

Elizabeth, Duchess of Clarence.

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Seven of the nine daughters-in-law of EDWARD III. are familiar names to those who love to wander in the byeways of history. JOAN, "the Fair Maid of Kent," the LOLLARD PRINCESS OF WALES,—the beautiful VIOLANTE OF MILAN,—BLANCHE OF LANCASTER, sung by Chaucer,—CONSTANCE OF CASTILLA, loser and winner of a crown,—KATHERINE SWYNFORD, loftiest of sinners,—ISABEL OF CASTILLA, another misjudged Lollard,—and ELEANOR BOHUN, the strong-minded daughter of a stronger-minded mother!

But the other two are known by little more than name; and these are, ELIZABETH OF ULSTER, first wife of LIONEL OF ANTWERP, DUKE OF CLARENCE,—and JOAN DE HOLLAND, second wife of EDMUND OF LANGLEY, DUKE OF YORK. How far JOAN DE HOLLAND was worth knowing may perhaps be questioned; for her character and temper were scarcely attractive: but the object of this Paper is to introduce to the nineteenth century ELIZABETH DE BURGH, COUNTESS OF ULSTER and DUCHESS OF CLARENCE, with especial reference to those points of her life and death which connect her with the County Palatine of CHESTER.

This lady is the more remarkable, since she was the only Irishwoman on whose head ever rested the fleur-de-lis coronet of a PRINCESS OF ENGLAND. And an Irishwoman she was, even more in disposition than by descent. Her temperament was thoroughly Celtic,—fervid and impulsive, loving and affectionate, generous even to the detriment of justice, and entirely regardless of consequences.

Of her personal appearance no more is known than that she was a handsome woman. The only statue or portrait of her on record was a little brass statuette which stood seventh in the row of those placed on that North side of the tomb of QUEEN PHILIPPA, in Westminster Abbey, now worn perfectly smooth.*

As regards her failings, one stands out prominently on every membrane of her royal father-in-law's *Issue Rolls*,—that the moment money touched her hands, it melted away in a most inscrutable manner. Whatever were the amount of her income—and it was always ample—a month after quarter-day ELIZABETH was certain to be penniless!

The 'Irish Princess' was not devoid of royal blood in her own veins. She was the heir of the eldest branch of the great House of De Burgh, which asserted an *unproved* descent from Charlemagne and from Hugh Capet; and could prove descent, in the female line, from King EDWARD I., as well as from the De Clares of Gloucester. The genealogical table I have prepared will make this clear; and it also shows the descendants of ELIZABETH herself down to the point where her line merged finally in the Royal Family, by the marriage of Anne Mortimer with RICHARD, EARL OF CAMBRIDGE.

TO WILLIAM, EARL OF ULSTER, history attributes a fine and amiable character. So much can hardly be said of his wife, MAUDE of Lancaster; for she was not only of a timid and irresolute disposition, but of a complaining, querulous temper. Their only child, ELIZABETH DE BURGH, was born in Ireland,—perhaps at Carrickfergus Castle,† which was her father's—on the 6th of July, 1332.§

The first event of the child's life was orphanhood. WILLIAM DE BURGH died, not by the visitation of God, but by the enmity of man. He was murdered in a family feud, which almost possessed the character of an agrarian outrage. His uncle Edmund fell with him. Seven years later, their cousins, Edmund and Raymond de Burgh, were pardoned "for the death of Edmund, son of Richard de Burgh, and for all other their crimes, except for the offence

* Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, I., Part 2, p. 124.

† Granted to Earl William Nov. 15, 1328.—*Rot. Pat.* 2 Edw. III., Part 2.

§ *I. P. M. Willielmi Com. Ulton'*, 7 Edw. III., 39.

against our peace of the death of WILLIAM, EARL OF ULSTER.* The utmost age of the unfortunate Earl was only twenty-three,—some say only twenty,—when his life was thus taken by his own kinsmen, on his way to Knockfergus, on the 7th of June, 1333.

When the news of her widowhood reached the girl so bereaved—for in all probability she was not yet twenty,—MAUDE fled in terror from the land stained with her husband's blood, taking with her their little daughter of barely one year old. They landed on the English coast shortly before the 12th of August.† MAUDE threw herself and her child on the protection of King EDWARD III., her own second cousin. They were very kindly received, and the King made provision at once for their residence in England, at first intended to be only temporary. But eleven years passed before MAUDE returned to Ireland, if indeed she ever went back at all; and ELIZABETH was not to revisit her native land until twenty-eight summers had shone upon her head.

A hundred marks per annum were allotted for the maintenance of the baby "heir of Ulster," who, says King EDWARD, "holds of us in chief;"§ but this sum was afterwards found insufficient, and eighty marks in addition were given.‡

MAUDE soon discovered that the sum appropriated to her daughter's support had to be drawn upon for her own. ELIZABETH'S Irish tenants, having that aversion to rent which appears to have been characteristic of Ireland in the fourteenth century as well as in the nineteenth, declined to remit a penny, and the Countess was thereby rendered destitute.|| She appealed to the King to coerce her refractory tenants. This was beyond his power: but he did all he could, which was to relieve his distressed kinswoman out of his own pocket. A grant of 200 marks per annum was issued to MAUDE, in addition to the sum paid for ELIZABETH. Subsequent gifts raised MAUDE'S annual income to an amount equivalent to £4,000 of our money; but her complaints of poverty were not thereby appeased.

