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PIERS GAVESTON, EARL OF CORNWALL, 1307-1312

Emory University PH.D. 1982

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PIERS GAVESTON
EARL OF CORNWALL, 1307-1312

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A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Emory University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History

1982

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PIERS GAVESTON
EARL OF CORNWALL, 1307-1312

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INTRODUCTION

Piers Gaveston is perhaps the most infamous royal favorite in English history. Over the course of six and a half centuries, his portrait has been reduced to little more than a parody of the historical figure it is meant to represent. Best known to the present-day public through the dramatic works of Marlowe and Brecht,[1] Gaveston is commonly viewed as a sycophantic homosexual with a marked tendency toward avarice, nepotism, and especially overweening pride. Even in such balanced modern scholarly accounts of Edward II's reign as that presented in McKisack's Fourteenth Century, the earl of Cornwall is a stereotyped figure.[2] No one can doubt that Gaveston was a prominent and influential figure in the early years of Edward's reign, and yet judgment--invariably condemnation--has been and continues to be passed upon him with little recourse to and less regard for the verifiable historical records.[3] This is an unacceptable

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[1] Christopher Marlowe, Edward the Second, 1594; Bertolt Brecht, Edward II; a chronicle play, trans. E. Bentley, New York, 1966.

[2] M. McKisack, The Fourteenth Century, Oxford, 1959, pp. 2-28.

[3] This tendency is seen in such recent works as McKisack's Fourteenth Century, H. Hutchison's Edward II, London, 1972, and C. Bingham's Edward II, London, 1973. A major exception to this trend is J. R. Maddicott's Thomas of Lancaster, Oxford, 1970, although this too is not without faults.

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situation.

Miss A. A. Taylor has discussed the development of what she terms the "Gaveston legend" at some length.[4] The basis of this legend, she feels, are the dicta of contemporary and subsequent chroniclers, most notably Thomas of Walsingham, winnowed over the centuries until much of the grain has disappeared along with the chaff. It is true that contemporary writers had no great fondness for Gaveston. He is in various places described as Edward II's amasium or beloved, by whose "insolentiam et amorem dominandi regni."[5] Of Edward's love for Piers it was said, "Quem filius regis intuens in eum tantum protinus amorem iniecit quod cum eo firmitatis fedus iniit, et pre ceteris mortalibus indissolubile dileccionis vinculum secum elegit et firmiter disposuit innodare."[6] The chroniclers were also critical of Gaveston's use of his influence with the king. He was said to have drained the treasury, been responsible for the arrest of Walter Langton, filled the court with foreigners, and generally led the king astray with his evil counsel. Nevertheless, even the chroniclers were willing to give the devil his due, as it were. It was related that Gaveston had originally been singled out by Edward I as a companion for his son because of his

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[4] A. A. Taylor, "The Career of Peter of Gavaston and his Place in History," unpub. M.A. thesis, Univ. of London, 1939, pp. 2-19.

[5] Knighton, p. 405; Higden, p. 296. Cf. Ann. Lond., p. 151; Guisborough, p. 382; Trokelowe, p. 64.

[6] Haskins, ed., "A Chronicle of the Civil Wars of Edward II," Speculum, xiv (1939), p. 75.

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courteous manner.[7] Baker described Gaveston as:

> . . . corpore elegans et agilio, ingenio acer, . . . in re militari satis exercitatus; de quo valencium dicere testimonium quod, ipso in partibus Scocie ducatui milicie presidente, Scotos valde terruit et repulit a predis et aliis vesaniis magnanimitas Anglorum.[8]

Furthermore, the Irish chroniclers of this period are unanimous in their praise of Gaveston's military prowess and effective rule as king's lieutenant in Ireland in 1308-09.[9] But as time passed, Gaveston's portrayal became less balanced, more one-sided.

To a certain extent, the "Gaveston legend" itself is probably an outgrowth of an even larger legend surrounding Edward II. Edward was not an outstanding ruler. He was most likely not even an adequate one. Nevertheless, there was no precedent in post-Conquest England for the forcible deposition of an anointed king. This circumstance seems to have led to two developments in later historical and political writing on Edward's reign. On the one hand, the king's character--and with it Piers'--was steadily deprecated further and further until it became a mere caricature.[10] In this way it was easier to explain

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[7] BL MS Harley 636 f.232.

[8] Baker, p. 4.

[9] Ann. Hib., pp. 336-38; Ann. Ire., pp. 293-94; Ann. Loch Cé, p. 545; Ann. Mon. B.M.V., p. 281; Book of Howth, p. 127.

[10] See Taylor, "Peter of Gavaston," pp. 6-19. An illustration of this development is found in the title of Sir F. Hubert's 17th century (1628) poem: The Deplorable Life and Death of Edward the Second, King of England, together with the Downfall of the two Favorits, Gavestone and Spencer.

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an unfit king's violent overthrow. The other development, which derives from the first, is that as Edward and Piers became stereotyped, they were invoked to exemplify "the bad ruler" and "the evil favorite" respectively, in order to instruct and warn later rulers.[11]

The modern study of the reign of Edward II may be said to begin with the work of Bishop Stubbs of Oxford. Stubbs, of course, was preoccupied with the development of the constitution, and while certain earlier writers had accorded to Gaveston varying amounts of constitutional importance, Stubbs credited him with none.[12] Of Gaveston Stubbs remarked:

> He was brave and accomplished, but foolishly greedy, ambitious, and ostentatious, and devoid of prudence and foresight. The indignation with which his promotion was viewed was not caused, as might have been the case under Henry III, by any dread that he would endanger the constitution, but simply by his extraordinary rise and his offensive personal behavior.[13]

In one respect this is a near return to the original portrait of the 14th century chroniclers, as one might expect from a man who edited

---

[11] M. Dimitresco, Pierre de Gavaston, Comte de Cornouaille: son biographie e son rôle pendant la commencement du regne d'Edouard II, 1307-14, Paris, 1898, p. 15. Dimitresco points this out as a theme in French polemical writing beginning in 1588 with Jean Boucher's warning to Henri III and the Duc d'Epernon in his Histoire tragique et memorable de Pierre de Gaverston. In 1649 a similar warning was issued anonymously to Mazarin in the Histoire Remarquable de la Vie et Mort d'un Favory du Roy D'Angleterre.

[12] E.g., in 1720 an anonymous pamphlet entitled The Prime Minister and King cast Gaveston in the role of prime minister and actual ruler of England. See Taylor, "Peter of Gavaston," pp. 16-19.

[13] W. Stubbs, The Constitutional History of England, Oxford, 1887, II, 334.

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several of those chronicles for the Rolls Series. On the other hand, by dismissing Gaveston as he does, Stubbs makes any portrait of Gaveston unnecessary. It might also be mentioned that in Stubbs' account of the reign there is no longer any mention of the unnatural vice transmitted to Marlowe and subsequent writers in 1577 by Holinshed, although this may simply be a case of Victorian reticence on the part of the bishop.[14]

The model presented by Stubbs was largely adopted in the early part of this century by both T. F. Tout and J. Conway Davies.[15] Both men viewed the reign in terms of constitutional developments. Specifically, the central theme of each scholar's study was the struggle between the king and his barons over the use and control of the household system of government. In this struggle Gaveston was taken to be an unwitting actor by symbolizing to the barons the evils of the household system. As Taylor has summarized, Gaveston, by focusing the barons' attention on the household, "prevented constitutional retrogression."[16]

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[14]Raphael Holinshed, The Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande, London, 1577. In his account of Edward II, Holinshed claimed that it was Gaveston, "through whose company and societie hee was suddainely so corrupted, that he burst out into heinous vices . . . he gave himself to wantonnes, passing time in voluptuous pleasure and riotous excesse . . . [and] filthy and dishonorable exercises." Chronicles, II, 847.

[15]T. F. Tout, The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History, 2nd revised ed., H. Johnstone, ed., Manchester, 1936. J. C. Davies, The Baronial Opposition to Edward II, Cambridge, 1918.

[16]Taylor, "Peter of Gaveston," p. 28.

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So magisterial was the combined treatment of the reign presented by Tout and Davies, that for over fifty years their conclusions went unassailed. Recently, historians have tended to back away from the traditional constitutional interpretation, agreeing with V. H. Galbraith that "personalities were more important than either parties or parliament [since] in the middle ages the members of the ruling class were in general men of arrested intellectual development."[17] Both J. R. Maddicott and J. R. S. Phillips have stressed the subordination of political ideology to considerations of personal advantage during Edward II's reign in recent monographs on the earls of Lancaster and Pembroke.[18] In such a scheme, where character and personality figure so prominently, Gaveston is necessarily once more thrust to the fore, since baronial animosity towards him is the central feature of English domestic politics during the years 1307-12. Given this, it is essential that the historical Piers Gaveston be resurrected, for without a clear understanding of Gaveston there can be no clear understanding of the reign.

To date, three studies of Gaveston's life and career have been undertaken. The first, Pierre de Gavaston, Comte de Cornouailles: son biographie e son rôle pendant la commencement du regne d'Edouard

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[17] V. H. Galbraith, quoted by M. C. Prestwich in E.H.R., lxxxiv (1974), p. 420.

[18] J. R. Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322, Oxford, 1970. J. R. S. Phillips, Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, 1307-1324, Oxford, 1972.

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II, 1307-14, was written by M. Marin Dimitresco in 1898.[19] With regard to this work Tout could find no kinder comment than that it, "in no wise represents the school of Paris at its best."[20] The central thesis of Dimitresco's study is that the early years of Edward II's reign witnessed a struggle by the barons in parliament to limit the king's prerogative. Secondarily, he is concerned with the extent to which Gaveston was ostracized from English society because of his Gascon birth. In general Dimitresco's monograph reads like a French epitome of Stubbs' Constitutional History, although unlike Stubbs, the argument is often muddy and the documentation generally lacking.

A second study of Gaveston's career appeared in the following year, 1899. This work, by a lawyer named Walter Phelps Dodge, was entitled Piers Gaveston: A Chapter of Early Constitutional History.[21] Although Dodge did make some attempt--not entirely without success--at tracing Gaveston's ancestry, he was neither an historian nor a scholar. W. E. Rhodes was not far wrong when he concluded that, "Mr. Walter Phelps Dodge's Piers Gaveston . . . had much better never been published."[22]

The third examination of Gaveston's role in English history never

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[19] See above, n.12.

[20] Tout, Place of Edward II, p. 11.n.

[21] W. P. Dodge, Piers Gaveston: A Chapter of Early Constitutional History, London, 1899.

[22] W. E. Rhodes, E.H.R., xv (1900), p. 195.

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has been published. "The Career of Peter of Gavaston and his Place in History," earned Miss A. A. Taylor an M.A. from the University of London in 1939. It is a very thoroughly researched and well documented work. Taylor made extensive use of manuscript sources at the Public Record Office and the British Museum in London--although she did not consult documents housed in Oxford and elsewhere--as well as printed documents and chronicles. Unfortunately, this work is marred by numerous errors both of omission and commission aside from those that can be put down to clerical inaccuracies. Also, Taylor subscribes fully to the interpretation of Tout and Davies, now considered to be in need of revision. Although it is generally speaking a sound piece of work, Taylor's "Career of Peter of Gavaston" does not fully satisfy the needs of historians of the reign of Edward II.

The goals of the present study of Gaveston's life and career are three in number: to trace Gaveston's family; accurately to chronicle Gaveston's career; to make an informed judgment on Gaveston's importance in English history. The first task, tracing Gaveston's family, is necessary because he was such an enigmatic and mysterious figure to contemporaries. The status of his family, both before and after Piers reached the pinnacle of his career, not only affords insights into Gaveston, but it also provides a test by which to measure the acumen of the chroniclers who attacked him. The Gabaston family can be traced back as far as the mid-11th century, but the main focus of this study of the family is on Piers' father, Arnaud de Gabaston, his brothers, Arnaud-Guillaume de Marsan and Guillaume-Arnaud

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de Gabaston, and his connections with the powerful Bordeaux family, the Caillaus.

This dissertation represents an effort to reconstruct Gaveston's life using both documentary and narrative sources as impartially as possible so as to present a balanced portrait of him, a portrait allowing comment to be made on Gaveston's impact on various aspects of Edward's reign, especially political and constitutional developments. It is hoped that this study of Piers Gaveston will add to our knowledge and understanding not only of the early years of Edward II, but of the reign as a whole.

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CHAPTER I

GAVESTON'S FAMILY

Walter of Guisborough refers to Gaveston as having been, "raised up as if from nothing,"[1] and so it must have seemed to contemporary observers. Judging by what little Guisborough and his fellow chroniclers have to say about his origins and family connections, Piers Gaveston must have been something of an enigma to them. The chroniclers are nearly unanimous in pointing out that Gaveston was a Gascon,[2] and most also add that he was the son of a simple knight who had served Edward I.[3] This knight, however, is never named or further described by the chroniclers; nor is any other member of the Gaveston family.[4] Such reticence is all the more striking since wholesale charges of nepotism were repeatedly levelled against the royal favorite.[5] As a result of the chroniclers' silence, Gaveston's

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[1] Guisborough, p. 382. Cf. Ann. Paul., p. 257.

[2] Ann. Lond., p. 151; Ann. Paul., p. 255; Lanercost, p. 210; Walsingham, p. 120; Vita, p. 1. Vita et Mors refers to him as "Italus," p. 297.

[3] BL Harley MS 636 f.236; Ann. Lond., p. 199; Bridlington, p. 40. See also the Ordinances, c. 20, in Statutes of the Realm, London, 1810, v. 1., p. 162.

[4] Only BL Harley MS 636 f.232 names his father, wrongly, Piers.

[5] Taylor attributes this silence to "his relations being too well-known to need mention," "Peter of Gavaston," p. 29. This is not altogether satisfying.

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background has remained mysterious to subsequent historians.[6] Yet although at certain points the evidence is scanty, it is possible to trace the Gaveston family as far back as the middle of the 11th century. Such an investigation is very interesting, for it shows Piers Gaveston to be the son not of just a simple Gascon knight, but rather, of one of the "leading barons" of Béarn.[7]

The surname Gaveston[8] is derived from the Béarnais village of Gabaston,[9] which in turn takes its name from the river Gabas, along which it is situated. From the 9th century onward, Béarn was ruled by nominally independent viscounts.[10] Because of the county's geographic situation, these viscounts were involved in Spanish as well as French and, later, English affairs. They were so involved that Eleanor Lodge spoke of the viscounts of Béarn who, "appear so

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[6]Walter Phelps Dodge attempted with some success to trace Piers' family in Piers Gaveston: A Chapter in Early Constitutional History, London, 1899, pp. 8-21. Taylor presents a much more thorough, but at times flawed, account in "Peter of Gavaston," pp. 29-70.

[7]See below, p. 16 et seq. Cf. Jean Ellis, "Gaston VII of Béarn," unpub. D.Phil. (Oxon.) 1952, p. 44.

[8]I have chosen the familiar form Gaveston because of its common usage, and employ it whenever referring to Piers himself or the family as a whole. For Piers' individual relatives, however, including his father, I have retained the French form de Gabaston.

[9]Gabaston, dép. Pyrénées-Atlantiques, arr. Pau, c. Morlaas.

[10]The lordship of Béarn was frequently contested, but the independence of its viscounts was a de facto if not de iure reality. The chronology of these viscounts, however, is only clear from the early 11th century onwards, beginning with Centulle IV (1022-1058).

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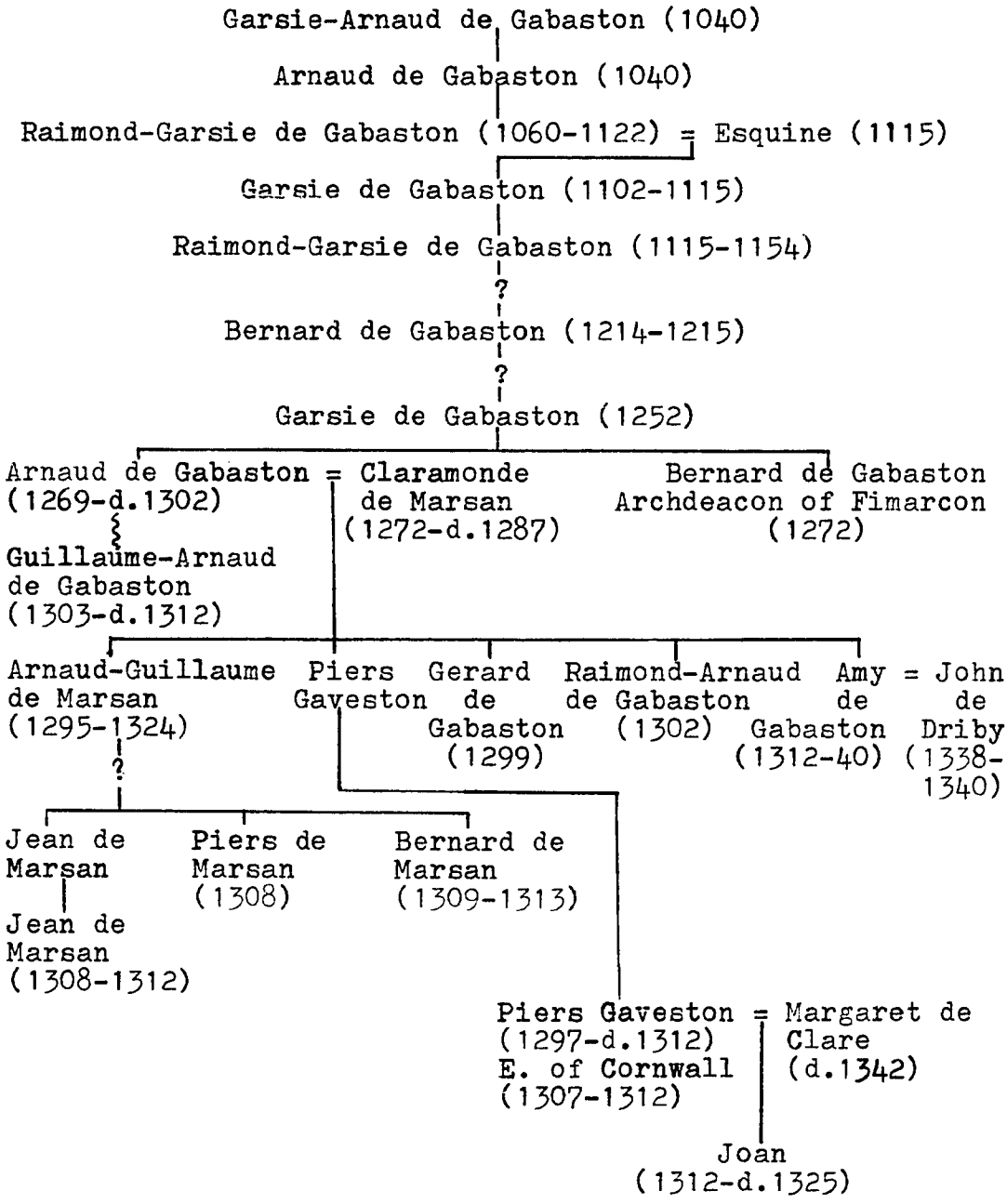
The Lords of Gabaston



d. died
E. Earl
ξ illegitimate
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frequently in all the history of the English dominions [in Gascony], and were so often the center of discontent and revolt."[11] It was to these unruly and independent viscounts that the Gabastons owed their allegiance and position.

The earliest known member of the family is Garsie-Arnaud de Gabaston, who, along with his son Arnaud, donated three churches to the chapter of Lescar in the presence of Viscount Centule IV of Béarn in about 1040.[12] Some twenty years later Raimond-Garsie de Gabaston makes his first appearance in the records, acting as a guarantor for one of the participants in a duel that he witnessed.[13] Toward the end of the 11th century Raimond-Garsie, presumably the same man, makes several appearances. Between 1095 and 1100 he witnessed the settlement of a dispute involving Bishop Sanche of Lescar, in which he is identified as one of "les Barons de cette terre."[14] In 1096 he was present at the dedication of the monastery church of the abbey of St. Pierre at Générest.[15] In 1102 he was present with his son Garsie when Gaston IV of Béarn gave the toll from the bridge over the river Gave

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[11] Eleanor C. Lodge, Gascony Under English Rule, London, 1926, p. 13.

[12] Pierre de Marca, Histoire de Béarn, 2 v., new ed., ed. M. L'Abbe V. Dubaret, Pau, 1844 and 1912, v. 11, p. 63. See genealogical table, p. 12. Given the nature and paucity of the records it is impossible to state with certainty that the later Gabastons were directly descended from these earliest lords of Gabaston.

[13] Marca, v. 11, p. 151.

[14] Marca, v. 11, pp. 63, 65.

[15] Marca, v. 11, p. 28.

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to the cathedral church of Lescar.[16] At about the same time, Raimond-Garsie was also present when the viscount founded the hospital at Hagetaubin.[17] Finally, in 1115 Raimond-Garsie, his wife Esquine, their son Garsie, and Garsie's son Raimond-Garsie, are recorded as having given the church of St. Marie de Serre to Bishop Guy of Lescar in return for a loan.[18]

Between 1115 and 1122 Raimond-Garsie de Gabaston witnessed an accord reached over the hospital of the Gabas.[19] It is impossible to say whether this is the grandfather or the grandson. Surely, however, when the name next appears, between 1131 and 1134, it must refer to the younger Raimond-Garsie. At this time he was given to the count of Bigorre as one of five hostages by the viscountess of Béarn.[20] In 1150 he is found witnessing a charter.[21] When Raimond-Garsie makes his final appearance in the records, he is not in France, but Aragon.[22] In 1154 he went to Canfranc in order to perform homage and fealty to Rámon, prince of Aragon.[23]

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[16]Marca, v. II, p. 53.

[17]Marca, v. II, p. 89, p. 91.

[18]Marca, v. II, p. 64, p. 65.

[19]Marca, v. II, p. 121.

[20]Marca, v. II, p. 646.

[21]Marca, v. II, p. 140. The document as it appears in Marca reads, "R. de Gavasto," but this must be Raimond.

[22]Marca, v. II, p. 168, p. 170.

[23]Notable because it shows the close association between Béarn

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There is no known mention of any member of the Gabaston family for a period of sixty years after Raimond-Garsie's performance of homage in 1154. Then, in 1214 or 1215, Bernard de Gabaston was present at the donation of a castle to the prior of Madiran.[24] A few years later in 1220 the lord of Gabaston, presumably still Bernard, was named one of the twelve jurats of the Cour Majour de Béarn by Viscount Guillaume I in his reorganization of the county.[25] This was a hereditary office and is significant because it clearly demonstrates the prominence of the Gabaston family in Béarnais society.

The jurats of Béarn, first of all, had to perform homage and fealty to the viscount just like all of his other vassals. They were also apparently obligated to pay the esporle.[26] This relief-like payment, widespread in the largely independent southwest portion of France, was more symbolic than economic, reinforcing the acts of homage and fealty. Jurats, being men of some stature, would also owe military service, but of course each case varied.[27] The same can be

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and the Spanish kingdoms. Nevertheless, these Béarnais vassals expressly reserved fealty due to the children of the late Viscount Pierre III (1134-53).

[24] Arch. Dép. Pyr.-Atl., 4 J 182.

[25] Marca, v. II, p. 271.

[26] The various rights and obligations of members of medieval Béarnais society are to be found in the Fors de Béarn, ed. A. Mazure and J. Hatoulet, Pau and Paris, 1845 [?]. These rights and obligations are discussed at length in Ellis, Gaston VII, pp. 44-65. For esporle, see also Lodge, English Rule, pp. 197-99.

[27] Arnaud's obligations are unknown, but in the late 14th century the "senher de Gavaston," was one of the first barons listed in the

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said for other obligations such as gîte and livery of the lord's castle. The distinctive obligation of the jurats, of course, was attendance at their lord's court of justice. This duty was also the source of the Béarnais jurats' greatest political strength, since the court was empowered to protect the viscount's vassals from any injury he might inflict unjustly.[28]

In 1252 a new lord of Gabaston is encountered, another Garsie.[29] He acted as one of the guarantors of the terms of the wedding agreement drawn up for Roger-Bernard, son of the count of Foix, and Marguerite, second daughter of Gaston VII, viscount of Béarn.[30] Garsie is followed in the records by Arnaud de Gabaston, named as a jurat in 1269.[31] This Arnaud is Piers Gaveston's father, the vaguely mentioned Gascon knight of the chronicles, and with his appearance the sources become more eloquent.

