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THE VISITS OF KING HENRY III. TO THE NORTHERN COUNTIES OF ENGLAND.

AS SHOWN BY A MS. ITINERARY IN THE POSSESSION OF WILLIAM SALT, ESQ., F.S.A., COMPILED FROM MATERIALS COMMUNICATED BY THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, ESQ., ONE OF THE KEEPERS OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.¹

THE movements of the Court have commonly been regarded as of some public importance ; and the visits of sovereigns to places, at all remote from their usual residences, have rarely failed to interest the inhabitants among whom they came, whatever may have been the occasions. Accordingly our early chroniclers have generally informed us where the kings spent the great festivals of the Church, and what were the principal journeys which they took in the course of the year, and especially when the writer was an inmate of some religious house which was visited in the royal progress. These events are recorded for the most part among such matters of facts as the birth of a prince, or the death of a king, the appearance of a comet, the occurrence of an eclipse, the erection or consecration of a monastery, the calamities of a plague, a famine, or a storm. The writers were most of them monks, living in the cloister, far apart from the busy haunts of men, and their opportunities of becoming acquainted with the history of their own times must have been limited and rare. News travelled but slowly in those times, and, being generally conveyed orally by means of the wandering pilgrim, or by the brethren of some order journeying from one monastery to another, was apt to become perverted in its course.

Besides this, the obliteration of a numeral in the writings

¹ Communicated by Mr. Salt, at the Annual Meeting of the Institute in Edinburgh, in 1856, in explanation of the

valuable MS. Itinerary in his library, which was then exhibited in the Museum.

of the chronicler, the transposition of a date by his copyist, or the erroneous transcription of a letter in a name, may lead the modern historian into baseless theories, or involve the facts in total confusion ; and here it is that the isolated relics, which compose Royal Itineraries and are gathered laboriously by the hand of the archæologist, are so valuable and important in elucidating history.

The author of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," speaking of the restless activity of the Emperor Hadrian, whose reign was almost a perpetual journey, and who, careless of the difference of the seasons and climates, marched on foot and bare-headed over the snows of Caledonia, and the sultry plains of Upper Egypt, and left not a province of the Empire unhonoured by his presence, says that "if all our historians were lost, medals and inscriptions would be sufficient to record the travels of Hadrian ;" and so if our ancient historians were lost, the records from which the Itinerary of King John compiled by Mr. T. D. Hardy, and printed in the preface to the volume of the Patent Rolls of his reign published by the Record Commissioners, the MS. Itinerary of Edward I. compiled by Mr. Stevenson, and preserved at Carlton Ride, and this Itinerary of Henry III. belonging to Mr. Salt, would show the movements of these sovereigns as fully as medals and inscriptions do the travels of the Emperor Hadrian.

A particular account of the sources from which such Itineraries have been compiled, as well as of the value of them in testing the authenticity of charters and the statements of chroniclers, is given in the introduction to Mr. Salt's volume ; but it will suffice for the present purpose to refer our readers to the introduction to the above mentioned Itinerary of King John for such information, and to state here in general terms, that such tables are derived from various records and original documents, but chiefly from the attestations of Royal Grants and Mandates inrolled on the Charter, Patent, Close, and other rolls ; and from accounts of the royal expenditure, known as the *Misæ* and *Prestita* rolls, which generally chronicle the movements of the Court by naming the places at which the several disbursements took place.

Lest the reader should be disappointed when he sees the paucity of the references to authorities for the facts men-

tioned in the following observations, it is necessary to apprise him, that when no authorities are adduced for passages which are evidently not matters of general history, they have been derived from the Patent, Close, or Liberate rolls, being the records or documents chiefly used in the compilation of this Itinerary.

King Henry's first visit to the Northern counties occurred in the year 1220, when he was not quite fourteen years of age. It had relation to the marriage of one of his sisters with Alexander II. King of Scotland, who was desirous of allying himself with the Court of England. The Earl of Pembroke, to whose energy and prudence as Protector of the realm Henry had been greatly indebted for establishing him on the throne, had died the preceding year, and had been succeeded by Peter de Roches, Bishop of Winchester, as guardian of the King ; and this prelate and his rival Hubert de Burgh, the Chief Justiciary, were young Henry's most influential counsellors at that time.

The negotiation would seem to have originated with the Scottish sovereign, for Henry, in granting him permission to come into this country, expressly states, in his letters of safe conduct, that Alexander desired to come on his own business, to speak with the King "*ad loquendum cum eo de negotiis suis.*" The licence to enter England extended from the 17th of May to Michaelmas-day.