* *Rot. Pat.* 14., Edw. III., Part 1.

† Letters of Attorney were granted on that day to the Countess as Executrix of the Earl, and renewed on Nov. 28th for one year.—*Rot. Pat.* 7 Edw. III., Part 2.

§ *Rot. Pat.* 7 Edw. III., Part 2, dat. Dec. 22.

‡ *Ibid.*, 8 Edw. III., Part 2, dat. Sept. 28.

|| *Ibid.*, 9 Edw. III., Part 2, dat. Mar. 3; and 10 *ib.*, Part 1, dat. Mar. 18.

At Antwerp, on the 29th of November, 1338, was born the fourth son of EDWARD III. and Philippa. He received the name of LIONEL, in honour, it is said, of the lions borne in his mother's Hainault shield.* He was committed to the charge of Margaret, or Margery, de Mounceux, as nurse;† the State governess was Margery, Lady de la Mote. The royal children kept a minstrel for their exclusive benefit, named Le Gayt, upon whom they bestowed a gay tunic, value 6s. 8d., in reward for his music.‡

But it was not for LIONEL of Antwerp that ELIZABETH DE BURGH was originally destined. On the 6th of April, 1340, King EDWARD granted the marriage of the heiress of Ulster‡ to his brother-in-law, Raynold, Duke of Gueldres (husband of his sister Alianora), for the benefit of Edward, his son and heir; and she was forbidden to marry any other person without royal licence. Thirteen months later, a petition was sent to the King from the Bishops, Nobles, and Commons of Ireland praying that (as the King's grant has it)

"for their great comfort and safety, and as an incentive to the devotion and fidelity of the people of that country, most favourably affected to our Royal House, we would that our most worthy ELIZABETH, daughter and heir of WILLIAM DE BURGH, late EARL OF ULSTER, deceased (who held of us *in capite*), now under our guardianship, should be married to LIONEL, our most dear son."||

The original proposition, it is thus evident, emanated from the Irish; but Edward took it into grave consideration, and finally decided on marrying the heiress of Ulster to his son, instead of to his nephew. The petition of the Irish was also promoted by the warm intercession of the Countess MAUDE, who did not wish her child to marry a foreigner, and who had probably no objection to see her a PRINCESS. King EDWARD therefore granted the request, as soon as the parties should have attained a proper age.

The parties, according to the modern view of things, were a long way off the proper age; for though the bride had reached the ripe maturity of *ten* years old, the years of the bridegroom were restricted to *three*, when, in the summer of 1342, it pleased King

* Longman's *Edw. III.*, i., 143. † *Rot. Exit. Pasc.* 25 Edw. III., etc.

‡ *Rot. Cust. Liberorum Domini Regis*, 94, 7.

§ The scribe has mistaken the name of the heiress, calling her Margaret in this entry, as in another memorandum he has called her ISABEL. That Elizabeth was her name the proofs are irrefragable; nor could any other person have been styled "fil' et her, Will' de Burgo, nuper Com' Ulton."

|| *Rymer's Fœdera*, v. 247; dat. May 5.

EDWARD to consider that a suitable period had arrived. Preparations were therefore made for the wedding. The masons were ordered to hasten the work at the Tower of London, in the new chapel of which palace (that of St. Peter ad Vincula) the ceremony was to take place. The stone required cost £16. The hall of the Tower was splendidly hung, and a special chamber was adorned for the accommodation of the bridal pair. These decorations cost no less than a hundred pounds.*

The day of the marriage is much disputed. Some writers give June 27th as the date; others, July 27th: and either may be true, for the *Issue Roll* decides this matter only so far as to state that the event had already taken place on the 9th of September. But if the day be a disputed question, the year has hitherto been far more so.† Several have been suggested, but the popular favour appears about equally distributed between 1352 and 1361. The question of year is, however, set completely at rest by the testimony of the *Issue Roll* for 1342, given below.

No record remains to tell who were present on this occasion. The bride's grandmother and namesake, ELIZABETH de Burgh, was in England at this time, and was very likely in the chapel of St. Peter, when the heiress of Ulster was made a PRINCESS OF ENGLAND. But one very interesting document remains, which may be called the jeweller's bill for the attire of the bride. She was decked, we thence learn, with a golden circlet, set with gems, a jewelled head-dress, brooch, and girdle, and her wedding ring was of gold, set with a single ruby. A literal translation of this part of the record may not be uninteresting:—

“Monday, the 9th day of September, [1342.]

To BARTHOLOMEW DE BOURGHASSE, into his own hands, in settlement of every penny which the said Bartholomew lately paid to certain men of London, for divers jewels from them bought for the use of ELIZABETH, daughter of WILLIAM, Earl of Ulster, for the espousal, between LIONEL, our Lord the King's son, and the aforesaid ELIZABETH, lately solemnized at the Tower of London, viz. :—

For a golden coronet, set with stones, for a gold girdle mounted with pearls, a brooch and a head-dress similarly garnished, and a ring mounted with a ruby,—all which jewels were presented to the said Elizabeth by our Lord the King by grants under his privy seal.....ccclx li.”§

* *Rot. Exil., Michs.*, 16 Edw. III., dat. July 22.

