XXIII. *Journal of the Mission of Queen Isabella to the Court of France, and of her long residence in that country. Communicated by JOSEPH HUNTER, one of the Vice-Presidents.*

Read Nov. 29, 1855.

THE year 1325 is memorable in the history both of England and France as a time when very difficult negotiations were going on, and when the Queen-Consort of England undertook the office of mediator between her husband, the King of England, and the King of France, her brother.

A female diplomatist gives an interest of a peculiar kind to these negotiations. The matters in dispute were certain rights in Guienne, and the insisting by the King of France on the immediate render of homage by the King of England for the lands he held in the realm of France. In the end questions arose far more important than these, so that this and the following year may be regarded as a very remarkable crisis in our constitutional history.

There are few events which are related with greater unanimity, both in respect of facts and of policy, by the several writers who have treated on the history of this period; nor in bringing this subject under the notice of the Society am I about to disturb this unanimity, or to unsettle opinions which have been so long received. I wish, rather, to give increase of confidence in those opinions (with perhaps, however, slight exceptions,) by stating certain facts more clearly, more fully, more authoritatively, than they have hitherto appeared. I do not aspire to the honour of penetrating to the secret purposes of the principal actors in this business, or of unveiling dark designs and criminal intentions. These things belong to the historian, and demand the exercise of the higher faculties of the mind. It is for the antiquary to collect and arrange the facts for the historian's use, to examine into their claims on his reception, and to place them before him in exact and lucid order. Surely no unworthy occupation; a needful labour if history is not to degenerate into romance. This is what I now propose to attempt in respect of the portion of history before us.

Of course the Society will be prepared to receive facts, each singly considered very minute in itself, and possibly wearisome in the detail. But it is of the very

essence of antiquarian literature to condescend to great minuteness ; and facts in the transactions of eminent persons in long past ages, when they are placed on the firm basis of sufficient evidence, the most insignificant, may fructify and enrich the historical garden. Even to know that a particular person was at a particular place on a particular day may clear away a very important historical doubt.

A very slight sketch of the events which led to the part which the Queen took in these negotiations will be sufficient.

The party of which the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford may be considered as the leaders met with what was little less than its destruction by the death of the two earls, and of several of the more eminent of their adherents. This occurred early in the year 1322, and from that time the administration of public affairs was committed to the Spensers, who had almost uncontrolled sway. But their administration was unfortunate and unpopular. They were unsuccessful in the war with Scotland, and some little act of imprudence on the part of those who administered the affairs of Guienne involved them in a serious dispute with the King of France, or afforded him a pretext for acts of hostility against England, as by some writers the affair is represented. On behalf of an unfortunate prince it may be said, that, in respect of our foreign relations, he maintained a dignified attitude, making strenuous efforts to maintain by force what were his rights in the realm of France, and, at the same time, very desirous to maintain peace. It might, perhaps, be contended that he acted throughout the part of a patriotic sovereign in very difficult circumstances.

Not the smallest part of the difficulties in his position arose out of the evil terms on which he was living with his Queen, who was a Princess of France. She held him in great disesteem, and she disliked the Spensers extremely, whom she charged with instances of personal disrespect, as well as with offensive intentions towards herself in the part of their public policy which concerned the Duchy of Cornwall. She was sister to the King of France, who at that time was Charles le Bel, the last of the three short-lived brothers sons of Philip le Bel. That she was faithless, politically, to England, has not, I think, been insinuated ; but she was on the best terms with her brother, and appears to have looked up to him as her natural protector in the oppression which she alleged that she suffered from her husband, and especially his ministers. When affairs grew darker, and there was every prospect that the two nations must both put forth all their strength, recourse was had to the mediation of the Pope, in those days the great arbitrator between contending states and between sovereigns and their subjects. The Pope

sent the Archbishop of Vienne and the Bishop of Orange his nuncios to England. They remained here till the 21st of November in 1324, when they received a present of plate from the king's wardrobe at the Tower. This mission led to no immediate results. The King of France continued harassing the King's Aquitanian subjects. On the 5th of January, 1325, the King received letters from two Gascons, named Amanenus de Fossato and William de la Launde, and other persons of the Isle of Oleron, complaining that they were ejected by the power of the King of France, and were come to England to implore his assistance.

