

The County of Ponthieu, 1279-1307

BY the treaty of Paris of 1259, England acquiesced in the loss of the northern parts of the Angevin inheritance, on condition of complete recognition in the southern. Twenty years later, Eleanor, wife of Edward I, inherited the county of Ponthieu, so that England had again a footing in the north, though in a fresh district. The fact was in itself of some importance, and the temptation to the English historian is the greater because of the considerable material now at his disposal.

For the twenty-eight years with which the present article deals, this is of three kinds. First, there are preserved, in the Public Record Office, six bundles¹ of Exchequer Accounts, nearly all dealing with the affairs of Ponthieu. The most valuable of these are the returns of receipts and expenses made by the banking house of Frescobaldi between 1299 and 1308, when the finances of the county were in their charge. Secondly, M. Bémont has collected and arranged in an appendix to the third volume of the Gascon Rolls all the entries relating to Ponthieu which in the early years were entered in those documents. There are some ninety enrolments, of varying importance. Thirdly, many of the publications of the Société d'Émulation d'Abbeville² deal with medieval topics, and their authors have made good use of local archives. The veteran among such native historians was M. Ernest Prarond,³ to whose *Histoire d'Abbeville avant la Guerre de Cent Ans*, published in 1891, frequent reference is made in the following pages. Their labours, together with the useful classified and descriptive catalogue of manuscripts issued by a former librarian of Abbeville,⁴ to some extent relieve the foreign

¹ Public Record Office, *Lists and Indexes*, xxxv. 125-7.

² See *Table générale des Publications de la Société d'Émulation d'Abbeville, 1797-1904* (published 1905).

³ M. Prarond, as secretary, president, and honorary president, directed the affairs of the Société for almost a lifetime. His industry was tireless. In his eighty-ninth year, when death surprised him, he was intending to write a complete history of all the counts of Ponthieu, and had actually published the first volume, dealing with Guy I. More than fifty books and pamphlets on historical subjects stand to his credit. He was, of course, working with the French material only.

⁴ A. Leducq, *Catalogue analytique des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Abbeville*, 1896.

historian of the obligation of going to the archives himself. Two manuscripts in particular have been much used by local historians, the *Livre Blanc* and the *Livre Rouge*.⁵ These are cartularies containing all sorts of material, ranging from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. Other authorities, such as the Patent, Close, and Olim Rolls, and the Wardrobe and Household Accounts, are cited wherever they throw additional light.

The year 1279 was in a very real sense a fresh starting-point. Since the county first came into existence, in the early tenth century, its counts had all been French by birth, and generally resident within it. But there were, as a native historian of the eighteenth century said, 'deux dates funestes' for the county. The first was 1254, when Eleanor, the prospective countess, married an Englishman. The next was 1279, when she succeeded to her inheritance, and her husband with her. The county now became a mere appendage of a kingdom, governed by an absentee.

Eleanor's mother, Joan, was the child of Simon de Dammartin, count of Aumâle, and Marie, countess of Ponthieu. Simon had held the title of count of Ponthieu in right of his wife only, and therefore, when she died in 1251, the title and land passed to her daughter. Joan was the second wife of King Ferdinand III of Castile. A year later, 1252, he died, and the crown passed to Alfonso, son by the first wife. The widowed Joan then left the Spanish court and returned to her own land. For the remaining twenty-six years of her life she was able to live in and rule her inheritance, for though she married again in 1260, this time her husband was a Frenchman and a neighbour, John of Nesle, lord of Falvy-sur-Somme.

Eleanor's succession has a legal as well as an historical interest. It was a case, of which various better-known examples fall within the thirteenth century, of a choice between a grandchild of an elder line and a son or daughter of a younger. Eleanor's elder brother Ferdinand was dead, but he had left a son, John of Ponthieu. By the law of descent in its final shape he would have had a better right to the county than his aunt. In the thirteenth century, however, the point was still arguable, and each case was settled on its merits. King John had been given the English crown to the prejudice of his nephew, child of his elder brother, without any outrage to public opinion. An exactly contrary course was pursued in 1262, with regard to a much closer analogy, the succession to the manor of Manchester. There the uncle of

⁵ Nos. 114, 115 in the catalogue. M. Louandre examined both for contributions to the fourth volume of the *Monuments inédits de l'Histoire du Tiers-Etat*, by A. Thierry. M. Prarond also used them in his own work, and in 1897 published the second as *Le Cartulaire de Ponthieu*.

the younger line was shut out in favour of his infant nephew of the elder.⁶ Though perhaps it is unsafe to argue from one side of the Channel to the other, it would seem that Eleanor's case might present some difficulties. At any rate the fact of her succession put Edward I thirteen years later into a position which, had he thought about the matter at all, he could not but have felt to be paradoxical. In settling the succession to the throne of Scotland in 1292, he and his judges agreed to select Balliol, representative of an elder line, rather than Bruce, one generation nearer in a younger.⁷ Thus Edward adopted a principle which would have shut out his wife from succeeding to Ponthieu.

Joan died on 16 March 1279, and was buried in Valloires abbey.⁸ Within five days of her death the first steps necessary to secure the succession were taken. Edward I's brother, Edmund, earl of Lancaster, and his nephew, John of Brittany, earl of Richmond, were empowered 'to exact from Philip, king of France, the king's kinsman, the county of Ponthieu, which, by the death of Joan, queen of Castile and countess of Ponthieu, falls by hereditary right to Eleanor, the king's consort'.⁹ William de Fiennes, a relative of Eleanor's on her mother's side, was at the same time appointed *custos*¹⁰ of Ponthieu. His instructions were to certify the king as to the state of the county, and to 'write to the king touching the matter of which he wished to be secretly certified'. This may perhaps have been with regard to the attitude John of Ponthieu was to adopt. Two months later all was concluded. Edward and Eleanor spent more than five weeks in France in May and June 1279,¹¹ had a series of amicable interviews with Philip III at Amiens, and on 23 May came to terms with him, on various disputed points, in the treaty of Amiens.¹² On the same day the Ponthieu business was settled. John of Ponthieu appeared before the assembled sovereigns and magnates, and, though he did not ask for the title of count,

⁶ Tait, *Medieval Manchester*, pp. 142-3.

⁷ 'Prædicti arbitri . . . prædicto Iohanni de Balliolo, tanquam e primogenito crevanti, successionem regni Scotiae adiudicarunt' (Hemingburgh, *Chron.*, ii. 38). The law of descent and cases of this sort are discussed by Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of Engl. Law*, vol. ii, ch. vi.

