive the penalty of his crimes. But he was beheaded at sea, lest he should accuse great prelates and others of the realm of having suggested his crime and assented to it. The other, Maltravers, long remained hidden in Germany, doing penance.

APPENDIX ON AUTHORITIES.

THE material from which the history of the Middle Ages has to be written is of two kinds, the record and the chronicle. Specimens of both types are included in the foregoing extracts.

A.—RECORDS.

1. *Parliamentary Writs.*

Most of the writs translated are taken from *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, edited by Dr. Stubbs, bishop of Oxford. The earliest writs extant, however, summoning members to the Easter parliament of 1275, have only recently been discovered, in the Tower of London and the Chapel of the Pyx at Westminster. I have included a translation of the only complete writ, that for the county of Middlesex, as printed by Mr. C. Hilary Jenkinson in the *English Historical Review* for April, 1910 (vol. xxv.).

2. *Legislative Acts.*

Where such acts are printed in Stubbs' *Select Charters*, the reference is given to that work, as the most accessible to students and teachers. Some extracts, however, are translated directly from the collected *Statutes of the Realm*, edited for the Record Commission between 1810 and 1828.

3. *Treaties, Letters, etc.*

Some selections have been made from the series entitled *Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cujuscunque generis acta publica*, edited by Thomas Rymer (b. 1641, d. 1713). The edition cited is that printed by the Record Commission, 1816 to 1869. One letter is taken from the Hereford *Registrum Ade de Orleton*, edited for the Cantilupe Society by the Rev. A. T. Bannister (1907).

B.—CHRONICLES.

1. Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*. Wendover's chronicle is the first work extant of the so-called St. Albans school of historical writers. The Benedictine abbey at St. Albans was one of the most important monasteries in England, and well-fitted, by its position close to London, to collect information. The "school" was founded after Abbot Simon, at the end of the twelfth century,

ordered that the house should always maintain a historiographer. The *Flores* begin at the Creation, but the valuable portion is that covering the years 1216 to 1235. My references are to the English Historical Society's edition (ed. H. O. Coxe, 1842) in preference to the more recent, but less scholarly, edition in the Rolls Series.

2. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series, 7 vols. ed. Dr. Luard). Paris succeeded Wendover, and copied and enlarged his chronicle to 1235. For the years 1235 to 1259 his work is an original authority of great historical value and literary interest. His knowledge of great men, his travels and offices of trust, together with his enthusiasm, humanity, and gift of vivid description, make his work one of the most enthralling sources of mediæval history.

3. William Rishanger, *Chronica* (Rolls Series, ed. H. T. Riley). This was a continuation of the work of Paris, and issued from St. Alban's, but it is hard to say how much of it is to be ascribed to Rishanger himself. The author was an admirer of Simon de Montfort and writes the story of the barons' wars from that point of view.

4. Thomas Wykes, *Chronicon* (*Annales Monastici*, vol. iv. Rolls Series). This was written in the house of Austin canons at Osney, near Oxford, which Wykes entered in 1282. It is parallel with the *Annals of Osney*, but becomes an original source from 1256 or 1262 onward. Wykes was a royalist, and almost the only important chronicler of the barons' wars who was of that way of thinking.

5. *Annales monasterii de Burton* (*Annales Monastici*, vol. i. Rolls Series). These annals of the abbey at Burton-on-Trent are interesting for the years 1211 to 1263, for they include copies of various important documents, such as, for instance, the Provisions of Oxford.

6. *Annales monasterii de Waverleia* (*Annales Monastici*, vol. ii. Rolls Series). These are annals of the Cistercian abbey of Waverley, and are of some value for the years 1219 to 1266.

7. Walter of Hemingburgh, *Chronicon* (English Historical Society, ed. H. C. Hamilton). Hemingburgh was a canon of Guisborough priory in north Yorkshire, and therefore includes much information concerning Scottish and northern affairs. The chronicle begins to be of value with the accession of Edward I. Hemingburgh's own work probably ends in the year 1313, though the history continues to 1346.

8. *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series, ed. H. R. Luard). A compilation by various hands, of some value from 1259 to 1326.

9. *Vita Edwardi II* (*Chronicles Edw. I. and II.* vol. ii. ed. Stubbs, Rolls Series). This was ascribed by Thomas Hearne, who edited it first in 1724, to a monk of Malmesbury abbey, but on slight indications. It contains detailed accounts of various events of interest in the west of England, such as, for instance, the riots at Bristol.

10. *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvon* (*Chronicles Edw. I. and II.*

vol. ii. *ut supra*). This was written by a canon of the priory of Bridlington in Yorkshire, and not put into its present form earlier than 1377. It is, however, based on earlier sources, contains interesting notices of northern affairs, and fills some gaps.

11. *Annales Paulini*, 1307-1341 (*Chronicles Edw. I. and II.* vol. i.). This is the continuation of a chronicle, which, as far as 1307, is merely an abridgement of the *Flores Historiarum*. It is interesting, firstly, because the author, whoever he was, was connected with St. Paul's, and therefore throws considerable light on London history: secondly, as being one of the series of civic chroniclers, which form a contrast to the earlier monastic annals.

12. Geoffrey le Baker, *Chronicon* (ed. E. Maunde Thompson). Baker was a secular clerk, and owed so much to his patron, the knight Thomas de la More, that the portion of his chronicle dealing with the reign of Edward II. has been more than once edited under the name of his patron instead of his own. Baker was a partisan of Edward II., and tells the story of Edward's last days largely from the accounts, or confessions, of eye-witnesses.

The above brief notes merely indicate the main facts concerning each of the sources used. Further information may be sought in *Sources and Literature of English History*, by Dr. Charles Gross, or in the Appendix on Authorities in Professor Tout's volume (1216-1377) of the *Political History of England*.