It was at this time that the determination was taken to make use of the influence which the Queen might have in composing these feuds; and she consented, not unwillingly it may seem, to visit the court of the King of France her brother, and, with the assistance of the English leiger-embassadors, to settle terms of amity and peace. It seems to have been a wise act of policy as respects the nation, a dangerous act as respects the King. Some even think that the whole design originated in French not English policy, but this I leave to the historians.

The measure was finally determined upon early in the year 1325, for it was on the 8th of March in that year that the King communicated his intention to the Pope. (Rymer, 595.) It was then, indeed, something more than an intention, for it was on the next day, the 9th of March, that the Queen landed at Whitsand, the usual place of disembarking, near Calais.

One historian says that she went with large attendance and circumstances of extraordinary magnificence. I believe this to be a mistake. At least I find no traces of such magnificence in documents where they might be expected to appear if the embassy was on any extraordinary scale of expense. A treasurer of her household was appointed, and the sum of 1,000*l.* placed in his hands, with permission to draw for more at Paris from the Bardi, great Italian merchants. John de Cromwell went in her suite, the same who was afterwards so great an enemy of the King.

It would be the duty of the treasurer, whose name was Sir Thomas de London, to make an exact report of the expenditure of the money thus intrusted to him. This report he made when his duties were over, and this report still exists among the Miscellaneous Computuses of Her Majesty's Exchequer. It is an unadorned fiscal document. It is of the expenses of the household of the Queen, not including private and personal expenditure, chiefly relating to the expenses of provisions for the table. Its chief value as an historical document is that it enables us to trace day by day the Queen's removes, to see in many cases what visitors she received, and we can collect from it one or two precise dates of

important events, which thus come to us on an unexceptional contemporary authority.

We will, then, follow the Queen, with the light which this honest chronicler holds out to us, day by day, from the 9th of March, 1325, when she landed near Calais, to the 29th of September, when the account closes.

The 9th of March in that year was on a Saturday. The Queen rested at Calais on the Sunday, and on Monday proceeded to Boulogne, where she slept. The next day she was at Montreuil, a town in the Earldom of Pontive, which had accrued to King Edward I. by his marriage with Eleanor of Castile. Here the Queen remained for three days. On the 15th she was at Cressy, the same Cressy (for there was another Cressy in Picardy) near to which the great battle was fought twenty years afterwards. On the 16th she slept at Araynes, and on Sunday, the 17th, she was at Poix.

Her route lay through Beauvais and Ybovillers to Pontoise, where she found the Queen of France, with whom she and part of her suite dined. She made no stay here, but on the next day removed to Poissy.

At Poissy there was a palace of the King of France, and a convent of Dominican ladies, which had been founded by Philip le Bel. At a short distance from Paris, this lay very conveniently for conferences, and such, no doubt, took place here during the ten days, from the 21st to the 31st of March, that the Queen remained here. We do not, indeed, know that the King of France or his ministers did resort to Poissy at this time, but we find the leiger-embassadors from England meeting the Queen, and remaining with her on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of March. They were the Bishops of Norwich and Winchester, with John de Britannia, Earl of Richmond. They had received their Prestita in Michaelmas Term, 1324, so that, serious as the differences were, they had not led to the breaking off of all diplomatic relations between the two countries. We do not find the ambassadors dining with the Queen later than the 24th, and it may be presumed that they then took their departure, the Queen remaining at Poissy, where the two Bishops returned to her on the 30th, and were entertained in her closet.

On the 1st of April she entered Paris.

The palace of the Bois de Vincentz was assigned to her for her residence. She became established in it on the 3rd of April, and on the 7th, which was Easter Day, attended the celebration of mass in the neighbouring church of St. Anthony.

During the whole of her journey from the coast the daily expenses of her household were defrayed out of her own funds. She received however frequent presents of provisions from the King her brother ; and it being the season of Lent

they consisted of fish, of which there was great variety—pike, bream, turbot, conger eel, sturgeon, lamprey, porpoise, carp, and a fish called luz, which is distinguished from the pike.

On the 10th of April she went into Paris to the chapel of the palace. It was a visit to the relics. On the 11th she and part of her suite dined with the Queen of France (Joan). From that day to the 17th of April the treasurer has inserted nothing in his account but the ordinary daily expenses at the Bois de Vincentz.

