

LETTERS OF EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES,

WRITTEN IN SUSSEX IN THE YEAR 1305.

EXTRACTED FROM AN ANCIENT MS. IN THE CHAPTER-HOUSE,
WESTMINSTER.

PARTLY READ AT THE HASTINGS MEETING, 1848.

By W. H. BLAAUW, Esq.

THE correspondence of historical or private persons of remote times is so seldom met with, that the discovery of this MS. is a subject of considerable interest to antiquaries generally, and such letters as were written in Sussex may, with propriety, be brought forward by this Society.

In January, 1848, among the MSS. in the Chapter-house, Westminster, Mr. Devon, who so ably presides over that Record office, found a roll of several sheets of parchment, many yards in length, and $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, which contains a series of more than 800 letters of Edward, the first Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward II, written in a small clear hand by some secretary. They are copies of the letters dispatched by the prince in the 33d regnal year of his father Edward I, from November 20 to 27, 1304, on one sheet; and again (several sheets of the intervening period not having been found), from May 17, 1305, to October 1, 1305, so that the 800 letters belong, in fact, to a space of less than five months. The original letters were, probably, all in the French language, and so appear where the text is given in full, but of more than half only short Latin abstracts are given, while, in all, the titles of persons, the customary phrases of compliment, and the time and place of signature, are much abbreviated to avoid repetition.

Edward of Carnarvon had been honoured, when seventeen years old, with the new title of Prince of Wales, said to have been promised at his birth, and, at the date of these letters, was a

young man of 22 years, whose manner of living is thus described by the old chronicler, W. de Knighton (p. 2532):—"Not caring to associate with the nobles, he clave to buffoons, singers, actors, grooms, labourers, rowers, sailors, and other mechanics, indulging in drinks, readily betraying secrets, striking bystanders on light occasions," &c. According to the chroniclers he was led into this course of life by his young friend, Peter de Gavaston, conspicuous in person, courage, and wit, who had been brought up at court as his companion from boyhood by the king's desire, out of regard to a worthy knight of Gascony, his father. To him is attributed, among other follies of the prince, one special instance of riot, the breaking into the park of the Bishop of Chester and killing his deer; and, though various dates have been assigned, it is probable that this had occurred not long before this time, and that the prince's quarrel with this prelate, then the king's treasurer, related in the letter from Midhurst, June 14, 1305, had reference to it. The punishment inflicted on him by the king for affronting the bishop, is stated by other later authorities (Baker's Chronicle; Godwyn de Præsulibus, p. 318; Holingshed ii, 315; Fabyan, 7, 145) to have been imprisonment; but these letters prove authentically that it consisted in the dismissal of all his followers, and a prohibition to approach the court for a period of some months, which the prince passed in Sussex, Kent, and Windsor; and the letters written during this time of disgrace well illustrate the prince's attachment to his friends, and his submission, however unwilling, to the authority of his father.

It has been thought sufficient for the purposes of this Society to introduce only a few specimens of the original French and of the Latin abstracts, and to give translations of the others. The contractions of the original have not been preserved in the transcript.

The third letter, after the title "*Rotulus Litterarum Domini Principis Wallie de anno tricesimo tertio*," was written from Langley, Herts, and refers to the recent death of John, the old Earl de Warenne, which occurred September 27, 1304, and evinces an anxiety to buy his stud of horses. It appears by a subsequent letter from Battle, June 28th, that "Brother John de Burne and Sir Oliver de Wisset" were the

executors of the earl, who, having married Alicia, the half-sister to King Henry III, is named as the prince's uncle, or rather, great-uncle.

“To the Executors of the Earl de Warenne.

Edward, &c. to his dear friends, the executors of our dear uncle, the Earl de Warenne, whom God assoil, health and loving friendships. Inasmuch as our people have already spoken to you on our behalf, that we wish to have the stud (le haras) which belonged to the said Earl, for the value, as it shall be appraised by honest persons, we again entreat that the said stud may be kept for us, wherever the Earl had it, and fix a time, sure and convenient, when our people and your people may examine the said stud, and fix both a certain price and day to make the payment. And we pray you that the said stud may be nowhere removed from where it is, until our people and your people have examined it, as is before said. Give credence to our dear clerk, Sir Robert de Chishull, in what he shall say to you in this matter. Given under our privy seal, at Langele, the 20th day of November.” (1304.)

Another letter, relating to this subject, shows that this application was successful, and that the prince kept his stud at Ditchling, near Lewes, probably where it had been in the Earl's time. Robert de Winchelsea, the Archbishop of Canterbury (1293-1313), who, either as executor or as a good judge of horses, had helped the prince, was probably known to have some good horses of his own; and to him accordingly, two days only after he had fallen into disgrace, is addressed the following request to borrow them, which may be given out of its regular date, in the original French:—

“Domino Cantuarensi Archiepiscopo (in margin).