* * * * * *

The occasion of Arnaud de Gabaston's first appearance in the records was the marriage of Constance de Béarn, daughter of Viscount

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roll of arms of Gaston-Phoebus of Foix. His contingent was comprised of four knights. Arch. Gironde, v. XII, p. 143.

[28] Fors de Béarn, art. 35; Ellis, 'Gaston VII,' p. 50.

[29] Marca, v. II, p. 590.

[30] In 1290, on the death of Gaston VII, Roger-Bernard united the houses of Foix and Béarn, a union lasting until 1472.

[31] Inventaire-sommaire des archives des Basses-Pyrénées antérieures á 1790, ed. P. Raymond, v. IV, p. 72, no. E290.

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Gaston VII, to Henry of Almain.[32] Arnaud rendered homage and fealty to Gaston at this time. Arnaud's connection with the viscount of Béarn was of great importance for the future of the Gabaston family, because during Gaston's long rule, Béarnais politics became inextricably bound to English affairs.

Gascony had been under the nominal control of the kings of England since 1152, but Béarn had always clung tenaciously to its independence. Homage to Richard I, for instance, was steadfastly refused by Gaston VI, and when Gaston VII eventually "became 'the man' of Edward I, it was for outlying possessions in Gascony, never for his Béarnais property."[33] Indeed, Gaston VII's relations with both Henry III and Edward I were at best strained. Twice during the reign of Henry III Gaston rebelled. On the first occasion he was put down by the seneschal, Simon de Montfort.[34] After this revolt of 1247-49 he went to England, where he was pardoned by the king.[35] Subsequently, Henry tried to buy his kinsman's loyalty by showing him favor, such as returning certain castles that had previously been seized.[36] Nevertheless, in 1253 Gaston was again at the center of a Gascon revolt, this one serious enough to bring the king to Gascony in per-

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Lodge, English Rule, p. 13.

[34] Ellis, "Gaston VII," p. 109; F. M. Powicke, Henry III and the Lord Edward, London, 1947, pp. 214ff.

[35] Lodge, English Rule, p. 39; see Powicke, Lord Edward, p. 218.

[36] Ellis, "Gaston VII," pp. 114-17.

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son.[37]

Henry's son, the Lord Edward, was under no illusions about the trustworthiness of the viscount of Béarn. One of Edward's first acts as duke of Aquitaine was to take Gaston's daughter Mathe as a hostage in order to guarantee the viscount's behavior for a period of four years.[38] This, however, was not enough to prevent Gaston from securing the homage of the county of Bigorre for another daughter, Constance, in 1255.[39] This was done very hastily and without regard to the claims of the overlord, Edward himself. The protracted negotiations arising out of this action made the lordship of Bigorre a matter of dispute for over a century, until it was finally handed over to the English in 1360.[40] In 1273 Gaston revolted again, but was subdued quickly, and after being held briefly as a prisoner in Sault castle, he did homage to Edward for his Gascon--not Béarnais--holdings.[41] On this occasion four knights were made to stand surety for the viscount's oath not to leave Edward's court without permission; one of these four knights was Arnaud de Gabaston.[42] Arnaud and his three fellow guarantors were not finally released from their obligations

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[37]Powicke, Lord Edward, p. 231; Ellis, "Gaston VII," pp. 160 et seq.

[38]See J. P. Trabut-Cussac, L'Administration anglaise en Gascogne, 1254-1307, Geneva, 1972, p. 14n.

[39]Ellis, "Gaston VII," pp. 379-502.

[40]Lodge, English Rule, p. 61; Powicke, Lord Edward, pp. 221-26.

[41]On 2 October 1273. Foedera, I, ii, 505; Ellis, "Gaston VII," p. 291.

[42]Foedera, I, ii, 505; G. P. Cuttino, Gascon Register A, London,

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until 1279.[43] Given Gaston's previous behavior, Edward must have considered these four sureties to be of quite substantial standing. In any case, he achieved his object, since after 1273 Gaston VII found it in his best interest to remain loyal to the English king.

Although Arnaud de Gabaston's connection with Gaston VII brought him into direct contact with the English crown in 1273, by that time he had already had dealings on at least one occasion with the Lord Edward. In an agreement dated 30 June 1272, Arnaud and his wife Claramonde de Marsan[44] acknowledged a debt of 20,000 sous de morlaas to Edward.[45] In return they gave him the castle of Louvigny with its

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1975, II, 85; Marca, v. II, pp. 400, 401; Ellis, "Gaston VII," p. 291.

[43] R.G., II, 236.

[44] The date of the marriage is unknown. Claramonde was the daughter of Arnaud-Guillaume de Marsan. He was one of the jurats of Béarn and very important in Béarnais politics. He first appears in the records in 1232 in a dispute over Garos with Gaston VII; Marca, v. II, p. 329. He appears frequently in the Gascon Rolls between 1242 and 1255; his loyal service to Henry III was recognized and he was entrusted with various delicate tasks. Ellis feels that the support he gave Henry III in 1253, notably presenting the king with the castle of Louvigny, was one of the keys to the king's success; Ellis, "Gaston VII," p. 167. He died in 1272; Charles Bémont, ed., Recueil d'Actes relatifs a L'Administration des Rois d'Angleterre en Guyenne au XIII^e siècle, Paris, 1914, pp. 198-200.

It was also through this marriage that the Gaveston family was related to the Caillau family, one of the most important in Bordeaux. Taylor, "Peter of Gavaston," discusses this relationship at great length, pp. 53-63, but it suffices to say that while Piers had dealings with several of his Caillau kinsmen, the family was already well known to the English crown, and so the extent to which he can be accused of nepotism is limited.

[45] Bémont, Recueil, pp. 198-200; Arch. Gironde, v. III, p. 18. Witnesses include a Raimond de Gabaston, Archdeacon of Fismarcon, probably Arnaud's brother. This debt was owed for a prest received from the prince in that amount.

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appurtenances as security.[46]

Louvigny was but one of the castles Arnaud acquired through his marriage to Claramonde, a marriage that made the lord of Gabaston a substantial landholder in various parts of Gascony. This position is clearly demonstrated in Arnaud's response to an inquest taken by Edward I in 1273-74.[47] Arnaud owed homage to the king of England for the castles of Louvigny, Roquefort de Marsan,[48] Montgaillard des Landes,[49] Hagetmau,[50] and St. Loubouer,[51] with all their appurtenances, together with lands in Marsan, Tursan, Sauveterre-de-Béarn,[52] and Chalosse. All of these lands were held in right of his wife, and the castles alone were later valued at £500 chip. per annum.[53] Moreover, Claramonde retained certain lands in her own possession. Her name appears in a list of persons doing homage for property in Landes in

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[46]This may have been on Edward's initiative, since Louvigny was strategically important. See note 44 and Map 1.

[47]Bémont, Recueil, p. 31.

[48]Roquefort de Marsan; dép. Landes, arr. Mont-de-Marsan.

[49]Montgaillard; dép. Landes, arr. Mont-de-Marsan, c. St. Sever.

[50]Hagetmau; dép. Landes, arr. Mont-de-Marsan.

[51]St. Loubouer; dép. Landes, arr. Mont-de-Marsan, c. Aire-sur-l'Adour.

[52]Lauvestre in Arch. Dép. Pyr-Atl., 4 J 182; Bémont renders this "Silvestri," Recueil, p. 31; it must, however, be Sauveterre-de-Béarn. Cf. Bémont, Recueil, p. 199.

[53]R.G., III, 4529; E. 403/1321 m.2.

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1273.[54] Also, in 1277 she appointed Arnaud as her proctor to settle a dispute over a boundary with the people and abbot of St. Sever.[55] And finally, in 1279 or 1280, she petitioned the king in her own behalf for redress against the abuses of the count of Geneva and Constance de Béarn.[56] With such substantial holdings, many of which lay outside of Béarn, it is likely that Arnaud de Gabaston would have found himself in the service of the English king even if he had never been drawn into English affairs by Gaston VII.

Aside from his action as a guarantor for Gaston VII, Arnaud de Gabaston spent fully twenty years in the service of Edward I. In 1282-83 he served with the king in Wales. From the time of his arrival until his return to Gascony in August 1283, Arnaud received a total of £204 4d. for himself and his men.[57] His contingent was comprised of at least three knights, seven mounted archers, and one hundred and twenty foot, and it appears to have been totally independent of Gaston de Bearn's company.[58] In addition to fighting, Arnaud spent seven days out of court on the king's business with his squires.[59]

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[54] Bémont, Recueil, p. 51.

[55] Arch. Dép. Pyr-Atl., 4 J 182; Arch. Gironde, v. xlv, pp. 101-02.

[56] S.C.1/19/106. Friction between Constance and the Gabaston family continued into the next reign when she had dealings with Piers Gaveston. C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 484.

[57] E.101/3/27, passim.

[58] E.101/3/27, m.2. The two contingents are listed separately when issued letters of protection for their journey back to Gascony, C.Ch.R., 1257-1300, p. 264.

[59] E.101/3/27, m.3.

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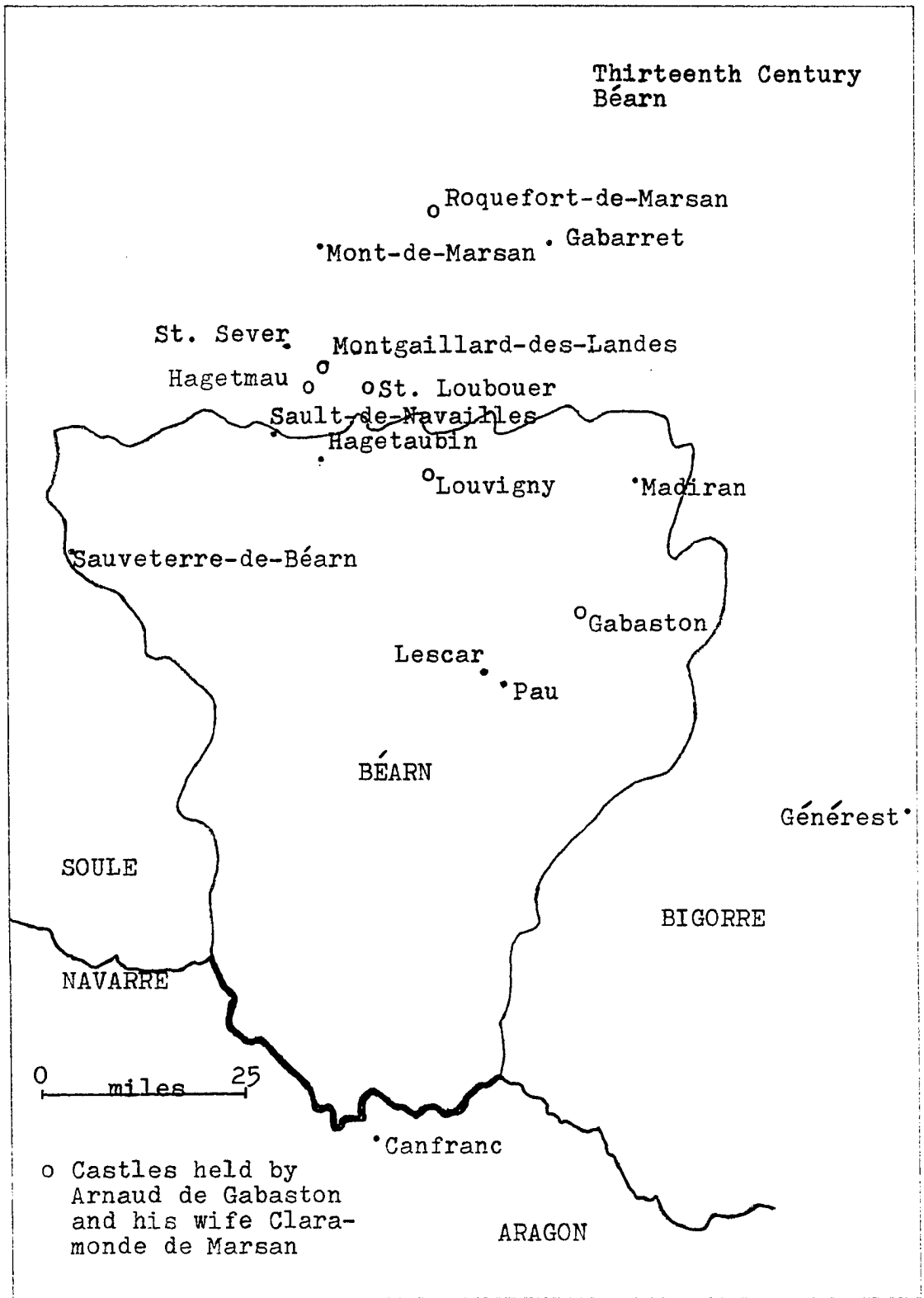

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When he left England in 1283 he was transported home with two other Gascon commanders at an expense of £6 8d., while his men were entrusted to the care of Alexander le Porter for the journey home.[60]

In 1288 Arnaud appears in the royal service once again. This time he is listed as one of sixty-four hostages delivered to King Alfonso III of Aragon at Canfranc on 4 October of that year.[61] The hostages were given as security in pursuance of an agreement reached in the previous year by which Edward I had pledged to pay a ransom of 70,000 marks sterling for the freedom of Charles of Salerno, a prisoner in Spain since 1284.[62] This agreement was subsequently overturned by Pope Nicholas IV.[63] It is not clear how long Arnaud was a hostage, but he did receive his knight's fee of £13 6s. 8d. during 1288-89,[64] and on 9 November 1289 he is found witnessing an agreement sealed at Montgaillard.[65]

In 1294 Arnaud de Gabaston again became a hostage, this time to Philip the Fair of France.[66] He was handed over to the French on the

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[60] E.101/3/27, m.3.; C.Ch.R. 1257-1300, p. 264.

[61] Foedera I,ii, pp. 689-90. Other hostages included Gaston VII of Béarn and Arnaud's brother-in-law, Fortaner de Lescun.

[62] Foedera I,ii, pp. 677-78.

[63] T. F. Tout, Edward the First, London, 1924, p. 100.

[64] E.101/4/24, m.2.

[65] R.G., II, 1494.

[66] The exact date of his surrender is unknown since apparently this was part of a secret agreement made with Philip IV by Edmund of Lancaster. Jean de St.-Gein was ordered to fulfill the terms of this

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orders of Jean de Saint-Gein, king's lieutenant seneschal in Aquitaine, probably in February 1294,[67] and remained a hostage until he escaped on 13 November 1296.[68] Upon gaining his freedom Arnaud made his way to England by way of Brabant, arriving in England on 10 March 1297.[69] He was accompanied by two other Gascon leaders, Raimond de Campagne and Bertrand de Panissau, and an unspecified retinue.[70] The three former prisoners must have arrived in England penniless, for a great deal was spent in outfitting them and in covering their expenses. They were paid £67 for their expenses in Brabant,[71] and while in England--from 10 March until 14 May--each received wages of 3s. per day.[72] The sum of £106 5s. was spent on new equipment and armor for them and their retinues, with some £69 15s. worth of this going to Arnaud and his men.[73] A further £34 was spent on horses and saddlery

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agreement on 3 February 1294. M. C. L. Salt, "List of English Embassies to France, 1272-1307," E.H.R., v. 44 (1929), p. 270.

[67] Ibid. See also C.47/26/5, m.2., which is printed in R.G., III, p. clxxxiv.

[68] BL Add MS 7965 f.53^{v}.

[69] Ibid. Cf., G. P. Cuttino, English Diplomatic Administration 1259-1339, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1971, pp. 238-40.

[70] Ibid., f.53. Piers may also have been in this retinue since in 1297 he served in Flanders and in 1298 he appears in Scotland. Another son, Gerard, may also have accompanied Arnaud, E.101/359/9, m.5. See below, Chapter II.

[71] BL Add MS 7965 f.53^{v}.

[72] Ibid., ff. 54, 54^{v}, 55^{v}.

[73] Ibid., f. 53^{v}. John le Breton, custos of London, provided £47 8s. 4d. worth of this equipment; Ibid., f.58^{v}.

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for these Gascons.[74] Finally, Arnaud received 50 marks while Raimond and Bertrand each were given 40 marks as payment in advance for service in the king's army in Gascony upon their return there.[75]

By May 1297 Arnaud was back in Gascony.[76] On 28 April the king had sent letters to Diego Lopez, lord of Biscay, and to Enrique, son of Enrique III of Castille and Léon, requesting that Arnaud be given freedom to enter and leave their lands for the purpose of purchasing horses.[77] Edward also tried to assist Arnaud by means of a letter sent to his lieutenant in Aquitaine, Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, on 6 May. Lincoln was ordered to offer royal service to any member of the Gabaston family who would like to enter it.[78] There was little actual fighting in Gascony at this time, and Arnaud appears to have been solely occupied in provisioning the castle of Saintes.[79]

In the spring of 1298 Lincoln returned to England.[80] Arnaud de Gabaston was placed in charge of the town and castle of Sault, and the

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[74] Ibid., f.53.

[75] Ibid., f.54^{v}.

[76] His last payment for wages while in England was through 14 May. Even before this date Edward I sent letters concerning Arnaud to Gascony.

[77] R.G., III, 4468, 4469.

[78] R.G., III, 4476.

[79] Saintes; dép. Charente-Maritime. In 1317 Arnaud Caillau, seneschal of Saintonge in 1297, was accused of stealing £3000 (presumably sterling) of salt that Arnaud had placed there. Foedera, II. i., p. 351.

[80] R.G. III, p. lxxi.

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castle of Roquefort.[81] The former was provided with a garrison of thirty-five men at arms and fifty foot, the latter with five men at arms and fifty foot.[82] Arnaud does not appear to have been very successful in this position. On 13 October 1300 Edward I wrote to Barran de Sescars and Pierre-Arnaud de Vicq, lieutenants of seneschal Guy Ferre, regarding Arnaud's behavior.[83] A certain burgess of Sault named Guillaume-Arnaud de Brocas had charged Gabaston and his men with killing Pierre Ducamp, and with hanging another man, known as "Berrekillus," without a trial. Further, Arnaud was charged with failing to protect the burgesses against the lord of Navailles, who was destroying the vines and other goods of the men of Sault.[84] The king commanded the two lieutenants to hold an inquest into this business.[85] By this time, Arnaud had already surrendered Sault to them.[86] He left a garrison of only two knights, ten esquires, and twenty foot, along with enough stores to last until the following September.[87] There is no record of the result of the inquest taken at Sault, but Arnaud

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[81] Sault-de-Navailles; dép. Pyrénées-Atlantique, arr. and c.Orthez.

[82] C.47/24/2, m. 23.

[83] R.G. III, 4544.

[84] The lord of Navailles, Garsie-Arnaud, the premier jurat of Béarn was apparently in revolt. His lands had been previously confiscated, but were returned in 1279. R.G. II, 222.

[85] R.G. III, 4544.

[86] E.101/13/35, m. 9.

[87] Ibid.

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remained in the royal service, and was apparently cleared of the charges against him.[88]

In August 1300 Arnaud de Gabaston arrived in England for the third and final time.[89] He was accompanied by his sons, Arnaud-Guillaume de Marsan and Guillaume-Arnaud de Gabaston.[90] The exact purpose of this trip is not clear. It may have been in connection with the Sault business, or, more likely, perhaps it had to do with Arnaud's financial situation. Originally, Gabaston does not seem to have intended to stay in England long, since his name is listed first among fifty-five Gascons returning home.[91] Yet in a subsequent entry his name appears among a list of Gascon volunteers accompanying the army to Scotland.[92] His retinue for this campaign consisted of eight yeomen, of whom two were his sons, and from four to six squires.[93] At this time Arnaud once again became a household knight, as did Arnaud-Guillaume for the first time, each receiving regular wages

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[88] On 16 August 1302 his servant Arnaud de Bedos is recorded as receiving at Westminster a prest of £43 7s. 6d. for sustenance and munitions for the castle of Sault, BL Add MS 7966A f.160, along with various other debts owed to Gabaston. He was clearly, therefore, still considered keeper of Sault.

[89] BL Add MS 7966A, f.78^{v}.

[90] E.101/14/21, m.5; E.101/612/11, m.8; E.101/13/35, m.6.

[91] E.101/14/10, m.1.

[92] Ibid., m.2^{d}.

[93] C.D.S., II., 1190; E.101/357/7, ff.2-3^{v}; BL Add. MS 7966A, f.83, f.135, f.139.

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and robes.[94] Sometime prior to 18 May 1302 Arnaud died.[95] At the time of his death much was owed to him by the crown, and several debts remained outstanding into the next reign.[96] Indeed, by 1302 the Gabaston family had become financially dependent on the English crown.

The finances of the Gabaston family had been closely associated with the English crown ever since 1272, when Louvigny had been handed over to the Lord Edward. The connection became even more intimate after Arnaud entered the royal service in 1282. In February 1283, possibly as a reward for Arnaud's service in Wales, Edward ordered that as a special favor Claramonde should be allowed to rent the castle of Louvigny for £500 bord. less than its actual value.[97] Further, on 8 June 1283 the king ordered the restoration of the castle to Arnaud as soon as he paid the £750 still due on the loan of 1272, £250 having been remitted.[98] It may be that Arnaud had already squared his account by 1283,[99] and by 1287 he had certainly

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[94] E.101/357/23, m.1; BL Add MS 7966A, f.78^{v}, f.80.

[95] E.101/361/15, m.2^{d}; V.C.H., Surrey, II, 114.

[96] R.G. III, 4723; 4923; 4961; 4985; R.G. IV, 374; 1634.

[97] R.G. II, 641.

[98] R.G. II, 678.

[99] SC.1/11/33. In this letter to Luke Thanney Arnaud complains that although his debts have been pardoned by the king, the seneschal is still enforcing them.

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recovered Louvigny. This is clear since on 4 February 1287 Louvigny was taken back into the king's hands, along with Montgaillard, St. Loubouer, and Hagetmau.[100] These confiscations were occasioned by Claramonde's death.

His wife's death was obviously a very severe blow to Arnaud financially. All of her properties were seized pending settlement of outstanding debts, and Arnaud does not seem to have been able to pay these. In July 1289, for instance, the king lent Arnaud £200 bord.[101] Two days later, based on Arnaud's good service and love for the late Claramonde, Edward made a gift of £600 to Gabaston in order to enable the knight to arrange--and pay for--his daughter's marriage.[102] In 1291 Arnaud brought suit against the king in the court of St. Sever to recover Claramonde's lands. In reply, the king ordered that justice be done according to the law and customs of St. Sever, and that an audit be made in order to see if the outstanding debts had yet been paid.[103] Shortly thereafter restoration of the castles to Arnaud was ordered,[104] but in the following year an exception was made of Louvigny,

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[100] R.G. III, p. clxxxiii.

[101] R.G. II, 1250.

[102] R.G. II, 975. An identical grant was made in May 1291; R.G. III, 1868. If such a marriage took place it is unrecorded.

[103] R.G. III, 1898. The suit was filed jointly by Arnaud, his brother-in-law Fortaner de Lescun, and his son Arnaud-Guillaume de Marsan.

[104] R.G. III, 1967, 1969.

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which had not even paid for itself while in the king's hands, let alone provided enough revenue to service the remaining debt.[105]

Another devastating blow to Arnaud's financial position was dealt by the reopening of hostilities in Gascony between England and France in 1293. Arnaud became a hostage of the king of France at this time, and Arnaud-Guillaume de Marsan acted as head of the Gabaston family. After the early English reversals, Jean de Saint-Gein, the king's lieutenant in Aquitaine, handed over the castles of Louvigny, Montgaillard, St. Loubouer and Hagetmau to the French.[106] When Edward recovered these castles in early 1295, he apparently regranted them not to Arnaud, but to Arnaud's brother-in-law, Fortaner de Lescun.[107] After the fall of St. Sever to the French later in 1295,[108] Charles of Valois, who now controlled the four castles, granted them to Roger-Bernard III, count of Foix and lord of Béarn.[109] He in turn gave them to Fortaner, who swore fealty and performed homage to Roger-Bernard for them.[110] During this period Arnaud-Guillaume de Marsan also had to surrender the castle of Roquefort de Marsan to

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[105] R.G. III, 2035.