⁸ The new count and countess bore the expenses of her funeral (*Rolls Gascons*, iii. 5019). Cf. Prarond, *Hist. d'Abbeville*, p. 175.

⁹ *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1272-81*, p. 306, 21 March 1279.

¹⁰ Generally *custos* and *seneschal* are interchangeable terms, but it can hardly be so in this case.

¹¹ They left Dover on 13 May, and landed there again on 19 June (Gough, *Itinerary of Edward I*, i. 95, 96).

¹² There was no clause which, as is commonly said, gave Ponthieu. No mention of so recent an acquisition was likely to be made in a document which professed to be a mere amplification of the treaty of Paris of 1259. See the text in Rymer, *Foedera* (ed. 1816), i. ii. 571-2.

made a claim which remained a burden on the county for the next fourteen years.

He declared that the lady Joan, his grandmother on the father's side, had in her lifetime recognized that he, John, in the land which had been given to his father, ought to have high justice and the feudal homages of the said land. These Joan had held in her lifetime, because he did not wish to offend her. And he declared that the same lady had granted him, in her last will, one-fifth part of the county of Ponthieu, and one-half of the sequestrations made, during her wedded life, between herself and the count of Ponthieu her husband. Wherefore he besought the king to deliver to him the aforesaid.¹³

To dismember an inheritance in this way, rightly or wrongly, was clean contrary to the whole bent of Edward I's policy. He was willing to fight the matter out, or to compromise, but, under no circumstances, to give up one-fifth of his county. For years the matter dragged on, Edward from time to time appointing fresh proctors to represent him in suits before the king of France 'as to the ownership of one-fifth of the county of Ponthieu'.¹⁴ Finally, John accepted £14,000 of Paris to withdraw his claim, and Edmund of Lancaster, who was in charge of the county after Eleanor's death, was able to announce on 8 May 1293 that the entire sum had been paid out of the revenues of the county.¹⁵ This dispute apart, no obstacle was put in the way of Eleanor's succession, and Edward's through her. The relief due was fixed at £6,000 of Paris, to be paid in three instalments, the latest at Ascensiontide 1280. Philip, however, remitted this.¹⁶ Presumably homage would be done at once. At any rate, two days later the new count and countess had left Amiens and begun a tour of their county. This was not, of course, a first visit, for either of them, but it had a new solemnity in view of the altered circumstances.

Ponthieu was not a very large inheritance, though its count bore a double title, 'comes Pontivi et Monstrollii'.¹⁷ The county had suffered dismemberment at various times, sometimes through delinquencies of its rulers, sometimes through sales rendered necessary by financial exhaustion. When Count Simon of Dammartin, for example, fought on the losing side at the battle of Bouvines, and was imprisoned by the French king in consequence, the treaties by which he made his peace also deprived him of parts of his county. Thus the *bailliages* of Doullens and Avesnes, and St. Riquier, were abandoned. St. Riquier was taken into

¹³ *Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5037.

¹⁴ e.g., 14 December 1281 (*Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1281-92*, p. 6); 20 May 1282 (*ibid.* p. 20); 17 July 1283 (*Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5056).

¹⁵ *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1292-1301*.

¹⁶ *Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5013; *Foedera* (1816), I. ii. 572.

¹⁷ From an early date, but both titles were not always used.

the *bailliage* of Amiens, while Doullens and Avesnes were united with Artois. Further readjustments of the frontier towards Artois were made in the time of the Countess Joan.¹⁸

The general limits of the county as it came to Edward I can for the most part be clearly traced. The northern frontier begins at its western end with the estuary of the river Canche in the bay of Étapes, Montreuil being situated a few miles up the river. Then the line of division turned south, reaching the middle Authie at a point a little higher than Auxi-le-Château, and from there went south again to the lower Nièvre at St. Léger-lès-Domart. The valley of the Nièvre, which enters the Somme about midway between Abbeville and Amiens, marked the south-eastern boundary of the county. The south-western frontier presents more difficulties. The Somme estuary has been suggested as the boundary,¹⁹ but that can hardly be, since various places which play a regular part in the records, Airaines, Le Titre, Martainneville, Cambron, &c., are to the south of that river. The port of St. Valery, on the southern extremity of the estuary, makes no appearance in the returns, but that is probably because, as an honour, it was administered separately. Between the Somme and the Bresle a small *enclave* on the north bank of the latter belonged to the county of Eu, which town faced it on the south bank.²⁰ Certainly in the past Vimeu, that is, the district between Somme and Bresle, had formed part of Ponthieu, and probably it still did so.

Ponthieu to-day is in general aspect much what it was in the thirteenth century. Along the coast, the silting of the Channel produced then, as it produces now, a band of salt marshes, useful for pasturage but not for cultivation.²¹ Behind these came the low chalk downs, watered by a number of small streams, besides the two larger rivers, the Canche and the Somme. Many miles were covered by forest, of which the present forest of Crécy is a mere fragment. Wood played a great part in the annual revenue of the county.²² Various local names, such as Jacques

¹⁸ For fuller details of these changes see *Les Variations des Limites du Ponthieu et de l'Artois au XIII^e siècle*, by the Comte de Brandt de Galametz (*Mém. de la Soc. d'Émul. d'Abbeville*, 1889, pp. 163-89).

¹⁹ Joanne, *Dict. topographique de la France*, v. 5611.

²⁰ *Les Variations, &c.* The separation has left its trace, for nowadays this scrap of land belongs not to the department of the Somme, but to the Seine-Inférieure.

²¹ These, however, lay further east than at present. Such names as Montreuil-sur-Mer, Béthencourt-sur-Mer, and others, suggest the track of the older coastline.

²² In 1300 the income from the sale of wood was £712 14s. 5½d. (King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 156/1); in 1301, £513 15s. 4d. (*ibid.* 156/3); in 1302, £1,290 0s. 3d. (156/17); in 1303, £1,707 14s. 9d. (157/15); in 1305, £3,220 10s. 2½d. (159/14); in 1307, £3,140 1s. 10½d. (161/18). These sums are pounds of Paris. Five of them usually corresponded to £1 sterling, but by depreciation of the coinage they fell in value to one-eleventh of the £1 sterling.

le Charbonnier, several times mayor of Abbeville, suggest the quarter in which some substantial families first made their money. In other parts farming was carried on, and rents were paid in barley, oats, and wheat, as well as in fowls, capons, and chickens. Salt and eels, on the other hand, were the main contributions of the fisherfolk along the coast. There were turf-works in the marshes. The abundant timber was used from an early date for shipbuilding, and Abbeville craft anchored in the harbours of England, Flanders, and Castile.