Al Ercevesque, &c., saluz, &c. Pur ceo qe nous avoms le haraz qe fust au Counte de Garenne, qe dieux assoille, a quoi vous meistes la main aidaunte, vostre merci, e eoms graunt defaute d'estalouns pur meisme le haraz, vous prioms especiaument qe si vous eez nul beal chival, qui soit bon pur estaloun, qe vous le nous voillez prester ceste sesoun pur l'amur de nous, e envoyer, s'il vous plect, a Dychenynge pres de Lewes, a plus en haste qe vous poez, pur ceo qe la sesoun passe, et noz gentz qe la sont le recevront, e bien le garderont,

e le vous remenront quant la sesoun serra passe. E de ceste chose et d'autres qe vous touchent quel vous devez nous, nous voillez remaunder vos volonte par vos lettres. Donne sous, &c. a Midherst le xvi jour de Joyn." (1305.)

The intimacy of the archbishop with the prince gave rise to an accusation of treasonable practices in 1306, and though he made an abject submission to the king, his property was seized, and no one being allowed to shelter him, he was only relieved from starvation by the secret charity of the Canterbury monks. He lived abroad till the accession of Edward II, who soon recalled him, and restored him to wealth. He nobly resisted, however, the persecution of his brother prelate of Chester by the king and Gavaston, while his stern severity towards John, the last Earl de Warenne, for his immoral life, was an additional proof of his courage.

In May 1305, when the letters again appear after the blank from November 27, the prince writes from Sunbury; and some of the earliest letters appear in short Latin abstracts, two of which are worthy of notice, as being addressed to the Bishop of Chester, the king's treasurer, in friendly terms, so short a time before the prince gave this same bishop such offence as to incur punishment from the king.

"The Bishop of Chester, treasurer of the king, is requested to be more gracious, for the love of the prince, to the prior and convent of Worcester in a reasonable manner, concerning Doderhull: at Sunnebury, 18th day of May."

"The Lord Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield* is requested to defer all the matters before him touching Sir John of London, until he shall have had a conference with him on Sunday, so that whatever is right should afterwards be done. Given at Sunnebury, the 19th day of May."

It is possible that, in the meeting thus appointed with the bishop, the prince may have personally affronted him with rude words, when pleading in favour of his friend, Sir John

* Walter Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield from 1295 to 1322, is frequently termed Bishop of Chester also, from the fact of the see having been moved there in 1075, and the king even directed writs to him under that name. He had risen from being keeper of the king's wardrobe in 1290, to the chancellorship in 1292, and lord treasurer in 1295; but had been only recently reappointed, after a suspension arising out of serious charges made against him, from which the pope relieved him, at the king's request.

de London, who may have got into trouble with the officers of law. The bishop is represented by the chroniclers to have frequently reprov'd Gaveston for misleading the prince.

There are two other entries at this time, which relate to Sussex :

“Also Sir Thomas de Warblynton is requested to be gracious to Henry de May in his business before him. Sunnebury, May 19.”

“Also the abbot and convent of Boxgrove are requested, in the way of advice, through Thomas de Pevenesi, to give clerical preferment to a friend. Langele, May 26.”

The next letter to be produced is dated from Sussex, and is important, as giving authentically the only explanation of the prince's quarrel with the bishop, and the punishment imposed on him by the king his father, which influenced all the prince's movements and expressions during the rest of this correspondence. It is directed to the aged warrior Henry de Lacy, the last Earl of Lincoln of that family, whose daughter Alice was married to the prince's cousin, Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster.

“To the Lord Earl of Lincoln (Latin, in margin).

“Edward, &c. to the Earl of Nicole, &c., health and dear friendship ; know, sire, that on Sunday, the 13th day of June, we came to Midhurst, where we found our lord the king our father, and on the following Monday, on account of certain words which were told him, that had been between us and the Bishop of Chester, he is so angry with us that he has forbidden us, that neither ourselves nor any one of our suite should be so bold as to enter within his household ; and he has forbidden all his officers of his household and of the exchequer that they should neither give us nor lend us anything whatever for the sustenance of our household ; and we have remained at Midhurst in order to wait for his good pleasure and his pardon, and we will at any rate proceed after him in the best manner that we shall be able, as at ten or twelve leagues from his household, until we may be able to recover his good pleasure, for which we have great desire. Wherefore we especially entreat you, that on your return from Canterbury, you would come towards us, for we have great need of your

aid and your counsel. Given under (our privy seal at Midhurst, the 14th day of June)."