[106] C.47/26/5, m.2; SC.1/26/195.

[107] R.G. III, p. clxxxiv; Ibid., 4472.

[108] R.G. III, 4248. St. Sever, the most notable fortification in the region, was retaken by the English on 7 April 1295 only to fall to Charles de Valois late in July.

[109] R.G. III; SC.1/26/195.

[110] Ibid.

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Saint-Gein and this too ended in the count of Foix's control.[111]

In 1297 when Arnaud reached England after his imprisonment in France, he petitioned the king for restoration of the castles in Fortaner's possession.[112] Edward agreed to this, but Fortaner returned Louvigny to the count of Foix, and although he promised to do so, he never delivered again the other three castles to the king of England.[113] Arnaud continued to petition for these castles for the rest of his life,[114] but he never recovered them. The king compensated him with a payment of one-half their annual value, £200 chip.[115] Arnaud's other petitions to the king in 1297 show his financial straits.[116] He asked for his knight's fee not only for the previous Easter term, but for the entire period of his captivity. This was refused since he was receiving the king's wages.[117] His petitions for

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[111] SC.1/19/102; SC.1/26/295. He received £50 chip. per annum as compensation, E.403/1321/m.2. I owe this citation to Taylor. On 30 October 1304 restoration to Marsan was ordered; R.G. III, 4618.

[112] C.47/26/5, m.1; R.G. III, p. clxxxiii; R.G. III, 4472.

[113] R.G. III, 4472; SC.1/26/195. In 1349 another Fortaner de Lescun was confirmed in his possession of Louvigny and other castles by Philip VI. Charles Samaran, ed., La Gascogne dans les registres du Trésor des Chartes, Paris, 1966, 728.

[114] E.g., SC.1/26/195.

[115] C.47/26/6. Cf. R.G. III, 4529.

[116] C.47/26/5; C.47/24/2, m.23; E.101/13/35, m.5; SC.1/26/195; R.G. III, p. clxxxiii-iv.

[117] "Item, postquam venit in Angliam, percepit vadia et, ex consuetudine curi, qui percipit vadia non debet percipere feodum quamdiu percipit feodum" (sic, l. vadia). C.47/26/5, m.1; R.G. III, p. clxxxiv.

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horses and that his relatives be taken into the royal service were, however, accepted.

As discussed above, Arnaud spent the last years of his life in the king's service. There are numerous records of payments to him and also to his sons, Arnaud-Guillaume, Guillaume-Arnaud, and Piers.[118] When Arnaud de Gabaston died, he was owed a considerable debt by the English crown, a debt that would be more than recompensed by Edward II.

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[118] E.g., E.101/364/13 f.77^{v}; E.101/366/14, m.4; E.101/366/17, m.29; E.101/612/11, m.8.

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CHAPTER II

GAVESTON AND EDWARD I

Only one chronicle connects the first appearance of Piers Gaveston in England with his father's flight there from a French prison in 1296-97.[1] That the younger Gaveston accompanied Edward I's army to Flanders in 1297 is, however, a documented fact,[2] and this presupposes his prior arrival in England. Since Arnaud de Gabaston was accompanied by an unspecified number of unnamed persons in 1296-97.[3] it is impossible to make a final pronouncement, but it is most likely that this was the circumstance in which Piers Gaveston first reached England.

Piers' wages in Flanders were only 12d. per day,[4] but even at this stage in his life he was not quite so humble an upstart as the chronicles would later pretend. His horse in Flanders was valued at a modest, but respectable, figure of 12 marks.[5] Although Arnaud had

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[1] BL MS Harley 636 f.232.

[2] BL Add. MS 7965 f.76; E.101/6/37 m.1.

[3] See above, Chapter 1, n.70.

[4] BL Add. MS 7965 f.76. He received £4 6s. for the period 14 August-11 November.

[5] E.101/6/37 m.1.

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already returned to Gascony,[6] Piers remained in the royal service and returned to England after the Flemish campaign.[7] Later in 1297 he was among those members of the royal household whose horses were valued in anticipation of the Scottish campaign of 1298.[8]

In 1300 both Piers and his father Arnaud served with the king in Scotland. Arnaud received a total of £38 for the period between 1 August and 3 November as wages for himself and his four squires.[9] Two of these squires were Piers' brothers Arnaud-Guillaume de Marsan and Guillaume-Arnaud de Gabaston, but Piers did not serve alongside the rest of his family.[10] Although he was still receiving wages of only 12d. per day, Piers seems to have risen somewhat in stature during his first few years in England. Not only did he have at least one servant of his own by this time,[11] but his current horse, which was killed at Flete, was valued at £26 13s. 4d.[12]

Gaveston was still in the north in late 1300, since he fell ill

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[6] See above, Chapter 1, n.76.

[7] As is clear from his description as a scutifer in Edward I's household in November 1297, BL Add. MS 7965 f.76, and later.

[8] E.101/6/40 m.5; C.D.S., II, 259. This horse was valued at 10 marks.

[9] Lib. Quot., pp. 200, 201.

[10] E.101/14/21 m.5; E.101/612/11 m.8. Piers received his wages separately, Lib. Quot., p. 229.

[11] BL Add. MS 7966A f.49^{v}.

[12] Lib. Quot., p. 179.

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and remained at Knaresborough for part of November and December.[13] By late 1300 Piers had been transferred from the king's household to that of the prince of Wales.[14] This did not affect his status financially, as during the subsequent 1301 campaign he continued to receive 12d. per day,[15] and his horse was valued at 20 marks.[16] Nevertheless, new possibilities for advancement were presented by being one of the prince's squires.[17] The only contemporary chronicle to offer an explanation for Gaveston's selection as a companion for the king's son states that being from "le visne de bele manere estoyt curtoys et solasaunt."[18] No doubt his martial skills were also a factor in Edward I's choice. According to an anonymous chronicle written some thirty years later, Piers had found favor with Edward I for his conduct in Flanders in 1297.[19] and this is borne out by the fact that by 1297-98 he was a member of the king's household retinue. It is quite possible, therefore, that Piers was expected to serve as a model for the young prince, especially since he was apparently the

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[13] BL Add. MS 7966A f.70^{v}.

[14] E.101/357/28 m.4.

[15] BL Add. MS 7966A f.101^{v}.

[16] E.101/9/23 m.1.

[17] He is first described as Prince Edward's scutifer in July 1301, BL Add. MS 7966A f.101^{v}.

[18] BL MS Harley 636 f.232.

[19] Haskins, "A Chronicle of the Civil Wars of Edward II," Speculum, vol. xiv (1939), p. 75.

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oldest member of the prince's household.[20]

There is scant reference to Gaveston during most of 1302,[21] but his name resurfaces in December of that year. On 14 December Edward I, noting that Piers was a member of the household, ordered his wardrobe clerk Ralph de Stokes to provide Gaveston and his companion with robes for each season, according to their estate, and to pay each 15d. per day.[22] Ten days later, on Christmas Eve, Piers was entrusted with £5 to be delivered to the prince for the latter's ludo.[23] Gambling on dice was one of the prince's favorite pastimes, and the records show that the lull in the Scottish war during 1302 gave him ample opportunity to satisfy his passion.[24]

In the spring of 1303 Edward I returned to Scotland, and so did the prince of Wales and his squire Gaveston.[25] In Scotland Piers received regular payments of his wages between June and November

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[20] He was the only puer in custodia not to have a magister, E.101/360/17.

[21] He received a prest of £5 from the wardrobe on 18 June, E.101/361/15 f.5^{v}.

[22] E.101/363/27 m.20. Gaveston's socius was apparently William de Bourdon, E.101/357/28 m.4.

[23] E.101/364/13 f.31^{v}. He delivered a similar sum to the prince on 10 January 1303, E.101/361/18 m.13; C.D.S., II, 368.

[24] E.101/369/11 f.65; BL Add. MS 22923 f.14^{v}. Johnstone dismisses this as "simply ordinary social convention and hospitality," Edward of Carnarvon, p. 86. She undervalues the amount spent on gambling by the prince in 1303 by 1/2, however. The actual figure is some £65. Taylor, "Peter of Gavaston," p. 73, n.1.

[25] E.101/370/29.

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1303.[26] He also received money for the purchase of certain unspecified goods,[27] and on two occasions he was even entrusted with small sums to be paid to others.[28] In August his horse was valued at £20,[29] and it is noteworthy that he is here referred to as the prince's socius rather than his scutifer. That Gaveston was rising within the prince's household is a clear sign of Edward I's continued approbation, since the king was ultimately responsible for all appointments in his son's household. It is equally apparent, however, that before long Piers had also found favor with the prince.

The English army wintered in Scotland in 1303-04. While the king was at Dunfermline, the prince of Wales made his headquarters at Perth.[30] There the young Edward entertained several of the English earls and magnates.[31] Quite possibly it was here that Gaveston first met some of his future adversaries. Piers' name frequently appears in the records of the campaign that commenced in May 1304, while his brother, Arnaud-Guillaume de Marsan, is also once again found in the

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[26] He received 30s. at Perth on 26 June, 10s. there on 9 July, 60s. on 18 August, 60s. at Dundee on 16 October, and 30s. at Dunfermline on 17 November. E.101/364/13 f.95; BL Add. MS 35292 ff.4^{v}, 8, 11^{v}, 15^{v}.

[27] E.101/363/18 f.20^{v}.

[28] BL Add. MS 35293 f.78^{v}.

[29] E.101/612/11 m.5^{d}.

[30] Johnstone, Edward of Carnavon, p. 91.

[31] E.101/365/12.

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king's service, along with two squires, between 20 November and 21 August 1304.[32] Gaveston presumably acquitted himself well in Scotland for he continued to receive favor from his royal masters, as on 29 July 1304 when the king, at his son's request, granted Piers custody of Edmund Mortimer's lands during the minority of the latter's heir.[33]

In 1305 Gaveston's proximity to the prince proved to be detrimental rather than beneficial to the advancement of his career. On 14 June of that year, the king and prince had a falling out occasioned by the latter's behavior toward Walter Langton, bishop of Chester. Langton, of course, was Edward I's treasurer, and perhaps his closest adviser in the last years of his reign. According to the Annales Londonienses, young Edward had broken into a wood belonging to the bishop, and Langton had presented the matter to the king.[34] The prince, in writing to the earl of Lincoln on the day of his discord with his father, does not fully explain the nature of his quarrel with Langton, but he clearly illustrates the extent of the king's

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[32]Gaveston was paid 20s. at Dunfermline on 7 January, 15 January and 19 February, 20s. at St. Andrews on 28 March and 40s. there on 6 April, 40s. at Strivelin on 29 April and 24 June, and either 20s. or 40s. there on 28 July. BL Add. MS 35293 f.78. On 19 May he had received 100s. at Strivelin, while on 31 December he received 40 marks at Lincoln, and on 13 March 1305 Gaveston was paid 100s. at London. BL Add. MS 35293 f.79. Arnaud-Guillaume de Marsan received £23 3s. BL Add. MS 8835 f.66^{v}.

[33]C.P.R. 1301-07, p. 244. Since Piers was still a member of the prince's household, he too was presumably present in Scotland throughout 1304.

[34]Ann. Lond., p. 138.

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anger.[35] The prince reported that in his wrath Edward I had commanded,

> . . . pur aukunes paroles que lui furent dites que avoient este entre nous e levesque de Cestre, il est ausi coruce ove nous, quil nous ad defendu que nous ne seoms si hardi de venir en sun hostel ne nul de nostre menee, e ad defendu a trestoutz ses gentz e del Escheker quil ne nous donnent ne nous prestent nulle rien pur sustenaunce de nostre hostel.

Prince Edward went on to say that he would remain at Midhurst and try to recover his father's favor. If he failed, he would follow the royal court at a distance of some ten leagues until he was recalled.

Although the prince immediately instructed his own treasurer, Walter Reynolds, to find means of financially supporting his household,[36] he himself seems to have expected an early reconciliation.[37] In this he was mistaken, and after following his father's progress as far as Canterbury without being recalled, he went to Lambeth palace in early July.[38] There, on 21 July, he wrote to his sister Joan informing her that Edward I's disposition towards him had now changed, and therefore he was returning her seal, which she had lent to him during his discomfiture.[39] The prince was correct about his father's

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[35] Letters of Edward Prince of Wales, 1304-1305, H. Johnstone, ed., Cambridge, 1931, p. 30.

[36] Ibid., p. 31. This was not easy. A payment made to the Frescobaldi in 1307 by Edward II seems to have covered debts outstanding from this period. See Taylor,"Peter of Gavaston," p. 77, n.1.

[37] See Johnstone, Edward of Carnarvon, p. 99.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Letters of Edward, pp. 60-61.

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attitude, but not entirely so. Although the king now once again began providing for his son, he "did not enable the prince to maintain his wonted standard of living."[40] Not only had the size of his household been reduced, but Edward I had removed some of his son's closest companions. In early August the king allowed two yeomen, John de Haustede and John de Weston, to return, but the prince's real concern was with recovering the company of Gilbert de Clare[41] and Piers Gaveston. In a letter written on 4 August 1305 he begged his sister Elizabeth to persuade Queen Margaret to intercede with the king.[42] The prince claimed that

> . . . si nous eussoms ceux deux, ove les autres que nous avoms, nous serrioms molt alleggez del anguisse que nous avoms endure, e suffroms uncor de iour en autre.

Edward also wrote directly to his step-mother, Queen Margaret, in much the same fashion.[43] Just when Clare and Gaveston were finally allowed to return to the prince's household is not known. Probably not at once, for it was not until 13 October that father and son publicly closed the breach between them at a banquet at Westminster.[44]

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[40] Johnstone, Edward of Carnarvon, p. 100.

[41] This is Gilbert, son of Thomas de Clare. He is Edward II's cousin, not his nephew, the subsequent earl. See Johnstone, Edward of Carnarvon, p. 75 and n.4. It was also this Gilbert de Clare who deserted from Scotland in 1306. See below, n.66.

[42] Letters of Edward, p. 70.

[43] Ibid., p. 73.

[44] Ann. Lond., p. 143.

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During the prince's exile from court, William Wallace had been executed, thus quieting Scotland, presumably forever.[45] In February 1306, however, Robert Bruce VIII, earl of Carrick, murdered John Comyn the younger, and the war of Scottish independence began anew.[46] Within weeks, Edward I set in motion the machinery for provisioning an army and summoned the feudal array to be present at Carlisle on 8 July.[47] It was clear, however, even to the king, that the time was approaching when Edward of Carnarvon would have to lead the English forces. A writ dated 25 April referred to the "expedition by Edward, Prince of Wales, to be joined afterwards by the king."[48] In view of his son's more prominent role, the king decided that the prince should be knighted before setting off for Scotland. This was scheduled for 22 May.[49] In order to maintain his new position, the prince was granted the duchy of Aquitaine, the island of Oléron, and the Agenais.[50]

The knighting of the prince of Wales was the occasion for perhaps the largest congregation of knights that Westminster had ever seen.[51]

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[45] Ibid., pp. 139-42.

[46] Barrow, Robert Bruce, pp. 205 et seq.

[47] C.P.R. 1301-07, p. 417; Parl. Writs, I, 374-76.

[48] C.P.R. 1301-07, p. 428.

[49] Parl. Writs, I, 374; C.Cl.R. 1302-07, p. 434.

[50] Foedera, I, ii, 983.

[51] See Denholm-Young, "Feudal Society in the Thirteenth Century," History, vol. xxix (1944), p. 118.

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Edward I had ordered "all men bound in succession to their fathers to become knights, having means whereby they could perform the duties of a knight, to come to Westminster prior to Pentecost and obtain the necessary equipment from the king's wardrobe."[52] Some 267 young men, including Gaveston, responded to this summons.[53] So great, we are told, was the crush of prospective knights, that they could not be accommodated at Westminster Palace.[54] Walls at the New Temple were levelled and fruit trees cut down in order to make room for the necessary tents and pavilions. The prince and a few companions spent their vigil in the abbey church at Westminster, while the rest of the aspirants passed the night of 21-22 May in the Temple church. Next day the prince was knighted by Edward I in the palace chapel, with the earls of Lincoln and Hereford fastening on his spurs.[55] The prince in turn knighted the other young men, including the earls of Arundel and Warenne, from the high altar at the abbey.[56] This ceremony was followed by the so-called Feast of the Swans, at which the king swore an oath on these royal birds to go on crusade as soon as he had avenged himself against Bruce, with the prince and the rest of the assembly

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[52] Flores, III, p. 131.

[53] Denholm-Young, "Feudal Society," p. 118. See also Shaw, The Knights of England, pp. 111-22.

[54] Flores, III, p. 131 gives the best account of the event. See also Ann. Lond., p. 146.

[55] Ann. Lond., p. 146.

[56] Flores, III, p. 132.

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swearing to variations on this theme.[57] Any lingering breach between father and son had been closed and forgotten as they prepared to meet the Scottish army.

In the spring of 1306 Sir Piers Gaveston's future must have seemed bright. Newly knighted, he was well favored by the prince, as evidenced by the horse he rode to the Scottish campaign in that year. A gift from the prince, it was valued at £60.[58] Moreover, he had his own household by this time,[59] and held land in ten counties.[60] Yet in the autumn of 1306 Gaveston risked the loss of all he had gained by earning the wrath of Edward I.

The 1306 campaign had begun very well for the English with Aymer de Valence's defeat of Bruce at Methven in June.[61] The forces under Prince Edward also met with success, capturing Lochmaben castle on

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[57] Denholm-Young, "Feudal Society," p. 118.

[58] E.101/13/7 m.1. This was the most expensive of some 180 horses belonging to members of the prince's household here valued.

[59] The prince had given him 3 tuns of wine for his household, E.101/369/11 f.79.

[60] This is learned later in 1306 when these lands were confiscated. See below, n.66. There is, however, no record of Gaveston receiving these lands. Perhaps the writ was aimed at the Mortimer lands of which he was custodian, although these lands were spread over 22 counties, not 10. Roger Mortimer was allowed to enter his lands while still a minor in April 1306. C.Cl.R. 1302-07, p. 377.

[61] Barrow, Robert Bruce, p. 216, n.3, argues convincingly in favor of a date of 19 June rather than the traditional date of 26 June.

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11 July,[62] and Kildrummy by mid-September.[63] Meanwhile, Bruce had been driven from the mainland and his forces scattered following a defeat inflicted upon him at Dalry by John Macdougall of Argyll.[64] Edward I, no longer able to ride, reached Lanercost, where he established his winter quarters, only around Michaelmas.[65] But any joy the aged monarch felt at these successes was soon dissipated by the desertion of twenty-two well-known knights.

On 18 October sheriffs throughout England were instructed to seize all lands belonging to Giles d'Argentein, Walter de Berningham, Ralph Basset, Walter and William de Beauchamp, Henry and Humphrey de Bohun, John Chandos, Gilbert de Clare, Philip Colevill, Robert Darcy, Piers Gaveston, John de Haudlo, Robert de Kendall, Henry Leyburn, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, Adam de Swylinton, Robert de Tony, Payn Tibetot, Thomas de Verdun, John la Ware, and John de Watevile.[66] These men, who had deserted "the king and his son in [Scotland] in contempt of the king and to the retarding of the king's business there," were also to be arrested and held until further notice.[67] The reason for their desertion is found in a writ to the sheriffs of London regarding

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[62] C.D.S., II, p. 483.

[63] Barrow, Robert Bruce, p. 228.

[64] Ibid., p. 227.

[65] Johnstone, Edward of Carnarvon, p. 115.

[66] C.F.R. 1272-1307, pp. 543-44.

[67] Ibid.

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"knights and other men-at-arms who have crossed to foreign parts for a tournament . . . without license, while the king is engaged in the war of Scotland."[68]

These desertions can have come as no surprise to Edward I. It was not the first time that knights had left the king's service in order to attend a tournament.[69] Moreover, on 24 September the king had issued writs to every sheriff in England warning that although tournaments were banned for the duration of the Scottish war, "he understands that certain of his subjects make and propose to make tournaments . . . to the delay and hindrance of the king's affairs of Scotland."[70] The sheriffs were to treat such persons as enemies and traitors. Yet to all appearances the war in Scotland was at an end. The prince himself left Scotland by 20 November, and spent the holidays in the south.[71] Moreover, he had considered holding a tournament of his own at Wark.[72] He certainly knew that Gaveston, at least, was outside the court at this time, and apparently approved.[73] The knights in question were

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[68] Ibid., p. 544.

[69] Argentein, Leyburn, and Tony had committed the same offense in 1302. C.Cl.R. 1302-07, p. 66.

[70] Ibid., p. 459.

[71] Johnstone, Edward of Carnarvon, p. 115.

[72] BL Add. MS 22923 ff.2, 14; E.101/369/11 f.51^{v}. According to Taylor, "Peter of Gavaston," p. 81 n.2, the prince held another tournament at Roxburgh on 29 October, but this is unlikely.

[73] Gaveston received a gift of £10 from the prince on 20 December. BL Add. MS 22923 f.10^{v}.

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young--many of them were closely associated with the prince[74]--and in their youth they recklessly sought adventure contrary to the king's ordinance. But the severity of Edward's response to their actions was equally reckless. Once again Queen Margaret took it upon herself to mollify the aging ruler, and in the end he relented. On 23 January 1307 the deserters were pardoned,[75] and with but one exception these pardons were clearly issued in good faith.[76] The exceptional case was that of Piers Gaveston.

On 26 February 1307 at Lanercost, Edward I ordered,

> . . . for certain reasons that immediately after three weeks from the next tournament, which will be at the quinzane of Easter next [i.e. 30 April], Sir Piers Gaveston shall be ready to cross the sea at Dover for Gascony, and shall remain there without returning until he shall be recalled by the king and by his permission.[77]

Both Piers and Prince Edward swore upon the consecrated Host and various relics not to contravene this ordinance. It was further ordained that Piers should receive an annuity of 100 marks sterling "for as long as he shall remain in parts beyond the sea during the

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[74]Chandos, Clare, Gaveston, and Haudlo, for instance, were members of his household. Kendal and Leyburn, in turn, were members of Gaveston's household. See below, n.88.

[75]Parl. Writs, I, i, 379; C.Cl.R. 1302-07, pp. 481-82.

[76]Argentein, Chandos, and Leyburn are not listed on the pardon, yet they were certainly restored to grace as both Argentein and Chandos were to have been among those accompanying the prince to France in mid-1307. C.Cl.R. 1302-07, pp. 530-31.

[77]Foedera, I, ii, 1010; C.Cl.R. 1302-07, pp. 526-27.

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king's pleasure and waiting his recall."[78]

This, the first of Gaveston's three exiles, has traditionally been viewed as penal in nature. Even a cursory examination of the ordinance described above, however, contradicts such a view. Edward I was a man of violent temper. He would not have fixed the date for Gaveston's departure some two months ahead--so that it coincided with the end of the tournament season--if the exile had been occasioned by any misconduct on the Gascon's part. Nor would the king have so arranged for Gaveston's welfare while abroad. Finally, it is quite clear that Gaveston's future recall was a definite possibility. Why then was Gaveston exiled in 1307? According to Edward of Carnarvon's biographer, Johnstone, "Edward, not Peter, was at this stage the prime offender."[79]

Gaveston had been a member of the prince's household since 1300, as already noted. In that time he had risen greatly in his young master's favor. The favors bestowed on Piers cannot have gone unnoticed by the king,[80] and most likely it was this favoritism that accounted for the removal of both Gaveston and Gilbert de Clare from the prince's household in 1305. Gaveston's subsequent desertion from Scotland in 1306 cannot have helped his cause with the king, yet in

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[78] Ibid.

[79] Johnstone, Edward of Carnarvon, p. 123.