The remainder of the month of April was spent in an excursion to Poissy and places in its vicinity. She arrived there on the 18th, having passed through Saint Denis. On that day she entertained at dinner, at Poissy, the Bishop of Norwich and the Earl of Richmond, together with the Abbot of Saint Denis, Sir Louis de Claromonte, and the Countess of Foys. This entertainment appears to have been of some magnificence, the treasurer claiming for the expense 32*l.* 6*s.* 6¼*d.*, while the ordinary daily expenses were but about 15*l.* On the 19th she was at Saint Hilary; from the 20th to the 25th at Poissy; on the 26th at Mantes; on the 27th at Saint Germain (Sanctum Germanum in lacu), and on the 28th she was returned to the Bois de Vincentz, where she remained stationary till the 13th of May.

No occurrences of these days are noticed by the treasurer, except that on the 7th of May the Queen attended the celebration of mass in the cathedral church of Nôtre Dame; and that on Sunday the 12th the Count de Claremont with a great part of his suite was received by her to dinner.

During the whole of the month of April the negotiations were proceeding, and by the end of that month, or the very beginning of May, the negotiation, as far as the Queen was concerned, might be said to be brought to a conclusion; for the letter to the Pope (Rymer 599), in which the King of England relates what had been concluded, is dated on the 14th of May. He writes in a desponding tone, and was evidently very much dissatisfied with the result. A truce had been obtained, but it was to last only till the quindenies of Pentecost, which was about the 10th day of June. The whole of what was disputed territory was to be placed in the King of France's power, and this being done the King of England was to go in person to France there to do his homage, when the King of France would restore the greater part of the territory he had occupied; and as to the rest, it was to remain in his occupation till a solemn judgment was pronounced in the courts of France touching the right to it.

All this was matter for great deliberation in King Edward's Council, and historians represent that his ministers declined to advise, and wished that a par-

liament should be called. The Queen remained at Poissy and Bois de Vincentz, where she entertained Sir William de Ayremine, who seems to have come on a special embassy on the 18th. On Sunday the 19th she received the quarter of a wild boar and rabbits from the king's warren, and presents of this kind began to flow in to her more abundantly than before. But while in this state of suspense, waiting the decision of the English court, she took an excursion from Paris as far as Fontainebleau, going by Corbeil. On the 26th of May there was a large assembly of diplomatic people at Fontainebleau, the Archbishop of Vienne, the Bishop of Orange, the Bishop of Norwich, and the Earl of Richmond, who all dined with the Queen on that day, being the feast of Pentecost. On the 27th and 28th she returned to the Bois de Vincentz, where on the 29th she received a visit from the Countesses of Valois and Claremont, and the Duchess of Loraine "*et plures magnates.*" Then on the 30th of May we have this definite entry on the margin of the treasurer's account :—"Isto die fuit Regina in Palatio Paris, coram concilio Regis Franciæ pro pace concordanda."

This is the treaty which we have in the *Fœdera*, p. 601, dated the 31st of May. It is stated in the treaty itself that it was made with the concurrence of the Queen and of the two prelates who represented the Pope, and it was signed by the Bishop of Norwich, the Earl of Richmond, and Sir William de Ayremine on behalf of the King of England.

It appears that the King of England had not been able to obtain any mollification of the hard terms of the treaty, of which a draft had been submitted to him. He had however, we see, been induced to accept the terms, as perhaps the best that could be obtained, and the treaty was now solemnly ratified. The point of rendering personal homage, one of the worst parts of the feudal system, when the persons concerned were men of high birth, high rank, high spirit, and of near equality in position, was conceded; and now Beauvais was the place agreed upon for the meeting of the two Kings, and the time fixed was the feast of the Assumption, the 15th day of August, which was changed for the quindenies of that feast, the 29th of the month. It was however stipulated, as if in prescience of what might happen, that if either King was hindered by sickness or any other strong impediment, the other stipulations of the treaty should nevertheless remain in force.

Some writers appear disposed to represent the King of England as not acting in good faith in the matter of the homage. An opportunity of examining documents relating to this affair has led me to a different conclusion. This at least is certain, that great preparation was made, and some expenses incurred, for the King's visit to Beauvais. He meant to go in royal state. A list is preserved of

317 persons to whom robes were issued from the royal wardrobe preparatory to this expedition. Among them were ten noble youths who happened to be at the time wards of the Crown. We find amongst them, Edward de Monthermer, Robert de Ferrars, John L'Estrange, and Hugh le Despenser. Each was to be attended either by a "maistre" or a "compaignon." Amongst the rest were 49 esquires. To transport them a little fleet was collected, which was to be ready at Dover on the 18th of August.