"Domino Comiti Lincolnie.—Edward, &c. au Counte de Nicole, &c., saluz e cheres amitez. Sachez, sire, qe dymenge le xiii jour de Join venismes a Midherst, la ou nous trovastes nostre seignur le Roy nostre pere, e le Lundy prochain pur aukunes paroles qe lui furent dites qe avoient este entre nous e levesqe de Cestre, il est ansi coruce ove nous, qil nous ad defendu qe nous ne seoms si hardi de venir en sun hostel ne nul de nostre mesnee, e ad defendu a trestoutz ses gentz de sun hostel e del eschecker qil ne nous donnent ne nous prestant nulle rien pur sustenance de nostre hostel, e nous sumes demorez a Midherst pur attendre sa bone volonte e sa grace, e irrons totes foiz apres lui en la meillore manere qe nous purrons, come a diz leues ou a duze de sun hostel, tant qe nous puissons recovrir sa bone volonte, de quoi nous avoms graunt desir. Pur qoi vous prioms especialment qe a vostre retourner de Canterbirs viegne devers nous, kar nous avoms grant mester de vostre aide e vostre consaille. Donne souz, &c. ut supra."

The king, in fact, had passed through Midhurst on this occasion in his way from Guildford, and on the very day of this reproof to his son, had continued his journey by Cocking to Chichester, and afterwards by Arundel and Lewes to Canterbury, where he arrived July 6. The prince, it will be seen, followed out his intention of keeping at a respectful distance from his father, on the same line of road.

This severity of Edward I to his son is also correctly referred to in the record of a judicial sentence soon afterwards. Roger de Hecfham (Heigham, Hyam), a Baron of the exchequer, having given judgment against William de Brewes (Braose) in a suit by which Maria, widow of W. de Braose,* claimed 800 marcs from him, had been grossly insulted by him in open court with reproaches: "Roger, Roger," he exclaimed, "now you have got what you have long been wishing

* Maria, daughter of William de Roos, was the third wife of William de Braose, Lord of Bramber, who died 1290. William the younger was his eldest son and heir, by his first wife Isabella, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. He was of unthrifty habits, and sold the Welsh estates. (See Dallaway's Bramber, p. 174.)

for, my shame and loss, and I will repay you for it." For this contempt of court, W. de Brewes was made to walk publicly from the King's Bench to the Exchequer bareheaded, and without his belt, in order to ask pardon of the judge, and was then committed to the Tower. The official report of this incident (*Placitor. Abbrev.*, p. 256) alludes to such disrespect to the king's officers being "especially odious to the king, as was openly shown of late, when the said king had removed his first-born and dearest son Edward from his household for nearly half a year, because he had uttered certain gross and bitter words to a certain officer of his; nor would he permit his own son to come into his presence until he had made satisfaction for the offence to the said officer."

When the prince found himself thus left destitute on the borders of Sussex, the usual supplies to his household being cut off, his suite was at once dismissed, and his first care naturally was to procure some money for his necessary expenses. Accordingly he wrote several letters on the very day of his disgrace, one to the Bishop of Chichester:—

"To the Bishop Elect and Confirmed of Chichester, health.

"As on account of the special affection that we have for our very dear clerk, Sire Wautier Reignaud,* keeper of our wardrobe, and for the good services which he has long rendered us, and yet does from day to day, we are anxious to make and procure his honour, profit, and advancement by ourselves and our friends; we beg you, as especially and as cordially as we can, that for charity's sake, and for love of us, you would be pleased to give our said clerk a prebend in your church of Chichester as soon as a convenient time shall occur, and for this we shall be especially bound to you for profit and honour, if you so will."

His motive for writing so immediately to the bishop was, probably, to secure a promise from him before the news of his disgrace could reach him. John Langton, who had been appointed Bishop a few weeks previous (1305-1337), and who afterwards built the noble south window and the spire of his cathedral, bore the same name, and may have been of the same

* The name occurs frequently, and in various forms, with the usual disregard of orthography. Reynolds would be the ordinary form in modern English.

family as the Bishop of Chester, who had been the occasion of his punishment. He had been master of the rolls, and then chancellor, in 1292, which dignity he retained till 1302. On the prince becoming king, he unscrupulously supported the favorite Gavaston, and was in consequence reappointed chancellor, and so continued until he finally retired, from the overwhelming unpopularity of his party, to his see of Chichester, in May, 1310. When violently attacked in 1315 by John Earl de Warenne, whom he had excommunicated for living in adultery, he summoned his servants and friends to his help, and imprisoned the earl (V. Godwyn de Præs.)