† All previous notices of this Princess are full of contradictions.

§ *Rot. Exil., Michs.*, 16 Edw. III.

Doubtless LIONEL was equally superb, but the style of his array is left to the imagination. Henceforward he was styled EARL OF ULSTER.

Five-and-twenty shillings, paid to William de Edyngdon (Bishop of Winchester) December 21st, 1343, for divers things bought by him for the marriage of LIONEL, completes the expenditure on this occasion.*

Nearly two years after this, the Countess MAUDE married a second time. She chose Ralph de Ufford, brother of Robert, Earl of Suffolk, a bluff, blunt soldier, very different from the gentle and graceful WILLIAM DE BURGH. Sir Ralph is supposed to have been a widower. His marriage with MAUDE took place about April, 1344;† and the issue of it was one daughter, named Maude like her mother, whose future is a *crux* to genealogists. She was certainly affianced, May 28th, 1350,§ to Thomas de Vere, Earl of Oxford; but she was almost as certainly *not* that Maude who became his wife and was the mother of his heir, Robert, Duke of Ireland. The fact that the King speaks of her as Maude *de Ufford*, in his confirmation of Bruseyard Chantry, in 1364, and yet places her among souls to be prayed for, as then dead,‡ might be held to shew that she died unmarried, were not her half-sister named with her, as Elizabeth *de Burgh*. With this baby daughter was the Countess Maude once more left a widow. Sir Ralph died "not within the four seas of England,"|| 1346, at Kilmainham Castle, April 9th, and in the following June his widow was in England.^a The Countess MAUDE resolved to try the matrimonial lottery no further, but to retire from society, by burying herself in the Priory of Campsey, co. Suffolk. She took the veil between August 9th, 1347, and April 25th, 1348,^b and we only hear of her once or twice again.

The "profession" of the Countess, of course, necessitated some provision for her daughters, who had hitherto resided with her. What became of the baby Maude is not told us; but ELIZABETH, now in her seventeenth year, was transferred to the

* *Rot. Ecit.*, Michs., 17 Edw. III.

† *Rot. Pat.*, 18 Edw. III.

§ *Ibid.*, 24 Edw. III., Part 1.

‡ *Ibid.*, 38 Edw. III., Part 1.

|| *I. P. M. Radulphi de Ufford*, 20 Edw. III., 16.

(a) *Rot. Pat.*, 20 Edw. III., Part 1.

(b) *Ibid.*, 21 Edw. III., Part 3, and 22 *ib.*, Part 2.

guardianship of her mother-in-law, QUEEN PHILIPPA, into whose custody her lands had already been given, on the 1st of January, 1347,* probably in anticipation of MAUDE's intended seclusion.

Meanwhile the husband of ELIZABETH had risen to high eminence. During the absences of his father and brother in France, from 1345 to 1348, Lionel was constituted "Regent of England," the King being, as he says in the Patent, "well assured of his fidelity and trustworthiness."† This faithful and trustworthy statesman of seven to ten years old sat on the Throne during the Session of Parliament, and opened the Parliament of 1351 in person.§ His principal residence during his Regency was at Reading.‡

From 1348 to 1352, nothing is seen of ELIZABETH. She was probably engaged in the quiet perfecting of her education, under the motherly care of QUEEN PHILIPPA. When she comes before us again, it is in the attractive character of a peace-maker. On the 23rd of April, 1352, "at the intercession of the COUNTESS OF ULSTER, our dearest daughter," the King pardoned WILLIAM THORNTON, of BURTON IN LONSDALE, Lancashire: he does not appear, however, to have been a very worthy subject for the royal girl's compassion, seeing that he stood convicted of three murders, of breaking prison in CLITHEROE CASTLE, and of subsequently repeating the latter offence, when caught and lodged in the Marshalsea.||

In 1353, a separate household was formed for the COUNTESS OF ULSTER, who had now attained her majority. Her attendant ladies were Petronilla de Pageham, who had been in her mother's service;^a Alice Dantre, afterwards damsel of Queen Philippa;^b Margaret Dyneley,^c and Maude de Pudyington.^d Nicholas Fladbury was her chaplain;^e and six persons are named at different times as her "varlets," of whom three are worthy to be noticed,—John de Hynton or Hylton, who remained in her service during her life;^f Reginald de Pypount, who had

* *Rot. Pat.*, 20 Edw. III., Part 3.

† *Ibid.*, 19 Edw. III., Part 1., dat. July 1; and 20 *ib.*, Part 2, dat. June 25.

‡ *Rot. Parl.* ii., 225, a. † *Rot. Pat.*, 20 and 21 Edw. III.

§ *Rot. Pat.*, 26 Edw. III., Part 1.

(a) *Rot. Exit., Pasc.*, 9, Edw. III., and *Rot. Pat.* 26 *ib.*

(b) *Rot. Pat.*, 33 Edw. III., and *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 35 *ib.*

(c) *Rot. Pat.*, 39 Edw. III., Part 1.