It was evidently for the purpose of meeting and doing honor to Alexander that Henry went to York. He left Westminster almost immediately after his second coronation, which took place on the 17th May, and arrived at York on the 8th of June, having commanded the Earl of Warenne to be at the bridge at Berwick-upon Tweed, on the *quinzime* of Pentecost (2nd June), to meet the King of Scotland, and conduct him, with due ceremony and reverence, to the King at York, where he had arranged to meet him on Wednesday, the 10th of June, that they might covenant together for the common good of both realms. He also commanded Alan de Galloway and others to be at York on the same day.

The two sovereigns, according to Roger Wendover, met at York on the Feast of St. Barnabas (11th June), and negotiations were immediately commenced.

The princess Joanna, Henry's eldest sister, was chosen by Alexander for his intended bride. She had been betrothed

in 1214, when about eleven years of age, to Hugh de Lusignan, eldest son of the Earl of Marche, and had been sent into Provence to be educated till her marriage. Shortly after the death of King John, Hugh, having succeeded his father as Earl of Marche, married her mother, to whom he had been attached before her marriage with John ; and he detained the Princess Joanna under some pretence, possibly for her mother's gratification. Henry had applied in vain for her restoration, and, as he might not be able to secure her return for a considerable time, he by his part of the treaty, which is dated on the 15th of June, 1220, undertook to give Alexander his next sister Isabella² in marriage, within fifteen days after Michaelmas, provided Joanna did not arrive. He also undertook to find suitable matches in England for Margaret and Isabella, sisters of the King of Scotland ; and if he were not able to procure them husbands within one year after the Feast of St. Denis, in the year 1220, he was to return them safely to the King of Scotland, within the next month after the expiration of that term.³ The contract having been confirmed, each monarch returned home.⁴ King Henry left York on the 18th of June, and proceeded southward through Pontefract.

The King's next journey into the northern districts of England took place in March, 1221 ; his immediate object in travelling thither does not appear, though it probably was for the purpose of settling the disputes between the Bishop of Durham and the monks of that church ; be that, however, as it may, Henry left the Tower of London on the 7th of March, travelling through Huntingdon, Newark, Blyth, Pontefract, Allerton, Easingwold, and Durham, to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, at which place he was on the 23rd of March ; from thence he returned to Westminster, through Durham, Allerton, Ferriby, Pontefract, Blyth, Newark, Grantham, Stamford, Northampton, Woodstock, Abingdon, and Windsor, where he arrived on the 15th of April.

In the same year, 1221, the King visited York, to be present at the marriage of his elder sister Joanna with

² The King, on the 12th April, commanded Philip Marc to bring to York Isabella, the King's sister, for the evident purpose of introducing her to Alexander.

³ Rymer, i. p. 160.

⁴ On the Close roll of this year 4 Hen. 3

is recorded a mandate to the Barons of the Exchequer to allow P. de Ulecot fifteen pounds, which he expended for the King of Scotland during the three days he was going through his bailiwick of Northumberland to the King at York.

Alexander, King of Scotland, the negotiation for which has been already mentioned; on which occasion he left Oxford on the 9th of June, and proceeded northward through Northampton, Nottingham, and Blyth, arriving at York on the 17th of June.

Having, on the 12th of May, given the Scottish sovereign permission to come into England, for the purpose of contracting matrimony with Joanna his sister, who had safely returned from abroad,⁵ he despatched the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Warenne, Robert de Vipont, and Geoffrey de Neville to Berwick-upon-Tweed, to conduct them to York; and he directed the Sheriff of Northumberland, and the barons of that county, who had been especially summoned for the purpose,⁶ together with the Seneschal of the Bishop of Durham, and the King's Chancellor, to be there also on the same occasion. He likewise commanded the Sheriff of York and the barons of that county to go to the River Tees to meet the Scottish King and conduct him to York.

Matthew Paris asserts that the marriage was solemnised on the morrow of St. John the Baptist (25th June), but he is clearly in error as to the day, for it undoubtedly took place either on the 16th, 17th, 18th, or 19th of June, as is proved by the order to pay the expenses incurred at the marriage feasts on Wednesday, after the octaves of the Holy Trinity (16th June,) and the three following days, when Alexander King of Scotland was there with the King, to take to wife Joanna his sister.⁷ It is more than probable

⁵ The King on the 21st May, repaid Gerard Brohard fifty-nine marks and Emeric de Martini, two marks and a half which he lent to Joanna, the King's sister, to pay her expenses in Poictou. He also ordered Esnald de Chasteyn to be paid forty-five marks for the freight of a ship in bringing her to England, and the next day he paid John Russel 100*s.* for her expenses at the New Temple; and he repaid John Russel and Godefrey de Crawecumbe ten marks for the expenses of Joanna, his sister, at London and Wallingford, and ten marks for one palfrey, and two sumpters bought for her use, and ten shillings for one sumpter saddle bought also for her. He presented her also with robes for the Whit-sun festivities. On the 25th May, he informs the sheriff of Berkshire, that he has sent the Princess Joanna, his sister,

to Wallingford with her suite and sixteen horses, together with John Russel, Ralph Gurnun, and Godfrey Craucumb, and the sheriff is commanded to find her and all her suite in necessaries as long as they remain.