It was in the towns, however, that was centred the most vigorous life of Ponthieu, and from this fact came both the embarrassments and the profits of its count. The difficulties he had to face were different in degree only, not in kind, from those presented to other northern lords such as the count of Flanders. Ponthieu was rich, for its size, in communes. Abbeville was then, as now, the most considerable place, but close behind it was Rue, nowadays not much more than a village, on the lower Maye. Among smaller places were Crécy, in the forest; Le Crotoy, on the northern shore of the Somme estuary; Waben, further north; Montreuil, most northerly of all, a few miles up the Canche. In the south was Airaines, on the stream of the same name which flows into the Somme south of Abbeville. Nor must be forgotten the unique 'villata seu communitas' of Marquenterre, which included all the coast-land between the Authie and the Somme. By far the most independent and prosperous of the towns was Abbeville, which had obtained its charter in 1184. Its chief industry was the making of cloth, and even the modern town, in such names as the Rue aux Pareurs,²³ the Rue des Poulies, and many others, suggests the memory of the industries pursued, and of the weavers, fullers, dressers, and dyers who lived there. The cloth market was held every Monday, and the count was only too glad to encourage it, in his own interests, by freedom from toll.²⁴ There were also glovers and brewers. The population was mixed, for some of Joan's Castilian friends and servants had settled there, while no doubt a sprinkling of English would follow the change.²⁵

No sooner had the new count and countess set foot in their inheritance than friction began. As anointed sovereigns they were accustomed to act, not in person, but through proctors,²⁶ and they pursued the usual practice, though themselves 'pre-

²³ Exchequer Accounts, King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 155/14, m. 1.

²⁴ *Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5079.

²⁵ e. g. a prebend in St. Wulfran's was given to an Englishman, though he may not have come to take it (*Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5051).

²⁶ Professor Vinogradoff points out to me that this is connected with the position of the king above the law; so that for security's sake it was desirable that a responsibility should be taken by a representative instead of by the king in person.

sentes et consentientes', in taking the comital oath at Abbeville and elsewhere.²⁷ This caused bitter resentment in Ponthieu, and letters patent had to be issued afterwards to explain that the procedure was in no way prejudicial, and that in future counts of Ponthieu, so long as they were not also anointed sovereigns, should take the oaths personally, 'iuramentis nostris per procuratores factis hac vice eisdem non obstantibus'.²⁸ With the exception of this variation, all the ordinary forms were observed. The count and countess promised

ke nous garderons les cors et les biens de nos gens de Abbeville cum de noz humes, et leur chartes et leur privileges ke eus unt de nos ancestres, cuntres de Puntif, et leur franchises et leur usages ke il purrunt par leur privileges acquerre solum les usages de France.²⁹

In return the mayor, *échevins*, and commonalty of Abbeville took an oath, first to the queen, 'tanquam hereditarie primo', then to the king as her husband,

ke nous bone fei et leauté vos porteruns et a vos genz cuntre totes genz ke purrunt vivre et morir, et obeissanz serrum a vos lustenans.³⁰

With regard to Rue, Le Crotoy, Marquenterre, Crécy, Waben, the abbey and town of St. Josse, Airaines, and Montreuil, the same formalities were observed.³¹ It is worth noticing, however, that when the count's oath was enrolled, a warning was set beside it.

Sciendum quod, licet burgenses predicti, a tempore quo non poterit haberi memoria, usi fuerint aliquibus libertatibus vel consuetudinibus, [per usum tamen illum non] adquiritur eis ius aliquod, secundum consuetudinem Francie, nec currit domino prescripcio, nisi ille libertates vel consuetudines contineantur in eorum privilegiis vel [nasci poterunt ex tenore eorundem].³²

This meant that the new count was on the alert, and that there might be difficulties later. For the moment, however, all was smooth, and on 19 June Edward and Eleanor set sail for England.³³

The machinery they left behind them to administer Ponthieu was of the conventional kind. At the head was a seneschal: finances were in the charge of a receiver; and below these came other officials, baillis, vicomtes, serjeants, foresters, and so forth. The status of the seneschal or *custos* is best suggested by a third title sometimes given to him, that of *locum tenens*. This lieutenancy, representative of an absent lord, added both dignity and difficulty to his post. It gave a twofold character to his very

²⁷ The proctors were John Ferre for the queen, Thomas of Sandwich for the king.

²⁸ *Rôles Gascon*, iii. 5015.

²⁹ *Ibid.* iii. 5016.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.* 5020-7.

³² *Ibid.* 5016.

³³ They stayed more than a week at Abbeville, then went to Gard-lès-Rue, Crécy, Valloires, Waben, and Montreuil (Gough, *Itin. of Edward I*, i. 98).

miscellaneous powers and functions.³⁴ Inside Ponthieu he must do whatever the count, if present, would have done; outside he must jealously guard the count's rights against all comers. The first obligation implied general superintendence as 'gardein de tutes nos terres del counte de Pountif'; routine business, the taking of fealties and reliefs, authorization of markets, regulation of trade; the leading of the Ponthieu contingent when the French king demanded military service due from his vassal; the appointment of bailiffs and 'tuz autre ministres' in Ponthieu and Montreuil, unless, as often happened, royal letters patent forestalled him. To the second general obligation belonged the seneschal's powers to 'require and demand our right before all judges, to defend our land against all persons', 'de exceper, de repliker, de poser, de respondre, de jurer en l'alme de nous, si mestiers est'. All this required a good deal of travelling, and consequently the seneschal might, when he chose, appoint a substitute in his absence. As a whole, the position was much the same, *mutatis mutandis*, as that of the seneschals of Gascony.³⁵ Distinctions were of scale more than anything else. Ponthieu was small, and therefore its head was paid less. He got £200-300 of Paris,³⁶ as against the £500 or £600 of the seneschal of Gascony. He had, on the other hand, some advantages over the latter, for he was nearer to head-quarters, and his northerners, hard enough to handle, were at least free from the proverbial pride of the Gascon.

The receiver, in like manner, corresponded to the constable of Bordeaux. He received the revenues collected by inferior officials, and met expenses out of them. His wage was £100-200 of Paris. Generally, but not always, he was a native.³⁷ The Frescobaldi naturally appointed their own receivers while they were responsible for the county, and, equally naturally, chose Italians.

The most important of the minor officials were the five *baillis* of Abbeville, Rue, Crécy, Waben, and Airaines. The *bailli* of Abbeville was paid £40, the others £30 each.³⁸ A large part of their work consisted in safeguarding the count's judicial rights, and

³⁴ Summarized in letters patent of 22 May 1279, appointing Thomas of Sandwich (*Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5033). The summary, however, does not include all the duties which other evidence shows the seneschal actually performed.