Men, horses, and baggage were actually sent to Whitsand, there to await the arrival of the King, going to France to do his homage for Guienne, as is expressed in the receipt for payment of port dues to the Earl of Boulogne. The men of Dover provided vessels, for which they declined to receive any compensation when the voyage did not take place; but they received something for a barge carrying the Bishop of Carlisle and Sir Robert de Well, sent by the King to the parts of France on secret business, while he was staying at Dover "for his own passage to France, there to do his homage for the Duchy of Guienne." The King's own barge, called the "Saint Mary of Westminster," was put in requisition, Andrew de Rosekyn the master being commanded by the King to follow him from Pontefract (a place so called, near London, or possibly Broken-wharf,) to Dover, to pass with him to the parts of France, should the King go thither. We find also that jewels, as well as provisions and other necessities, were sent to France on the King's service. Lastly, Sir Almeric le Zouch, porter of the King's hall, was sent to the parts of Crotey to make preparation there for the King's coming; and some preparation was also made at Beauvais.

During this agitating interval, the King was in frequent correspondence with France. On the 2nd of August, letters "sub secreto sigillo" were dispatched to Sir William de Ayremine. On the 27th of August, John de London, a messenger of the Bishop of Winchester, brought letters to the King, and returned with an immediate answer, when letters were also sent to the Queen, "sub privato sigillo," by a special messenger.

The accounts of King Edward's household for the 19th year of his reign are not now known to exist, so that we are deprived of the easiest and most certain means of learning the several removes of the court during that year. But by aid of the testes of various writs, we find that for the greater part of the month of July the King was at Westminster; on the 5th of August, at Hatfield, in Hertfordshire; on the 9th, at Havering at Bower; and on the 15th and 16th, at Pontefract, not the northern town so named, but the place before spoken of. He then moved in the direction of Dover, and on the 24th of August we have a writ

dated at Langdon, which was a monastery near to Dover. On the 2nd of September he was still at Langdon; on the 5th, at Dover; and, in the course of the month, he may be traced at Ledes and Merefield, returning towards Westminster.

He had thus, we see, overstepped the time when his presence was expected at Beauvais. Indeed, while he was at Langdon, on the 24th of August, five days before the time appointed for the meeting, he addressed the letter to his brother of France which we have in the *Fœdera* (p. 606), signifying that he had set out on his journey, but was unable to proceed by reason of sickness. There is no doubt that the mortification of being bound to perform a service so distasteful to him, working upon a mind like his, may have produced such derangement of the system as would quite incapacitate him for proceeding; and the length of the time during which he remained at Langdon Abbey and Dover seems to render it the more probable that it would have been at least unsafe for him to travel to such a distance, setting aside the consideration of any inconvenience he or his ministers might apprehend as possible, were he to put himself in the power of his Queen and the King of France. However, the personal part of the treaty was now over, and it could not but be a great disappointment to those who had signed it in the belief that thus all differences would be composed, and especially to the Queen, whose treaty it may be said to have been, and who might read in the event only further proof of the imbecility of the King, or perhaps even of the disposition of the Spensers to degrade and disgrace her.

To the Queen we must now return, whom we left at the close of the month of May, having witnessed the ratification of the treaty, which Walsingham says was concluded at the Bois de Vincentz. Sir William Ayremine was much with her at this period; but took his departure on the 5th of June. The Bishop of Norwich remained. On the day of Ayremine's departure, the Queen visited, at the Temple, Clementia, a queen dowager of France, widow of Lewis Hutin, the eldest brother of the king then on the throne. Queen Isabella dined with her on the 11th, and received her to sweet-meats and wine on the 14th. Of the English ambassadors, the Earl of Richmond also remained at Paris, and on the 16th supped with the Queen. The Countess of Foys was then also on a visit to her, remaining till the 26th, when the Queen visited the Minoresses at Saint Marcellus. On the 19th she had attended the celebration of mass at the Friars Predicants. On the 29th she visited another house of religion, the Carthusian Friars of Paris. We find, further, that the two prelates who represented the

Pope remained at Paris; for on the last day of this month of June, they and the Earl of Richmond dined with the Queen.

In the first fortnight of July nothing is recorded beside the ordinary daily expenses, except that, on the 13th, the Countess of Saint Paul partook of sweet-meats and wine with the Queen.