[80] For instance, his horse, valued at £60 and a gift from the prince, was enrolled on a royal account. E.101/13/7 m.1.

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all probability it did not, in and of itself, occasion his exile. The chronicles are remarkably silent in discussing Gaveston's first exile, speaking only in general terms.[81] The major exception to this rule is the account of Walter of Guisborough.[82] While highly colored and most likely apocryphal--despite the author's claim to be using ipsissima verba of those concerned--Guisborough's rendition of events accurately reflects the spirit of the prince's recklessness and the king's exasperation.

According to Guisborough, when the prince had done all he could to promote Gaveston's fortunes himself, he summoned the treasurer, Walter Langton, and sent the latter as a go-between to the king. To the king Langton said, "My lord king, I am sent on behalf of my lord the prince your son, though, as God lives, unwillingly, to seek in his name your license to promote his knight Piers Gaveston to the rank of count of Ponthieu." The enraged king replied, "Who are you who dares to ask such things? As God lives, if not for fear of the Lord and because you said at the outset that you undertook this business unwillingly, you would not escape my hands. Now, however, I shall see what he who sent you has to say in your presence." Having called him, the king said to the prince, "On what business did you

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[81]The author of the Eulogium Historiarum, p. 190, Trivet, p. 345, and Walsingham, p. 111, refer to "diversis accusatum." Murimuth refers to Gaveston's evil counsel to the prince, p. 9, but the Annales Paulini perhaps come closest to the truth in attributing Piers' exile to the fact that the prince "adamaret him ultra modum," p. 255.

[82]Guisborough, pp. 382-83.

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send this man?" He replied, "That with your consent I might give the county of Ponthieu to lord Piers Gaveston." The king cried, "You wretched bastard, do you want to give lands away now? You who never gained any? As God lives, if not for fear of breaking up the kingdom, you should never enjoy your inheritance." And seizing the prince's hair in both hands, he tore out as much as he could until finally, exhausted, he threw him out.[83] Edward immediately called his magnates together, and with their counsel he decided to exile Gaveston.

The accuracy of the details of Guisborough's account is made suspect by the fact that Piers was allowed to spend his exile in Ponthieu rather than Gascony.[84] Nevertheless, this exile was most likely the result of the prince's inappropriate behavior, as Guisborough implies. Moreover, the king's decision to remove Gaveston from his son's company certainly must have been reinforced by the prince's actions following the decree.

Prior to his departure for Ponthieu, Piers and his company were showered with gifts by Edward of Carnarvon, who accompanied them on their way to Dover with two minstrels.[85] Gaveston himself received four green tapestries, four yellow ones, four bearing diverse arms,

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[83]According to Haskins, op. cit., p. 75, Cornwall was the county requested by the prince for Gaveston, and the king's reaction was "ad terram deiecit pedibusque conculavit."

[84]See Johnstone, "The County of Ponthieu, 1279-1307," E.H.R., vol. xxix (1914), p. 452.

[85]The minstrels were paid 6s. 8d. BL Add. MS 22923 f.6^{v}. Edward was at Dover on 5 May. Ibid., f.14^{v}.

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and four more green ones decorated with red rosettes, as well as two quilted buckram tunics.[86] His yeomen Henry de Guildford and William de Anne received cash gifts of £2 for a bed and £2 6s. 8d. respectively, and other gifts of both cash and goods were forthcoming.[87] Nor did this outpouring of gifts end with the favorite's departure overseas. So that he might cut a dashing figure on the tournament fields of France, the prince sent after him two tourneying outfits, one of green velvet embroidered with pearls and gold and silver piping, with gold aigulettes and bearing Gaveston's arms, the other of green sindon, also bearing his arms.[88] In addition, Edward sent Piers five horses and the sum of £260.[89]

Gaveston's stay in Ponthieu was both brief and comfortable. His comfort was assured by his considerable household, which included two knights, seven yeomen, a chamberlain, two falconers, and four servants of his own,[90] as well as one of the prince's yeomen and six of his

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[86] Ibid., f.11. The total value of these gifts was £23 8s.

[87] Ibid., ff.6, 7. In addition, Anne received a black hackney valued at 46s. 8d., and some £13 6s. was disbursed among Gaveston's garciones, Ibid., f.7.

[88] Ibid., f.11^{v}. These outfits were worth £24 4s. 4½d. and £8 8s. 7½d. respectively.

[89] Ibid., f.16^{v}; E.101/369/16 f.13^{v}. On 7 July 1307 the prince paid a further 105s. 4d. for robes for Gaveston and various members of his household to a tailor named Thomas de Wight. BL Add. MS 22923 f.9.

[90] E.101/13/7 m.1; E.101/369/16 f.13^{v}; BL Add. MS 22923 f.5^{v}; E.101/373/15 ff.20^{v}, 21^{v}, 25, 49; E.101/370/26 m.4.

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grooms.[91] He also profited from the preparations for a proposed visit by the prince--that this visit was eventually cancelled may be indicative of Edward I's continued desire to keep the two young men apart.[92] In truth, Gaveston lacked for nothing in Ponthieu. He stayed at Crécy during his exile,[93] and is known to have attended two tournaments in France.[94] During his stay he also entertained Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham and patriarch of Jerusalem.[95] All Gaveston had to do was to enjoy himself and wait for Edward I either to recall him or to be succeeded by his son. As it turned out, he had less than three months to wait.

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[91] John de Baldwin, the prince's yeoman, received a gift of 20s. from his master upon his departure. BL Add. MS 22923 ff.7, 16^{v}.

[92] C.Cl.R. 1302-07, pp. 506, 516. Gaveston received 13 swans and 22 herons from the prince's poulterer. BL Add. MS 22923 f.4.

[93] Ibid., f.4.

[94] Ibid., f.11^{v}.

[95] Ibid., f.4. Bek shared in the spoils of the prince's cancelled visit, receiving six each of herons and swans.

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CHAPTER III

KING AND FAVORITE

Edward I died at Burgh-on-Sands on 7 July 1307.[1] According to the chronicles, Edward II's first act as king of England was to recall his Gascon favorite, Piers Gaveston.[2] This assertion cannot have been far from the truth, as Gaveston arrived in London within two weeks of the old king's death.[3] After a brief stay at the home of Walter Reynolds, Piers set off to join the king in Scotland.[4] They were reunited at Dumfries, and there on 6 August Gaveston was enfeoffed with the earldom of Cornwall.[5] The chronicles are quite critical of

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[1] Although he was not crowned until 25 February 1308, Edward II's reign is dated from 7 July 1307.

[2] Ann. Lond., p. 151; Ann. Paul., p. 257; Guisborough, p. 383; Flores, III, p. 139; Trokelowe, p. 64; Walsingham, p. 115; Vita, p. 1.

[3] On 16 July one of Gaveston's garciones, Richard Dragon, was taken ill in London. E.101/373/15 f.21. On 18 July another of Gaveston's servants, Alan de Cornubia, reached the king in Scotland with a message from Ponthieu, presumably announcing the favorite's imminent return to England. Ibid., f.25.

[4] A letter from the king to Gaveston was sent via Reynolds on 19 July. Ibid., f.23. Gaveston reached Carlisle sometime after 1 August. Ibid., ff.32, 37, 39^{v}, 44^{v}. He left behind in London Dragon and at least one other servant, Robert de Rufford, who was injured in the crossing. Ibid., ff.21, 21^{v}.

[5] E.41/460; C.53/94 m.9; C.Ch.R. 1300-26, p. 108. See also, C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 12; C.P.R. 1307-12, p. 9.

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Gaveston's elevation, but despite their claims, there is no evidence to suggest that the English magnates opposed the king's action.[6] Indeed, seven of the earls affixed their seals to Gaveston's charter of enfeoffment.[7]

Edward decided to withdraw from Scotland in late August, and he was accompanied south by the earl of Cornwall. The royal party stopped briefly in Carlisle,[8] and then moved on to Knaresborough, which was reached by 9 September.[9] At Knaresborough king and favorite separated, as Gaveston apparently set about the task of entering upon his new lands. On 18 and 19 September he was in Cornwall,[10] while by the 22nd he was in Norfolk.[11] The earl than apparently went to London, since letters addressed to him were dispatched there between 23 September and 8 October.[12] While he was in London, on 4 October, Gaveston

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[6]The Vita, p. 1, states that this grant was approved by the earl of Lincoln and others, but also that the majority of the barons felt that Cornwall could not lawfully be alienated from the crown. Other chroniclers agree on the second point, and some specifically state that the magnates opposed Gaveston's elevation; Guisborough, p. 383; Trokelowe, p. 65; Walsingham, p. 120.

[7]The earls of Lincoln, Lancaster, Warenne, Hereford, Arundel, and Richmond, and Aymer de Valence, who became earl of Pembroke upon his mother's death in September 1307, receiving his lands on 27 October, witnessed the charter. E.41/460; C.53/94 m.9.

[8]E.369/17 f.1.

[9]They travelled to Knaresborough by way of Ripon. E.101/373/15 f.20.

[10]Ibid., ff.24, 24^{v}.

[11]Ibid., f.24.

[12]Ibid., ff.24, 24^{v}. Although a letter was directed to Gaveston

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issued jointly with the new treasurer, Reynolds, a proclamation inviting complaints to be brought against Walter Langton before the justices of assize.[13] This involvement in the Langton trial was Gaveston's first venture into public affairs, and it inspired the first of many diatribes against him by contemporary chroniclers.

As Edward I's treasurer, Langton had made a number of enemies, not least among them the prince of Wales.[14] Moreover, Edward I had left his son a virtually empty treasury, and Langton was held as at least partially responsible for this. The result was that Langton was arrested on Edward II's orders on 7 August 1307 at Waltham, and was replaced as treasurer by Walter Reynolds on 22 August.[15] On 20 September his lands were seized, and in the days following, the king ordered various inquisitions into Langton's lands and debts.[16] On 3 October the master of the Temple in London was ordered to surrender that very day any treasure Langton had deposited there,[17] and by 7 October most of the former treasurer's monies had been paid into

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in Norfolk on 2 October. Ibid., f.24.

[13]Alice Beardwood, ed., Records of the Trial of Walter Langton, Camden Fourth Series, v. 6 (1969), p. 5. It is worth noting that Gaveston was involved, at least nominally, only in the judicial proceedings against Langton, not the financial proceedings.

[14]See above, Chapter II, nn.34, 35.

[15]Beardwood, Trial of Walter Langton, p. 1, and note 5.

[16]Ibid., p. 2.

[17]Ibid.

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the wardrobe.[18] It is against this factual background that the chroniclers' vitriolic attacks on Gaveston must be placed. According to the St. Paul's annalist, for instance, Langton was arrested because he was Piers' foe, "quasi per eum fuerat exiliatus," and all the treasurer's money, horses and jewels were given to the favorite.[19] Guisborough also blamed the earl of Cornwall for Langton's arrest, but provided a more detailed account of the manner in which the former profited from the latter's fall. He claims not only that Gaveston was enfeoffed with Langton's lands, here valued at 5000 marks per annum, but that he also received almost all of the treasurer's gold, silver and jewels, worth £50,000, which he immediately sent overseas with foreign merchants.[20] Undoubtedly, at some point Gaveston did receive jewels that had previously belonged to the royal treasure as gifts from Edward II.[21] During the course of the reign he also received substantial sums of money from the wardrobe.[22] There is,

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Ann. Paul., p. 257. See also, Flores, III, p. 140.

[20] Guisborough, p. 383.

[21] See R. A. Roberts, ed., Edward II, the Lords Ordainers, and Piers Gaveston's jewels and horses, Camden Miscellany xv, Camden Third Series, xli (1929), and below, Chapter VIII.

[22] For example, on 7 February 1308 he received £95 3s., E.403/141 m.7; on 1 March 1308, £130 5s. ½d., E.368/78 m.33. On 10 June 1308 Gaveston received 1180 marks as a gift toward his expenses, C.62/84 m.2. Early in the reign, however, Gaveston figures as a creditor rather than as a benefactor of the crown. On 16 September 1307 Gaveston lent £500 to the wardrobe. E.404/1/3 no.1. He was repaid on 23 October, E.101/373/19 mm.1, 2, 3.

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however, nothing to connect him with Langton's fall prior to the judicial action of 4 October, or to show that he directly benefitted from it then or later. In suggesting the contrary, the chroniclers are guilty of anachronism and factual inaccuracy, just as they are in reporting the nature of Piers' exile by Edward I, and opposition to his return and ennoblement under Edward II.[23]

Gaveston must have spent the latter part of October 1307 in making preparations for his wedding, for on 1 November the earl of Cornwall married Margaret de Clare, sister of the young earl of Gloucester, and niece of the king.[24] The wedding, which further secured Gaveston's position in the English aristocracy, took place at Berkhamsted, and although it elicited scant notice from the chroniclers, it must have been a lavish affair. The king and several magnates were present.[25] Edward spent £30 on jewels for the bride and groom,[26] £20 on a palfrey for Margaret,[27] £36 17s. 7d. on gifts for her ladies in waiting,[28] £20 for minstrels,[29] and £7 10s. 6d. on coins

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[23]See above, Chapter II; Chapter III, nn.6-7.

[24]E.101/325/4 m.2.

[25]Richard le Kroc of Berkhamsted received 5s. for damages done to his property by the king's party. Ibid., f.21. Pembroke was there, C.53/94 m.8, and presumably so was Gloucester, the bride's brother.

[26]E.101/325/4 m.2.

[27]E.403/141 m.1.

[28]E.101/373/15 f.43. These gifts were primarily luxurious imported cloth, worked with gold, pearls, etc.

[29]Ibid., f.21.

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to be thrown over the couple's heads as they entered the church.[30] Endowed with widespread land holdings and now related by marriage to the king, the earl of Cornwall was clearly one of the leading magnates in England.

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As mentioned above, Gaveston received the earldom of Cornwall on 6 August 1307. There is some question as to whether or not this grant in and of itself conferred the title of earl upon Gaveston, but this is totally irrelevant.[31] Whether by means of the charter or some separate act, Gaveston was created earl of Cornwall at this time. As such he was a powerful figure and a major landowner. By the terms of the grant he was to receive all castles, towns, manors, hundreds, etc. formerly belonging to Edmund, late earl of Cornwall, the most important of which were specified in the text of the charter.[32]

In actuality, however, Gaveston did not receive all of Edmund's former lands. The honor of Berkhamsted was now in the possession of Margaret, the queen mother, forming part of her dowry.[33] In addition, the honors of Bradninch, Eye, and Fordington were held by Edmund's

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[30] Ibid., f.22.

[31] A discussion of this question can be found in Taylor, "Career of Peter of Gaveston," pp. 101-02.

[32] Foedera, II, i, 2.

[33] Foedera, I, ii, 949; C.P.R. 1301-07, p. 119. She also held the manor, but not the bailiwick, of Mere in Wiltshire. In actuality, however, Edward seems to have kept this castle for his favorite. Gaveston was married there, and on 16 March 1308 he was made constable of Berkhamsted. C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 18.

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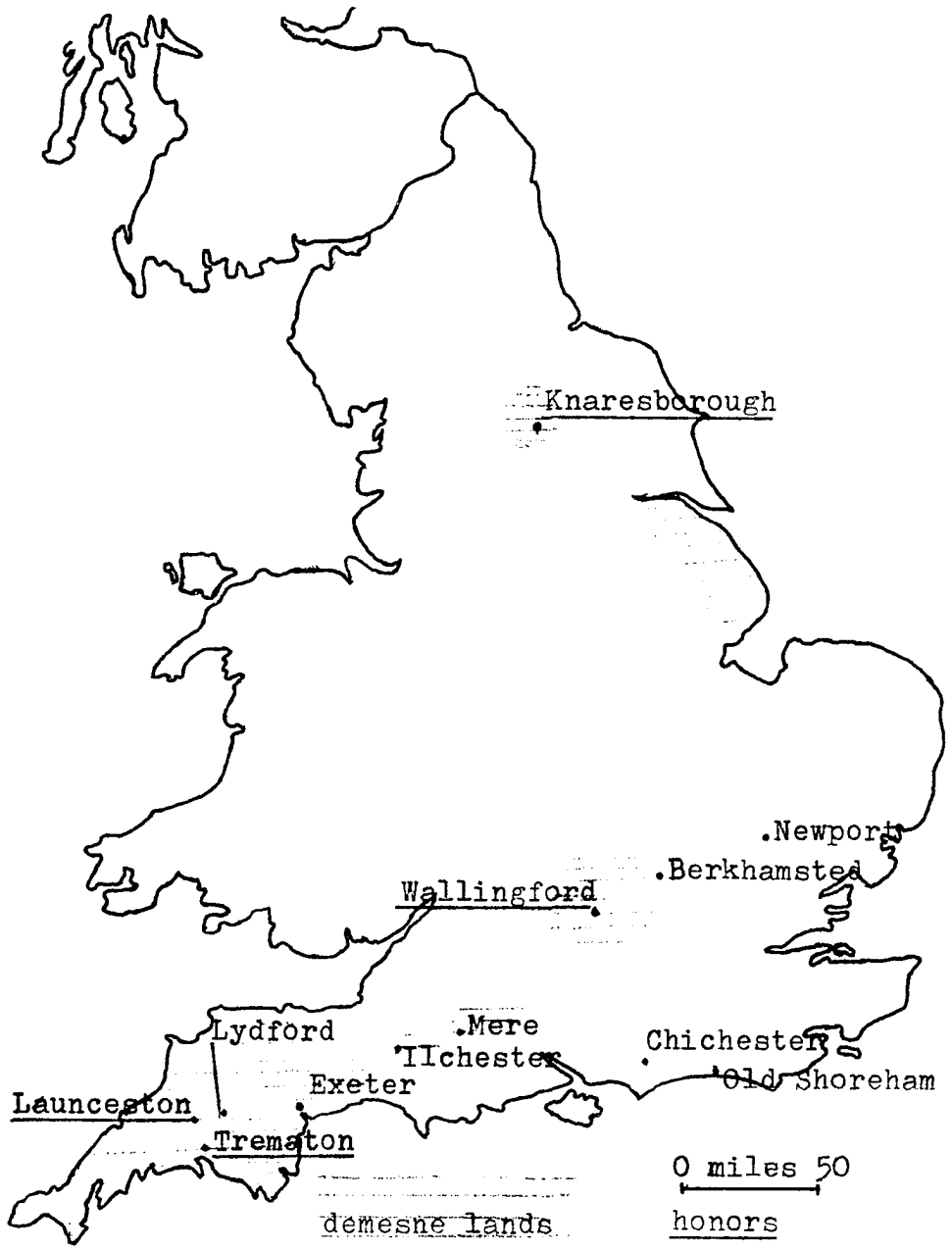
The Earldom of Cornwall in 1307



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widow, also named Margaret.[34] Gaveston was left with the five honors of Launceston, Knaresborough, St. Valery, Trematon, and Wallingford, and numerous lesser properties. These five honors formed the nuclei of three of Gaveston's four main possessions.

The most sizeable of the earl of Cornwall's demesnes was in the southwest, as one would expect. In addition to the honors of Launceston and Trematon, which comprised nearly all of Cornwall, the earl also controlled a large part of Devonshire, where he held the manor of Lydford, all of Dartmoor, and the town of Exeter.[35] As T. F. Tout remarked, "a prince who ruled from the Land's End to Exeter was a potentate of no small authority."[36] The earl of Cornwall controlled local justice, the advowsons of numerous churches, and perhaps most important of all, the stannaries.[37] The tin mines had long been a

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[34] C.Cl.R. 1296-1302, p. 426; C.I.P.M., v., p. 153 (279). She also held the county of Rutland and all of Edmund's lands in Norfolk and Suffolk, yet as early as 22 September 1307 Gaveston journeyed to Norfolk, presumably to view his new lands.

[35] With this also went control of the valuable stannaries of Devon. Among the many sources of revenue provided to the earl were the profits from the stannator's courts and prisons, one of which, at Lydford, was definitely administered by one of Gaveston's officials, Baldwin le Moyne, S.C.1/35/56A.

[36] T. F. Tout, "The Earldoms of Edward I," T.R.H.S., new series, viii (1894), p. 142.

[37] His control of advowsons in Cornwall and elsewhere must be considered in mitigation of the many charges of interference in ecclesiastical appointments brought against him. For example, as lord of Holderness he was entitled to present clerks to the churches of Easington and Kayingham, but did not prevent a protest from the abbot of Meaux. Chron. Melsa, II, p. 298. For the importance of the tin industry see G. R. Lewis, The Stannaries, Cambridge, Mass., 1924.

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major source of revenue, but following the implementation of the charters of 1305, there was a "renewed outburst of mining activity" that led to record levels of production.[38] Gaveston undoubtedly benefitted from this.

A second major area under the earl of Cornwall's authority was comprised of the honors of Wallingford and St. Valery in the upper Thames valley. These honors included widespread territories in Berkshire and Oxfordshire,[39] and Gaveston's sway in the area was subsequently further extended by his possession of Crookham and Leckhamsted in Berkshire, Byfleet and Pachesham in Surrey, and Newport in Essex.[40]

To the north Gaveston also controlled two large tracts of land. The western half of Lincolnshire was almost entirely under the earl of Cornwall's authority.[41] Further north yet was his fifth honor, Knaresborough. This north Yorkshire territory included the towns of

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[38] G. R. Lewis, The Stannaries, p. 39.

[39] Wallingford included the manors of Watlington and Bensington and the 4½ Chiltern hundreds in Oxfordshire, St. Valery the manors of Beckley in Oxfordshire, Harwell in Berkshire, and Lechlade in Gloucestershire. A very confused situation arose concerning Lechlade involving Gaveston, the abbot of Hayles, and the queen mother. Foedera, II, i, 2; C.P.R. 1307-12, pp. 9, 187.

[40] Newport was part of the honor of Berkhamsted. See L. M. Midgley, Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, 1296-97, Camden 3rd series, lxvi, lxviii (1942, 1945) for a survey of the earldom. The date of the grant of Crookham and Leckhamsted to Gaveston is uncertain but during the first year of the reign.

[41] Tout, "Earldoms of Edward I," p. 141.

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Boroughbridge and Aldborough, and the manor of Scriven.[42]

These four major territories were supplemented and to a certain degree linked by numerous other properties. Among the most important of these were the bailiwick of Mere in Wiltshire,[43] the baronies of Cheyndut, Mauregard and Lucy in Northants,[44] and the city of Chichester and town of Old Shoreham in Sussex.[45]

The lands appurtenant to the earldom of Cornwall were probably considered to be worth £4,000 per annum, since Gaveston was recompensed for this amount when he lost the Cornwall lands in June 1308.[46] This figure is not unreasonable, as the stannaries alone were worth more than a third of the stated value.[47] Very few accounts remain from the period of Gaveston's tenure, and in several cases where they do, these accounts indicate a drop in revenue from the days of Edmund,[48]

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[42] See Midgley, Earldom of Cornwall, pp. 186-211.

[43] Ibid., pp. 55-83.

[44] Part of the honor of Berkhamsted. Ibid., p. 172n.

[45] Chichester was appurtenant to the honor of Wallingford. Margaret, Edmund's widow, received £10 18s. 7d. per annum from Old Shoreham, which pertained to the castle of Berkhamsted. C.Cl.R. 1296-1302, p. 426.

[46] See below, Chapter IV, nn.4-22.

[47] Lewis, The Stannaries, p. 259. The coinage duty on tin in Cornwall was £1,726 9s. 4d. in 1306.

[48] E.370/5/16 is Hyde's account for Cornwall between 24 June and 29 September 1308. S.C.6 1096/1 is John de Clynton's account for Wallingford for the same period (17 June - 29 September). E.352/102 is an account for Cornwall during the first two years of the reign. Cf. Midgley, Earldom of Cornwall.

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but as will be discussed below, this is apparently the result of disorganization within Gaveston's administration rather than an actual depreciation in value.