⁶ John Blundus was paid two shillings for going to the barons of Northumberland with the King's letters commanding them to conduct the King of Scotland to York, and Adam Ruter was paid 1*s.* 3*d.* for going to the barons of York on the same business.

⁷ The barons of the Exchequer were commanded to account with the mayor and bailiff of York in £50 for debts of their town; and £13 15*s.* 2*d.* of the farm of their town:—"quas posuerunt per preceptum nostrum in expensis nostris acquietandis factis apud Eboracum die Mercurii proxima post Octabas

that the ceremony was performed on the 18th of June, as Alexander granted to her on that day, in dower, the lands of Jeddeworth, Hastenesden, Lessewin, and Kingor in Scotland, and the church of Carel.⁸

The English monarch arrived at York on Wednesday the 16th of June (though there is no attestation recorded on that day), and left that city on the 20th of the same month. He was at Pontefract on the 21st, at Doncaster on the 22nd, and at Nottingham on the 25th, *en route* to Shrewsbury; the very day on which Matthew Paris states that the marriage took place.

The King's next visit to the northern counties was in November, 1227. He arrived at Doncaster on the 29th of that month, on his way to York, where he intended to keep his Christmas holidays; he visited Tickhill, Thorpe, Knaresborough, Ripon, Allerton, Durham, Middleham, Darlington, Thirsk, Craike, Driffield, and Beverley; he arrived at York on the 24th, and left it on the 29th of December, returning homewards through Tadcaster, Pontefract, and Doncaster.

The King having invited Alexander King of Scotland to spend the Christmas festivities with him at York, in 1229, left Westminster on the 10th of November, and after visiting several places in the counties of Oxford, Northampton, and Nottingham, arrived at Doncaster on the 21st of December, and went through Pontefract to York, where we find him by the Itinerary on the 25th, 26th, and 28th of that month.

Roger Wendover states that the Archbishop of York, and a large retinue of earls, barons, and knights were present, and the two Kings distributed many splendid dresses amongst their knights, and that the King of England was profuse in his liberality towards the Scottish King,⁹ presenting him with valuable horses, rings, and jewels, and for three days

Sanctæ Trinitatis anno regni nostri quinto de tribus diebus sequentibus, quando Rex Alexander Scottorum ibidem nobiscum fuit, pro ducenda in uxorem Johanna sorore nostra" (Rot. Claus. 5 Hen. 2. m. 7). The same barons were ordered to pay the sheriff of Northumberland £15 which he delivered to Alexander, King of Scotland, to pay his expenses in going through the county of Northumberland to the King at York to marry Joanna, the King's sister.

⁸ Rymer i. p. 165.

⁹ The sheriff of York was commanded to pay to Alexander, King of Scotland, £80 for his expenses for sixteen days: viz. the eight days he spent on coming to the King at York on Christmas day, and the eight days he occupied in returning to his own country, at a rate of 10s. the day. The sheriff is also to pay to the said King Alexander, the sum of £6 for the four days he remained with the King at York, being at the *r' te* of 30s. the day.

they continued the festival, banqueting every day splendidly, and observing the great anniversary with joy and exultation.

On the fourth day the party broke up ; the King of Scots went home, and King Henry returned to London.

In the year 1236 Henry revisited York for the purpose of taking the advice of his nobles, and making arrangements for settling a dispute which had arisen with Alexander. Their discord, says Matthew Paris, arose out of the claim of the King of Scotland to the county of Northumberland, which he stated had been given to him by King Henry as the dowry of his sister Joanna, in proof of which assertion he had charters and the testimony of many bishops and clergy of rank, as well as earls and barons, and he declared that it was execrable to gainsay what had proceeded from the lips of kings, and to annul a treaty made between persons of such exalted rank ; and he added, that unless the King of England peaceably restored to him what was his by right and reason, he would enforce his claim by the edge of the sword. For the purpose of restoring peace and goodwill between them as well as for the protection of the kingdom, which was beset on all sides with enemies, King Henry offered Alexander a revenue of eighty marks from some other place in England, in order that the boundaries of the kingdom might not be broken in upon in the northern parts. The conference ended to the satisfaction of both parties, and all for the present remained in peace.

Matthew Paris does not mention where or when this meeting took place,¹ but the Itinerary proves that it was at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in September 1236.

The King's route lay through Nottingham, Thorpe, Peveril, Doncaster, Pontefract, and Cawood² to York, at which city he arrived on the 5th of September ; the next day he left York and proceeded to Craike, Allerton,³ Darlington, Durham, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which he reached on the 12th and

¹ The King of Scotland had letters of safe conduct to come to the King of England at Newcastle-upon-Tyne between the 4th of June and Michaelmas day, but the term was subsequently prolonged until the *quinzime* of Michaelmas.