Anxiously watching, as she must have been, what was passing in England, she nevertheless left Paris on the 14th of July, nor did she return till the 9th of September. She established herself at the Palace of Chastel Neuf sur Loire and Jargaux, in the Orleannois, where she arrived on the 19th, having passed through Bourg la Reine, Chastre, and Estemp. She remained here till the 5th of September, making only one short excursion on the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd of August, to Saint Ey, Marchenoir, and Bois Jency. The treasurer notices only two visits which she received while here, namely, from the Earl of Richmond, on the 1st of September, and from the Bishop of Winchester on the 2nd. They perhaps brought to her the intelligence that the King was unable to appear at Beauvais at the stipulated time. It appears also, by a letter in the *Fœdera* (p. 607), that the King of France was himself at Chasteau Neuf on the 4th of September, and had had conferences there with the Queen on proposals sent from England, which in that letter he accepted and ratified. This being done, on the 5th the Queen set out on her return to Paris, where she arrived on the 9th.

The King of England's inability to proceed to Beauvais was no doubt an untoward event, and the minds of the ministers of both countries would naturally be turned to the discovery of some means by which any evil effects of it might be obviated. Those means were found. Who first devised them, and by what means the two courts of France and England were brought in so short a time to adopt them, is among the mysteries of state policy not laid open to us. The means were these. The King of England was to be relieved from the obligation of personal homage. He was to surrender all his possessions in the realm of France to Prince Edward, then about 13 years of age, afterwards our renowned King Edward III. The Prince was to do the homage, and the other terms of the treaty were to be fulfilled as if the homage had been performed by the King himself. It was a resolution hastily formed, and, looking back upon it from these times, when we know what ensued upon it, it appears to have been fraught with much danger to the King. It placed the heir apparent in the power of the Queen and of her family.

The King of England assented to the arrangement, and at once made a formal cession of Guienne and Ponthieu, whatever indeed he held of the King of France,

to his son and heir apparent, who immediately proceeded to Paris, where, and not at Beauvais, the homage was to be performed.

When the Queen was returned to the Bois de Vincentz, she received the Earl of Richmond on the 12th of September, together with the Minister General of the order of the Friars Minors with his society. On the 13th, another diplomatic person appears upon the scene, Sir Otes de Grauntson, who dined with her on that day; and in the evening there was a large assemblage, including the Countess of Saint Paul, the Countess Devereux, a French archbishop, and the abbot of Cluny. On the 19th, Sir Otes again dined with the Queen; and on the 21st, the Earl of Richmond.

The Treasurer of the Household has next recorded that, on Sunday, the 22nd of September, Prince Edward arrived at Paris. He came attended by Sir Richard Hausted. On that day, 2,400 florins of the lamb, the value of each being 50 pence, were advanced to William de Cusance, the keeper of his wardrobe, for his expenses while in France. There was no delay; for the treasurer further informs us that, on Tuesday, the 24th, the Prince did his homage, and that the Queen of England on that day dined with the King of France, who also sent a present of four does to her larder.—“September 24: Isto die commedit Regina cum Rege Franciæ; quo die filius Regis Angliæ fecit homagium suum pro Vasconia.”

Thus were arranged all the ostensible and legitimate objects of the Queen's mission. And here we take leave of this honest if not very communicative chronicler; for he had nothing to record beside the ordinary daily expenses during the few remaining days of the month of September, the Queen still residing at Paris. The whole of the money accounted for as household expenses is 2,479*l.* 12*s.* 8½*d.* and for forinsec expenses, 361*l.* 4*s.* 2¼*d.*

But the history of the Queen's residence in France does not end here. And now begins the inquiry into secret purposes and motives, into which I do not propose to enter, taking upon myself the humbler office of the collector and arranger of facts. It appears to have been the duty of the Queen, now that the purpose of her mission was accomplished, to return to England, and to restore the young Prince thus incautiously placed in her hands to his father and sovereign. This, however, was not her intention; and, though the King wrote frequent letters to her imploring her to return, and commanding his son, the young Prince, to remember his promise at parting, that he would return as soon as the homage was performed, the Queen remained immoveable in her purpose of remaining abroad, and she kept the Prince, not absolutely near her person, but where he

seems to have been compelled to act under her control. Some accounts state that he went into Guienne.