(d) *Ibid.*, 31 Edw. III., Part 1. This latter name savours somewhat of Cheshire.

(e) *Rot. Exit., Pasc.*, 33 *ib.* (f) *Ibid.*, 34 and 38 Edw. III.

been in her mother's household, and was afterwards in that of her daughter;* and GEOFFREY STUKELEY, who appears to have been ELIZABETH's personal attendant, as he is entrusted with her most important business; and follows his mistress in all her journies.† He had been transferred from the King's household, and returned thither on the death of ELIZABETH. On and after the 12th of March, 1353, the Princess's income was paid to herself, instead of being assigned to the Queen for her benefit; and it was apparently in this or the following year that ELIZABETH took up her residence with LIONEL.

The Princess was now twenty-two, the Prince sixteen years of age. As LIONEL was precocious both in mind and person, the difference was probably not very noticeable. LIONEL proved extremely tall—close upon seven feet in height—and his physical proportions were in keeping with his stature.§ In face he resembled his Flemish mother; his hair was light, his eyes blue. Barnes (in his *History of Edward III.*) tells us, in a shower of capitals, that the King “bore a particular Love for his Third Son born (but Second living), Prince Lionel,” who was “one of the Loveliest shape in the World.”‡ Of all the renowned sons of EDWARD III., LIONEL was considered the most graceful, most courteous, and most eloquent. His chief defect was—as defects often are—a good quality carried to excess. The very amiability of his disposition caused him to be rather deficient in moral courage. But in physical courage he was far from deficient; while to a nature of singular guilelessness and simplicity, he united the greatest gentleness.

In all the world was there no Prince hym like
 Of his stature, and of all semelnesse;
 Aboue all men within his hole kyngrike
 By the shulders he might be seene doutlesse;
 As a mayde in halle of gentilnesse,
 And in all places sonne to Retorike,
 And in the feld a Lyon marmorike.”

—Harding's *Chronicle*, c. 328.

Lionel's name rarely occurs as a purchaser of anything on his father's *Issue Rolls*; but when it does, it is generally connected

* *Rot. Exit. Michs.*, 31 *ib.*; *Rot. Pat.*, 21 *ib.*, Part 2, etc.

† *Rot. Exit. Pasc.* 28 *ib.*, etc. § Strickland's *Queens*, i., 556.

‡ Page 190.—Lionel was the fourth son in order of birth, William of Windsor and William of Hatfield, who both died young, having been second and third.

with silver plate; as, for instance, "for a silver-gilt cup £6 0s. 8d.;"* and again, "a seal and chain, £4 15s. 0d."†

Not long after her assumption of the religious habit, MAUDE OF LANCASTER founded two chantry chapels; the first in the Chapel of the Annunciation at CAMPSEY (where her second husband, Ralph de Ufford, lay buried),—the second, at ASHE—both in Suffolk. The chantry of five priests founded at Campsey was afterwards transferred to BRUSEYARD in the same county: which chantry at BRUSEYARD, known as Rockhall, was hereafter to be the last resting-place of ELIZABETH OF ULSTER.§

No sooner was ELIZABETH'S purse resigned into her own hands than her thoughtless prodigality became manifest. Henceforth, to the close of her life, gifts of extra money, and loans which could never be returned, and so had to become gifts, figured on King EDWARD'S *Issue Rolls*.

The Princess spent the summer of 1355 at Eltham with the King and Queen; and in that Palace, on the 16th of August, she gave birth to a daughter.‡ A varlet named John Prior was rewarded with £20 for his arduous journey—down the stairs, probably, or into the next room—to inform King EDWARD of the birth of his first grandchild.¶ The baby was baptized in Eltham Church, her sponsors being her grandmother, QUEEN PHILIPPA (whose name was given to the child), "Elizabeth, Countess of Clarence"—probably her great-grandmother, Elizabeth, Countess of Clare—and William de Edingdon, Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor of England.^a An interest in Protestant eyes attaches to the name of William de Edingdon, for Edingdon and Ashridge were the only two English houses of the "Boni-Homines," or monks of the Waldensian faith.^b The King's eldest daughter, the Lady Isabel, presented a christening gift to the little neophyte, consisting of two cups, the larger being gilt and enamelled.^c

* *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 31 Edw. III., Part 1.

† *Ibid.*

§ *Rot. Pat.*, 38. Edw. III., Part 1.

‡ *Probatio Etatis Philippæ Comitissæ Marchia*, 43 Edw. III., 91.

¶ *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 30 Edw. III.

(a) *Probatio Et.*, 43 Edw. III., 91.

(b) Edward II. and the Despencers patronised the "Boni-Homines," to the indignation of the more orthodox Queen, Isabel of France. The breach between the lapses Edward and the "She-wolf of France" had at least as much a religious as a personal origin.

(c) *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 30 Edw. III. The scribe has let his pen slip at a most awkward point, for he writes "*primogenito*," thus inferring that the infant was a boy. As all evidence extant goes to show that Philippa never had a brother, we must conclude it to be a mere slip of the pen.