Given the turbulent nature of his subsequent career, it is unlikely that Gaveston was intimately involved in the administration of his lands. Nor is it surprising that there are several indications that the earl of Cornwall's lands were managed quite inefficiently at times during Gaveston's life. Unfortunately, there are few details available relating to the working of his administration. Like all 14th-century magnates, Gaveston modelled his administration upon the royal system. His exchequer, wardrobe, and seat of justice were all fixed at a single central location. Edmund's administrative seat had been at Berkhamsted,[49] but of course this had not passed into Gaveston's hands. His seat was apparently located at Wallingford.[50] Most of the extant information on Gaveston's administration is found in a single document detailing expenses incurred by the king on repairs and construction at Wallingford during the early period of Gaveston's exile in Ireland.[51] From this account it is evident that both the wardrobe and exchequer of the earl of Cornwall were housed here. So was a hall of pleas where feudal justice could be dispensed.

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[49] Midgley, Earldom of Cornwall, p. xix. See, however, Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall, Oxford, 1947, p. 163.

[50] E.101/489/30.

[51] Ibid. Cf. S.C.6/1096/1.

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The substantial sum of £129 9s. 1½d. was spent on Wallingford by the king between 17 June and 29 September 1308. Edward apparently made use of the existing machinery at Wallingford in order to administer the Cornwall lands while the earldom was in his hands during Gaveston's exile. There is a reference to the king's chamber at Wallingford in this account, but it may well reflect Gaveston's proximity to Edward as much as the hitherto royal nature of the earldom or its recent return to the crown, for the king also had accommodations at Gaveston's manor of Byfleet.[52]

Initially Gaveston had a certain amount of trouble simply taking possession of his lands. Knaresborough, for instance, was delivered to Piers' steward, William de Vaux, on 20 August,[53] but the earl of Cornwall received no income from this or any of his other properties prior to 29 September 1307 (Michaelmas).[54] In fact, as late as 6 March 1308 the king had to order Thomas de la Hyde, formerly royal steward in Cornwall, and both escheators to see to it that Gaveston received the rents and other issues of the earldom.[55] Similarly, in February 1308 one of Gaveston's tenants, Michael de Meldon, had to be

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[52] S.C.6/1011/1,2.

[53] E.368/78 m.111[d].

[54] Revenues from Cornwall estates continued to be paid into the exchequer even after Michaelmas. See Memoranda Rolls, passim.

[55] Foedera, II, i, 37; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 25. Cf. E.159/81 m.78 for similar problems on the manor of Calstock in Devon (now in Cornwall).

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ordered to perform homage and fealty to the earl for certain lands in Oxfordshire,[56] while in April, Gaveston had to take legal action in order to gain possession of the manors of Crookham and Leckhamsted.[57]

Once entered upon, in many cases Gaveston appears to have entrusted the running of his various lands to the former royal officials who had lately administered them.[58] For instance, Thomas de la Hyde became the earl of Cornwall's steward and deputy as sheriff in Cornwall.[59] William de Roding served as Gaveston's sergeant on the manor of Byfleet,[60] William de Watlington acted as his attorney at Wallingford,[61] and Harry de Boys was his bailiff at the manor Dearham in the honor of Cockermouth.[62] The manor of Burstwick, by contrast, was apparently administered by the officials of Gaveston's wife, Margaret de Clare.[63]

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[56] Foedera, II, i, 32; C.P.R. 1307-12, p. 46.

[57] C.Ch.W. 1244-1326, p. 272.

[58] Paucity of documentation precludes a more positive assertion, especially since at least at Wallingford the king and earl did employ different officials. E.159/83 f.18^{v}.

[59] E.368/78 m.29; E.368/80 m.41^{d}.

[60] S.C.6/1011/1,2; C.P.R. 1307-12, p. 487. After Gaveston's death he served as royal bailiff there.

[61] E.372/154 m.49; E.159/83 f.18^{v}. Watlington was a manor located within the honor of Wallingford.

[62] Year Book 6 Edward II, ed. W. C. Bollard, Selden Society, xiv. pt. ii (1927), pp. 49-53. A Nicholas de Boys clearly entered Gaveston's service after serving the king. E.404/1/3 m.47. After accompanying Gaveston to Ireland, C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 80, he returned to serve as Edward's constable at Carisbrooke Castle, Ibid., p. 133.

[63] S.C.6/1080/12 m.27^{d}. Margaret's bailiff, Walter de Gonsal,

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It is difficult to say exactly how well these officials performed their duties since so few accounts of Gaveston's lands have survived. The value of the county of Cornwall itself increased considerably between Edmund's death and Piers' enfeoffment,[64] but this is largely attributable to increased production in the stannaries. Accounts for individual estates within the county do not show such an increase, and in fact, several show decreases.[65] With regard to properties acquired in addition to the lands appurtenant to the earldom, the same lack of evidence hinders any thorough investigation into Gaveston's administration and revenues. The lone extant account, for the manor of Byfleet, shows receipts of nearly £150 between 7 January 1310 and 30 September 1311,[66] but lacking prior or subsequent accounts for the purpose of comparison, this is meaningless.

There is one other aspect of Gaveston's administration about which a bit more can be said: his behavior towards his tenants, in which he was a typical 14th-century landlord. Several instances of

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handed the manor back to the king, although this does not necessarily imply that he had been administering it.

[64] In 1302 the value of the coinage duty in Cornwall was £1472 18s. 5d. By 1306 it was £1726 9s. 4d., and following the reorganization of the industry in 1305 it probably increased rapidly and annually. By 1337 the duty was worth £2761 9d. Lewis, The Stannaries, pp. 259-60.

[65] This is indicated, although inconclusively, by a comparison of the sums found in E.370/5/16, E.352/102, and S.C.6/1096/1 with the appropriate entries in Midgley, Earldom of Cornwall.

[66] S.C.6/1011/1,2.

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the seizure of lands upon his tenants' deaths and the subsequent re-granting of these lands can be found.[67] His actions did not always go unchallenged, however, as on at least one occasion he was a defendant in an assize of novel disseisin.[68] Similarly, in 1313 one of Gaveston's former officials was sued for the abduction of a deceased tenant's heir to the benefit of the earl.[69] Yet overall, the relative lack of evidence is in this context a positive sign, strongly indicating that the earl of Cornwall was not an unusually harsh lord.

Obviously the evidence is too scanty to permit the drawing of meaningful conclusions. All one can safely say is that at the outset of the reign the Cornish lands appear to have been run reasonably well. Gaveston did not subsequently lack for cash, although it is not possible to know if this money came from the revenues of his estates or the king's largesse.[70] Piers' own disrupted life, punctuated by two exiles and a lengthy absence in Scotland, cannot have had a beneficial effect on the administration of his lands, and by the last year of his life Gaveston's administration was clearly in disarray.

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[67] C.I.P.M., vol. V, pp. 45, 209; Ibid., vol. VI, p. 156.

[68] JI.1/1345 m.1. I owe this citation to Taylor,"Career of Peter of Gavaston," p. 135.

[69] Year Book 6 Edward II, pp. 49-53.

[70] On 16 September 1307 Edward borrowed £500 from Gaveston. E.404/1/3 m.1. On the other hand, the king made a gift of 1140 marks to Gaveston on 10 June 1308. C.62/84 m.2. This indicates the degree to which the earl's finances were independent of the revenues of the earldom.

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In December 1312 Thomas de la Hyde was empowered to levy all debts due to the king in Cornwall for the period of Hyde's stewardship under Gaveston, an indication that the collection of dues had not proceeded on schedule of late.[71] On 26 March 1312 John de Bedewynde and Roger de Wateville were appointed along with thirty-one others to "repair to Peter of Gavaston, earl of Cornwall, and attend to him and his affairs, especially to the custody of his lands."[72] A final indication of the administrative and financial disorder existing in the earl of Cornwall's lands comes from royal accounts for those lands dating from after his murder. Uncommonly large sums were collected from several of his former estates, clearly the result of previous neglect and the accumulation of arrears.[73] Given this, it is difficult to accept the traditional view that Gaveston had exploited his lands for the benefit of foreign friends and relatives.[74] On the contrary: if anything, he seems to have been too little concerned with the administration of his estates.

If Gaveston did not exploit his lands for the profit of Gascon friends and relatives, neither did he import foreigners to administer

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[71] C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 156. Another possibility, of course, is that once collected the dues were pocketed by the local officials.

[72] Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. p. 49; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 457.

[73] S.C.6/811/11. Cf., C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 488; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 465.

[74] Contemporary opinion is clearly revealed not only in the chronicles, but also in Ordinance 20 and the supplementary ordinances of November 1311. See below, Chapter VI.

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his lands. As discussed above, many of his local officials were Englishmen who had previously been employed by the crown. As demonstrated by loconymics and other linguistic indicators, Gaveston's steward, treasurer and chaplain were all English.[75] So were four of his five known clerks.[76] The fifth, Jean de Marsan, a Gascon, was probably the earl's cousin or nephew.[77] Among his lesser officials and servants, all three of his known nuncii, his three yeomen of the chamber, his page of the chamber and one of his two cursatores were English.[78] Among his garciones, eleven were clearly English, one was a Gascon, and three were of uncertain origin.[79] Also of uncertain

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[75]His steward was Thomas de la Hyde, C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 382; his treasurer, Roger de Wellsworth, S.C.6/1011/1, E.101/369/16 f.12^{v}; his chaplain, Walter de London, E.101/235/11 m.1, E.101/235/12. Gaveston's confessor, Henry de Strogoil, was also English, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.51^{v}. His chamberlain was known only as Roger. BL Add. MS 22923 f.6.

[76]James de Berkhamsted, E.101/373/26 f.51; Nicholas de Haddenham, E.101/13/7 f.47^{v}; Thomas de London, E.101/373/30 f.7^{v}, Bodley MS Tanner 197 ff.30, 30^{v}; and Richard de Wotten, E.101/235/12.

[77]E.101/369/16 f.12^{v}; Foedera, II, i, 63.

[78]Gaveston's nuncii were Peter de London, E.101/373/15 f.20^{v}; Adam Grey, E.101/373/30 f.1^{v}, Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.54; and Walter Dymmok, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII ff.82^{v}, 84, Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.54. His yeomen of the chamber were William de Clopton, E.101/374/7 f.16; Henry de Ditton, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.82^{v}, Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.54^{v}, and Henry de Guildford, BL Add. MS 22923 ff.6^{v}, 7, E.101/235/20 m.5. His page of the chamber was Roger atte Halle, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.82. His cursor, William de Nottingham, Ibid., f.88, was English, while Thomas Ferre was Gascon, E.101/373/30 f.6^{v}, Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.54^{v}.

[79]The Englishmen were Alan de Cornwall, E.101/373/15 f.25, Richard Dragon, Ibid., f.21, John de Hampton, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.85, John Russell, Ibid., Peter de Middleham, Ibid., f.85^{v}, John de Stopham, E.101/374/7 f.4^{v}, John de Waltham, Ibid., f.11^{v}, Thomas de

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origin were Gaveston's falconers, his armorer, his washerwoman, and his sometime nurse.[80]

The same sort of English predominance is also found among the earl of Cornwall's armed retainers. Twelve of Gaveston's knights were English, one was Irish, one was a Gascon, and three were of uncertain origin.[81] Of the eleven archers who served Gaveston and whose names are known, six were certainly English, three were probably French or Gascon, and two were of uncertain nationality.[82] Among the earl's

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Cornwall, E.101/373/30 f.1^{v}, Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.54, John de Rothwell, E.101/373/30 f.6, E.101/374/7 ff.7, 13, Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.54^{v}, Robert de Taunton, Ibid., Henry de St. Briavels, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.86. The Gascon was Garsie de Gascoigne, E.101/374/7 f.18. Robert le Somnour, E.101/373/15 f.25, and Vivian, BL Add. MS 7966A f.49^{v}, are of unknown origin.

[80]The falconers were named Henry and Matthew, E.101/370/26 m.4, E.101/373/15 f.49. His armorer was William le Plater, E.101/373/24 f.37^{v}, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.85^{v}. Matilda, E.101/374/7 f.27, was his washerwoman, and Agnes was his nurse, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.87^{v}.

[81]The Englishmen were Robert de Kendal, E.101/13/7 m.1, Henry de Leyburn, Ibid., E.101/369/16 f.12^{v}, Warin de l'Isle, C.Ch.W. 1244-1326, p. 345, Nicholas de Walsokne, Ibid., p. 317, Humphrey de Littlebury, E.101/374/20 m.2, John de Sapy, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.83, Edmund Wasteneys, Parl. Writs, II, ii, 403, Robert Darcy, Lincoln, Dean and Chapter Muniments, D II/56/1 no.51, Richard Crok, C.Cl.R. 1318-23, pp. 275-76, Thomas le Latimer, C.Ch.W. 1244-1326, p. 327, Thomas de Chaucombe, S.C.1/49/170, and Geoffrey de Selling, who was actually the countess of Cornwall's bachelor, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.84. The Irishman was William de Vescy of Kildare, C.Ch.W. 1244-1326, p. 328. The Gascon was Anersans de Savignac, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.86^{v}. Those of uncertain origin were Giles d'Argentein, Parl. Writs, II, ii, 403, Alexander Cheveral, Ibid., and Baldwin le Moigne, S.C.1/35/56A, C.Ch.W. 1244-1326, p. 362.

[82]The Englishmen were John de Char, John de Rothwell, Hugo de Rothing, John de Cornwall, Henry de St. Briavels, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.86^{v}, and John de Haughton, E.101/375/8 f.28^{v}. The French or Gascon archers were Geoffrey Geital, Roger Gumbaud, BL MS Cotton Nero

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yeomen, eight were English and four were Gascons, while the origin of William de Anne is uncertain.[83] The obvious conclusion to be reached from this brief examination of Gaveston's household is that the earl of Cornwall considered himself to be an English magnate, and as such he surrounded himself with a following of Englishmen. As far as the evidence allows one to compare, there seems to be little difference between the household organization and administration of the earl of Cornwall and that of any of his peers.[84]

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After his wedding, Gaveston returned to London.[85] By mid-November, however, he was with the king at Langley, where both remained until the end of the month.[86] It would appear that Edward and Piers

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C VIII f.86^{v}, and William Provo, E.101/274/7 f.11. Of uncertain nationality were Roger Cok, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.86^{v}, and William le Baud, E.101/373/30 f.4, Bodley MS Tanner 197, f.54^{v}.

[83]The Englishmen were John de Knockin, E.101/13/7 m.1, John de Charleton, Ibid., Richard Oliver, Ibid., George Percy, Ibid., BL Add. MS 22923 ff.7^{v}, 10^{v}, Robert de Rufford, E.101/373/15 f.21^{v}, Richard Wightflesh, E.101/375/8 m.29, John Albon, H. T. Riley, ed., Memorials of London, London, 1868, pp. 69-71, and Herbert de Borhunte, Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.55^{v}. The Gascons were Gaveston's brother, Guillaume-Arnaud de Gabaston, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.86, his nephew Peter Caillau, Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.48, Bertrand Assaillit, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.87^{v}, and Othon Ferre, E.368/78 m.62, E.159/81 m.31. William of Anne's nationality is uncertain, BL Add. MS 22923 f.7.

[84]Cf. Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, pp. 8-68; Philipps, Aymer de Valence, pp. 240-311; Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration.

[85]He was in Westminster on the 8th, C.53/94 m.8, and London on the 10th. E.101/373/15 f.26^{v}.

[86]He was at Langley on the 14th. E.101/373/7.

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were together from mid-November 1307 until the king departed for France on 22 January 1308.[87] This was a significant period in Gaveston's career, for it seems to be during this time that, for a variety of reasons, opposition to him began to take shape.

Of the many events during this period that impaired Gaveston's relations with his fellow earls, the most famous took place on 2 December when, "to enhance Piers' honour and glory, with the aid and counsel of the king, a tournament was ceremoniously proclaimed in Sir Piers' name at Wallingford, a town of the earl of Cornwall's demesne."[88] This tournament was attended by the earls of Arundel, Hereford, and Warenne,[89] but in no way did it enhance Piers' honor or glory. According to the Vita, "all the younger and more athletic knights of the kingdom" were in Gaveston's party, and they carried the field against the party of the other earls.[90] Other chroniclers are less polite. Trokelowe states that the earl of Cornwall "vilissime conculcavit" his fellow earls,[91] while the St. Paul's annalist accuses him of fraudulently leading some 200 knights into the field instead of the

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[87] Where itineraries for the two can be established they coincide. For Gaveston, see below, appendix. For Edward II, see Elizabeth M. Hallam, The Itinerary of Edward II, List and Index Society (forthcoming). Ms. Hallam has kindly made her findings available to me.

[88] Vita, p. 2.

[89] Trokelowe wrongly claims that Lancaster and Pembroke were there, p. 65, as does Walsingham also, p. 122.

[90] Vita, p. 2.

[91] Trokelowe, p. 65.

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previously announced 60.[92] Regardless of whether Gaveston's victory was the result of prowess or duplicity, the author of the Vita is probably correct in dating at least Warenne's animosity towards the earl of Cornwall to this tournament.[93]

Another reason for the development at this time of distaste for the favorite was his apparent control of the flow of patronage. The chroniclers are nearly unanimous in condemning the earl's regulation of royal favors.[94] According to the Pauline annalist, "if any of the earls or magnates sought the king's special grace with regard to any business, the king sent him to Piers." This situation led the annalist to conclude that there were "two kings in one kingdom."[95] Likewise, Murimuth claims that Edward "was ruled by Piers' counsel, despising the counsel of the other nobles and of those whose counsel especially had been primarily used by his father."[96] Gaveston's direct influence on Edward is difficult to document, however. In terms of administrative business he has left hardly a trace.[97] This does not mean, of

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[92] Ann. Paul., pp. 258-59.

[93] Vita, p. 7.

[94] Ann. Lond., p. 151; Ann. Paul., p. 258; Bridlington, p. 32; Murimuth, p. 11; Trokelowe, p. 64; Walsingham, p. 120; Vita, p. 3.

[95] Ann. Paul., p. 259.

[96] Murimuth, p. 11.

[97] Except for his part in Langton's prosecution, see above, pp. 53-56, the only sign of administrative activity by Gaveston is the exchange of correspondence with the treasurer. E.101/373/15 ff.24, 24v, 25v, 26. He did take a more active part in administrative affairs after his exile to Ireland. See below, Chapter V. And, of course, this does not take his regency into account.

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course, that he had no such influence, simply that it was exercised verbally rather than in writing, which is what one would expect from a man described as "secretarium et camerarium" to the king.[98] The chroniclers' charges are given added weight, however, by the diverse records of Gaveston's patronage during the first year of the reign.

A few examples of Piers' control of patronage can be found in the royal records. On 20 September Bevis de Knovill was granted the issues from his late father's lands retroactively at the earl of Cornwall's request.[99] Part of the seal for the recognisances for debts in Norwich was granted to a clerk named Robert de Benedicite on 1 December, also at Gaveston's instance,[100] while three days later a grant to alienate certain properties in mortmain was also made at the earl's request, "notwithstanding the sheriff of the county of Yorkshire after inquisition ad quod damnum returning that it is to the king's prejudice."[101] Still more revealing of the nature and pervasiveness of the earl of Cornwall's influence are various documents now located in ecclesiastical repositories.

Very little of Gaveston's correspondence has survived. One letter that has was written to Piers' retainer Robert Darcy on 1 April

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[98] Ann. Paul., p. 258.

[99] C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 3.

[100] C.P.R. 1307-12, p. 26.

[101] Ibid., pp. 25, 31.

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1308.[102] Although it dates from a slightly later period than that presently under discussion, and while its main import will be better discussed below,[103] this letter vividly depicts Gaveston's confidence in his own ability to procure favors for others from the king. In what amounts to an afterthought or postscript to the letter, Gaveston informs Darcy that a wardship in which the latter had been interested had already been granted to Hugh Despenser prior to his (Gaveston's) knowledge of his retainer's interest in it. Therefore, the earl directs Darcy, "en haste com vous poez fetes espier aukune chose qe soit pur vous e nous mettroms peyne qe vous le eiez en qanqe nous saveroms ou puroms."

Another example of the extent of Gaveston's influence, and the bitter feelings it could arouse, is found in a disputed election to the abbacy of Westminster.[104] The earl of Cornwall's candidate to replace Walter de Wenlock upon the latter's death in December 1307, Richard de Kedyngton, was duly elected in the following month. A rival faction, however, accused Piers of arranging the election only after being bribed by both Wenlock and Kedyngton,[105] and in the spring

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[102] Lincoln, Dean and Chapter Muniments, D.11/56/1 no.51. Printed in Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, app. 1, p. 335.

[103] See below, n.161.

[104] Westminster Abbey Muniments, no. 5460. See E. H. Pearce, Walter de Wenlock, pp. 218-24.

[105] This is not impossible. See Pearce, Walter de Wenlock, pp.97. 222-23, and B. Harvey, ed., Documents Illustrating the Rule of Walter de Wenlock, Camden 4th ser., ii (1965), pp. 9, 120, 201, 212. Cf. Cart. Rames., III, 64, 102.

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of 1308 they attempted to have Kedyngton's election overturned by enlisting the support of the earl's enemies both at home and abroad.[106] Other charges of Gaveston's interference in ecclesiastical appointments were still being voiced as late as the reign of Edward III.[107] Against such a background it is not surprising that some of the chroniclers reacted with utter astonishment and disgust upon learning that the earl of Cornwall would be keeper of the realm during the king's absence at his wedding in France.[108]

Gaveston was appointed custos regni on 20 December 1307.[109] On 18 January his powers were more clearly defined when he was given authority "to issue licenses to elect, grant royal assents, make restitution of temporalities, collate and present to prebends and other ecclesiastical benefices, and deal with wardships and marriages during the king's absence from the kingdom.[110] The other earls do not appear to have taken immediate offense at Gaveston's appointment, as the king's entourage prior to his departure from Dover included, besides the favorite, the earls of Pembroke, Warenne and Warwick.[111] Nor did

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[106] It is noteworthy that by this time the queen, her father, and the earls of Lincoln, Hereford and Warwick were considered by informed clerics to be the leading opponents to Gaveston's position.

[107] Cart. Rames., III, 102.

[108] Trokelowe, p. 65; Vita, p. 3; Walsingham, p. 121.

[109] Foedera, II, i, 24; Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. p. 9; C.P.R. 1307-12, p. 31.

[110] Foedera, II, i, 28; C.P.R. 1307-12, p. 43.

[111] E.101/373/6 m.2; C.P.R. 1307-12, p. 45.

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the earl of Cornwall's comportment as regent give substantial cause for alarm.

This was for Gaveston, as Taylor puts it, "the zenith of his power in England."[112] This zenith, however, was both brief in duration and unprovocative in nature. In the two week period during which Gaveston ruled England, he acted on twenty-nine pieces of administrative business. Of these, eight were concerned with escheats and wardships,[113] six were letters of protection or attorney,[114] six dealt with preparations for the king's return,[115] three were judicial,[116] three ecclesiastical,[117] and two financial in nature,[118] and one was an appointment.[119] Only three of these twenty-nine acts can possibly be described as being outside the routine or as being personal decisions made by the earl of Cornwall. On 26 January Gaveston presented John, son of John Alunday of Knapeton, to the church of Rydon in the

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[112] Taylor, "Peter of Gavaston," p. 187.

[113] C.F.R. 1307-19, pp. 13, 14; C.I.P.M., vol. V, pp. 6, 24; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 46; C.P.R. 1307-12, p. 45.

[114] Foedera, II, i, 30; C.Ch.W. 1244-1326, p. 269; C.P.R. 1307-12, pp. 44, 45.

[115] Foedera, II, i, 30; Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. p. 9; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, pp. 19, 51.

[116] C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 18.

[117] S.C.1/35/57; C.P.R. 1307-12, pp. 44, 45.

[118] E.368/78 m.32; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 19.

[119] C.P.R. 1307-12, p. 45.