² When he was at Cawood, the 4th of September, the king wrote to the mayor and bailiff of York, to have twenty-five casks of his wine which were in the cellars of the Archbishop of York at York,

taken therefrom and valued and delivered to the tavern keepers of the town of York, who would account to the King for the same on his return to York from Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

³ When he was at Allerton on the 20th September, he granted to Joanna, Queen of Scotland, for her homage and service, the manor of Driffield to hold for her life, rendering therefore one sparrow-hawk for all services.

left on the 16th of September ; he then returned to York (stopping at Darlington on his way,) and was at that northern metropolis from the 20th to the 23rd, when he went to Sherburn, Pontefract, and Doncaster, proceeding homewards through Worksop, Laxton, and Eccles. Matthew Paris states that the King convoked his nobles to York on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14th Sept. 1237), to treat concerning the arduous affairs of the realm, and to meet the King of Scotland, whom he had invited there to arrange terms of peace. On their arrival in that city, it was decided that the King of Scotland should receive three hundred librates of land in the kingdom of England, on condition that he did not erect any castle thereon, and did homage to the King of England for the same.

The Itinerary confirms the statement of this historian, except in a slight discrepancy as to date,⁴ for the King did not leave Nottingham until the 18th of September, nor reach York until the 22nd ; he remained in that city until the 28th of the same month,⁵ and returned homewards through Sherburn, Doncaster, and Worksop.

Shortly after this Alexander lost his Queen, Joanna. She had suffered from a long, and, according to Boece,⁶ a painful disease. Having come to England, and vainly sought relief at the shrine of Becket, she died at Eltham, near London, attended by both her brothers. The next year he married Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Coucy, the representative of an ancient family in Picardy. Her influence, unlike Joanna's, was unfavourable to England ; still Alexander seems to have been disposed to remain at peace with Henry. However, a misunderstanding between them occasioned the latter to visit the northern counties in 1244. He charged Alexander with receiving English fugitives, and, according to Matthew Paris, he issued a general summons to his military tenants to meet him at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, about the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (15th August), 1244, assigning, as his chief motive for that step, that some noble and powerful barons of Scotland had fortified two castles in Galloway and Lothian to the prejudice of the King

⁴ The King of Scotland had letters of safe conduct, dated 15th August, to come to the King at York.

⁵ On the 28th September he states in

a letter, that firm peace is established between himself and the King of Scotland.

⁶ See Dalrymple's Annals, 169 n.

of England, and contrary to the charter of his predecessors ; and, moreover, that having received some exiles and fugitive enemies, they were endeavouring to withdraw their allegiance from the King of England ; but the Scottish monarch being a good, just, pious, and enlightened man (as deservedly loved by the English as by his own subjects), was very desirous of preventing Christian bloodshed, and therefore entered into a careful inquiry into the nature of King Henry's grievance, and agreed to terms satisfactory to all parties concerned.

The public records are confirmatory of Matthew Paris's narrative ; for it appears by the Patent rolls, that on the 15th of July the King dispatched the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Carlisle, Simon de Montford Earl of Leicester, the Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and William de Cantelupe, as ambassadors to the King of Scotland to know what amends he intended to make to the King of England for the injuries he had sustained ; and he sent by them letters of safe conduct to Alexander to come to Newcastle-upon-Tyne and be present at the meeting of the Parliament the King had there convened, which were to be in force for three days after the Parliament should break up (*post-quam Parliamentum illud ruptum fuerit*) ; he further undertook to abide by and confirm whatever his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, should arrange at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the treaty between the King of England and the King of Scotland.

The Itinerary shows that King Henry travelled to Newcastle-upon-Tyne from Nottingham, through Clipstone, Hodstock, Sherburn, Doncaster, Cawood, Pontefract, York, Allerton, and Craike, arriving at Newcastle on the 1st of August, and continued there until the 14th of August. He stopped on his journey homewards at Durham, Darlington, Allerton, Ripon, Sherburn, Fountains, Knaresborough, Doncaster, and Hodstock.

In July, 1249, Alexander died of a fever while on an expedition against Angus of Argyle, leaving by his Queen, Mary de Coucy, a son, in his eighth year, who succeeded him as Alexander III. In his father's lifetime he had been betrothed to Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry, King of England ; and it was arranged that the nuptials should be solemnised at York on Christmas Day, 1251, the princess

being about a year older than the King of Scots,⁷ and Henry determined that the nuptials should be celebrated with great pomp: he therefore called together a numerous assembly of clergy and knights in order that the splendour of this great ceremony should shine far and wide.⁸

The court of England left Windsor with the bride on the 28th of October, taking the route through Reading, Wallingford, Oxford, Woodstock, Winchcombe, Gloucester, Evesham, Worcester, Hales, Lichfield, Burton, Tutbury, Derby, Nottingham, Newstead, Sherwood, Warsop, Hodstock, Conisbrough, Pontefract, and Thorpe. The royal party reached York on the 22nd of December, and took up their abode with the archbishop.