QUEEN PHILIPPA had sent her own midwife, Margaret de Gaunt, to attend her daughter-in-law; and the King his personal physician, Master Pascal; but notwithstanding all their care, the recovery of the Princess was very slow, and her life was for some time in danger. Margaret de Gaunt was still in attendance on the 30th of November,* when she received ten pounds for her services; and Master Pascal was not recompensed until December with a fee of £13 6s. 8d., "for the cure performed by him on ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF ULSTER."†

When she was sufficiently recovered, the Princess removed to Westminster with the Queen. King EDWARD, with LIONEL and his brother JOHN, had sailed from Sandwich on Michaelmas Day, and was prosecuting his French war amid cruel hardships. At least, so thinks the chronicler (Robert Avesbury); who informs his readers that "the French King destroyed vitels in front of the English, so that the English for iij days togethar dranke nothyng but watar."§

At Westminster ELIZABETH was residing on the 19th of January, 1356, when the King's gift of £40 was paid "into her own hands." By March the poor Princess was destitute, and required the relief of another gift of £20.‡

For the little PHILIPPA separate provision was made. In February she was sent to the care of her grandmother at Campsey, and a distinct household was formed for her. Reginald de Pырpoint, before mentioned, was constituted her agent, to transact business with the outer world; John Massingham was her tailor and chamber-varlet, his wages being 13s. 4d.; Joan the Rockster, evidently a more important person, received 20s., while Joan the Lavender, and the luckless page of the chamber, were expected to content themselves with 6s. 8d. each.||

ELIZABETH's annual allowance was now about £300. During 1356, £150 in addition was given to her at intervals; and £16 to buy four horses from one "Litel Wat."^a

If we regard as indicative of his calling the terrible name of Jacob Tothdrasher, we shall conclude that our Princess was suffering from toothache in 1358, when this functionary was sent from London to Bristol on her business.^b

* *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 30 Edw. III. † *Ibid.* § *Harl. MS.* 545, fol. 28.

‡ *Ibid.*, 30, *ib.* || *Ibid.*, *Michs.*, 32 Edw. III.

(a) *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 30 & 31 Edw. III. (b) *Ibid.*, 32 *ib.*

The little PHILIPPA finally quitted her grandmother's convent early in 1359. Poor baby of three years old! she left CAMPSEY to be married. Splendidly was she decorated at her wedding, for her jewels, and those of her aunt Margaret, married at the same time and place, cost £526 6s. 8d. Two thousand pearls formed part of their joint outfit. The triple ceremony—for JOHN OF GAUNT was also married to BLANCHE OF LANCASTER—took place in the Queen's Chapel, READING; but whether all were at precisely the same time is not so clear. If they were, PHILIPPA was married on the 19th of May, for the date of JOHN OF GAUNT'S marriage is certain; but the entries on the *Rolls* sound rather as if the marriage of PHILIPPA had occurred in the preceding February. THOMAS DE THYNHAM, clerk of the Queen's Chapel, was the officiating priest in all three instances; and £10 was his fee for all.* The bridegroom of PHILIPPA was EDMUND MORTIMER, son and heir of ROGER, EARL OF MARCH; and so poor, or so parsimonious, was the Earl, that the King was obliged to give him £45 for the occasion. EDMUND was a gentleman of mature years in comparison with his bride, for he had attained the age of seven! A few months after this event, by the death of Earl Roger, PHILIPPA became COUNTESS OF MARCH: she remained, however, in the care of her mother.

From November, 1359, to the same month in 1360, LIONEL was absent at the French wars.† Within this period died the famous ELIZABETH DE BURGH (grandmother of our ELIZABETH), aged 63 years. She was buried in the Church of the Minoreesses, Aldgate, London. To her grand-daughter and namesake she left "the debt which her father owed me at his death; also for seed-corn" in twenty different manors;§ beside which special bequest, ELIZABETH became heir-at-law of her vast inheritance, consisting of her ULSTER jointure, and her third share of the Gloucester lands. King EDWARD, "wishing to show special favour to his beloved kinswoman, ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF ULSTER," received her Irish lands into his protection, forgave her a debt of £25 owed by her great-grandfather to the Exchequer, and granted her for the future £500 a year, until she should receive the rents of her grandmother's estates.‡ But not on £500, nor any fixed sum whatever,

* *Rot. Exit*, Pasc., 33 Edw. III.

† *Wardrobe Roll* 8, Box A, membr. 3.

§ *Test. Vetus*, i., 58.

‡ *Rot. Pat.*, 34 Edw. III., part 2.

could the extravagant Princess reasonably be expected to "make both ends meet." Six months had not elapsed before she was borrowing again.

In March, 1360, at Leicester Castle, was born the second grandchild of King EDWARD, PHILIPPA OF LANCASTER, afterwards Queen of Portugal. ELIZABETH journeyed to Leicester—at a cost of £11 16s. 11½*d.*—to be present at the ceremony of the DUCHESS BLANCHE'S uprising,* and also, there appears every probability, to act as sponsor to the infant. QUEEN PHILIPPA was also there, on the same errand.

The year 1361 had only just opened when poor ELIZABETH found herself in her normal state of poverty. She borrowed (as usual) of King EDWARD, whose chief use to her was as an inexhaustible bank, to be drawn upon at pleasure. As usual, again, the £66 she borrowed she was unable to return; and also, as usual, it was forgiven her. She was then at the Savoy Palace, on another visit to her sister of Lancaster.† Only just before, she had received seisin of all her grandmother's lands, and she really ought not to have been in this lamentable state of exchequer.