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diocese of Norwich.[120] The next day the regent granted custody of the person and property of John Walraund, an idiot, to Alexander Cheveral.[121] And on 30 January Gaveston appointed Richard de Montpellier the younger and Stephen de Abingdon as purveyors for the king's wardrobe.[122] None of these decisions can have occasioned much dissatisfaction. If, however, the Polistoire of Christ Church Canterbury is to be believed, the earl of Cornwall negated any credit earned through his sober actions as regent with his haughty behavior towards the other earls:

> E si haute manere de porture lors emprist, ke les cuntes a li venuz par parler des bosoignes engenulaunt les suffrist lurs resuns devaunt li mustrer, kar ne les tint a li de value et ne se avisa del sage ke dist. Orgoil de povre haut levee, resun ne siet ne mesure pur ceo sodeyn reverse chet avaunt ke doune cure.[123]

The king returned to Dover on 7 February.[124] On the 9th, the keeper of the wardrobe, William Melton, arrived with the Great Seal, at which time the chancellor delivered up the regent's seal to the king in the presence of the earl of Lancaster and others, thus ending Gaveston's regency.[125]

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[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid. Cheverel served as one of Gaveston's knights in Scotland in 1310-11. See below, Chapter VI.

[122] Ibid.

[123] BL MS Harley 636 f.232.

[124] Foedera, II, i, 31; Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. pp. 9-10; C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 14.

[125] Ibid.

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Although Gaveston's regency had not been the occasion of abuses of royal powers, during this period the first documented sign of baronial displeasure with Edward II's governance was given in the so-called Boulogne agreement of 31 January 1308.[126] As the name implies, these letters patent were drafted in Boulogne at the time of Edward's marriage to Isabella. Witnessed by Antony Bek, bishop of Durham, the earls of Lincoln, Warenne, Pembroke and Hereford, Robert de Clifford, Payn Tibetot, Henry de Grey, John Botetourt and John de Berwick, this document is a general statement of the magnates' desire to preserve the honor of the king and the rights of the crown. It has been viewed both as an attack on Gaveston's regency and as a precursor to the coronation oath of Edward II.[127] Both claims seem overstressed since the document itself states that the magnates' goal was to redress both "les choses que sount feites avant ces houres . . . et les oppressiouns que ount estre feit et uncore se fount de jour en jour a soen poeple." In so far as the magnates do seem to be trying to draw a distinction between the fealty due to the person of the king and that due to the crown, there may be some connection with the latter oath. Likewise, to the degree that this document is implicitly critical of Edward II, it is also an attack on Gaveston as the beneficiary of the king's abuses. Nevertheless, Phillips is likely correct in assessing this

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[126] Bodley MS Dugdale 18 f.80. Printed in Phillips, Aymer de Valence, p. 316.

[127] Denholm-Young, History and Heraldry, pp. 130-31; Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, p. 73.

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compact as an attempt to stem the rising tide of baronial opposition by curbing royal abuses before the nature of that opposition became physical.[128]

Upon Edward's return from France it was instantly clear that his marriage to the twelve-year-old Isabella had in no way diminished his fondness for Gaveston. If anything, his marriage drew further attention to the king's relationship with Piers. It is reported that upon being met by his magnate at Dover, Edward "inter quos Petrum occurentum; datis osculis et ingeminatis amplexeximus, familiaritate venerabatur singulari. Quae familiaritas specialis, a magnatibus praeconcepta, invidia fomitem ministravit."[129] This growing baronial jealousy expressed itself both before and after the coronation.

Invitations to the coronation, which was to take place on 18 February, had been issued on 18 January.[130] In fact, however, the coronation did not take place until 25 February.[131] One reason for the delay may have been Archbishop Winchelsey's insistence on his right either to perform the ceremony or to choose his own deputy to do so.[132]

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[128]Phillips, Aymer de Valence, pp. 26-28.

[129]Trokelowe, p. 65.

[130]Foedera, II, i, 27; Parl. Writs, II, ii, 17; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 53.

[131]Foedera, II, i, 36; Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. p. 10; Ann. Paul., p. 259.

[132]Ann. Paul., p. 260; Walsingham, p. 121.

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The primate's authority was eventually delegated to the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury and Chichester.[133] Of greater moment for king and favorite, and probably the actual reason for the delay, was the demand by a combination of English magnates and the king's French in-laws that the earl of Cornwall be banished from England.[134] The St. Paul's annalist is apparently correct in describing this attempt to oust the favorite as a last minute maneuver on the very day of the coronation given added weight by a threat to impede the ceremony if the king refused to comply.[135] A compromise was arrived at, allowing the coronation to take place, only after the king agreed, "bona fide se illis facturum in proximo parliamento quicquid peterent."[136]

The coronation was attended by numerous foreign dignitaries, including the queen's uncles, Charles de Valois and Louis d'Evreux, and her brother Charles. Also in attendance were the dukes of Brabant and Brittany, the counts of Foix, St. Pol and Savoy, and Henry of Luxemburg, shortly afterward Holy Roman Emperor.[137] Most of the earls

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[133] Ann. Paul., p. 260; Walsingham, p. 121; Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. p. 10. Bishop Woodlock took an oath disclaiming any right to perform the ceremony except for Winchelsey's delegation of authority to him. Reg. Hen. Woodlock, I, 250.

[134] Ann. Paul., p. 260; Bridlington, p. 32; Walsingham, p. 121.

[135] Ann. Paul., p. 260; Walsingham, p. 121. As late as 9 February writs were being issued prohibiting tournaments through the 19th, C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 52, and on the 18th a proclamation was read in London enjoining peaceful behavior during the coronation. Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. p. 10. Both of these acts indicate that 18 February was the scheduled date of the coronation until that very day.

[136] Ann. Paul., p. 260. Cf. Walsingham, p. 121.

[137] Ann. Paul., p. 260; Flores, p. 141; Walsingham, p. 121.

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and several magnates took part in the ceremony, but Gaveston had the leading role.[138] William Marshal led the procession with a pair of gilt spurs,[139] and was followed by the earl of Hereford with the royal scepter and Henry de Lancaster with the royal yard. Next came the earl of Lancaster with the sword Curtana,[140] followed by the earls of Lincoln and Warwick, each also with a sword. The earl of Arundel, Thomas de Vere, Hugh Despenser and Roger Mortimer of Wigmore carried a chequer with royal vestments on it. Then came the treasurer, Reynolds, bearing the paten of the chalice of St. Edward, and the chancellor, Langton of Chichester, with the chalice itself. Trailing the procession, much to the chroniclers' dismay,[141] came the earl of Cornwall bearing the crown of St. Edward. He was immediately followed by Edward II.

The coronation apparently drew as large a crowd as London had seen since the knighting of the prince of Wales in 1306. A knight named John Bakewell was crushed to death when a wall gave way under the pressure of the crowd and fell on him.[142] The king himself "per

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[138] Foedera, II, i, 36; Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. p. 10. Most notably, Gaveston carried the crown, but see below, nn.186, 187.

[139] Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. p. 10. The spurs were attached by Philip IV's brother Charles de Valois and the earls of Pembroke and Cornwall. Foedera, II, i, 36.

[140] This sword was redeemed by the earl of Cornwall after the king's oblations were made. Foedera, II, i, 36.

[141] Ann. Paul., p. 261 refers to Gaveston's "manibus inquinatis."

[142] Ann. Paul., p. 261; Ann. Lond., p. 153; Walsingham, p. 122. This was apparently the former seneschal of Ponthieu. See H. Johnstone, "The County of Ponthieu, 1279-1307," E.H.R., xxix (1914),

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posticium palatii, ecclesiam est ingressus, ut evadaret populi compressionem," and the actual coronation was apparently performed in a hurried if not irreverent manner by Bishop Woodlock of Winchester.[143] Nevertheless, the coronation oath Edward II swore to uphold contained a novel fourth clause in addition to the standard three.[144] Much ink has been spilled in various attempts to explain the genesis and significance of this clause,[145] but doubtless it was wisely inserted by the magnates simply as a means of ensuring that the king honored the terms of the previously agreed to compromise regarding Gaveston.

At the banquet following the coronation the earl of Cornwall behaved in such a way as to ensure himself the enmity of his peers. While the other nobles were content with cloth of gold, Gaveston, "seeking his own glory rather than the king's," wore regal purple trimmed with pearls.[146] His ostentation coupled with the king's attention to him so infuriated one earl that he reportedly wished to kill the favorite then and there.[147] Philip the Fair's brothers were

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p. 450, n.93.

[143] Ann. Paul., p. 261.

[144] Foedera, II, i, 36; BL MS Burney 277 f.5^{v}.

[145] For a bibliography of the literature on this subject see R. S. Hoyt, "The Coronation Oath of 1308," E.H.R., lxxi (1956), pp. 353-83.

[146] Ann. Paul., p. 262. The author of the Flores compares his appearance to that of the god Mars. Preparations for the coronation had been underway since 26 October when 100s. had been paid for tapestries bearing the arms of the king and the earl of Cornwall "contra coronationem regis." E.101/373/15 f.51.

[147] Ann. Paul., p. 262. He was dissuaded by another earl's counsel: "Non in die festo, ne forte fiat tumultus in populus et dedecus

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thoroughly disgusted and insulted by Edward's preference for Piers' couch rather than Isabella's, and left in indignation.[148] Only the king and his favorite seem to have enjoyed the festivities, but the price would turn out to be greater than either had bargained for.

The earls and barons wasted no time following the coronation in seeking to realize the promises recently made by the king. On 28 February, accordingly, they assembled at a parliament at Westminster in order to treat the state of the church, the state of the crown and the manner in which the realm ought to be governed, and the keeping of the peace.[149] The earl of Lincoln took the lead in this assembly, and after a brief invocation he proposed "quod dominus noster rex scripto confirmet quod ex parte ipsius ore protulistis se scilicet ratum habere et firmum quicquid in premissis inspirante domino duxerimus ordinandum."[150] Only the earl of Lancaster and Hugh Despenser balked at this proposal to press the king to reaffirm his prior commitment in writing.[151] Even in the face of Lincoln's threats and their peers' condemnation, they refused to agree to anything until such time as the king's will was known. After meeting with the king,

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in convivio. Sed expectare vincere nobis erit." See also, Flores, III, p. 331.

[148] Ann. Paul., p. 262.

[149] Guisborough, pp. 381-82; Ann. Paul., pp. 262-63.

[150] Guisborough, p. 381.

[151] Guisborough, pp. 381-82. Cf. Ann. Paul., p. 262.

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Lancaster and Despenser returned to the assembly and announced that Edward did not wish to pursue this business further at this time. Therefore, parliament was postponed until the quinzane of Easter (28 April).

The obvious construction to be placed on this turn of events is that for the first, but certainly not the last, time in the reign Edward was attempting to renege on a promise. Nor was this lost on contemporaries. The result was predictable. The author of the Vita was not exaggerating when he reported that "ordinary peaceful men, lovers of peace, greatly feared war and the destruction of peace . . . [for] the king had his towns and castles munitioned and repaired, and the magnates did likewise."[152]

During the week of 12-18 March 1308 Edward changed custodians of more than a dozen English castles, including strategic locations such as the Tower, St. Briavels and Chepstow, Scarborough, Nottingham and Northampton.[153] Robert Clifford, Payn Tibetot, and John Botetourt, all of whom had sealed the Boulogne agreement, were removed from office.[154] The new custodians included Gaveston, the elder Despenser

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[152] Vita, pp. 4-5.

[153] C.F.R. 1307-19, pp. 17-19; C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 51-52. Other castles given new custodians were Strogoil, Old Sarum, Rockingham, Winchester, Sherbourne, Berkhamsted, Horeston, and Framlingham. The king also installed a new constable at Crécy, C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 19.

[154] Clifford had been constable of Nottingham castle, Tibetot of Northampton, and Botetourt of St. Briavels. Botetourt was also keeper of the forest of Dene. C.F.R. 1307-19, pp. 17-18.

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and his retainer John de Handlo, Robert Fitzpain, steward of the king's household, household knights such as Henry de Percy, William le Latimer, John de Chandos, John Cromwell and Alexander Cheverel, and Lancastrians John de Segrave the elder and Nicholas de Segrave.[155] At the same time, Clifford and Tibetot were also removed as justices of the forest north and south of the Trent respectively, and were replaced by the elder Segrave and the elder Despenser.[156] It is also noteworthy that Dover castle and the Cinque Ports were in the hands of Robert de Kendal, one of the earl of Cornwall's retainers.[157] As late as 21 April the king was still making changes, on that day appointing Richard Damory as the constable of Oxford castle.[158]

Along with replacing key personnel, Edward also attempted to strengthen his castles physically at this time. The Tower was repaired "with great haste" around 19 March,[159] and the king tried in a variety of ways to reinforce Windsor, where he arrived on 31 March and remained through Easter.[160] Gaveston, who joined Edward at Windsor, was

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[155]The presence here of the Segraves is yet another evidence of Lancaster's continuing support of the king in 1308. See Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, pp. 74-77.

[156]C.F.R. 1307-19, pp. 17-19.

[157]C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 5.

[158]C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 21.

[159]R. A. Brown, H. M. Colvin and A. J. Taylor, History of the King's Works, II, 724, n.1.

[160]Ibid., II, 869. The king also had the Thames bridges at Staines and Kingston taken out. E.403/143 m.2, cited in Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, p. 78.

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also preparing for war. On 1 April he wrote to Robert Darcy to thank him for the offer of 20 men-at-arms and 200 foot soldiers, and directed his retainer to join him at Windsor at Easter.[161] Two anonymous letters preserved with Gaveston's letter to Darcy further illustrate the tense atmosphere existing in the early spring of 1308. The first of these letters simply reports that the situation is extremely perilous as both the king and the earls are arming.[162] The second letter complements the earl of Cornwall's letter to Darcy in that it reports that the writer's lord had notified the earl--presumably Gaveston--that he had assembled a force of 40 men-at-arms and 200 foot, indicating that Darcy's recruitment was not an isolated case.[163] This letter goes on to state that the writer's lord "ausi ad il mande al Poufreit de saver del conseil qe est la des count," although the writer felt that nothing would be clear until parliament assembled. Meanwhile, as this letter implies, the earls were also making preparations.

Lincoln was unquestionably the leader of the opposition party in the spring of 1308. The Vita states that he was Gaveston's greatest enemy, and this is borne out by the documentary evidence.[164]

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[161] Lincoln, Dean and Chapter Muniments, D.11/56/1 no.51.

[162] Ibid., no.50.

[163] Ibid., no.49.

[164] Vita, p. 4; BL MS Burney 277 f.5^{v}; Lincoln, Dean and Chapter Muniments, D.11/56/1 no.7, 39.

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The king and his favorite were in fact opposed by quite a formidable coalition. Of the earls, only Lancaster, Richmond, and perhaps the shadowy Oxford, remained committed to the king.[165] The rest of the earls, many important barons, and most likely the queen were united against the favorite.[166] Apparently, Gaveston's opponents even received support from abroad, where Philip the Fair, no doubt incensed by complaints from his daughter and the reports of his brothers, was anxious to separate Edward from Piers.[167] While the nature of the evidence for the king of France's participation in the effort to remove Gaveston is suspect, it is too plentiful to be dismissed altogether.[168] Moreover, Edward's own reaction, both in granting Ponthieu and Montreuil to Isabella and in finally acquiescing in Gaveston's exile,[169] indicates the application of more and different pressure than any baronial group, especially one not including the powerful earl of Lancaster, could reasonably have been expected to bring to

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[165] For Lancaster, see above, n.155. Richmond's biographer finds him uninvolved in Gaveston's first exile, and among the most faithful servants of the king during this crisis. I. I. Lubimenko, Jean de Bretagne, p. 104.

[166] The Vita claims that the elder Despenser was the only magnate loyal to the king, p. 4. Apparently, he was one of but a few, and perhaps the most powerful of them. Other barons with the king in spring 1308 included William le Latimer, John de Hastings, Guy Ferre, John Cromwell, and John de Sulleye. C.53/94 mm.6-8.

[167] Ann. Paul., p. 262.

[168] Lincoln, Dean and Chapter Muniments, D.11/56/1 no.39, 42. See above, n.106.

[169] Foedera, II, i, 44.

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bear. In any case, matters came to a head when parliament reassembled on 28 April.[170]

There are reports that the barons came to this parliament armed.[171] They certainly came prepared. Once again the earl of Lincoln acted as spokesman for the magnates, and he demanded Gaveston's immediate exile and the confiscation of his estates.[172] These demands were supported by a legalistic tract containing three related articles.[173] The first article was based on the doctrine of capacities:

> Homage e serment de ligeaunce est plus par reson de la coroune qe par reson de la person le roy e plus alie a la coroune qe a la person e ceo apert qar avaunt ceo qe lestat de la coroune soit descendu, nule ligeaunce est a la person regardaunt dount si le roy en cas ne soi meyne mie par reson en droit de lestat de la coroune ly liges sount lietz par serment fete a la coroune de remenir le roy en lestat de la coroune par reson, autrement ne serroit point lur serment tenu. . . .

Having thus promised a higher duty to the crown than to the king himself, Lincoln in the second article proceeded to address the specific situation presently existing. Gaveston--la persone dount home parle--was charged with disinheriting and impoverishing the crown, removing the king from the counsel of the realm and sowing discord between the king and his people, making himself a peer of the king to the debase-

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[170] Ann. Paul., p. 263; Bridlington, p. 33.

[171] Ann. Paul., p. 263; Vita, p. 5.

[172] BL MS Burney 277 f.5^{v}.

[173] Ibid. Printed in H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, The Governance of England, pp. 467-68. Ann. Lond., pp. 153-54; Bridlington, pp. 33-34.

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ment of the crown, and finally, of committing treason through his usurpation of the property of the crown. The concluding article in Lincoln's argument states that since Piers could not be judged under the law, the people "le agard come home ateint e juge." They pray that the king accept their judgment, "come il soit lie par serment a tenir les leyes qe le pople eslira par la serment de son encoroune-ment."

Edward tried to ignore the magnates' pleas, and he fought to save Gaveston, but the magnates were adamant. The bitterness of this struggle is suggested by the fact that although parliament opened in April, the king did not consent to the favorite's exile until 18 May.[174] The determination of each side had brought civil war very close indeed.

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[174] Foedera, II, i, 44; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 71; Ann. Lond., p. 154.

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CHAPTER IV

GAVESTON IN IRELAND

On 18 May 1308 Edward II agreed to Gaveston's exile. By the terms of this agreement Gaveston was to leave England by 25 June at the latest,[1] and although he would retain the title earl of Cornwall, the lands he held as of the earldom would revert to the crown.[2] On 19 May the prohibition against the prolongation of his stay in or subsequent return to England was reinforced by Archbishop Winchelsey's promulgation of a sentence of major excommuniation should the terms of the exile not be adhered to.[3] Despite the impending exile Edward continued to favor Gaveston, making several grants of land to him before he left England. Clearly, these grants were meant to soften the blow of exile coupled with the loss of the revenues of Cornwall.

On 24 May the king gave his favorite various lands in Aquitaine

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[1] Foedera, II, i, 44; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 71; Ann. Lond., p. 154; BL Burney MS 277, f.6.

[2] Throughout the period of his exile Gaveston continues to be referred to as earl of Cornwall in official documents. The account of the other earls burning his charter of enfeoffment for Cornwall found in Ann. Paul., p. 263, is clearly apocryphal, as that charter still exists as E.41/460. Cornwall was, however, taken into the king's hands on 25 June 1308 as testified to in the Memoranda Rolls for 3 Edward II, E.159/83 m.18[v]; E.368/80 m.31.

[3] Ann. Lond., pp. 154-55; Registrum Simonis de Gandavo, ed. C. T. Flower and M. C. B. Dawes, Oxford, 1934, i, 237-40; BL MS Rawlinson A 273. A delegation was sent to Rome to seek confirmation of the sentence immediately. Lincoln, Dean and Chapter Muniments, D.II/56/1 no.7.

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valued at 3000 marks sterling.[4] This grant was vacated on 7 June in favor of another, similar grant of Gascon lands, also valued at 3000 marks.[5] By the terms of this second grant Gaveston received the county of Gaure, the castles of Talmont,[6] Tantalon,[7] and Mauléon,[8] the prévôtés of the district of Camparrian known as "la Contal"[9] and of the city of Bayonne.[10] the manor of Labouheyre,[11] Born,[12] Gontaud,[13] a salt mine in Agen,[14] and the island of Oléron along with the lands

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[4] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 74.

[5] Foedera, II, i, 48-49; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 78. This second grant of lands in Gascony was in fact a revision of the first grant after examination and correction by the chancellor and others; C.Ch.W. 1244-1326, p. 273. By the terms of the first grant Gaveston had received everything in the second grant except the prévôtés, Oléron, and the lands in Saintonge. In addition, he had received lands in Viane, Castel Amouroux, Castel Contal, Castel Seignour, Frankeville, La Gruere, St. Julien, St. Pastour, Ste. Foy, Miramont, Nicole, Monclar, Montflanquin, Monsegur, Villeneuve Puymirol, Valence, Montendre, Puygilhem, Boulogne, Dunes, Donzac, Mezin, Villéral, Brasenx and Labourd.

[6] Talmont; dép. Charente-Maritime, arr. Saintes, c. Cozes.

[7] Le Castet-de-Tontoulon; dép. Gironde, arr. Langon, c. Bazas.

[8] Mauleon; dép. Pyrénées-Atlantiques, arr. Oloron-Ste-Marie.

[9] La Comptale; dép. Gironde, arr. Bordeaux, c. Pessac.

[10] Bayonne; dép. Pyrénées-Atlantiques.

[11] Labouyere; dép. Landes, arr. Mont-de-Marsan, c. Sabres.

[12] Born; district in Les Landes, south of Buch.

[13] Gontaut; dép. Landes, arr. Mont-de-Marsan, c. Roquefort.

[14] Since the first grant specified a particular salt mine called "Bakehere," this is probably the same one. C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 74.

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of Marennes[15] and Nancras[16] in Saintonge. The grant was made only for life, with reversion to the king and his heirs upon Gaveston's death.

Edward also continued to make grants of English lands to his favorite. On 4 June at Langley, in the presence of the chancellor, the treasurer, and the earl of Richmond, Gaveston restored the castle and honor of Knaresborough, (Yorks.), and the manors of Aldborough and Roecliffe (Yorks.), into the king's hands.[17] Three days later Edward regranted to Gaveston and Margaret his wife, as a gift for good service rendered, the manor of Burstwick (Yorks.), the castle and manor of Skipton-in-Craven (Yorks.), the castle and honor of High Peak (Derbys.), the castle, manor and honor of Cockermouth (Cumb.), the manors of Torpel and Upton (Northants.), and finally, the castle of Carisbrooke and all of the king's lands in the Isle of Wight, late of Isabella de Fortibus.[19] As with the Gascon lands, Gaveston was to draw an income of 3000 marks from these English properties, with any surplus going to the king.[20] Two days later on 9 June, Edward

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[15]Marennes; dép. Charente-Maritime, arr. Roquefort.

[16]Nancras, dép. Charente-Maritime, arr. Saintes, c. Saujon.

[17]Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. p. 14, no. 70; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, pp. 67-68.

[18]C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 78.

[19]Foedera, II, i, 48; C.Ch.R. 1300-26, p. 111. Taylor is correct in suggesting that he also received the lordship of the island as subsequent references demonstrate. Taylor,"Peter of Gavaston," p. 109; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 103; C.Ch.R. 1300-26, p. 127.

[20]Any income in excess of 3000 marks was specifically reserved to the king and his heirs in each case. Foedera, II, i. 48.