Every preparation was made to receive the young bridegroom with distinction, and amusement was provided for his diversion on his entering the English territory. Orders were given to the warden of Galtres Forest to allow the youthful sovereign to hunt the deer in that royal domain, and to carry away all the game he might kill.

In addition to a numerous retinue composed of the flower of the Scotch nobility, the young King was accompanied by his mother, Mary de Coucy, who had been summoned from the continent for the occasion, and in whose train were many nobles not only of Scotland but also of France, where she was born.

A donor is generally supposed to display considerable tact and discrimination when he bestows a gift suitable to, and likely to be prized by, the donee; and King Henry had, perhaps, some secret inkling of the taste of the imperious daughter of Ingelram de Coucy, when he ordered his butler to place the whole of the wines in the royal cellars at Nottingham at her disposal, and to make a suitable speech to her on the occasion.⁹

Matthew Paris recounts with much minuteness the magnificence of these nuptials; and to him we refer for many particulars which our limited space constrains us to omit.

⁷ She was born at Windsor, 5th October 1240 (*Liberat.* 25 Hen. 3, m. 22), and he was born 14th September, 1241 (*Chron. Mailros.* p. 154).

⁸ *Ut tam magnarum nuptiarum serenitas latius et latius coruscaret.*"

⁹ "Mandatum est custodibus vinorum

regis apud Nottingham quod vina regis quae sunt in custodia sua exponant voluntati Reginæ Scottorum, offerentes ei, ex parte regis, ut de vinis illis ad usus suos recipiat sicut Willielmus de Haastinct plenius ei dicet ex parte regis."

Previous to the celebration of the marriage, King Henry conferred knighthood on his intended son-in-law. The ceremony was performed with much magnificence on Christmas Day, and twenty young nobles, arrayed in rich and costly apparel, received a similar honour. On this occasion King Henry presented the young monarch with a fine sword, having a silver pommel richly chased, a scabbard of silk, together with a costly sword-belt ; an elaborately formed couch (minutely described in the royal mandate ordering it to be prepared) was also delivered to him for the purpose of rest while he was performing in the Abbey Church the usual solitary watchings on the night previous to the belting of a knight.

The day after Christmas Day was appointed for the nuptials ; and it was deemed advisable that the ceremony should be performed in private, early in the morning, long before the expected hour, for the purpose of avoiding the rush and pressure of so large a multitude.

Immediately after the nuptial ceremony had taken place, the King of Scotland did homage to the King of England for the land of Lothian and the other possessions held of him in England, and was then asked to do fealty for the Kingdom of Scotland as his predecessors had done ; but the prudent boy replied to this unseasonable and unbecoming application, that he had come there peacefully for the honour of the King of England, and at his request to ally himself by marriage to him, and not to intermeddle with affairs of state ; moreover, that this was too arduous a matter for him to act in without consulting his nobles, and he must therefore decline replying to so difficult a question.

The public muniments abound in notices of the preparations made for the marriage feast ; for instance, the King ordered for the same, five last of herrings, one thousand mullets, ten thousand haddocks, two hundred and fifty salmon, five hundred conger eels, thirty pikes, and sixty jacks ; and the King's "piscator" was directed to catch all the fish he could in the royal fish-ponds, and to keep them alive in some safe stew until they were required : he also ordered thirteen hundred and twenty porkers, and two thousand four hundred and sixteen fowls, four hundred bucks, three hundred does, two hundred fawns, and one hundred wild boars. An incredible quantity of wine was also ordered to be sent to York,

and Robert of Montpelier, his butler, was ordered to spice two casks of the best white wine in the King's cellar, and convert one class of the best red wine into *clare*,¹ and he was also to have any quantity and quality of wine he might require to make therewith delicate drinks for the King.

On the occasion of these festivities the King made many valuable presents to the bride and bridegroom and also to other persons. In addition to a very ample trousseau which he had provided for his daughter, he gave her other jewels to the value of two hundred marks ; a silver pot, weighing ten marks ; a silver posnet and cup, weighing five marks ; a plain silver cup, weighing five marks ; a golden chalice, weighing three marks ; six spoons ; and several other pieces of plate ; four beautiful saddles of costly materials, with reins to correspond ; a richly ornamented bed ; ten cloths of gold and several magnificent robes for herself, her governess, and maids of honour ; and two hundred marks in money. He distributed among the Scotch nobility a large quantity of cloth of gold and silken robes, and gave in alms to the poor and indigent, a large supply of cloth, and other articles of apparel ; he gave to twenty-four religious houses in Yorkshire valuable silver chalices, and presents in money to all the prioresses of the same county.