³⁵ Minutely described by M. Bémont, *Rôles Gascons*, supplément au tome i, pp. cxviii seqq., and tome iii, p. lxxxiii.

³⁶ £200 at first, with an allowance for expenses (*Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5028). Later £300 (*ibid.* 5072). In 1301 he was granted an extra £200 a year for the preceding three years, 'aisantz regard a la deschaite de la valere de la moneye du temps qe les gages de 300 livres parisis par an furent primes assignez au seneschal' (King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 156/16, m. 9).

³⁷ Peter al Costé (1279-83) belonged to a well-known Abbeville family; Baldwin (1290-1) came from Waben. The receivers appointed by the Frescobaldi were (1) Renaut Berart, (2) Hugo Hugolin, (3) John Canisian.

³⁸ King's Remembrancer's Accounts 159/15, m. 5.

in making sure that the profits of justice reached his hands.³⁹ In return, he upheld them against the jealousy and complaints of the townfolk, and before long they were recognized, with himself, his wife, and his children, as holding a specially privileged position.⁴⁰

The first English seneschal of Ponthieu was Thomas of Sandwich, who was appointed on 22 May 1279,⁴¹ and held office till 1288.⁴² He was in some ways particularly well suited for the difficulties of these years. He had long been employed on royal business, first as a clerk and then as a knight. His career had begun in 1266, when he was made keeper, bailiff, and chamberlain of Sandwich, under his patron Roger of Leyburn. Later he was sheriff of Essex, and later again employed on foreign affairs, in Aragon and in Brabant. Then in 1279 came the seneschalcy.⁴³ Complaints made against him as sheriff, disagreements while he was seneschal, and a serious rising against English administration while he was mayor of Bordeaux at a later date, seem to suggest that he was truculent, or tactless, or both. However, the inference may be unfair. Unpopularity, in medieval administration, often went hand in hand with efficiency, and violence was merely a perversion of energy.

³⁹ *Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5031.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 5039.

⁴¹ *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1281-92*, p. 7; *Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5032, 5033.

⁴² Probably, though the latest document extant referring to him as seneschal is dated August 1287. His successor is not mentioned till 1288. Cf. R. Belleval, 'Les Sénéchaux de Ponthieu,' *Revue nobiliaire*, iv. 409-21, 491-512.

⁴³ In his early days he was a Montfortian, but on 1 November 1285 was received into the royal favour at the instance of Edward, the king's son (*Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1288-86*, 497). When the latter became warden of the Cinque Ports, Thomas began his duties at Sandwich (*ibid.* p. 578), and on 19 March 1288 was given the custody of the 'bailliwick and lastage' of that port (*ibid.*, 1286-72, p. 208). His name is among those who received protection as crusaders in June 1270 (*ibid.* p. 480). In 1272 he was exempted for life from being put on assize, juries, and recognitions, and from being made sheriff against his will (*ibid.* p. 650). In 1274-5 he was sheriff of Essex (*Cal. of Close Rolls, 1272-9*, p. 202; *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1272-81*, p. 88), but had also some connexion with Dover castle (*ibid.* p. 89). In the spring of 1278 he was placed on various commissions of *oyer and terminer* in Sussex (*ibid.* pp. 284, 288, 290), but on 28 May was sent to Aragon on the king's business (*ibid.* pp. 264, 265). In February 1279 he went with the abbot of Westminster to Brabant to treat of the marriage of Edward's daughter Margaret (*ibid.* p. 302). He apparently left Ponthieu during the three years, 1286-9, which Edward I spent in France, and remained in Gascony after the king left. In 1289 he was made mayor of Bordeaux, and was involved in a fierce dispute, in which the town appealed to the parliament of Paris (*Rôles Gascons*, ii. 1154, 1275, 1638; *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1281-92*, p. 326; *Rôles Gascons*, ii. 1798, 1799). In 1290 he was triumphantly restored to office for fifteen days only, after which he made way for his successor. There was a good deal of difficulty about money due to him from the constable of Bordeaux (*Rôles Gascons*, ii. 1800, 1846, 1847). In February 1292 he received certain grants under the will of the late queen, Eleanor of Castile (*Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1281-92*, p. 478), and the following June was sent on a commission of *oyer and terminer* to the Channel Islands (*ibid.* p. 495, and references at a later date in *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1288-96*, p. 319, and 1296-1302, p. 119). In 1293 and 1294 he was again engaged upon judicial work in England (*Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1292-1801*, pp. 16, 47, 81; *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1288-96*, pp. 283, 338, 341, 406). The latest entry naming him is dated 25 November 1294.

The first anxiety of the new count was to concentrate, to buy out rivals, to make his grip of the county more secure. For some years, therefore, a great part of the seneschal's work was to arrange sales and exchanges of fiefs and rights. The series began in June 1279 with the purchase of a group of fiefs to the north of Abbeville, at Noyelles, Nouvion, Saily, Favières, &c.⁴⁴ The widower, John de Nesle, still called at times, by courtesy, count of Ponthieu,⁴⁵ parted with a number of rights to his successor.⁴⁶ Other tenants followed suit.⁴⁷ Reginald, count of Guelders, for instance, sold all the land he held in Ponthieu in return for £1,000 of Paris, in May 1283.⁴⁸ To take seisin, the seneschal and receiver had to go to Brabant, for Reginald dared not come any nearer to his uncle, the bishop of Liège.⁴⁹ Where he could, Edward shortened the links in the feudal chain. A case in Ponthieu in 1285 foreshadowed the policy embodied five years later in the statute of Quia Emptores. Gerard of Abbeville, lord of Mons-Boubert, wished to give 100 librates of land to his sister Agnes. He was allowed to do so, but only on condition that she should hold the land 'en plein hommage' from the count.⁵⁰

In Ponthieu as in England Edward pursued a policy of definition, of abiding by the letter of the law. This was shown by his precise fulfilment of his obligations as count to his overlord the French king. When Philip in 1282 demanded military service, Edward, who did not know the 'modum seu quantitatem', instructed his seneschal to examine the matter in the records of the county, but if he found no light, to make a special journey to the French court for information, 'inspectis registris seu memorandis curie.'⁵¹ With equal precision, however, Edward exacted what was due to himself from the towns, religious houses, and individual landowners of Ponthieu. The result was general indignation, and a series of appeals to Paris, where successive proctors appointed on behalf of the count were busily engaged. Luckily Philip's relations with Edward were at this time fairly cordial, and each case was taken on its merits.