A similar letter to Richard de Swinefeld, Bishop of Hereford (1282-1317), urges on him the fulfilment of a promise to give "the prebend which shall next be voided in his church," to the same "Walter Regnaud, who had done him great services ever since childhood," and promising in return "to do anything which should turn to the bishop's honour and profit." The bearer of the letter, John de Bohun, one of the family of the Earls of Hereford, was probably one of the dismissed attendants of his suite, and the letter would serve to disguise the motive of his departure.

The same request was also written to Thomas de Button, Bishop of Exeter (1292-1307), but with reproaches on his delay hitherto:—"Although you answered that you were willing to comply with our request, yet you have as yet done nothing, nor replied to our letters, at which we marvel greatly, we therefore entreat you afresh, as cordially as we can, that you would be pleased to give the very next prebend vacant to him." Private patrons were also applied to on the same day, as appears by the following entry in the Roll: "*Consimilis littera dirigitur Domino Johanni de Northwode, item Domino Willelmo de Echingham, item Domino Roberto de Burghesshe mutatis mutandis.*"

A letter of the same date to Walter Reignaud, on whose behalf these applications were made, reveals to us the urgency of his wants, and his cautious pride to keep up appearances.

"To Sir Walter Reignaud, &c.—Inasmuch as our lord the king is so angry with us on account of the Bishop of Chester, that he has prohibited us or any one of our suite from entering his household, and has also forbidden the officers of his house-

hold and of the exchequer to give or lend us anything for the sustenance of our household, we send to you, that you may devise means to send us money in great haste for the sustenance of our household, and do not in any manner show anything of the wants which touch us to the Bishop of Chester, nor to any person belonging to the exchequer. And send us also wax and other things which belong to our wardrobe. Given at Midhurst, the 14th day of June."

To send round begging letters for church preferment to bishops, and others, would probably not occur nowadays to any prince in distress for money, as the very first thing to be done. We have already seen that, only two days after, he applied to the archbishop on a matter evidently dear to him—his stud at Ditchling.

The first letters written after quitting Midhurst are dated from Sengelson (Singleton), June 18th, a small village south of Midhurst, where he was probably attracted by the Earl of Arundel's hunting seat at Downley, and relate, like so many others, to the interest of his friends in the church. One requests Sir Richard de Bingham not to take away the tithes of Blitheworth from the prebend of William de Melton, canon of Southwell, "*que nulle novelerie ne soit comence envers lui encontre reson.*" Another begs the favour of William de Gainsburgh,* Bishop of Worcester (1302-8), towards his friend James de Thikkenes, just presented to "Estenton," in his diocese.

The prince does not appear to have visited Chichester, as his next letters are dated from "Aldinbourn," June 20, where the Bishop of Chichester's palace formed the usual halting-place to royal travellers; one is to the Bishop of Exeter about the promotion of one of his clerks to a living; another to the chancellor,† wishing him to appoint "Monsire Rauf de Sandwyz et Monsire Edward Charles" as justices, to try certain persons, now in Newgate, on a charge of murder. These interferences with the regular course of justice occur so fre-

* A learned Franciscan, who had made himself famous at Rome by his eloquence. He died in France September 17, 1307, on a journey to Rome, and was immediately succeeded by Walter Reynaud, whose name so often occurs in these letters.

† William de Hamilton was made chancellor January 16, 1305, and died in office, April 20, 1307. (Lord Campbell's Chan.)

quently, that we must suppose them to be customary, and that the judges were in those times continually exposed to the private solicitations of friends. Ralph de Sandwich was appointed a justice of the King's Bench in 1289. On the same day he moved on to "Terryng" (Terring), and wrote from thence an urgent letter to "Maistre Johan de Bedeford," Archdeacon of London, entreating him, as executor to the late Bishop of London (Richard de Gravesend, 1280-1305), to pay "Gautier Regnaud" 50 marcs (£33 6s. 8d.) for his use, in as much haste as possible, (*a notre oeps le plus en haste que vous purrez pur l'amur de nous,*) Henry de Bluntesdon, the king's almoner, having consented to lend him this money. Some other letters on money matters are also dated from Terring, June 21. The next day he concerns himself about getting some new clothes fit to appear in, on the expected visit of the queen's mother and brother from France. Queen Mary was the Dowager Queen of France, widow of Philip the Third, who died 1285. She was daughter of Henry, Duke of Brabant, and mother of Margaret, the second queen of Edward I.

"To Sire Wauter Renaud, Treasurer, &c., health.

"Inasmuch as we have heard that the Queen Mary of France and "Monsire Lowys," her son, will soon come to England, and that it will be our duty to meet them, and accompany them as long as they shall be in these parts, and therefore it will become us to be well mounted with palfreys, and well apparelled with robes and other things against their coming; wherefore we command you that you will cause to be bought for our use two palfreys, handsome and suitable for our riding, and two saddles, with the best reins that we have in the care of Gilbert de Taunton, and the best and finest cloths that you can find for sale in London for two or three robes for our use, with fur, and satin, and all things proper for them. And these things, when you shall have procured them, cause them to come to us wherever we may be, and in the most haste you can—June 22."