At the conclusion of these festivities the King presented to his young son-in-law one hundred and nine pounds for his expenses in England ; and granted to him five thousand marks for four years, and all the lands and tenements in Cumberland, which his father Alexander II. had held, and which, at his death, had reverted to the crown of England.

Shortly after the bride and bridegroom took their departure for Scotland, a trustworthy guard having been appointed to attend on the young Queen. They travelled by the way of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where the governor was commanded to place the King's castle at their disposal, and to provide them with wine, meat, fish, and other necessaries as long as they desired to remain there.

Whilst King Henry was at York he visited several of the neighbouring monasteries and towns, and conferred upon them many acts of kindness and benevolence. He left the

¹ Wine spiced and sweetened with honey, and then cleared. See Tyrwhitt's Glossary to Chaucer.

city of York on the 7th of January, 1252, and arrived at Nottingham on the 10th of that month.

The next visit of the English court to the Northern counties was in the year 1255, and had relation to the domestic disturbances in Scotland during the minority of Alexander III. It seems that dissensions had arisen between the English attendants of the young Queen and the servants who were placed about her by the regents of Scotland, which rendered her situation anything but agreeable ; in addition to which she was kept in a state of imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle, and was denied all intercourse with her husband. This state of things naturally drew from her many grievous complaints to her parents, and applications for redress.

More than one effort was made by King Henry to bring the young Queen back to England, and a safe conduct was actually granted to her for the purpose, but the regents could not be induced to let her go, well knowing the dissatisfaction she felt at all around her : a secret mission was then sent into Scotland, and the information it brought created serious apprehensions for her health in her mother, Queen Eleanor, who immediately sent over her own confidential physician, Reginald de Bathonia, to attend to her health and that of her young husband, whom she loved as an adopted child. On his arrival at Edinburgh, he was courteously received by the regents, as he brought letters of credence from the King and Queen of England, and when he was left alone with the young Queen (as with physicians it was then customary) he inquired of her the cause of her perturbation and sadness ; upon her revealing to him the cause of her grief, and particularly the treatment she experienced from the regents, the indignation of the physician was aroused, and he charged them and her attendants with treason. In the course of a few days he was suddenly taken dangerously ill, and, attributing his attack to poison, he wrote to the King and Queen of England a full account of what he had seen, done, and suffered in the cause of the young Queen, and immediately afterwards expired.

The King, highly enraged at this intelligence, entertained thoughts of dissolving the marriage forthwith, and sent privately into Scotland the Earl of Gloucester and John Mansell to ascertain the actual situation of his daughter, and

the best means of assisting her. Entering the castle of Edinburgh in disguise, they obtained an interview with Queen Margaret, who related all her grievances,² concealing nothing from them. So great was her irritation against the Scots, that she entreated her father to invade Scotland, and punish her persecutors, rather than leave her unavenged. By the authority of Henry they formed a powerful party in Scotland, and with their assistance released the King and Queen, and conducted them in safety to Roxburgh Castle.

To follow up this step, Henry summoned his military tenants to join him, vowing vengeance against those who had persecuted his daughter, though in the proclamation he issued on the occasion, he spoke merely of his great desire to visit the King of Scotland and his daughter the Queen, whom he had not seen for a long time, and to lull the jealous suspicion of the Scots, he declared that it was not his intention to attempt anything contrary to the rights and liberties of their kingdom.

Everything being prepared, the King, on the 26th of June, left Woodstock, where he had been staying for some weeks, and marching through Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire, arrived at Doncaster on the 8th of August ; thence proceeding through Pontefract, Cawood, York, Newborough, Allerton, Darlington, Durham, Newcastle, Alnwick, and Chillingham, he arrived at Wark on the 6th of September. While at Newcastle-upon-Tyne (26th August), he sent letters of safe conduct to the young King and Queen and the Earl of Gloucester and another nobleman were commissioned to escort them to the King of England.

As it was considered more prudent that Henry should not for the present cross the frontier, Wark Castle was decided upon as the place of rendezvous, and there King Henry and his Queen, who had insisted upon accompanying him, took up their residence ; finding, however, some demur on the part of the Scots as to the propriety of their King and Queen venturing beyond the border, Guy de Lusignan

² "Scotorum Regina conquesta graviter, quod indecenter custodiebatur, vel potius incarcerated in castro illo (Edinburgh) loco tristi et solitario, salubri aere et virore, juxta mare, penitus destituto. Nec licuit ei, ut dicebat, per Regnum suum spatiari, vel familiam habere spe-

ciale, vel etiam puellas, quas habere cupiebat, camerales et cubiculares : nec permisus est Rex maritus suus accessum ad eam habere maritalem, vel mutuis amplexibus congaudere." (Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1255.)

and William de Valence, the King's half-brothers, with the Earl of Gloucester and other nobles, were sent to urge their presence, and they pledged themselves that neither the young King nor his Queen should tarry in England without the consent of the Scottish nobles. This promise was renewed in other letters of safe conduct which were issued on the 5th of September, and the meeting accordingly took place at Wark. Wyntoun says :

Thydder the Kyng of Scotland
And the Quene, with hym passand,
As on tryst and purpos set,
On a day togydder met,
Wyth mony folk on ilke syde.
Of Ingland the Quene was there that tyde,
There the Kyngis made bydying
By counsale thare and long spekyng;
There was made sich ordynans,
That was grete grefe and displesans
To of Scotland the thre statis,
Burgers, Barowns, and Prelatis.