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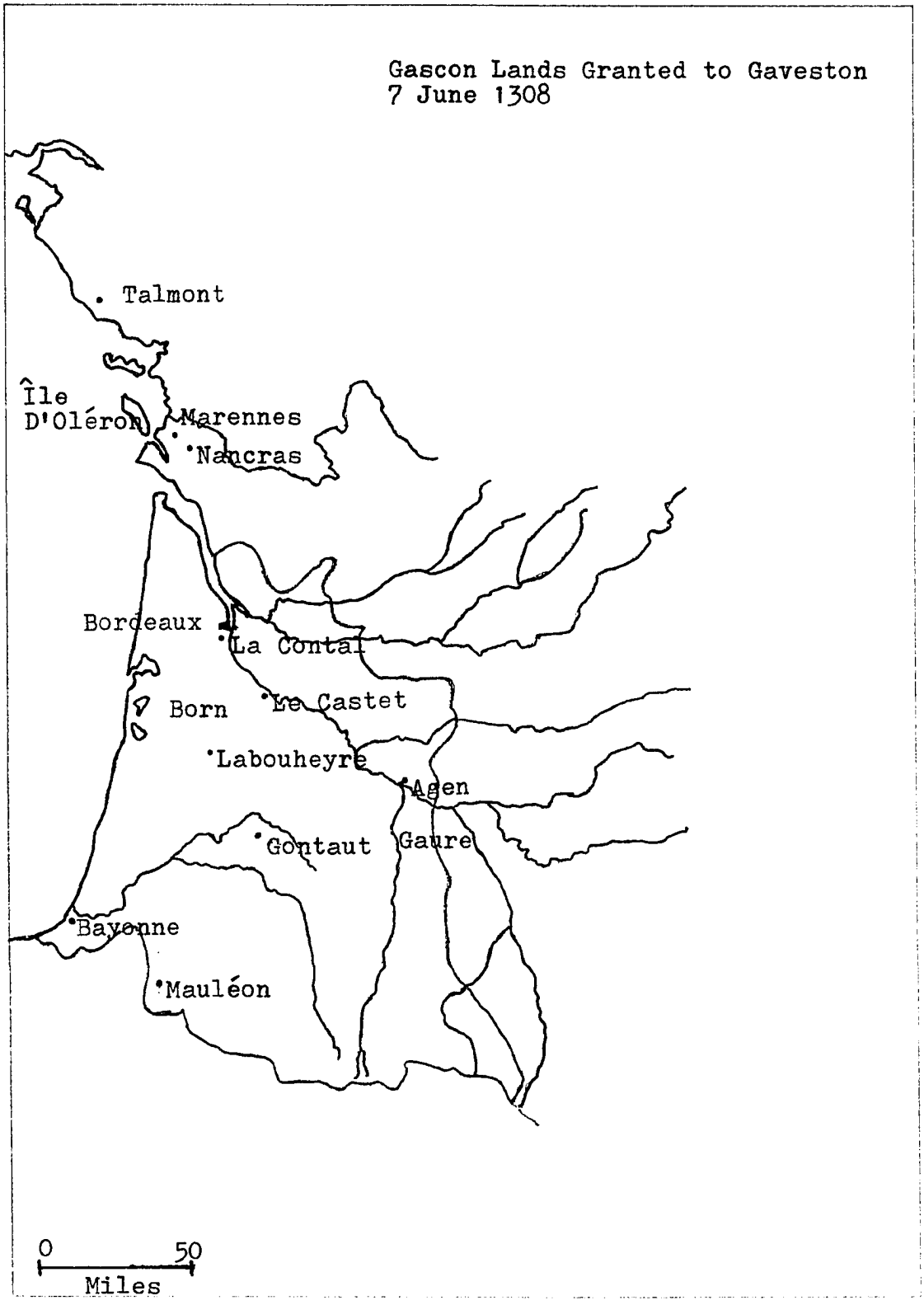

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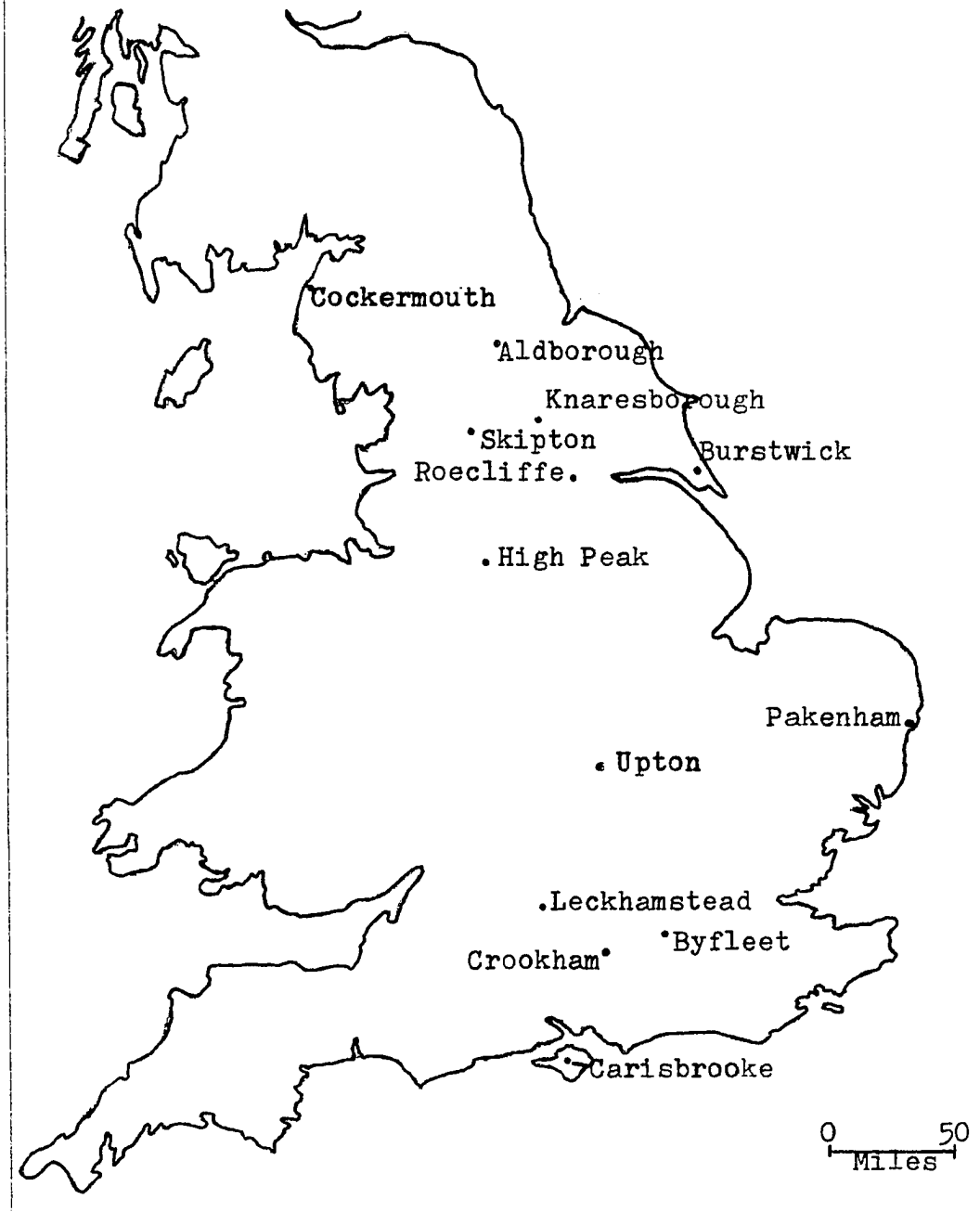
English Lands Granted to Gaveston
June 1308



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regranted Gaveston the manors of Crookham and Leckhamstead (Berks.),[21] and on the 10th the favorite and his heirs received a grant of free warren in all their demesne lands in Byfleet (Surrey) and Pakenham (Suffolk).[22]

While the king was at Langley he also made at least one gift of money to the earl of Cornwall. On 10 June Edward mandated the treasurer and chamberlains of the exchequer to give Gaveston 1180 marks, in aid of his expenses, of the king's gift.[23]

From all the foregoing it appears clear that Edward II was determined to make Gaveston's exile as pleasant as possible. Yet the unpleasant fact remained that very soon the favorite would have to abjure the realm. Finally, on 16 June, the king hit upon a solution to the dilemma of Gaveston's exile. He appointed the earl of Cornwall his lieutenant in Ireland,[24] thereby turning a source of humiliation and disgrace into one of honor. Clearly, this eleventh hour solution

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[21] E.159/81 m.50^{v}; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 76; C.Ch.R. 1300-26, p. 110. Gaveston had returned these manors to the king on 19 May 1308; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 65. On 12 June Gaveston and his heirs also received free warren in these demesne lands, C.Ch.R. 1300-26, p. 110.

[22] C.Ch.R. 1300-26, p. 110. Gaveston later granted the manor of Pakenham in fee to Robert Darcy and his wife Joan, as was confirmed by the king on 12 February 1310, C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 209.

[23] Mandated on 10 June, C.62/84 m.2, E.404/1/3, Gaveston received this money on 8 July from Roger de Wellsworth; E.403/143. This is apparently the same gift referred to in C.Ch.W. 1244-1326, p. 275.

[24] Foedera, II, i, 51; Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. p. 15, no. 76; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 83.

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was discovered almost by accident or as an afterthought, since only the day before Edward had named Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, king's lieutenant in Ireland.[25]

De Burgh was the natural choice for king's lieutenant in Ireland. Having received seisin of his father's extensive Irish lands in January 1280,[26] he was knighted by Edward I at Rhuddlan in December 1283.[27] Three years later he led an English army into Connaught and restored order there.[28] That he was respected by the native Irish as well as by the English in Ireland is attested to by his dealings with Turlough O'Brien, king of Thomond, in 1287. According to the Caithreim, had the Red Earl not pacified him, the militant O'Brien "for a surety had been all Ireland's king."[29] G. H. Orpen states that "up to the period of Edward Bruce's invasion, the earl of Ulster was . . . the most powerful man in Ireland."[30] He also served as an important vassal of the English king outside of Ireland. In addition to fighting in Wales, de Burgh served with Edward I in Scotland on two occasions.[31] After the 1303 campaign he acted as one of the chief peace

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[25] Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. p. 15, no. 73; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 93.

[26] C.P.R. 1272-81, p. 359.

[27] R. Lascelles, ed., Liber munerum publicorum Hiberniae, London 1852, I, i.

[28] Ann. Loch Cé, I, 495; Ann. Ulster, II, 367.

[29] Caithréim, p. 28.

[30] G. H. Orpen, Ireland Under the Normans, Oxford, rep. 1968, IV, p. 152.

[31] Parl Writs, I, 364.

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negotiators.[32] For his services, Edward I cancelled debts in excess of £11,600.[33]

De Burgh's participation as a negotiator in 1303 and again in 1309 indicates that he was a capable administrator as well as a proven military leader.[34] Although he had never been justiciar in Ireland, Ulster acted as locum tenens for John Wogan in the autumn of 1299.[35] In some respects, moreover, he exercised greater influence than the justiciar throughout the reign of Edward I. And, as stated above, his influence was not restricted to the English population in Ireland. Given all of this, the earl of Ulster was obviously the man best qualified to bring Ireland more fully under English control. But those very qualities that suggested de Burgh for lieutenant also militated against his selection. Although his loyalty seems never to have been questioned,[36] the dangers inherent in strengthening his already predominant position must have been clear to both Edward I and his son. In any case, all other considerations paled into insignificance once Edward II decided to name Gaveston his lieutenant and thus spare him some of the humiliation of being forced to return into exile.

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[32] C.D.S. 1272-1307, p. 380.

[33] C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 172; Orpen, op. cit., p. 154. Cf. C.P.R. 1301-07, p. 256.

[34] C.D.S. 1307-1357, p. 19.

[35] C.J.R.I. 1307-14, pp. 287-88.

[36] The Bruce negotiations of 1309 are an example of the king's continued trust in de Burgh. See Foedera, II, i, 85; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 189.

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A comparison of the respective letters patent by which De Burgh and Gaveston were named lieutenant is instructive. The patent confirming the earl of Ulster is very simple. It expresses the king's full confidence in his fidelity and circumspection, and it commands obedience to the earl from all English subjects in Ireland. The grant of the lieutenancy is made during the king's pleasure, and no specific powers are discussed. The letters confirming Gaveston are quite different.

This appointment is also made during the king's pleasure, but it confers regal powers upon the favorite for the duration of his lieutenancy. Along with the general mandate of obedience Ulster had received, Gaveston is specifically empowered both to appoint and to remove justices, sheriffs, bailiffs and other ministers. Also by the terms of his appointment, he is given the right to present to churches and other benefices in Ireland where the king holds the right of presentation or collation.

The same day as Gaveston was named lieutenant, 16 June, a letter was drafted commanding De Burgh to give aid and counsel to the earl of Cornwall.[37] Despite an ill-founded tradition to the contrary, he apparently did so.[38] All of the letters written on 16 June relating

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[37] Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. p. 15, no.75.

[38] According to the Annales Hibernie, de Burgh "venit contra Petrum Gaveston apud Drogheda," p. 338. There is, however, no documentary evidence to support any disharmony between the two earls. On the contrary, they were due to campaign together in Scotland; see n.86. Moreover, Gaveston authorized payment of £2150 15s. to Ulster for debts outstanding. E.101/373/15 f.47^{v}. The two also are found

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to Ireland were followed by a memorandum stating that, "the above letters were read and sealed before the king, the king himself commanding them to be sealed in the presence of John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, Henry de Percy, Hugh le Despenser, William Melton and Adam Osgodby."[39] Apparently this was inserted to demonstrate that the appointment of Gaveston was neither made in secret nor contrary to the terms of the sentence of exile, and also to absolve any royal officials of responsibility for drafting these letters.

Gaveston's appointment as king's lieutenant in Ireland does not seem to have aroused a strong reaction from the English barons,[40] whose main object of separating the king from his Gascon favorite would still be realized under this new arrangement. However, their desire to see this separation effected must have increased during the month prior to Gaveston's departure. During this period, in addition to all the grants to Gaveston already mentioned, the king also made numerous grants at the earl of Cornwall's request,[41] while on 27 June

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together as witnesses on several occasions; C. Ormond Deeds 1172-1350, p. 172.

[39] Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. p. 15, no.77; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 83.

[40] The account of armed opposition to king and favorite on 2 June 1308 found in Lanercost, p. 211, may be dismissed; this was 2 weeks before Gaveston's appointment as lieutenant, but more importantly, 3 weeks before the date set for his departure by the magnates. Lanercost also places the king at Northampton, when in fact he was at Langley. Only Bridlington claims that the appointment was, "contra eorum beneplacitum," p. 35.

[41] For instance, Roger de Clotherum received custody of the smaller part of the seal of the city of York, C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 79; Ivo de Sulton received the marriage of John Tyderington, C.P.R. 1307-13,

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the king mandated that Arnaud-Guillaume de Marsan, Gaveston's brother, be appointed seneschal of the Agenais.[42] Although Edward II was clearly still devoted to his friend and was already at work trying to arrange for his return,[43] in late June the barons finally got their wish as the king took leave of his favorite at Bristol.[44]

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In principle Ireland was under English control in 1308, but in practice this was hardly the case. Although Edward I had initiated a policy by which Ireland was to be made to conform to English law and forms of government,[45] this policy had been at best only partially successful. As his reign wore on and Edward I was occupied elsewhere, local revolts became the rule rather than the exception in Ireland.[46] John Wogan had been an effective justiciar during his long tenure in

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p. 83; and William de Skelton was named bailiff errant in parts of Holland, C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 80.

[42] C.Ch.W. 1244-1326, p. 275.

[43] The same day he appointed Gaveston king's lieutenant in Ireland, Edward II sent letters to Philip IV of France and Pope Clement V, "quod interponat partes suas ad sedandas discordias circa Petrum de Gavaston ortas," Foedera, II, i, pp. 49-50.

[44] John de Wyk was paid 20s. to provide ships for Gaveston's crossing from Bristol to Dublin in June, but it is unclear when Gaveston left, E.101/373/15 f.47^{v}. The king was still at Bristol as late as 29 June, C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 83.

[45] Orpen, op. cit., v. 4, p. 154.

[46] The O'Byrnes and O'Tooles were active in Wicklow; there was intermittant warfare in Connaught among the O'Connors, Fitz Geralds and de Burghs; virtual anarchy existed in Thomond. Orpen, passim, IV.

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Dublin,[47] but he was not a military leader. His forte was avoiding conflict, not, as evidenced by his unsuccessful expedition to the Leinster mountains in 1306, in imposing English will by force.[48] Several serious revolts in the final year of Edward I's and the first year of Edward II's reign made it clear that Ireland required a military governor.[49] This realization led to the appointment first of De Burgh and then Gaveston as king's lieutenant in Ireland. The earl of Ulster was uniquely qualified to act in this capacity, but Gaveston was an able soldier with unquestionable loyalty to the crown, and as such he, too, was an appropriate choice for the post. While Gaveston did act in an administrative capacity as well, he was primarily a military commander in Ireland. Therefore, his military undertakings in Ireland must be considered first.

The English chroniclers have little to say about Gaveston's tenure in Ireland. Though technically subject to the English crown, Irish affairs were beyond the ken and of little interest to most English writers of this period. The few remarks made about Gaveston in Ireland are generally quite vague and often resemble opinions and

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[47] Appointed by Edward I in 1295, C.P.R. 1292-1301, p. 155, he remained justiciar until 1312.

[48] 39th D.K. Report, app. p. 24; Ann. Hib., p. 333.

[49] In the spring of 1308 the English in Connaught were massacred, while to the east, the town of Lea along with the castles of Cashel and Kevin were burned. Ann. Hib., pp. 335-36. Wogan seems to have engaged the rebels and lost at Glendalough on 8 June 1308, but details are unavailable. Ann. Hib., p. 336.

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guesses based upon previous behavior rather than statements of fact. The author of the Annales Londonienses claims that Gaveston arrived amid great pomp and led a life of marvellous variety, always displaying new, unheard-of styles of behavior.[50] Similarly, Murimuth states that the lieutenant lived regally and was well loved in Ireland because he was generous and free-handed in giving gifts, and he procured honors and lands for his friends.[51] Baker also reports that Gaveston prospered in Ireland but adds, somewhat cryptically, that his success only led to his subsequent ruin.[52] The Irish chroniclers of the period, however, paint a different picture altogether.

The Irish chroniclers are unanimous in describing Gaveston as a very active and effective military leader. From the moment of his arrival,[53] he was constantly occupied in subduing the Irish rebels, especially those in the Wicklow mountains. As early as 12 September the outlaw William Macbaltor was judged and condemned before the justiciar at Dublin and hanged.[54] On 28 November Gaveston's men are

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[50] Ann. Lond., p. 156.

[51] Murimuth, p. 12.

[52] Baker, p. 4.

[53] This, too, is unknown. The Annales Hibernie reports that he crossed "circa festorum Sanctorum Quirite et Julite" (June 16; i.e., the very day of his appointment), Ann. Hib., pp. 336-37. No other Irish source gives any date for his arrival.

[54] Ann. Hib., p. 337. Grace, p. 53. Macbaltor had been the rebel leader responsible, among other things, for the burning of Castle Kevin earlier in 1308.

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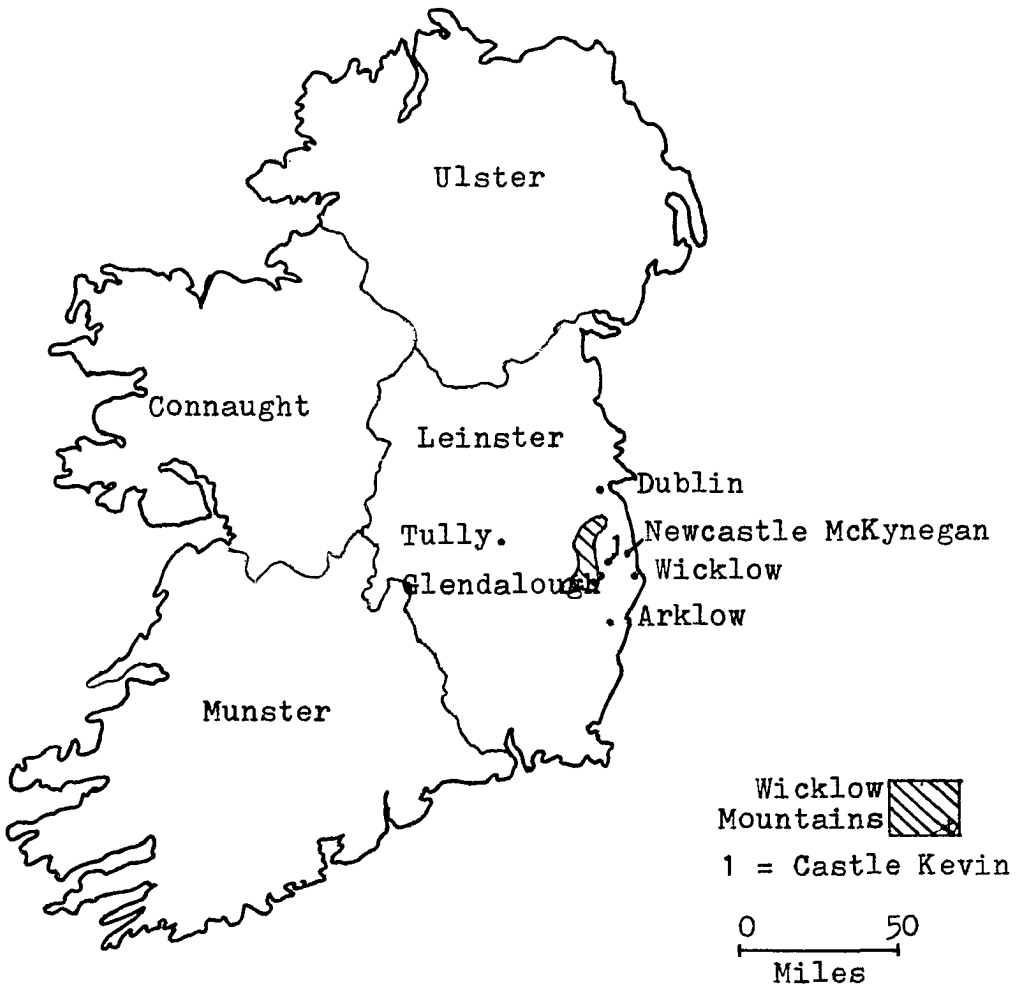
Fourteenth Century Ireland
Gaveston's Lieutenancy, 1308-09



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credited with killing the rebel leader Dermot O'Dempsey at Tully.[55] More importantly, his forces succeeded in subduing the O'Byrnes in Leinster.[56] In the spring of the following year he consolidated his position both in the field and by rebuilding Newcastle McKynegan and Castle Kevin, as well as clearing the pass and rebuilding the road from Castle Kevin to Glendalough.[57] This road was important enough to be referred to as "the Irishmens' high and trade way."[58] Having accomplished these things Gaveston is said to have celebrated mass in the church of St. Kevin.[59] There is also an account of Gaveston's lieutenancy that claims he "went into Thomond and performed good services there with virtue and valor," but this cannot be substantiated through documentary evidence and is to be doubted.[60]

Although some of the Irish chronicles mention the lieutenant arriving amid great pomp at Dublin,[61] none mentions further his behavior during his stay in Ireland. This is, of course, in marked

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[55] Ann. Ire., p. 293; Ann. Hib., p. 338; Grace, p. 54; Ann. Loch Cé, p. 545; Ann. Mon. B.M.V., p. 291.

[56] Ann. Hib., p. 338; Grace, p. 54; Book of Howth, p. 127; Ann. Mon. B.M.V., p. 291. B. L. Lansdowne MS 229 f.75^{v}.

[57] Ann. Hib., p. 338; Ann. Mon. B.M.V., p. 281; Book of Howth, p. 127; Grace, p. 54.

[58] Book of Howth, p. 127.

[59] Ann. Hib., p. 338; Ann. Mon. B.M.V., p. 281.

[60] Archives of the Castle of Dublin, in C.Carew MSS, p. 455.

[61] BL Lansdowne MS 229 f.75^{v}; Ann. Hib., pp. 336-37; Grace, p. 52.

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contrast to the English chroniclers' treatment of the royal favorite, and somewhat puzzling. No one can now say whether this is simply an omission by the Irish chroniclers, or if perhaps in the remote military outposts of Ireland Gaveston for once put away his finery in order to do his job as a military commander. Judging by his activity and success, the latter seems quite reasonable.

The accuracy of the general account given by the Irish chronicles is borne out by the surviving documentary evidence. Although much of the original source material for the period has been destroyed in subsequent fires, it is possible to reconstruct Gaveston's lieutenancy in some detail.[62]

The earl of Cornwall took a certain number of men at arms to Ireland with him,[63] although he certainly was not accompanied by the large army ascribed to him in Baker and elsewhere.[64] Almost all of the soldiers employed in the Irish campaigns were recruited in Ire-

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[62] Only a brief itinerary can be documented, however; 11 December 1308, Emly; 12 April 1309, Dublin; 6 May, Newcastle McKynegan; 12 May, Dublin; 29 May, Dublin; 1 June, Dublin.