On the first of July, 1361, LIONEL was created Viceroy of IRELAND.§ He quitted England immediately, leaving ELIZABETH behind him. Possibly the disturbed state of the country was the reason why she did not accompany him. She spent the time of his absence in replenishing her wardrobe, laying in a stock of splendour with which she probably meant to overawe her countrymen when she herself went over. Beside the usual set of Garter robes, provided every year for the ladies of the Royal Family, there were delivered to John Veisy, "tailor of the Countess of Ulster," a quantity of coloured cloths, ermine and other skins, for her use.‡

LIONEL came back to fetch his wife. During his absence, his brother EDWARD, the "Black Prince," and EARL OF CHESTER, had been married to JOAN of Kent. ELIZABETH sent a present to the bride;|| but apparently she was not among the brilliant throng who graced the ceremony. Before she left England a fresh consignment of millinery and finery in general was made to John

* *Rot. Ex., Pasc.*, 34 Edw. III., part 2. † *Ib., Michs.*, 35 Edw. III., part 2.
 § *Rot. Pat.*, 35 Edw. III., part 2. ‡ *Wardrobe Roll* 8, Box A., membr. 6.
 || *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 36 Edw. III.

Veisy, comprising cloths of all sorts, furs of ermine and other beasts, pieces of velvet, silk baudekyn, fine linen, &c.

For PHILIPPA a much smaller provision was made,—16 ells of blue cloth, one miniver cloak and hood, one fur of 160 miniver skins, and 30 ermine skins.

Before the Earl and Countess left England, sums of money were lent to both for the supply of their personal wants. To LIONEL was delivered the modest amount of £9 11s. 4*d.*; but into the fair hands of ELIZABETH was poured no less than £400 “in the presence of the King’s Council, at the hospitium near Pauleshroff.”* Beside her ladies, the Princess was attended by Geoffrey Stukeley and three other varlets. Thirty men-at-arms, and thirty horsed archers, formed their guard. The royal travellers passed through CHESTER, and embarked from LIVERPOOL in July, 1362.† With them went Sir William de Windsor as commander of the guard,—a man less famed for himself than for his wife, the much-reviled (and I believe much-calumniated) Alice Periers. He returned to England on the 22nd of September, having seen his charges safely landed in Ireland.

Thus far, the indications given by the *Rolls* have been followed; but on the *Issue Roll* for Michaelmas, 37th Edw. III., one entry appears, which it is very difficult to harmonise with the rest. It occurs December 12th, 1362—

“To Geoffrey de Stukeley sent on four occasions to accompany ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF ULSTER, towards the parts of CHESTER, by ordinance of the King in Councillxviij*s.*

There is no evidence to shew that ELIZABETH ever went to Ireland until July, 1362, while it is hardly possible for her to have made four voyages thither between July and December. The entry may refer to this voyage in July, and to three previous visits to CHESTER, of which no trace remains.

LIONEL’s administration as Viceroy was extremely bad; yet it was not his fault, for he was merely carrying out his father’s instructions. His first order was that no man of Irish blood should be permitted to approach his camp. This style of govern-

* *Rot. Exit., Pasc.*, 36 Edw. III.

† Taking, probably, not the Eastham, but the Birkenhead route, and availing themselves of the Ferry-boat maintained there by the Monks of ST. MARY’S ABBEY,—embarking in fact from what is still familiar to the railway world as Monk’s Ferry.

ment rapidly brought him into a position of such "imminent peril"*—the words are the King's—that it was necessary to send him reinforcements from England with all possible speed. His archers had deserted him; and he was only saved by his cousin, JAMES BUTLER, EARL OF ORMONDE; who threw himself into the breach with his household troops and retainers, at the peril of his life, until the reinforcements arrived.†

On the 14th of November, 1362, in the "Chaumbre Blanche" of Westminster Palace, three of the King's sons were created peers:—LIONEL, Duke of Clarence; JOHN, Duke of Lancaster; and EDMUND, Earl of Cambridge. For some mysterious reason, while the titles of LIONEL and JOHN were limited to heirs male, that of EDMUND was made heritable by heirs general.‡ PHILIPPA, therefore, was never "Duchess of Clarence."

The account of expenditure on ELIZABETH's wardrobe, for the year 1362-3, remains extant; and be it remembered that its existence is owing to the fact, that her royal and indulgent father-in-law paid the bill.‡ It is too long to quote here.

The skirmishing, to call it by no harsher name, between the English and Irish, went on throughout 1363. It was in the close of that year, or in the opening days of the next, that the shadow of the Angel of Death darkened the halls of LIONEL.