The ordinances, which gave such grief and displeasure to the three estates of Scotland, were that Queen Margaret should be treated with proper attention and respect, and that she should have free intercourse with her husband ; that the government during the King's minority should be placed in the hands of those who were in the English interest, and that King Henry should be the principal counsellor to the King of Scotland. These articles were drawn up at Wark on the 16th of September, but were not completed until the 20th of that month, when it is said that they were signed by King Alexander, at Roxburgh Castle, in the presence of the King of England, and that afterwards the two monarchs visited Kelso Abbey together where they attended high mass, after which King Henry returned to Wark.

There is no evidence, however, by the attestations to show that the King was either at Roxburgh or Kelso on the 20th of September.

He was at Wark on the 16th and on the 18th (it does not appear where he was on the 17th) ; on the 20th he was at Sprouston and Wark, and at Wark on the 21st. If, therefore, King Henry went into Scotland, it must have been on the 17th of September, as that is the only day his

presence cannot be traced in England.³ After the treaty was confirmed by King Henry he made preparations to return home ; he left Wark on the 21st of September, and passing through Alnwick, Newminster, Durham, Darlington, York and Pontefract, arrived in London the 13th of October.

The King's last journey in his Northern provinces occurred in September, 1268, when he had convened his parliament to meet him there. He arrived at York on the 10th of that month and stayed there until the 26th. The chief object of his visit was to see the King and Queen of Scotland and their family, whom he had invited to meet him there. Nothing particular appears to have occurred on the occasion, and the King left York the 26th, taking the route through Pontefract, and arrived at Westminster on the 12th of October.

The foregoing remarks suggested by the Itinerary of King Henry III., may serve to show how such tables assist in elucidating the statements of contemporary annalists, and enable us to educe from the moulderling fragments of history little traits of individual character and national manners and customs, which are looked for in vain in the pages of the general historian.

³ The chronicle of Mailros gives the 15th August as the date of King Henry's visit into Scotland, but that is clearly an error, as may be seen by the Itinerary. It is, however, more than probable that King Henry did not cross the frontier, or it would have been so stated in King Alexander's charter dated 20th August at Roxburgh; whereas it expressly states that Henry had come into the Marches of the kingdoms of England and Scotland "Noverit universitas vestra quod, cum Karissimus pater noster et dominus

Henricus, Rex Angliae illustris, pro honore et utilitate nostra et regni nostri, ad marchiam regnum Angliae et Scotie sui gratia personaliter accessit." Furthermore, if King Henry had been at Roxburgh on that day, he would have confirmed the same charter then and there; whereas it is brought to him at Sprouston on the very day it was granted by Alexander, and he there gave it his confirmation. "Teste meipso apud Sprouston vicesimo die Septembri."

EXTRACTS FROM THE ITINERARY, SO FAR AS RELATES TO
THE NORTHERN COUNTIES.

A. D. 1220. ANN. REG. 4.		June	22. Doncaster. 23. Nottingham.
June	8. York. 9. 10. York. 11. York. 12. York. 13. York. 14. York. 15. York. 16. York. 17. York. 18. York and Pontefract. 19. Pontefract. 20. Nottingham.		A. D. 1227. ANN. REG. 12.
March	12. Newark and Blyth. 13. Blyth and Pontefract. 16. Allerton and Easing- wold. 17. Allerton. 19. Durham. 21. Bamborough and Alnwick. 23. Newcastle-upon- Tyne. 25. Durham. 28. Allerton. 30. Ferriby. 31. Pontefract.	November	28. Blyth. 29. Doncaster and Tick- hill.
April	1. Blyth. 2. Newark and Grant- ham.	December	1. Thorpe. 2. Knaresborough. 3. Ripon. 5. Allerton. 9. Durham. 10. Durham. 11. Middleham. 12. Darlington. 13. Darlington. 14. Thirsk and Craike. 15. Craike. 16. Driffield. 18. Beverley. 20. Beverley. 24. York. 25. York. 27. York. 28. York. 29. York and Tadcaster. 30. Pontefract.
	A. D. 1221. ANN. REG. 5.		A. D. 1228. ANN. REG. 12.
June	15. Blyth. 17. York. 18. York. 19. York. 20. York. 21. Pontefract.	January	2. Doncaster. 3. Blyth.
	A. D. 1221. ANN. REG. 5.		A. D. 1229. ANN. REG. 14.
June		December	20. Grimstone. 21. Doncaster and Pon- tefract. 22. Pontefract. 25. York. 26. York. 28. York. 29. Sherburn.