On June 23 and 24, the letters are dated from Percinges (Perching), a small place close to the Downs, near Edburton.

In one the prince requests Isabella Bardulf to give the church of Stapleford (probably in co. Wilts), about to be

resigned by Hugh the rector, to Peter de Brembre, a clerk of the king. Another is addressed to his brother-in-law, Ralph de Mount Hermer, who had become the second husband of his sister, the Princess Joan of Acre, who, it will be seen in a subsequent letter, befriended the prince in his present emergency:—"To 'Monsire Rauf de Mohermer, Counte de Gloucestre e de Hereford,' health. Because you gladly receive good news of our health, we let you know that we were well and in good condition of body, thanks to God, when these letters were written, the which we desire much to know of you. And because you have by your letters required that we should not believe Richard Runcyn, merchant, in any news which he may tell us to aggrieve you, we let you know that we will neither believe him, nor any one else, as to any evil that they shall speak of you, but we shall be much displeased (saveroms grant maugre) with all those who shall speak ill of you to us. May our Lord preserve you. At Percinges, the 23d day of June."

In the Subsidy Roll of 24 Edward I, 1296 (Carlton Ride MSS.), under "Villata de Poning," the two principal taxpayers were, "Michael Poning, 38s. 8d.; William de Perching, 15s. 1½d. It was, apparently, at the latter's house that the prince was lodged, but the head of the Poyning family was also in the retinue of Edward I.

On the next day and the following, letters are dated from "Radmilde" (Rodmill, near Lewes). Two are to bespeak the favour of the justices of the King's Bench, Henry Spigurnell and Roger Brabanzon, towards John de Charleton, Vitalis Cots, and Vitalis Segwyn; one to his treasurer, about his rents in Wales and Cheshire, another to his two brothers, the Princes Thomas and Edmund, then mere children, inquiring after their health.

On June 25th the prince moved to Lewes, from whence several letters are dated on that day and the 26th. Three several letters entreat the Justices Peter Malorre, Roger de Brabanzon, and Gilbert de Roubery,* to show all the favour, help, and friendship that can be reasonably allowed, to the

* Peter Mallore was a justice of the Common Pleas, Gilbert de Roubery of the King's Bench.

“Monsire Henri de Leyburne, et Monsire ffouke Paiforer, knights of the king’s good servant William de Leyburne, in their business, so that they may be able to perceive that our prayer has aided them with you, as we desire it, and we shall be the more especially bound to you.” Three more letters were written from Lewes on June 26th to Ralph de Hengham, a justice of the Common Pleas, to William Howard, another justice, and to “his beloved in God, the Prior of ‘Buttele’ (Butley, in Suffolk), all interceding for Master Edmund of London, who had been an old servant “of our dear lady and mother, whom God assoil,” and who was engaged in the matter “of the wardenship of the house of St. Thomas d’Acre* of London.”

Several letters of June 27th are dated from “Halynggelegh” (Hellingly). One to the Chief Justice Brabanzon, on behalf of “Maukyn le Armurer, burgois de Lundres,” detained in prison; another to the Prior of Carlisle, about a pension; and a third to the Abbot of Middleton.

“Edward, &c. to the Prior of ‘Middelton,’ health.—We dearly thank you for that you have so courteously received and understood the letters and the entreaties which we sent, and made to you lately by our well-beloved clerk Ingelard de Warle. And concerning the pension that you have given and granted our said clerk by reason of our entreaties, with the understanding that you will cause it to be increased to him hereafter, when it can be well done, so we let you know that on account of our said clerk, we are willing to be more particularly bound to you, in those matters which you have to do with us. Given under, &c. at Helinggelegh, the 27th day of June.”

Similar subjects engaged the prince’s attention on June 28 and 29, writing from Battle. The flow of petitions for preferment on his friends, is only relieved occasionally by topics relating to his own habits and situation. Nor was he easily satisfied as to church benefices, as appears by the following letter of reproach on so poor a one having been given to his friend W. de Melton, who, on the prince’s accession to

* This Augustine hospital was in the parish of St. Mary Colechurch, on the site of Archbishop Thomas à Becket’s birthplace, and was founded by his sister, Agnes de Helles. The earliest warden mentioned in Dugdale’s Monasticon is Thomas Sallowe, who died 1371.

the throne, was appointed keeper of his wardrobe, and was afterwards, in 1308, intrusted with the care of the Great Seal, when accompanying the king to Aquitaine.