She was living at Paris till the 14th day of November, and probably for the remainder of the year, except as she went on short excursions, with or without any political purpose. We have not the benefit of such an account as that of London for the six or seven weeks from the 29th of September to the 14th of November, but we have what well supplies its place when carefully studied, while it affords us many particulars of the Queen's private and personal expenses of which the treasurer of her household gives no account. And here it may be proper to mention that where we have accounts like that of the treasurer, we have also, if time and chance have spared them, *Particulæ Compoti*, being accounts rendered by subordinate officers to the great accomptant. Sometimes we have the account without the *particulæ*; this is the case with London's accounts. Sometimes the *particulæ* without the general account; this is the case with the Queen's expenses in the months of October and November. These *particulæ* are under the heads of Coquina, Speciaria, Panetria and Butellaria, Mariscalcia, and Necessaria, under which term Dona Eleemosyna and Nuncii are included.

By a comparison of these subsidiary documents, we learn that for the first fortnight of October the Queen remained in her old abode at the Bois de Vincentz. The Countess of Warren and the Lady Beauchamp were much with her. The two prelates nuncios of the Pope took their departure for Rome, when they received from her a present of plate, cups, pitchers, and basons, valued at 35*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* She sent messengers with letters to the Bishop of Viviers, also to Sir William de Heromval and the Abbot of Cluny. She gave with her own hands 5*s.* to Jeffery Boder and John le Petit, "infirmati de infirmitate inferni et restituti sanitati in ecclesia Beatae Mariæ de Paris in presencia Reginae," offering at the same time 5*s.* at the image of the Blessed Mary, and 5*s.* at divers relics placed behind the high altar. To two boatmen who ferried her across the Seine to the church she paid 12*d.* She presents 13*s.* 4*d.* to a nun of the house De la Barre who had come to Paris to wait upon her, and the same sum towards the expenses of her return. On the minoresses of Saint Marcellus, near Paris, on a visit which she paid to them, she bestows 4*l.* in aid of their support. To the boatmen of the Port Nully, and other boatmen who ferried her, with her suite, carriage and horses, across the Seine, she pays 5*s.*

The last payment was made when she was on her way to Poissy, on the 14th of October. When there she presented 5*s.* to the carpenters, masons, and other

workmen who were employed about the church of the Predicant Sisters, to buy wine for themselves. She herself returned to Paris on the next day, leaving part of her suite at Poissy.

The Queen remained at Paris till the 22nd of October, leaving it, if at all, only for short visits to Poissy. During this time she dispatched letters to the Queen of France at Villars juxta Rees, to the Chancellor of France at Vivers in Coudray, and to the Archbishop of Vienne in reply to letters received from him. She gave small alms to a brother of William de la Licher, formerly valet of her chamber, to Ralph de Saint German, formerly porter of the kitchen to her mother, and to Ivo le Briton, a poor boy who had served in the Queen's court when she was an infant, and who came imploring alms.

On the 22nd of October she set out on a progress to Rheims. I cannot find in the French chroniclers that there was any grand solemnity to be performed in that city at which she had to assist, and perhaps the only inducement was that she might be present at the Feast of All Saints. The line of her progress lay through Bourget, Louvres, where she made a donation to the brethren and sisters of the Maison Dieu; Senlis, where she was met at the entrance by the Friars Minors, to whom she gave a pittance. She gave also small sums to sister Nichola, a minoress, to the nuns of the house of Saint Remigius, to the nuns of the Maison Dieu, and to two persons who came complaining of losses at sea. Alms to poor people and letters dispatched to Sir William de Boudon, at Paris, by the hands of Donald de Scotia, a messenger of the King of England, are the only incidents as she advanced to Perefontz. On the 28th she reached Soissons, where she was met, as before, by the Friars Minors, who received their pittance. Here the nuns of the house of Saint Stephen, the sisters of the house of Saint Lazarus, and the sisters of the Maison Dieu received small donations. She offered at the high altar of the church of Saint Mary 25s. to purchase a cloth of Lucca. She offered 5s. at the relics in that church, and the same sum at the relics in the church of Saint Viverius. John de Gysy was her host at Soissons. She passed through Fismes and arrived at Rheims on the 30th. These minute particulars may be interesting to the French antiquaries, as any such of a foreign traveller in England in the fourteenth century would be to ourselves.