The most striking of these disputes concerned Abbeville. The grievance alleged by the townsfolk was twofold. In the first place they objected to the *bailli* set over them; in the second,

⁴⁴ *Cartulaire de Ponthieu*, pp. 284-5.

⁴⁵ 'Comes Pontivi ad eadem vadia, £30.' This entry occurs in *Ceratas Petri de Condeto tabulae ab anno 1284 ad annum 1286 conscriptas* (*Historiens de la France*, xxii), and refers to 10 April 1284, when John was receiving wages as a member of Philip III's household.

⁴⁶ *Cart. de Ponthieu*, pp. 292-3; *Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5058, 5065, 5064.

⁴⁷ *Cart. de Ponthieu*, pp. 285-6, 288-9, 293-6, 303-5, 308-9.

⁴⁸ *Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5053.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 5068.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 5060.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 5048.

they took fright at the alterations begun in the count's manor house. The first was of course a common cause of friction. Hugh, the unpopular *bailli*, came from Famechon, some thirty miles higher up the Somme. He arrested a certain Mikiel Cative. The townspeople rescued the prisoner by force, and appealed to the parliament of Paris. For two years the matter was in dispute, and mutual explanations and recriminations were exchanged. In the end, however, a decision was given in favour of the count.⁵² A solemn assembly was held in the chapel of the hospital of St. Nicholas, Cative was restored, and the mayor and *échevins* publicly apologized.⁵³ Further, they issued a formal statement of the count's rights. He might replace Hugh as soon as he chose. They themselves had neither 'conissance ne justice' over the count, countess, their children, the seneschal, and the five *baillis*. If Edward liked, he might make a 'chastel e fermete' in his manor at Abbeville, and even pierce the town wall if necessary.⁵⁴ It was a very thoroughgoing reconciliation, as the count recognized, by remitting the fine of £1,000 tournois which had been imposed, and releasing Abbeville merchants whom he had arrested in England.⁵⁵ He did not even, apparently, replace Hugh of Famechon, whom he found useful in his army in Wales.⁵⁶

The Cour Ponthieu, the manor of the counts, had hitherto lain outside the town wall, to the east,⁵⁷ and was simply a country house. Even now, nothing ambitious in the way of fortification was attempted. In a lengthy list of repairs issued in 1299, by far the more numerous items are for such simple matters as new tiles on the roof, locks on the doors, a rope for the well, stakes for propping the vines, fresh glass in the windows of chamber and chapel, repainting of images, mending the kitchen chimney.⁵⁸ There are, however, a few hints of sterner matters, in payments such as those 'pour le ploustre de la prison', 'pour les degres de le prison', 'pour amans a metre prisonniers en le court dabbeyille', and so forth.⁵⁹

⁵² *Olim.* ii. 173, 196.

⁵³ *Cart. de Ponthieu*, p. 306.

⁵⁴ *Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5039; *Cart. de Ponthieu*, p. 310; *Hist. d'Abbeville*, p. 183.

⁵⁵ *Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5042, 5043. Cf. *Hist. d'Abbeville*, p. 185 and note.

⁵⁶ Hugh received 2s. a day from 16 August 1282 to 20 November 1283, without any interval (King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 4/1, mm. 5, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, 18). He was not the only Ponthevin who was on that campaign. John de Neale himself, with a knight and four horses, received pay as a banneret, intermittently, from November 1282 to November 1283 (*ibid.* mm. 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18).

⁵⁷ In the Musée d'Abbeville et du Ponthieu there is a seventeenth-century panorama of the town, showing the situation of the count's castle. Nowadays the Rue de la Cour Ponthieu alone indicates its former site.

⁵⁸ King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 156/3, m. 14.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* The prison was not always safe. Cf. *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1291-92*, p. 319, where the escape of two prisoners is recorded.

The Abbeville case was only one of many, for problems of jurisdiction and privilege constantly arose. With Le Crotoy, for example, there was a dispute as to the meaning of the term *petite visconté*. The mayor and *échevins* of Abbeville were called in to arbitrate, but declared that the point was too knotty.⁶⁰ It seems that the mayor and *échevins* of Le Crotoy made an annual payment to the count of 40s., and considered that this relieved them of the obligation of answering in certain kinds of cases before the vicomte. A solution was found in June 1285, by abolishing the payment and requiring them to be answerable in the ordinary way.⁶¹ Another problem was the right of jurisdiction exercised by the religious houses. Should this include both high and low justice? In two cases, that of St. Sauveur at Montreuil,⁶² and of the Premonstratensian house of Dommartin,⁶³ the final settlement gave high justice to the count. The general conclusion, therefore, to be drawn, is that though there was plenty of friction, it resulted as a rule rather in compromise or victory than in defeat for the foreign count. Edward was able also to use his new possession in various ways, as, for example, in 1282, when he borrowed from burgesses of Abbeville, Rue, Waben, and Marquenterre, a sum of £2,359 of Paris for the Welsh war.⁶⁴

The seneschalcy of Thomas of Sandwich ended during the three years, 1286-9, spent by Edward I in France on various sorts of business, after the death of Philip III. The king spent eight days in Ponthieu on the outward journey,⁶⁵ and six days in returning,⁶⁶ but no event of note took place. The new seneschal, Richard of Pevensey, was installed before August 1288.⁶⁷ He was not a man of the same calibre as his predecessor, and may have been a mere stopgap until more permanent arrangements could be made.⁶⁸ He was superseded on 18 March 1289, by

⁶⁰ *Cart. de Ponthieu*, pp. 317-8.

⁶¹ *Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5070; *Cart. de Ponthieu*, pp. 325-6.

⁶² *Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5080.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 5066.

⁶⁴ *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1281-92*, p. 21. The largest contribution was £1,140 from Abbeville.

⁶⁵ 17-24 May 1286. A night each at Valloires, Crécy, Airaines, three nights at Gard-lès-Rue, two at Abbeville (King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 351/23).

⁶⁶ 29 July-4 August 1289 (*Rôles Gascons*, iii, introduction, p. xv).

⁶⁷ Belleval, *Les Sénéchaux (Revue nobiliaire, 1868, iv)*, p. 418.