“Edward, to his beloved in God the Prior and Convent of Coventry, health.—We have often requested you on behalf of our dear clerk Sir William de Melton, to whom we are much bound for the good service which he has done, and still does to us daily, that you would advance him, as quickly as a fitting time should offer itself, to a benefice of Holy Church, which may belong to your gift; and that, in the meanwhile, you would grant him a suitable annual pension, until such time when you may be able so to advance him; and now we have heard that you wish to present him to the church of Sutham (Southam, co. Warw.), which is not worth 30 marcs (£20) a year more than the pension, and such a benefice we do not hold at all fitting for his estate, wherefore we beg you, that you would please to do what we have often requested of you before this time; that is to say, that you will grant our said clerk a suitable annual pension, until you may have advanced him to such benefice of Holy Church as may be fitting for his condition, and if you are charged with any pension to any other clerk, you may in the meanwhile release yourselves by the said church of Sutham. And we wonder greatly at you, because that you delay so long to do our request in this little matter; and we much wish that you would do it now, or that you would refuse it outright, if you should see good to do so, (*vodrions molt que vous le fiessez ore, ou le refusisiez tout outre, si vous veissiez que bon feust*); and on this matter send us back your pleasure by your letters. Given ‘à la Battaille,’ the 28th day of June.”

Abstracts of other letters from Battle also appear. One to the Earl of Lincoln, as an executor of Queen Eleanor, wishing him to pay her debt to Oliver de Ingham, “for the release of the soul of the Lady Queen, his mother.” By another Latin abstract, the arrears of his groom’s wages are applied for:—

“Brother John de Burne and Sir Oliver de Wisset, executors of the Lord Earl de Warenne, are entreated for the love of the prince to give assistance more speedily to John de Dychenynge (Ditchling), keeper of the prince’s colts, in those matters in which the said lord earl was bound to him con-

cerning the time in which he served him. Given at Battle, 28th day of June."

From Battle the prince proceeded by Tenterden and Wye to Canterbury, where he arrived July 5th, and made a short stay, which must have been by the express permission of the king, who was there also, and who so far relaxed his severity as to allow his son a few necessities for his household, and permitted two of his suite to join him. Perhaps the royal visitors from France were then arrived, and occasioned this slight change. The prince, however, went on by Chartham, Mortlake, and Lambeth to Windsor, where, by order of the king, he remained from July 24 till the meeting of the Parliament, summoned for September 15.

As it is better to confine our attention to Sussex matters only in this Society, without venturing too far upon general history, the letters subsequent to those from Battle will only be referred to, in order to complete the history of his disfavour with the king. From Tenterden he wrote to his sister, probably Elizabeth Countess of Hereford, a letter apparently intended by its professions of obedience to be shown to the king.

"To the Sister of the Prince (sorori Domini).—Very dear sister, do not be dismayed at these news which you tell us they chatter in the parts where you are (*ne vous esmaez de ces noveles que vous nous avez maunde qom gaungle es parties ou vous estes*), about our lord the king our father, and us; for it is quite right that he should say, and do, and ordain concerning us whatever pleases him, and we shall be always ready to obey all his wishes; for whatever he does at his own pleasure, so is it for our profit, and for love of us, and be pleased not to listen to anything to the contrary whatever they may tell you. May the Lord preserve you. Given at Tenterden, July 1."

The next day the prince writes to his stepmother, Queen Margaret, with whom he seems to have kept on good terms, asking in a circuitous manner for a share of the church pre ferment vacant by the death of a Sussex pluralist:

"To the Queen, health.—Very dear lady, because we desire very much the advancement of our dear clerk Sir Walter Renaud, keeper of our wardrobe, as we are bound for the

good services which he has largely done for us, and we have heard that our clerk, late Sir Giles Daudenard, who held one prebend in Rypon, and another in the church of Chichester, and a third in Hastings, is summoned to God, whereby the gift of these three prebends belongs to our lord the king our father, whom we neither can nor dare request on our own behalf, concerning that or other needs, as you know, my lady, we entreat your highness (*ma dame, priom votre hautesse*) to be pleased to be of help towards the said our lord and father, as if on your own behalf, my lady, and that for your sake he may be willing to advance the said clerk to the prebend of Rypon, inasmuch as he often promised him advancement. Very dear lady, may our Lord preserve and keep you by his power for ever. Given at Wy, the 2d day of July."

Edward I had kept his Christmas at Wye Court, in Scraye, co. Kent, a manor of the Abbot of Battle, before his coronation. (Thos. Wals.)