Here the Queen passed three days. Cloths of Turkey-work, in their value in money, were offered at the high altar in the church of the Abbey of Saint Nicasius, at the church of Saint Remigius, and at the Cathedral Church. Offerings were also made at the relics in the churches of Saint Nicasius and Saint

Remigius; money to purchase a cloth of Lucca to the church of the Friars Minors; 5s. at the head of Saint Nicasius in the Cathedral Church; pittances to the Sisters Minoresses, the Friars Minors, the Carmelites, certain Cistercians, and to another religious foundation, the name of which is lost owing to an imperfection in the record. She made a special offering at the Ampulla, the sacred vessel containing the oil with which the Kings of France were anointed at their coronation. Large sums were here expended on rich apparel. A mercer of Paris received 40*l.* for cloth of the colour of Malbryn, with furs of minever and ermine, bought for the Queen against the Feast of All Saints, as is expressed in the record. Furs were given by the Queen's command to Eustace Poer, Richard Tuyt, and John de Bikerton, who appear to have been her pages. Small payments were made to persons who had acted as guides, conducting the Queen at divers points on the way between Paris and Rheims. Three shillings were expended on an escutcheon by Ralph Richepos, who is described as a minstrel, but the offices of minstrel and herald were in those times often united in the same person.

The liberality of the Queen to the religious of Rheims was not yet exhausted. On her departure she bestowed a pittance on the Augustine Friars; small sums on persons who are called *Filiæ Dei*, the Beguine Sisters, the nuns of Saint Anthony, and the nuns of the Hospital of Saint Peter. She also presented again at the relics shown on the altar in the church of the Abbey of Saint Nicasius; and as she passed by their house, in going between Toucherie and Fismes, she gave small alms to the nuns of Oremont.

She returned to Soissons, resting as before one night at Fismes. At Soissons she on this occasion presented a diaper cloth to the high altar of the church of the Abbey of Saint Mark, and offered at the relics. She gave a donation to the Maison Dieu near the church of Saint Gervase, to the sisters of the house of Saint Mark, and to two poor musicians "*vidulatores*" who played before her. She distributed a small sum among eight persons, officers as it should seem of the church of Saint Mark, but the record is injured in the place, "*ad nuces et poma sibi emenda.*"

As she was leaving Soissons she was met by three poor converts "*tribus conversis pauperibus*" imploring alms, to whom she ordered that 12*d.* should be given. She slept one night at Jansi, and on the 5th arrived at Compeigne, where she remained the whole of the 6th of November, and was scarcely less liberal to the religious than she had been at Soissons and Rheims. She offered at the relics in the church of the Abbey of Saint Cornelius; gave pittances to the Friars Predicants, the Friars Minors, the nuns of Saint John, the Beguine Sisters,

the nuns of the *Maison Dieu*, and to a convert named Marota. From hence she sent a runner of her wardrobe as a messenger to Paris, probably to make preparations for her return.

It is clear that this progress was conducted with much of state and magnificence, and we may presume that it was not undertaken without the sanction of the King of France. To the King of England it could not but have an air of defiance, as he was at the time so urgently pressing her return as essential to the peace and welfare of his kingdom. To the Spensers it would show a despite of their influence, and of the indignities she fancied that she had received at their hands. We have little more to relate concerning the progress. She moved rather slowly on her return to Paris. She passed through Pont Saint Maixence and Louvre; gave something to a sister of the *Maison Dieu*, who complained of the burning of their house; offered at the tooth of Saint Christopher, in the priory of Saint Christopher, and had again to make payment to guides.

About the 13th of November she reached Paris.

The proceedings of the Queen in the seven weeks which succeeded the rendering of the homage by her son are the more interesting when we view them in connection with what was passing in England, where the King was putting every engine in motion to enforce her return and the return of her son. On the 14th of October we find from the account of his forinsec expenses that he wrote under the secret seal to the Queen and to the Countess of Warren, and at the same time under the privy seal to Prince Edward and to the King of France. On the 19th of October he wrote again to the Queen, the King of France, and also to the Pope; and on the 22nd, the day on which she began her progress, to the Queen and Prince. The rapidity with which these letters succeeded each other manifests great anxiety, which, as the event proves, was not unreasonable. This anxiety shows itself in the letter which the King addressed to the Pope, of which a copy remains, printed in the *Fœdera* (p. 613); but more strikingly in a letter dated at Westminster on the 1st of December, addressed to the King of France, copies of which were transmitted to the most distinguished persons of the French court, refuting an opinion which the King of France had expressed—that his sister would not be safe in England as long as the Spensers retained their power over the King; and pressing in terms of earnestness, rarely manifested in modern diplomacy, that the French King should use all his influence to induce her to return, and that the young Prince should be delivered to him immediately. This letter is also to be read in the *Fœdera*, p. 615. At the same time he wrote to the Queen a most urgent letter to the same effect, and on the second of that month to

the Prince, commanding him to return, with the Queen or without, reminding him of the promise which he had made at Dover.