⁶⁸ He began his career in the household of Henry III's queen, Eleanor of Provence (*Cal. of Charter Rolls, 1257-1300*, pp. 409-10), and in 1279 was her bailiff at Rye (*Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1279-81*, p. 344. Cf. *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1279-88*, p. 227). He or a namesake was bailiff to the archbishop of Canterbury in 1277 (*Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1272-81*, p. 205). He and his wife were pardoned the service of one knight's fee due for the Welsh war of 1282 (*Cal. of Close Rolls, 1279-88*, p. 163; *Parl. Writs*, i. 229). In 1283 Richard was on commissions of *oyer and terminer* in Sussex (*Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1281-92*, pp. 73, 103), and in 1285 was a justice of gaol delivery in Surrey (*Cal. of Close Rolls, 1279-88*, p. 311). Perhaps after this he was mainly abroad. At

William of Fiennes,⁶⁹ who by the beginning of June⁷⁰ in his turn made way for a seneschal of the ordinary type, Thomas of Bellhouse.⁷¹ In November 1290, however, Queen Eleanor died, and the county passed to her only surviving son, a boy of six. Homage was done to Philip IV on his behalf by envoys in April 1291,⁷² and the charge of the county was committed to his uncle, Edmund, earl of Lancaster.⁷³ The seneschal was ordered to give up all writings concerning Ponthieu, and the keys of the coffers in which they were kept.⁷⁴ It appears from other instructions that the archives of the county were in various hands. The account, taken by commissioners sent out from England, and sealed by John of Lovetot, was in the care of the dean and chapter of St. Wulfran at Abbeville,⁷⁵ while the mayor and *échevins* of that town had charge of a casket containing the keys under which certain charters at Valloires were kept, and also the seal and counter-seal used in Ponthieu.⁷⁶ The receiver, of course, had the *rentale*, and was ordered to give up both that and any other important documents, such as the quittance John of Ponthieu had given when compensated for the loss of his fifth.⁷⁷ He was, however, to keep enough notes to enable him to send in his own accounts in proper form.

There was a real significance in the choice of Edmund of Lancaster for the charge of Ponthieu. His wife Blanche was a native of the neighbouring county of Artois. She and her husband had for years governed the great county of Champagne on behalf of the heiress, her daughter Joan, and Edmund had borne by courtesy the title of count of Champagne. Philip IV, however, had married the heiress, and since she came of age her inheritance had passed to France instead of England. Now

any rate his name disappears from Close and Patent Rolls. In 1294 he received letters of protection to follow Edmund, earl of Lancaster, to the Gascon wars (*Rôles Gascons*, iii. 2386, 3575).

⁶⁹ Again called *custos* (*Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5083, 5084).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 5088. Belleval (*l. c.*) says 6 June; but already on the 4th Thomas was addressed as seneschal.

⁷¹ Belhus. He was a Norfolk man; and a tenant-in-chief (*Cal. of Close Rolls, 1302-7*, pp. 182, 221, 232, 253). He had been sheriff of the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon in 1281, and in the general official trials of 1290 three charges were brought against him in that capacity (Tout and H. Johnstone, *State Trials of Edward I*, p. 108). Between 1284 and 1289 he was constantly appointed to commissions of *oyer and terminer* in the eastern counties (*Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1281-92*, pp. 145, 211, 264, 270, 281, 282, 283), and again in the same way after leaving Ponthieu (*Ibid.* pp. 489, 500, 510, 513, 517, 520, 521; *ibid.*, 1292-1301, pp. 43, 44, 45). He died, apparently by violence, in 1294 (*ibid.* p. 113, and *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1302-7*, p. 253).

⁷² *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1281-92*, p. 420; *Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5093.

⁷³ *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1281-92*, p. 435; *Rôles Gascons*, iii. 5098.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 5101 (11 September 1291).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 5102.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 5104. René de Belleval, in *Les Sceaux de Ponthieu*, gives an account and pictures of some early seals of Ponthieu, but not of any of this date.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 5103.

relations between France and England were already uneasy in 1290, and Edward was loth to lose the outpost of influence given to him by his brother's rule of Champagne. It was natural, therefore, that he should seize the chance opened by the succession to Ponthieu to establish his brother again in France. Small as the new foothold was, it was at any rate better than nothing.

With Edmund's appointment the supply of information for the historian suddenly vanishes. Seneschal, receiver, and minor officials would henceforth account to the earl of Lancaster, not to the Crown, so that their doings vanish from the central records. However, the gap is not as serious as it might be, for within three years the county left English hands altogether, being confiscated, with Gascony, in 1294. Thenceforth, to 1299, French officials administered Ponthieu.⁷⁸ When on 19 June 1299 the preliminary treaty of peace was put together at Montreuil, many points were left for future discussion. Ponthieu, however, was given back at once, and by 1 August was again being governed from England. This time, however, the financial pressure undergone by Edward in the interval drove him to do what later became a very common practice, to put the administration of Ponthieu into the hands of one of those Italian banking houses from which he had borrowed so largely, the Frescobaldi of Florence.⁷⁹ The admirable accounts which their receivers kept furnish most of the historical material for the next nine years.⁸⁰

A superficial inspection of these records would lead the observer to one of two conclusions. Either Ponthieu became increasingly prosperous, or else the Frescobaldi were extortioners. Every year the total of receipts rose higher. In the first account (1299-1300) the receiver put the total at £5,982 6s. 5d.,⁸¹ while the company reckoned it as £6,603 6s. 6½d.⁸² For the seventh year (1305-6) the receiver's total was £15,262 0s. 5+1d. sterling,⁸³ the company's £12,573 7s. 6+3d. sterling.⁸⁴ The first and largest category of receipts for any year was 'cens, rentes, reconnoissances et avoueries', due from each of twelve places.⁸⁵ This item

⁷⁸ Prarond, *Hist. d'Abbeville*, pp. 222-3; Belleval, *Les Sénéchaux*, pp. 419-20.

⁷⁹ See Rhodes, 'The Italian Bankers in England' (in *Owens' Coll. Hist. Essays*), pp. 137-68, and especially pp. 145-52; cf. Tout, *The Place of Edward II in English History*, pp. 83 f.

⁸⁰ 1 August 1299 (King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 156/1, m. 1) to 14 May 1308 (*Cal. of Close Rolls, 1307-13*, p. 180). Accounts are extant for 1299-1300 (King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 156/1, 2, 3), 1300-1 (*ibid.* 156/3, m. 6 and 156/15), 1301-2 (*ibid.* 156/16, 17, 18, 19), 1302-3 (*ibid.* 157/15, 16), 1304-5 (*ibid.* 159/14, 15), 1305-6 (*ibid.* 160/9, 10; 161/1), 1306-7 (*ibid.* 161/18). There are none for 1303-4 or 1307-8. One or two of the above are only fragments.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 156/3. ⁸² *Ibid.* 156/1. ⁸³ *Ibid.* 161/1. ⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 160/10.