A. D. 1230. ANN. REG. 14.

- January 1. Doncaster.
2. Doncaster and
Blyth.

A. D. 1236. ANN. REG. 20.

- September 1. Nottingham.
2. Thorpe Peveril.
3. Doncaster and Pon-
tefract.
4. Pontefract and Ca-
wood.
5. York.
6. York and Craike.
8. Allerton.
9. Allerton.
10. Darlington.
11. Durham.
12. Newcastle-upon-
Tyne.
15. Newcastle-upon-
Tyne.
16. Newcastle-upon-
Tyne.
18. Darlington.
19. Durham, Allerton.
20. York.
21. York.
23. York.
24. Sherburn.
25. Pontefract and Don-
caster.
26. Pontefract.
27. Doncaster.
28. Worksop, Laxton,
and Eccles.
29. Eccles.
30. Eccles.

A. D. 1237. ANN. REG. 21.

- September 18. Nottingham.
21. Pontefract.
22. York.
24. York.
25. York.
26. York.
27. York.
28. York.

- September 29. Sherburn.
30. Sherburn.
October 1. Doncaster.
2. Doncaster.
3. Worksop.
4. Nottingham.

A. D. 1244. ANN. REG. 28.

- July 21. Nottingham, Clip-
stone, and Hod-
stock.*
22. Hodstock and Sher-
burn.
23. Hodstock and Don-
caster.
24. Doncaster, Cawood,
and Pontefract.
25. Pontefract.
28. York.
29. Allerton and Craike.
August 1 to 13. Newcastle-upon-
Tyne.
14. Newcastle-upon-
Tyne and Durham.
15. Durham and New-
castle-upon-Tyne.
16. Durham.
17. Darlington.
18. Allerton and Ripon.
19. Ripon and Sherburn.
20. Fountains.
21. Knaresborough.
22. Sherburn.
23. Sherburn and Don-
caster.
24. Doncaster and Hod-
stock.
27. Nottingham.

A. D. 1251. ANN. REG. 36.

- December 15. Warsop.
16. Hodstock.
17. Hodstock and Conis-
brough.
18. Hodstock and Ponte-
fract.
19. Pontefract.
20. Sherburn and
Thorpe.

* Hodstock, near Blyth, Nottinghamshire.

December	22. Thorpe and York. 25. York. 26. York. 27. York. 28. York. 29. York. 30. York. 31. York.	August	24. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 25. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 26. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 27. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 28. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 29. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 30. Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
	A. D. 1252. ANN. REG. 36.		
January	1. York and Thorpe. 2. Thorpe. 3. Thorpe. 4. Thorpe and York. 5. York and Thorpe. 6. Sherburn and York. 7. York, Pontefract, and Sherburn. 8. Sherburn and Ponte- fract. 9. Pontefract. 10. Doncaster and Not- tingham. 11. Hodstock. 12. Clipstone and Not- tingham.	September	1. Newcastle-upon- Tyne and Wark. 2. Alnwick. 3. Alnwick. 4. Chillingham. 5. Chillingham. 6. Wark. 7. Wark. 8. Wark. 9. Wark. 10. Carham. 11. Carham and Wark. 12. Wark. 13. Wark. 14. Wark. 15. Wark and Carham. 16. Wark. 20. Sprouston and Wark. 21. Wark. 22. Alnwick. 23. Alnwick. 24. Newminster (apud Novum Monaste- rium).*
	A. D. 1255. ANN. REG. 39.		25. Newcastle-upon- Tyne. 26. Newcastle-upon- Tyne. 27. Durham. 28. Darlington. 29. York. 30. York and Ponte- fract.
August	4. Warsop. 5. Scrooby. 6. Scrooby. 7. Scrooby. 8. Doncaster. 9. Pontefract. 10. Cawood. 11. Cawood and York. 12. York. 13. York. 14. York. 15. York. 16. York. 17. York. 18. York and New- borough. 19. Allerton. 20. Darlington. 21. Durham. 22. Durham. 23. Durham.	October	1. Pontefract. 2. Scrooby. 3. Laneham & Lincoln.

* This was a Cistercian abbey near Morpeth.

	A. D. 1268. ANN. REG. 52.	
September	4. Rock.	September 18. York.
	10. York.	19. York.
	11. York.	20. York.
	12. York.	21. York.
	13. York.	22. York.
	14. York.	23. York.
	15. York.	24. York.
	16. York.	25. York.
	17. York.	26. York.
		27. Pontefract.
October		1. Nottingham.