When and how ELIZABETH died are unrecorded: we learn, however, from one MS. authority that the event occurred at DUBLIN.‖ All that we know more relates to the details of her funeral. All writers agree that she was deeply lamented; yet the circumstances of her interment show incomprehensible neglect. KING EDWARD was not at fault with respect to money; whatever else were his failings, he was no miser; and he meted out the cost of his daughter-in-law's burial with no niggard hand. Yet, when it came to the actual expenditure, things were shabbily done; and not one member of the Royal Family was present. LIONEL

* *Rot. Pat.*, 36 Edw. III., part 1.—It is remarkable to note how the very same spirit was prevalent 170 years later, as shown by the following extract from a letter dated January 12th, 1534:—"William Pelle goeth into Ireland, and is Provost Marshal, and hath for the same iij. s. and iij. d. by the day, and xij. d. for his excusioner, and xij. men in viij. d. by the day to assist him: yet had he leyther tary at home for his wiffs sake."—John Husee, English agent of Viscount Lisle, then Governor of Calais, to his master: *Lisle Papers*, iv., 85.

† *Rot. Pat.*, 37 Edw. III., part 1.

‡ *Rot. Parl.*, ii., 273.

‖ *Wardrobe Roll* 8, Box A., membr. 8 *in dorso*. || *Hart. M.S.* 154, fol. 76, b.

himself was perhaps detained in Ireland by political necessity: but of all those who had loved ELIZABETH OF ULSTER in her life, the cloistered Mother was the only one who knelt beside her coffin.

Two officers of the Princess's household—JOHN DE NEUBORNE and her chaplain, NICHOLAS DE FLADBURY—attended the royal corpse in its transit to its final home. Fourteen days were consumed in the voyage to England.

They left GREAT NESTON, in Wirral, on the 1st of February, 1364. Here they were met by Thomas Fox, a solitary varlet of the Duke's English household, who had been sent from London, apparently as the representative of everybody else. The first intention seems to have been to bury the Princess by the side of her grandmother, ELIZABETH DE BURGH, in the Minresses Church, Aldgate; and possibly, the preparations were somewhat disarranged by—it may have been—the sudden resolve which changed the place of sepulture to BRUSEYARD.

The account of the progress shall be given as it stands in the Original Document—a soiled fragment of a *Wardrobe Roll*, ending with no total of expenditure, but by no means the least interesting illustration of the life of ELIZABETH OF ULSTER. The original is, of course, in Latin; but it will be more attractive perhaps if I clothe it in an English dress.

“Particulars of the Account of NICHOLAS DE FLADBURY, Knight, and JOHN DE NEUBORNE, officers of the Lord DUKE OF CLARENCE; appointed to superintend the expenses incurred touching the burial of the body of the Lady ELIZABETH, late DUCHESS OF CLARENCE, namely from February 1st, 1364, to March 11th next ensuing :—

“Item, in account of £20 received of THOMAS *
Chamberlain of Receipts of the Exchequer, Jan. 31, Anno 38, touching the expenses incurred by them [*i.e.*, Fladbury and Neuborne], in the matter of the corpse of ELIZABETH, late DUCHESS OF CLARENCE [travelling] from the town of NESTON, in Wirhale, to the Manor of BRUSEYARD.

“Item, in account for the custody of the body of the said DUCHESS at NESTON in WYRHALE, incurred from the beginning by the said Nicholas and John, namely, for 14 days.....18s.

“And for one cart (or chariot) with 4 horses, conducted, from the said town of NESTON, conveying the aforesaid corpse to CHESTER4s.

“And for one cart (or chariot) with two men and 6 horses, similarly conducted, to convey the said corpse from CHESTER to COVENTRY, whence the cart came, for 6 days, at 6s. 8d. a day44s.

* Surname illegible.

“And for one other cart, with two men and 6 horses, similarly conducted, to convey the said corpse from COVENTRY to BRUSEYARD, in the county of SUFFOLK, whence the cart came, for 10 days, at 10s. a day.....100s.

“And for the journey of THOMAS FFOC [qr., Fox or Fowke], varlet of the DUKE OF CLARENCE, going from London, the first day of February, in the same year, to NESTON in WYRHALE aforesaid, to meet the aforesaid corpse, and following it with the vehicle, from NESTON aforesaid to BRUSEYARD aforesaid for 29 days, at 12d. for each day.....29s.

“And for his journey from the said town of BRUSEYARD, bearing the letters of our Lord the KING to the BISHOP OF NORWICH, touching the celebration of burial for the said corpse,—going and returning, and until . . . the day of burial, namely, the eleventh day of March, staying at BRUSEYARD, to help in divers respects, for eleven days, at 12d. per day.....11s.

“Item, for 3 ells of linen cloth of Rennes, bought by JOHN NEUBORNE, for the coffin of the aforesaid corpse, at 22d. per ell.....5s.

“For two ells of red sindon [lawn] similarly bought by the said JOHN, to make a cross upon the said coffin.....2s.

“Item, for the boat-hire and carriage of one hall [*i.e.*, the tapestry hangings for a hall], and one black bed, from Westminster to London, to the Duke of Clarence’s house near Aldgate... ..6d.

“And for return carriage and boat-hire for the same from the said house to Westminster aforesaid6d.

“And for the journey of a varlet on horseback, conveying the said hall, and the said black bed, from London to BRUSEYARD aforesaid,—going, staying, and returning with them, for 15 days, at 12d. per day15s.

“And for the purchase of 20 iron hooks for the said hall and chamber.....6d.

“And for the journey of NICHOLAS DE FLADBURY, from the first day of February to the 11th day of March, assigned in payment of money expended by him during the period of this account at 3s. 4d. per day, for 40 days.....£6 13s. 4d.