⁸⁵ Abbeville, Rue, Waben, Le Crotoy, Crécy, Airaines, Port, Arguel, Martainneville, Le Titre, Cambron, Montreuil. To these after 1304 was added the manor of Tranlians (King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 159/15, m. 13), which contributed £150.

in the first year amounted to £5,611 17s. 2½d., but in the sixth to £9,856 9s. 5d.⁸⁶ Similarly, 'recoites des plois des toutes baillies de Ponthieu' began at £181 2s. 4d., and by 1305 had reached £604 14s. 8d. In considering these facts, however, it must be remembered that the sums are reckoned in pounds of Paris, and that the pound of Paris depreciated in value during these years. At first, five pounds of Paris were equivalent to the pound sterling.⁸⁷ In 1306-7 a sum was estimated as follows: 'Somme d'argent 48s. desterlins contant lun jour par mi lautre 11½ parisis par lesterlinch, qui montent 28li. 3s. 6d. desleue monoie qui valent 9li. 8s. 10d. bons parisis.'⁸⁸ Obviously, then, the apparent increase in the totals is not real. It must also be noted that the arrears of one year were placed as the first item among the receipts of the next, and naturally swelled the total. In 1301 £1,712 18s. were due as arrears,⁸⁹ in 1304 £15,705 17s. 2d.⁹⁰ On the whole, then, the impressive totals of the accounts do not furnish evidence of great prosperity or of great extortion.

The Italians did their work very thoroughly. No doubt they found matters in some confusion. Arrears dated to the last receiver but one before the confiscation of the county by the French.⁹¹ Arrangements made 'du tans le roy', that is, during the French occupation, had to be readjusted. The first account contained side by side with the ordinary headings memoranda made by the company for their own guidance.⁹² But they grappled with the difficulties and secured what was necessary. The rolls of expenses give a complete list of Ponthieu officials, small and great, with their names and wages. There were, besides seneschal and receiver, a clerk of the council of Ponthieu, a controller who kept a second roll as a check upon the receiver, a proctor for Ponthieu at Amiens. The first of these received £100, the second £40, the third 40s. More numerous, and less important, were the 'baillies et serians des baillies'. These included, besides the five *baillis* already mentioned, twelve mounted serjeants in the different bailiwicks, at 6d. a day each; forest serjeants, some on horse, some on foot; castellans at Abbeville, Airaines, and Le Crotoy, and keepers of the manors of Gard-lès-Rue, Le Titre, and Arguel; and a clerk of the turf-works at £16 a year.

The first seneschal under the new régime was John of Bakewell,

⁸⁶ The account for 1304-5 is the last which gives details.

⁸⁷ King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 156/5: '100s. de parisis qui valent 20s. desterling.'

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 161/13, m. 3.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 156/17.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 159/14.

⁹¹ Roland the Lombard, 1295-3 June 1290. Cf. King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 156/1, m. 1: 'Des yssues de la tere qui fu rollant le lombard jadis receveur de pontiu, saisis en le main du signur pur les arrierges que li dis rollans devoit au signur de son aconte de le dite recevere.'

⁹² e.g. *ibid.* 156/1, m. 12.

who held office from 1299 to 1305.⁹³ His duties were of the ordinary kind, except that at first he had a great deal of work in connexion with the negotiations which preceded the treaty of Paris of 1303. He went to Paris with the count of Savoy and the earl of Lincoln in March 1303, 'because they were as yet strangers to the needs of Ponthieu, and could do nothing without the seneschal.'⁹⁴ There he remained till the treaty was signed on 13 May, and till, on 20 May,⁹⁵ a solemn betrothal was carried out between Isabella of France and the English king's young son, Edward. The boy had come of age in February 1301, and was now, nominally, acting as count of Ponthieu as well as Prince of Wales. He passed through the county in October 1304,⁹⁶ on his

⁹³ 31 May 1305 (*ibid.* 159/15, m. 3). Bankwell or Banquelle used to be the favourite form of his name (Foss, *Judges of England*, iii; Lysons, *The Environs of London*, p. 500; and many indexes), perhaps partly through a false connexion with Bankers, a dependent manor of Lee, Kent, which the Bakewell family held. M. Bémont thinks that John of Bakewell, seneschal of Ponthieu, and John of Bakewell, Kentish landowner and alderman of London, were not the same person (*Rôles Gascons*, iii. 2684 n.). However, I have found no serious inconsistencies in the two careers, and they both disappear from the records after 1307. In 1284 John of Bakewell was clerk of the city of London (Sharpe, *Letterbook A*, p. 161), in 1286 keeper of the merchants' seal (*Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1281-92*, p. 245), and from 1286 to 1298 an alderman (*Letterbooks, A, B, C passim, State Trials of the Reign of Edward I*, xxiv, Beaven, *Aldermen of London*, ii, p. lxxi). In 1303, John was among the judges appointed to deal with the robbery of the king's treasury at Westminster (*Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1301-7*, p. 192), and in 1304 triumphed over Roger le Viroler who had broken down a party-wall of his, near the Guildhall, while its owner was beyond the seas in the service of King Edward and Prince Edward (*Letterbook C*, p. 121). In 1305, both before and after the end of his seneschalcy, his name appeared in English commissions of *oyer* and *terminer* (*Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1301-7*, pp. 352, 358, 379), once at the request of the Prince of Wales (Exchequer *Miscellanea*, 5/2, mm. 9, 15). He was among the persons appointed to deliver London gaol of William Wallace on 18 August 1305 (*Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1301-7*, p. 403). In October 1305, he went with William of Bliburgh to the pope at Lyons, on business connected with Prince Edward's marriage (*ibid.* pp. 383, 423, 439, 464; King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 160/9, m. 10). He was there till October 1306 at least, but meantime was put on a commission 'de walliis et fossatis' along the Thames (10 July 1306, *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1301-7*, p. 477). On 10 December 1306 he went to welcome Peter, cardinal bishop of Sabina, at Dover, and to escort him to the king at Carlisle (*ibid.* pp. 487, 509). On 26 March 1307 a plea of trespass before the mayor of London was to be recited in the presence of John of Bakewell and others (*ibid.* p. 546). When Prince Edward came to the throne John was rewarded for past service by being made a baron of the exchequer on 10 November 1307 (*Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1307-13*, p. 16). At the coronation next year, however, he was killed by the collapse of a wall (*Ann. Lond.*, in *Chron. of Edward I and II*, i. 153). The St. Paul's annalist calls him 'quidam miles adversarius illius ecclesie' (*Ann. Paulini, ibid.*, p. 261). Besides 'his house of Lee' (King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 157/16, m. 8), John had held property in London (*Letterbook C.*, pp. 12, 13, 121, 238), and particularly Bakewell Hall (Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. Kingford, i. 286). John was buried in the church of the Austin Friars (Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills proved in the Court of Husting, London*, i. 342; Stow, *Survey*, i. 179). His son Thomas was his heir and executor. His wife, Cecilia, lived till 1323.