If half the applications in favour of Walter Renaud had been successful, he would have been a great pluralist; but the prince's anxiety to promote his old tutor does him honour. By origin the son of a Windsor baker, Walter Renaud had risen by his talents into the confidence of the court, and Edward I had intrusted him with the education of his son, and had given him the living of Wyberton, co. Linc. Edward II seized the first opportunity, on his accession, of making him Bishop of Worcester, and in 1310 he made him Chancellor, and afterwards, with all his court, attended his enthronization as Archbishop of Canterbury in April, 1314. After all these favours, however, he shamefully deserted the king when in difficulties, and died in alarm at the reproaches of the pope for his subservience to the queen.

From Lambeth, July 21, the prince writes again to his brother-in-law the Earl of Gloucester.

"Because you have so kindly given up your goods to us (*si bonement abaundone vos biens*), we thank you very dearly; and we let you know that our lord the king our father does not consider himself so ill treated by us (or, 'is not so ill pleased with us,' *ne se tient mie asi mal paye de nous*,) as some people perhaps have made you believe, for he wishes,

and has commanded, that we should have of his bounty (de soen largement) what is needful for us."

The Countess of Gloucester had, indeed, lent him her seal, probably to authorize the delivery of the goods thus referred to, and this he carefully returned to her on this same July 21, "in the chamber of the Archbishop at Lambeth by the hands of his clerk, Ingelhard de Warle."

In evidence of the prince's statement as to his father's "bounty," we find entered in the accounts of the king's wardrobe at this time (C. R. MSS. EB, 2042) an advance of 100 marcs (£66 13s. 4d.), paid to Walter Reynald, by command of the king, for the prince's expenses. In spite of the temporary stoppage of supplies, it is a curious proof of the abundant use of spices and groceries at this time, to observe the large quantities delivered during this very year for the use of the prince's household out of the stores of the king's wardrobe. (*Liberat. cere et specerie fact. per Rad. de Stokes cler. mag. garderober anno 33, W N, 1974 in Carlton R. MSS.*)

"Wax, to Sir Walter Reynaud and William de London for the expenses of the household of the Lord Prince of Wales, —1727 lb.

"Almonds, to the same, &c., 107 lb.; rice (rys), 200 lb.; Sugar, 701½ lb.; electuaries (fruit jellies, &c.), 70 lb.; gingerbread (gingebr'), 3 boxes, of which 1 Indian, wt. 6 lb.; festucad?, 2 boxes; ginger (zinzib'), 40 lb.; cytonal (candied orange or mint?), 3 lb.; canell (cinnamon in powder was strewed on bread, or with fish), 21 lb.; galanga (an Indian aromatic), 1 lb.; round pepper, 44 lb.; long pepper, 12 lb.; nutmegs (nuc' muscat), 2 lb.; pickle? (gars, garus), 3 lb.; mace, 1 lb.; saffron (crocus), 7 lb.; fennel seed (grana fenili), 26 lb.; cummin (cyminum), 14 lb.; Malaga? figs, (fic' Mallek, xv fraell), 15 baskets, 73 lb.; Malaga raisins (rasem Mallek), 6 baskets; turrill? mace (macem turrill), 26 baskets; turrill figs, 2 baskets; dates (dattill, 1 bal), 1 bale, wt. 252 lb.; of currants (racem corinth) and cubebs (quibeb), though much was used by the king, none seems to have been given to the prince."

From Windsor he generally dates "au Park" simply, or sometimes "à Park de Wyndesore." From thence a letter is thus addressed to the last Earl de Warenne:—"To his dear

cousin, John de Warenne, health, &c.—We entreat you to be pleased, for the love of us, to give one or two does (*une deym ou deux*) to our well-beloved John de Montenev. May our Lord preserve you. At Windsor, the 1st day of August.”

But beyond his love of venison, was his anxiety to have his favorite Gavaston again with him. To gain this point he applied very circuitously through his sister, who was to ask the queen to ask the king to grant this favour:—“Edward, &c. to his very dear sister my Lady Elizabeth, Countess of Holland and Hereford and of Essex, health and dear friendship.—Right glad are we of the good health of our lord the king our father, and of my lady the queen, and of yours, which we have learnt by your letters, and as to ours, we let you know that we were in good health, thanks to God, when these letters were written; and inasmuch as our lord the king has granted us two valets, whom we love and have loved, to dwell with us, that is to say, John de Hausted and John de Weston, we entreat and request you especially to be pleased to beg my lady the queen, our dear mother, that she would be pleased to beg the king to be pleased to grant two more valets to dwell with us; that is to say, Gilbert de Clare and ‘Perot’ (Peter) de Gavaston; for if we had these two, with the others whom we have, we should be much relieved from the anguish which we have endured, and yet daily suffer, from the restrictions at the pleasure of our lord the king. Very dear sister, may our Lord preserve you. Given under our privy seal, at the park of Wyndesore, the 4th day of August.”