“Item, for the journey of JOHN NEUBORNE in like manner, similarly assigned in payment of money as aforesaid, for 40 days at 3s. 4d. per day, during the period of this account.....£6 13s. 4d.”

It is to an entry on the *Issue Roll* that we owe the additional fact that the body also rested at CAMPSEY Abbey, Suffolk, on its way to BRUSEYARD.*

The total expenses incurred by FLADBURY and NEUBORNE were £24 16s. 2d; but £200 more were paid to JOHN DE HYLTON and HENRY PALMER for further costs of the funeral. Four cloths of

* *Rot. Erit., Michs.*, 38 Edw. III.—A Collegiate Chapel in honour of “the Annunciation” was founded at CAMPSEY for a Warden and four secular priests, by MAUDE, COUNTESS OF ULSTER, in 1347. Seven years after, this establishment was removed to BRUSEYARD, the old site and possessions being resigned to an abess and nuns of the order of St. Clare.—*Editor*.

foreign gold baudekyn, and nine of Lucca baudekyn, were offered at the ceremony on behalf of the KING, the QUEEN, and the LADY ISABEL.* Black cloth also was issued for the burial.

PHILIPPA, now eight years old, was brought from Ireland with the damsels of her dead mother,† and consigned to the care of her grandmother, the QUEEN (by whom her expenses were reduced to £100 a year), until the death of the Queen in August, 1369. She was then, at the age of 13, delivered to her husband, the EARL OF MARCH, with whom she was residing in England in 1370. PHILIPPA was the mother of five children, all born between 1371 and 1377 inclusive; and it was not improbably at the birth of the youngest that she died, in December, 1377.§ She was buried at Wigmore.

LIONEL visited England twice during 1364. When he came over is doubtful; but he was at Westminster in July, and in Ireland in November, having sailed from LIVERPOOL with a suite of 80 ships. He came back—a flying visit of a few days only—in December, perhaps to be present at that Anniversary of ELIZABETH to which I shall allude again. He seems invariably to have embarked at LIVERPOOL. Until July, 1365, he remained in Ireland: another visit to England followed; and he was at his post during nearly the whole of 1366. In July, 1367, we find him again at Westminster; and in April, 1368, he set off on that triumphal progress to Milan, in anticipation of his second marriage, from which he returned only in his coffin. His marriage with VIOLANTE VISCONTI, daughter of GALEAZZO, Duke of Milan, was celebrated in that city, April 25th, 1368: he took possession, as governor, of the city and province of Pavia, in which city he died, on the 17th of October, 1368. His suite suspected poison, the circumstances of his death appearing to them extraordinary; but there does not seem to have been any real foundation for the supposition. In his will he left several bequests to VIOLANTE; he made no mention of ELIZABETH.

I alluded before to ELIZABETH'S Anniversary. There was but one celebration of it, viz: in 1364, and the two entries on the *Rolls*

* *Wardrobe Roll* 8, Box A., membr. 13.

† *Rot. Excit., Michs.*, 38 Edw. III., and *Fœdera*, vi., 435.

§ *Rot. Excit., Michs.*, 1 Ric. II.—Geoffrey Stukeley was sent with the news to John of Gaunt, January 7th, 1378. Her husband was made Viceroy of Ireland in 1378 (*ib.*, *Michs.*, 3 Ric. II.), where by his affability and eloquence he was very popular, and died from cold taken in fording the Lee, December 27th, 1381.

—one the mandate for its celebration, the other the refunding of its costs—show that it was held, and therefore that she had died, between November 6th and December 12th.* If LIONEL came over to be present at it, the day must have been much nearer the latter date than the former, for on the 5th of December he had apparently not arrived. It may, therefore, perhaps, be inferred that the date of ELIZABETH'S death was about the 10th of December. For this ceremony 200 yards of cloth were issued from Candelwykstrete (the peculiar undertakers' quarter of London), and four cloths of golden baudekyn of Lucca were offered by the King. Furred mourning robes were provided for the Queen and the young COUNTESS OF MARCH;† so possibly they were present. The expenses were 66s. 8d.§

After this date, not another word is to be found concerning ELIZABETH. The Royal Family were busied in preparing for VIOLANTE; whom they were so anxious not to lose, that a proviso was inserted in the contract that, if anything occurred to prevent her marriage with LIONEL, his brother EDMUND should be substituted in his place. So, in the beams of the rising sun, the lost Pleiad was no more remembered. One brief year before, the Royal Family had mourned her—it is said—as rarely *any* Princess was mourned; but now only the mother's true heart, nun though she were, retained loving and sorrowing memory of ELIZABETH OF ULSTER.

In the words of "L. E. L.," I conclude:—

"Thou art forgotten—thou, whose feet
Were listened to like song!
They used to call thy voice so sweet,—
It did not haunt them long.
Thou, with thy fond and fairy mirth,—
How could they bear their lonely hearth?"

* The death was 1363 and the Anniversary in 1364. It will be misleading to give the date of year.

† *Wardrobe Roll* 8, Box A, membr. 13 *in dorso*. § *Rot. Erit.*, 39 Edw. III.