⁹⁴ King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 157/16, m. 8; and cf. *ibid.* 158/4.

⁹⁵ He left on 23 May.

⁹⁶ King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 159/18, mm. 1-3; 160/14, fo. 2. See also *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1301-7*, pp. 263-4, 266; *Foedera* (1818), I. ii. 966-7; *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1302-7*, p. 174.

way to Amiens, to do homage, as his father's representative, for Gascony.

John of Bakewell ruled energetically in the young count's interests. In May and June 1301⁹⁷ he dispatched five ships,⁹⁸ laden with corn, barley, oats, and other provisions, worth £2,146 18s. 2d.⁹⁹ to the Scottish campaign in which the prince was leading one of the two invading armies. In 1302 he took £180 in *grosses amendes* from the communities of Le Crotoy, Waben, and Crécy.¹⁰⁰ Le Crotoy had set up the same man as mayor twice running, without leave of the seigneur. At Waben, a prisoner had been rescued, while at Crécy the townsfolk had deliberately allowed the escape of a priest who killed one of the king's serjeants in the open street at midday. A fine of £60 was exacted in each case. In 1304 a substantial addition was made to the county by the purchase from Reginald, count of Guelders, of the manor of Tranleal,¹⁰¹ for £8,000 of Paris.¹⁰² This provoked some trouble with the count of St. Pol, to which Prince Edward refers in two extant letters.¹⁰³ 'We had charged our ministers', he wrote to the count, 'that that land was of the heritage and demesne of our county of Ponthieu. And truly, sire, if we did not wish to keep it for the said reason, it would please us that you should hold it.' Three months later he wrote again :

As to what brother Robert tells us, that our bailiffs of Ponthieu were hard and unnecessarily oppressive to the people of your land, which adjoins ours, we desire you should know that it was not by our wish. We should desire them to treat you and yours with the utmost friendliness, and it would displease us greatly if they behaved otherwise. As to the affair of the manor of Tranleal, we have already written our wishes.¹⁰⁴

John of Bakewell was succeeded by Theobald, lord of Ponttrémy, who held office till 22 July 1306,¹⁰⁵ when his place was taken by John Clinton of Maxstoke.¹⁰⁶ By this time Edward of

⁹⁷ King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 156/5, is undated, and in the official list is ascribed to 28 Edw. I, i. e. 1299-1300. A comparison of this with 156/3, m. 19, however, which is dated August 1300 to September 1301, shows that the real date is 29 Edw. I.

⁹⁸ The Gautier Basse, Jehan Boulot, Nichole Sage, Austyn Elred, Roger Mak (King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 156/5).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 156/3, m. 19 or fo. 4.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 157/15, m. 11.

¹⁰¹ Or Tranleel or Tranlians. I cannot identify this, unless it is Le Transloy, near Bapaume (Pas-de-Calais), or Le Transal, near Gamaches (Somme).

¹⁰² King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 161/19, no. 12.

¹⁰³ 22 June and 6 September 1305 (Exchequer Miscellanea, 5/2, mm. 4, 13).

¹⁰⁴ In 1306-7 extensive alterations and repairs were going on in the manor (King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 161/14).

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 159/15, m. 3. Belleval (p. 420) describes him as vicomte of Abbeville.

¹⁰⁶ Described usually as John Clinton the younger, so long as his uncle, John Clinton of Coleshill, was alive (Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, ii. 992). He had been employed on judicial business, and had also been with the king on more than one expedition against Scotland (*Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1281-92*, pp. 433, 468; *ibid.*, 1292-1301, pp. 309, 343). He received letters of protection on 6 June 1306 (*ibid.*, 1301-7,

Carnarvon was involved in quarrels with his father, and already accused of the carelessness which later disfigured his rule as king. The following letter,¹⁰⁷ written to John of Benstead in September 1305, might bear a double interpretation :

With regard to what Nicholas of Gayton, our clerk in Ponthieu, says to you, namely, that he has often sent us letters on business, to which he has had no answer : we beg to inform you that we never received any letters from him or his envoys. The letters which we did receive, from our seneschal in those parts, we always answered at once, as, for example, the matter of the manor of Tranleal : and other business too. So we have bidden our seneschal of Ponthieu that he and others of our council in those parts should certify us of any business, such as our coinage, or other matters of which he has told us nothing. We are astonished, therefore, at the things Nicholas says to you.

When in the spring of 1307 the old king exiled his son's favourite, Peter of Gaveston, the prince found a refuge for his friend in his own county of Ponthieu.¹⁰⁸ There, perhaps, the two hoped to meet again, for at one point it seemed likely that the prince would have to go to France in connexion with the negotiations for his marriage.¹⁰⁹ However, the king put a stop to this on 8 June.¹¹⁰ Gaveston consoled himself by living in great comfort at Crécy, where from time to time he received extravagant presents from the prince.¹¹¹ Meantime the seneschal was having trouble of the old sort with his subjects, and in July 1307 the expenses had to be paid of 'various liege men from among the wisest and greatest of the county, assembled at Abbeville at our request that we might have their advice as to how we should proceed against the town of Abbeville on various matters'.¹¹² In the same month, however, Edward I died, and the history of Ponthieu entered upon a new period.

HILDA JOHNSTONE.

p. 439), and was appointed seneschal on 22 July. Before November 1307 he had laid down office. In 1308 Edward II gave him lands in England and also the honour of St. Valery (*Cal. of Fine Rolls*, ii. 24). He died in 1316.

¹⁰⁷ Exchequer Miscellanea, 5/2, m. 15.

¹⁰⁸ This gave Hemingburgh the ground for a highly-coloured story of the prince requesting his father to make Peter count of Ponthieu in his stead (*Chron.* ii. 271-2).

¹⁰⁹ *Foedera* (1818), I. ii. 102; *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1302-7*, pp. 530-1; *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1301-7*, p. 509.

¹¹⁰ *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1302-7*, p. 506. Gaveston got a large share of the provisions which had been made ready. Cf. Add. MS. 22923, fo. 4.

¹¹¹ Such, for example, as an outfit for a tournament, 'de pipis et perlis super velvetto viridi frettato cum aquillettis aureis de armis eiusdem domini Petri' (*Ibid.* fo. 10d). This cost £24 4s. 4½d., a huge sum in the modern equivalent. Another, 'super viridi sindone,' cost £8 8s. 7½d.

¹¹² King's Remembrancer's Accounts, 161/19, m. 12.