Of the two favorites for whom he thus petitioned, Gilbert de Clare was either the son of the Princess Joan of Acre, whose present husband bore the title of Earl of Gloucester until Gilbert was of age, or he may have been the cousin of that name, knighted at the same time with the prince, son of Thomas de Clare. Peter de Gavaston was the other, and the use of the familiar diminutive “Perot,” when mentioning him, who was afterwards his notorious favorite, denotes their intimacy. Indeed the tenacity with which the prince clung to his friends throughout is a remarkable feature in his character. Some entries in the household expenses of the king in 1299 (C. Ride MSS.), mark that as the year when Arnald de Gavaston, the old Gascon knight, first came to England, and his son

Peter was probably then admitted to the court. "To the lords Arnald de Gavaston, R. de Caupenne, and Bertram Pavisalls, who were lately in the king of France's prison, and escaped, for their expenses in journeying through Brabant and passing into England, £7 10s." And in 1302, "two cloths of silk were granted by the king for the ceremonies of the funeral of Arnald de Gavaston, knight, deceased at Winchester."

Two days after, August 6, he made a more direct attempt to interest the queen on this point, in almost the same words, thanking her for having gained him "the two valets of his chamber to live with him as they used to do," but urging her to intercede for Clare and Gavaston.

To his sister, the Countess of Gloucester, on the same day, who had invited him to come to her, he is obliged to explain his situation: "Know, my very dear sister, that we would willingly come to you, but our lord the king has commanded our stay in these parts near Wyndesore between this and the parliament, or until otherwise is ordered, and we wish to obey his commands in all things without doing anything to the contrary. Very dear sister, may the Lord have you in his keeping."

Though compelled to live at Windsor, the prince did not pass a dull life. There are letters of his sending to buy two long swords for valets, and six small horns, and two horses at the price of £30. John Lalemand, keeper of seven of his horses, is sent to the care of the Abbot of Reading, to be cured of his wounded hand by the good surgeon there. Greyhounds and other dogs also were sent to him; and having got a white greyhound, he writes to beg his sister, the Countess of Hereford, to send him her white greyhound, that he might have puppies from them. Hugh le Despenser is thanked for sending him "raisins and wine," which, he says, came just at the right time (*ne poet a mellore hore aver venu*), as he was going to dinner.

In due time the prince was restored to favour, and was, a short time after, May 22, 1307, knighted by the king in great state, together with 265 young nobles. We have seen how zealous he was for his friends, and that two of his present correspondents were made chancellors by him when king, but

he unfortunately carried up to the throne his enmities also; and the bitter remembrance of his disgrace caused him outrageously to persecute the Bishop of Chester as soon as he had the power. He confiscated his property, imprisoned his person, and for several years braved the anger of the church and the pope before he would release him. By a curious change of parts, the bishop ultimately stood firm in his loyalty to the king in the civil troubles, and was excommunicated for so doing by the very man, Archbishop Walter Reynaud, whom the king had loaded with such favours. Gavaston's fate is well known. Edward I, while he felt it his duty to remove him from his son, treated him with much consideration, and provided for his support honorably by a pension of 100 marcs, which was to begin from the day he crossed over from Dover to Witsand, on his way to Gascony. (Writ dated Lanercost, Feb. 26, 1307—Rymer's *Fœd.*)

On his immediate recall by Edward II from abroad, the king's bounty was exercised freely on him, the Earls of Warenne and Arundel sanctioning as witnesses the grant of the earldom and lands of Cornwall, at Dumfries, August 6, 1307 (Rymer's *Fœd.*), and his care extended even to his favorite servants. "To Richard Dragon, groom (*garcioni*) of Peter de Gavaston, when ill at London, 5*s.*; to Robert le Momenour, groom of Peter de Gavaston, coming to the king from Ponthieu with letters of his lord, by the king's gift, 6*s.* 8*d.* to buy him a tunic; to Robert Rufford, valet, hurt in coming from Ponthieu in the suite of his lord, to cure his hurt, 16*s.*" And £500 was given Gavaston on his return, under the name of repaying a former loan (*Devon's Iss. Exch.*, 119). By the connivance of the Bishop of Chichester, when chancellor, who allowed the king the uncontrolled use of the great seal for a few days, Gavaston was, on his second banishment, appointed Governor of Ireland; and it must be mentioned, to his honour, that he displayed his usual skill and courage while there, in subduing the rebels of Munster and Thomond. Profuse grants were made to him; and on his solemn funeral at Langley in 1314, two years after his death, the king paid all the expenses (£160 6*s.* 8*d.*, in *C. R. MSS.*), and attended the ceremony with Archbishop Walter Reynaud, four other bishops, fourteen abbots, and many barons and dignitaries.