With special and original information, such as that which I have now laid before the Society, I am not provided touching the Queen's removes after the date at which the computuses fail us; but I am not willing that this communication shall be brought to a conclusion without giving a very faint outline of the important events which the historian has next to record. The King of France encouraged his sister in her resistance of marital and regal authority. Some historians give rather a different view of his policy; but that support given by him to her is made a part of the *casus belli* when the war between the two kingdoms began to be more earnestly prosecuted. As to the Queen, she put herself under the protection of the Count of Hainault, with whom she concerted measures for her return to England in a manner very different from the return prescribed for her by her husband. She engaged that her son Prince Edward should marry Philippa, one of the daughters of the Count of Hainault, and the Count on his part engaged to furnish a small army—some accounts say about three thousand men—of whom his brother, John de Hainault, undertook the command. In the summer of that year the King of England laid an embargo on all French vessels in his ports; and on the 26th of August issued writs, dated at Clarendon, to the sheriffs of the several counties, setting forth that, "Because the King of France has made war against us by receiving our wife and eldest son in his dominions, whom lately we sent to him in full confidence of his love, and detains them contrary to our will, and by encouraging and comforting our enemies and rebels, and by invading our duchy with a great army, and distressing us and our faithful subjects in various manner of war by land and by sea; and now, as we are informed, all persons belonging to our realm and power passing through his kingdom, or dwelling in it, together with their property, he has commanded to be arrested, and kept in arrest—we straightly enjoin upon you that you apprehend all men of the power and dominion of France within your bailiwick, with their ships, goods, and all other things whatsoever, except men of religion, ecclesiastical persons, and those who within this our realm have fixed domiciles, children, and wives, and have now for a long time lived here as if natives born, and all Flemings and Bretons, as long as the truce continues between us and them, and that you keep them in safe and honourable custody till otherwise commanded by us." This writ is enrolled upon the Originalia of the 20th year; and I have recited it as being more definite and full in setting forth the

grounds on which the King rested his entrance into a more open war with France at that time than documents usually cited.

He gave the command of the eastern coast, when the descent of Isabella and the Hainaulters was become imminent, to his brother of the half-blood Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, who was also by birth cousin-german to the Queen. But the King had lost his influence. His orders were feebly responded to, so that he had no army to oppose the invaders. She and the Hainaulters landed at the mouth of the Orwell a little before the 27th of September. The Prince seems to have been with her. We have not the means of tracing her triumphant march from the time of her landing; but in November she was in Gloucestershire. On the 3rd of December she was at Woodstock, and there remained till the 22nd, when she and the Prince removed to Wallingford, there to keep their Christmas. Passing through Reading, Windsor, Chertsey, and Merton, they arrived at the palace of Westminster on the 4th of January; and on Sunday, the 1st of February, the King having been induced to resign, the Prince was crowned King as Edward III., and what may be called a new era in our history commences.

I do not speak of what happened to the poor King after this, it being matter of public history, and the history well narrated and generally known; and I bring this communication to a close with two remarks—

First, that in all the details of the Queen's expenditure, which have afforded us so much information, the name of Roger Mortimer never occurs; so that, as far as this evidence goes, we have no reason to suppose that he was present counselling the Queen in the negotiations, or in attendance upon her, to the 14th of November, 1325, when the book of these particular details is closed to us. The chroniclers inform us that he landed with the Queen and the Hainaulters, so that it would seem he might be taken into her councils while she was in Hainault.

Secondly, that these very authentic particulars show, I am sorry to say, how extremely ill-informed Froissart was concerning this period of history; yet he was himself born at Valenciennes only a few years after these events occurred. It is quite painful to compare what he has delivered as the story with what is the truth. On the other hand, the statement of our own Walsingham is well borne out by the evidence of these contemporary records, being supported by them in almost every particular.