[63] On 25 June 1308 the following men received letters of protection for one year, along with Gaveston; John de Charleton, Humphry de Littleborough, Robert Darcy, Robert de Hoo jr., John Knockin, Nicholas de Bosco, Herbert de Borhunte, Robert de Hockele, and Gaveston's chaplain, Walter de London, and Robert Poun; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 80. Otto Ferre received a prest of £200 on 11 June and may have gone with Gaveston, E.159/81 m.31; E.368/78 m.62. On 14 July John Wyk received letters of protection along with Richard Middleton and Henry de Raleye, C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 90.

[64] Baker, p. 4; Vita et Mors, p. 298.

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land.[65] As king's lieutenant, Gaveston received support from a broad section of the Anglo-Irish nobility, and seems to have had little or no trouble recruiting followers despite the fact that debts were still outstanding from Wogan's army of Loxeudi.[66]

Gaveston's lieutenancy was, as the chronicles from Ireland suggest, marked from the outset by military activity. Indeed, even before his arrival a considerable sum of money was spent on provisioning and manning Newcastle McKynegan throughout the spring and summer of 1308.[67] This castle stood slightly to the east of the territory being disturbed by the O'Byrnes and northeast of the O'Toole strongholds; it is about a quarter of a mile west of the village of Newcastle.[68] Its position was such as to afford protection to the English inhabitants of Leinster while helping to keep open the road running between Dublin and Wicklow and Arklow. It was the logical place from which to launch an attack on the rebels in the Wicklow mountains.[69] It seems doubtful that any military maneuvers were

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[65] E.g., the sheriff of Dublin was summoned to be present at Castle Kevin with a force suitably equipped. C.R.P.C. p. 9, no.106; Leinster owed 100 services for Castle Kevin, 39th D.K. Report, p. 49; William de Burgh raised an army of 200 hobelars and 500 foot, 39th D.K. Report, p. 34.

[66] See 39th D.K. Report and 42nd D.K. Report, passim.

[67] 39th D.K. Report, p. 34. The total spent was £62 13s. 4d.

[68] S. Lewis, Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, II, p. 399. See also G. H. Orpen, "Novum Castrum McKynegan," J.R.S.A.I. xxxii (1908), pp. 126-40.

[69] Edward I's justiciars, Geoffrey de Geneville and Thomas de Clare, used it as a base for 3 similar expeditions in 1274-77. Orpen, "Novum Castrum McKynegan," pp. 130-31.

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undertaken from this base during most of the summer, but in the autumn sizeable reinforcements were brought in.[70]

These reinforcements were recruited in Connaught by William de Burgh, brother of the earl of Ulster, acting as locum tenens for the justiciar Wogan at the time.[71] It is interesting that he drew these soldiers from an area largely controlled by his own family. It is unfortunate that the original pipe roll containing the payments for this army has been lost, because a note in the calendar states that "this account is very interesting, as showing how men were recruited at this time, and where the government obtained its soldiers."[72] This army raised by De Burgh may have been responsible for killing Dermot O'Dempsey, since the O'Dempsey lands lay along the route from Connaught to Newcastle.[73] All of the Irish chronicles credit Gaveston or his men with O'Dempsey's death, so that it is clear that De Burgh was acting as a subordinate during this expedition.[74] It is not

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[70]Aside from the account in Ann. Hib., p. 336, nothing is known of Wogan's actions against the rebels at this time. The reinforcements were supplied by William de Burgh at a cost of £285 11s. 4d. 39th D.K. Report, p. 34.

[71]He received £500 per annum for this office through April 1309, and a gift of £100 from the king. E.101/235/20 m.4; C.R.P.C. p. 8, no.40, 68.

[72]39th D.K. Report, p. 34.

[73]The O'Dempsey stronghold was the area of Offaly. Tully, however, is in southern Wicklow, so perhaps some other detachments, rather than the Connaught troops were responsible for Dermot's death.

[74]Taylor, "Peter of Gavaston," feels he may have been acting independently, p. 240.

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clear, however, exactly when or where De Burgh met Gaveston with his troops. Nor is it possible to state with any certainty exactly how much was accomplished by this force. It is best seen as simply one facet of a concerted effort aimed at pacifying the Wicklow mountain area that culminated in Gaveston's successful campaign in the spring of 1309.

Gaveston's final campaign was by far the most expensive undertaking of his lieutenancy. A total of £834 14d. was spent on wages and repairs to Castle Kevin.[75] It is impossible to say whether it was this or the previous campaign that resulted in the suppression of the revolt in this area, but after the spring expedition of 1309 steps were taken to consolidate the English position and prevent future unrest.[76] Besides rebuilding Castle Kevin, Gaveston may also have had repairs carried out on Newcastle McKynegan.[77] The road leading from Castle Kevin to Glendalough was certainly cleared and rebuilt in order to facilitate communications in this mountainous region. By June 1309, Leinster was once again firmly in English control.

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[75] E.101/235/20 m.3. According to 39th D.K. Report, however, only £814 13s. 8½d. was spent, p. 34. The castle, which belonged to the archbishop of Dublin, was located about one mile southeast of Annamoe. G. H. Orpen, "Castrum Keyvini," J.R.S.A.I., xxxiii (1908), p. 17.

[76] 39th D.K. Report, app. p. 34.

[77] So say Grace, p. 54; Ann. Hib., p. 338; Book of Howth, p. 127; Ann. Mon. B.M.V., p. 281; and BL Lansdowne MS 229 f.75^{v}. Orpen does not agree, Normans in Ireland, IV, p. 154. Cf. Orpen, "Novum Castrum McKynegan," p. 135 and n.3.

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Gaveston's lieutenancy, then, was a very active period in which the English military presence was forcefully reasserted. Although the area subdued was geographically limited, it was of great strategic importance, and its reduction greatly enhanced the security of the capital. Although Gaveston's work proved not to be lasting,[78] it has been argued that without such an English effort at this time, Ireland would have fared even more poorly at the hands of Edward Bruce in 1315.[79] Militarily, Gaveston's lieutenancy must be judged a success.

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There can be no question that Gaveston concentrated most of his efforts in the military sphere. His position in Ireland was anomalous, since Wogan remained justiciar throughout his lieutenancy, appointing William de Burgh locum tenens in his absence, as noted above. Nevertheless, it was the earl of Cornwall who acted as head of the administration in Ireland throughout the second year of Edward II's reign.

Several English chroniclers imply that Gaveston's primary administrative function was to drain the Irish treasury.[80] Even if this had been the case, it would be possible to excuse Gaveston's behavior as normal. According to an entry in the Archives of the Castle of

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[78] In 1315 Newcastle was burned but immediately repaired. Orpen, "Novum Castrum McKynegan," p. 136. Castle Kevin was unscathed in 1315, but destroyed in 1343. Orpen, "Castrum Keyvini," p. 24.

[79] Taylor, "Peter of Gavaston," pp. 261-62.

[80] Baker, p. 4; Murimuth, p. 12; Melsa, p. 280; Lanercost, p. 212; Ann. Paul., p. 263; Vita, p. 6.

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Dublin,

> In all the ancient Pipe Rolls in the Castle of Dublin, in the reigns of Henry III, Edward I, Edward II and Edward III, between (sic) the receipts and allowance of the King's revenue in Ireland, there is this entry, viz, 'In thesauro nihil, for the officers of the State and army spent all.' [81]

As king's lieutenant in Ireland Gaveston, too, apparently spent all of the funds at his disposal, but he cannot be accused of squandering them.

Upon his arrival in Ireland Gaveston delivered 2000 marks to the treasurer, Alexander Bicknor,[82] through his own chaplain and treasurer, Walter de London.[83] Presumably this money was sent to Ireland with the lieutenant by the king.[84] It is possible that Edward sent Gaveston further funds by the latter's nephew, Bertrand Caillau, the following December.[85] In any case, all of the original 2000 marks and more were spent in making prests to a group of Irish barons and lesser men who were due to go to Scotland in the company of the earls of Cornwall and Ulster.[86] These payments were made at the command of the earl of

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[81] Arch. of Castle of Dublin, in C.Carew MSS, p. 455.

[82] Appointed 28 October 1307, C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 13.

[83] E.101/235/11 m.1; E.101/235/12.

[84] It is not the gift mandated on 10 June, because Gaveston did not receive that money until 8 July. See n.23 above.

[85] Caillau received a prest of 100 marks for his expenses on the journey to Ireland, E.101/373/24 m.2. See C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 94.

[86] The prests were as follows:

Edmund le Botiller	£200

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Cornwall, and amounted to a total of £2059 15s. 8d.[87] The total amount received by the treasurer at the Dublin exchequer for 2 Edward II came to £3477 9s. 2d.[88] The prests mentioned above, coupled with the expenditures made on the military activity of Gaveston's lieutenancy, amount to £3242 1s. 2d. When normal expenses, such as Wogan's annual salary of £500, are taken into account it becomes clear that peculation of Irish funds was an exercise in futility. There simply were no surplus funds. As far as the evidence goes, Gaveston's expenditures were all justifiable, the more so since his military endeavors were crowned with success.

Turning from the financial organization of Ireland to more strictly administrative matters, Gaveston is again shown to have behaved with considerable reserve. Although by the terms of his

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Eustace le Poer	£200
Walter Lenfaunt	100 marks
Jordan de Caunton	£100
John Fitz Thomas	200 marks
John le Poer	£100
Peter le Poer	£20
Walter de Lacy	£14 8s. 10d.
Hugh de Lacy	£22 4s. 6d.
William de Caunton	£40
Walter & Hugh Lacy	£100
Walter de Valle	20 marks
Alexander Bicknor	£100 sine litera
Various Dublin sailors	£19 15s. 8d.
Richard de Burgh	£1000

E.101/235/11 m.1.

[87] E.101/235/11 m.1. This sum excludes payments of 100 marks to Wogan (cancelled), £106 8s. 2d. to Bicknor, and 20s. to Bicknor's assistant J. Abbot.

[88] E.101/235/14.

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appointment as lieutenant he had been given the power both to dismiss and appoint Irish officials, he seldom exercised it.

During his lieutenancy, Gaveston is known to have made only two appointments. First, he named Henry de Guildford to be hostiarius, or usher, of the Dublin exchequer.[89] Guildford had formerly been a yeoman in Gaveston's chamber,[90] and he most likely left Ireland at about the same time as the earl of Cornwall. The other appointment made by Gaveston was of Michael de Ferndon as keeper of the writs and rolls before the justices in eyre in Ireland, a grant that was renewed by Edward II on 9 March 1311.[91]

The insignificance of these appointments is made clear when contrasted with those made from England during the same period. Hugh Canon was appointed a justice of the bench at Dublin by letters patent on 22 August 1308.[92] Likewise, Walter de Thornbury was named chancellor of Ireland on 4 March 1309,[93] and William de Clere was appointed chancellor of the Irish exchequer nine days later.[94] Territorial grants were also made from England during Gaveston's lieutenancy. On

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[89] E.101/235/20 m.5. This office paid 1½d. per day, and Guildford received a total of 13s. 4d. for his services from 24 April until 9 August 1309.

[90] BL Add. MS 22923 f.6^{r}.

[91] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 333; C.Ch.W. 1244-1326, p. 347.

[92] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 92.

[93] Ibid., p. 106.

[94] Ibid., p. 107.

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8 June 1309, Richard de Clare received the county of Limerick and town of Cork,[95] while on 17 June William Marshal was given the bailiwick of the marshalsea of Ireland, his by hereditary right.[96]

This is not to say that Gaveston was not involved in the selection of his Irish subordinates. It seems likely, for instance, that the nomination of Thornbury as chancellor was at Gaveston's instance.[97] Similarly, Gaveston was presumably behind the appointment of John de Hothum, his paymaster, to replace Clere as Irish chancellor of the exchequer.[98] Indeed, as late as 29 January 1310, Nicholas de Balscot was named to replace Hothum specifically on Gaveston's request.[99] The lieutenant also influenced at least one grant of Irish land made from England. The manor of Chapelizod was granted to the prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland at Gaveston's request for 14 years on 25 October 1308.[100] So, while the earl of Cornwall did not flaunt his powers, he does appear to have had an important say in

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[95] C.F.R. 1272-1319, p. 42.

[96] C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 116.

[97] A memorandum from February 1309 records that the seal of Ireland was held in the treasury under the seals of Walter de Islip and Hugh Canon until Gaveston's arrival. The lieutenant then gave it to Thornbury, although the latter had not yet been named chancellor; C.R.P.C., p. 11, no.273.

[98] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 114.

[99] Ibid., p. 206.

[100] This is not stated in the original grant, C.F.R. 1272-1319, p. 31, but appears in a regrant issued in 1311, C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 300.

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the appointment of Irish officials.

During Gaveston's lieutenancy no parliament was held in Ireland,[101] and he does not appear to have had extensive dealings with the Irish council except on two occasions.[102] The most notable and informative of these was the well-documented, albeit somewhat confusing, case in which the right to the murage of Dublin was disputed.[103]

Edward II originally granted the murage of Dublin to Geoffrey de Morton on the latter's request on 15 June 1308.[104] After complaints from various citizens of Dublin, however, the king ordered the terms of the grant to be revised and then reissued under the Great Seal of Ireland. Gaveston, at whose instance the original grant had apparently been made,[105] succeeded in getting the chancellor of Ireland, Thornbury, to make out the new grant in early May 1309, but only with great

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[101] See Taylor, "Peter of Gavaston," pp. 248-50; H. R. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, The Irish Parliament in the Middle Ages, Philadelphia, 1952, p. 334.

[102] These two occasions were over the dispute of the murage and the custody of the jail of the city of Dublin. Both are discussed below. It is not surprising that Gaveston had limited dealings with the council since most of his time was spent in military activities.

[103] A transcript of all relevant letters has been preserved in the PRO as C.47/10/18 mm.3-4. In the proceeding discussion, unless otherwise noted, references are to this transcript.

[104] C.Ch.W. 1244-1326, p. 273.

[105] This does not appear from the original grant, but from a letter to the king from Gaveston dated at Newcastle McKynegan, 6 May 1309. C.47/10/18 m.4 (2).

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difficulty. At the same time as the revised grant was mandated, it was ordered that the grant of murage made to the citizens of Dublin on 20 July 1308 by Morton himself also be cancelled.[106] On 17 May 1309 Nigel le Brun, escheator in Ireland, undertook the task of clarifying this confusing situation. The issues and claims involved were debated in the council, with William de Burgh notably in the opposition. Although the mandates regarding the murage did not conform to customary usage, it was finally decided to accede to the wishes of the king and his lieutenant.[107] On 29 May in Gaveston's presence in Dublin the grant to the citizens of Dublin was cancelled. This was apparently the end of Gaveston's involvement in the affair, but it was not the end of the controversy.

On 27 May 1311 a letter sent from the king to the Irish chancellor expressed surprise that the commission to Morton had not yet been made out.[108] Thornbury, Walter de Islip, and Robert Bagot were mandated to make an enquiry in order to establish if various trespasses had been committed against Geoffrey. Finally, on 20 March 1312, the grant of the murage to Morton was cancelled.[109] In letters

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[106] C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 90-91.

[107] As Taylor notes, "Peter of Gavaston," p. 257, n.1, the formula per preceptum Regis et eius locum tenentis, is used throughout the transcript.

[108] It would seem that once Gaveston left Ireland in June 1309, the council chose not to fulfill the terms of the agreement reached in May. C.47/10/18 m.4 (2).

[109] C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 455.

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written on 20 and 21 March the dispute was ended at last. It had been clear by the enquiry into the murage that Geoffrey had "fraudulently and surreptitiously obtained letters patent."[110] Moreover, he had gone beyond the authority granted by these purloined letters and extorted a great deal of money from the citizens of Dublin. He was now held to account for various damages since the time of the original grant, and was also ordered to restore the city walls, at his own expense, to the state in which they had been before he received the murage.[111]

Gaveston was not only involved, but clearly at fault in this business. While at the outset neither he nor the king may have been aware of the rights involved, Gaveston clearly persisted in the face of the council's opposition, using his authority as lieutenant to get his way. It is the only time Gaveston opposed the council, and his error is demonstrated by the fact that this was the only one of his Irish acts subsequently to be annulled by the king.

The other surviving acts from Gaveston's lieutenancy are various in nature, but not nearly as illuminating of his character as the dispute over the murage. Three of the acts were judicial in nature. The first was a writ to the justices of the Irish bench ordering the postponement of a case being brought against Walter del Ewe, prior of the Hospitallers in Ireland, by Guy Cokerel and his wife Leticia.[112] The

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[110] Ibid., p. 455.

[111] Ibid., p. 456.

[112] C.R.P.C., p. 8, no.60.

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second was a grant to David Omolythyn of English law for himself and his children.[113] Third, suit of the king's peace was pardoned to John Tyrell at Gaveston's command.[114]

Two other acts are concerned with the payment of fees. It appears that £7 10s. was paid to the chancellor of the Dublin exchequer along with 16s. 8d. for his clerk as wages for Hilary, Easter and Trinity terms 2 Edward II by Gaveston's mandate.[115] Similarly, the lieutenant approved the payment of £500 to William de Burgh as Wogan's locum tenens.[116]

Gaveston mandated three grants of land while he was king's lieutenant in Ireland. The barony of Old Ross and Great Island were granted to John de Bonneville,[117] while two parts of the late Richard Taloun's lands were directed to John Taloun.[118] On 22 May 1309 John Wogan received the lands of Kilkea and Castledermot, late of Christiana de Mariscis, and land in Burtown, Moone, Carbury, Allen, and Cloncumber, late of John de Mohum.[119]

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[113] Ibid., p. 24, no.155.

[114] C.J.R.I. 1308-14, p. 84.

[115] E.101/235/20 m.5.

[116] E.372/171 m.30. I owe this citation to Taylor,"Peter of Gavaston," p. 254.

[117] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 194.

[118] 39th D.K. Report, p. 40.

[119] C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 122-23.

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Although it did not occasion any action, one last item deserves mention in this survey of Gaveston's administration. This is the second occasion upon which he had dealings with the Irish council. In the only known judicial writ directed to Gaveston, Osbert le Tailleur sought custody of the jail of the city of Dublin, according to the terms of a writ of Edward II.[120] Unlike the case of the murage, Gaveston was not deceived into contravening the customs of the city this time. The lieutenant, "intelligens gaolam predictam esse in custodia maioris et civium Dublin,"[121] ordered a jury to investigate the claims on each side. The jury found in favor of the mayor and citizens, and the matter was dropped. Since these proceedings took place in the first week of June 1309,[122] and Gaveston was back in England by the 27th of that month,[123] this may have been the last time he sat with the council as king's lieutenant. In any case, his last recorded dealings with the Irish magnates ended harmoniously.[124]

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[120] Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland, ed. J. T. Gilbert, London, 1870, pp. 230-31; Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin, ed. J. T. Gilbert, Dublin, 1889, v. 1, p. 235.

[121] Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland, p. 230.

[122] Ibid., p. 231; The Octave of Trinity fell on 1 June in 1309.

[123] He left Ireland "in vigilia nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste" (24 June); Ann. Hib., p. 338; Grace, p. 54; BL Lansdowne MS 229 f.75^{v}. He is recorded as being in Chester on 27 June; Bodley MS Latin Hist. C 5 (R) m.10.

[124] He may have left a relative behind, for in June 1313 a clerk named Alexander de Gavestoun was present in a court of law at Kildare. C.J.R.I. 1308-14, p. 284.

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Clearly, Gaveston's administrative record as lieutenant in Ireland is not as distinguished as his military one. Under the circumstances, this is not surprising. Nevertheless, his administrative acts show him to have been actively involved in the governance of Ireland. With the major exception of the murage dispute, his acts were in accord with the desires of his Irish subjects. His restraint and deference to the crown on major appointments and grants is commendable. Although it had little bearing on his subsequent dealings with the English barons, Gaveston's lieutenancy demonstrates his ability as both a military leader and administrator. It is unfortunate that he was unable to display these qualities on the other side of the Irish Sea.

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CHAPTER V

THE SPAWNING OF THE ORDINANCES

Edward II set about the business of obtaining Gaveston's recall even before the favorite actually left England.[1] This was no small task, since the king would need to win consent to Gaveston's return from both the king of France and the pope, as well as from his own disaffected barons. Throughout the period between June 1308 and August 1309,[2] Edward worked simultaneously to gain the various consents necessary for the favorite's return. In many ways this second year of his reign is emblematic of the entire period from Edward's accession through the settlement of October 1313, as it is clear from the king's actions during this year that he was willing to put aside all other considerations in order to accomplish his goal of restoring Gaveston. Although to a considerable degree all of the king's efforts were inter-related and inter-dependent, for the sake of clarity they will be examined separately here.

The consent of the English barons was the most essential for

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[1] See above, Chapter IV, n.43.

[2] This period was chosen because it extends from the time of Edward's first official correspondence regarding Gaveston's exile (16 June 1308) until the favorite's restoration at the Stamford parliament of the following year (5 August 1309). The entire fifteen month period is meant when reference is here made to the second year of Edward's reign.

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Edward to obtain in order to recall Gaveston. They had been the motive force behind the favorite's exile, and so long as they remained adamantly opposed to his return, the acquiescence of the pope and the king of France would mean nothing. In describing how Edward achieved a reconciliation with his barons, the Vita claims that "he bent one after another to his will, with gifts, promises, and blandishments."[3] This description is borne out by the record evidence.

Even before Gaveston left England, Edward had begun the cultivation of the dissident earls, beginning with the earl of Gloucester.[4] During the first week of June 1308 he was present with the king at Langley, and witnessed several charters, including one for Gaveston.[5] From this time on, Gloucester is consistently found witnessing charters along with the one earl who never became disaffected, Richmond.[6] In

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[3] Vita, p. 6.

[4] Several other earls had been in the king's company between the date of Gaveston's exile being decreed and the date of his departure--for instance on 22 and 28 May, Lincoln and Lancaster, C.53/94 m.6--but the nature of their business is uncertain, and it is clear that no lasting reconciliation was achieved at this time.

[5] C.53/94 mm.1-6. Gloucester was, of course, Gaveston's brother-in-law. On the occasion of Gaveston's third exile Gloucester is said to have removed his seal from a letter of credence for Gaveston because of his youth, but he apparently felt no such constraint at this time. Vita, p. 21.

[6] C.53/94 mm.1-6. It is difficult to judge the position of Arundel, Oxford, and Warenne. However, the former two played insignificant roles throughout the reign, and at this time Warenne seems to have been closely associated with Lancaster.

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July several grants were made at Gloucester's instance, and later in the year he received the release of rights to various lands in Gloucestershire.[7] From the summer of 1308 on, Gloucester remained in the royal camp as a moderating influence, and was clearly rewarded for his loyalty and service by the king.[8]

Another early convert may have been Hereford.[9] On 25 June Edward specifically excepted him from a grant to the Italian merchants, the Spini, exempting them from actions for distraint of debt.[10] It is difficult to say if this was a recognition of Hereford's reconciliation, or a bid by Edward to gain it. In either case, by early August he was reconciled, for from that time on his name is regularly found among the witnesses of royal charters.[11]

The earl of Lincoln was also reconciled to the king by late summer 1308.[12] Of all the earls, Lincoln was the most important.

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[7] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 134; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 132.

[8] C.P.R. 1307-13, passim; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, passim. See below, Chapter VI, for Gloucester's behavior during the period of the Ordinances, and Chapter VIII, for his mediation after Gaveston's death.

[9] Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, p. 91, wrongly names Hereford as present at Langley on 2 June. His first appearance on the charter rolls as a witness is actually on 2 August. C.53/95 m.14.

[10] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 80. Four days later Hereford was again excepted from similar grants to the Circuli Albi, the Perouce, the Portinare, and the Bardi. C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 84.

[11] C.53/95 mm.2-14.

[12] Ann. Paul., p. 264; C.53/95 mm.1-14.

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Edward needed to reach a settlement with him in particular, since by age, wealth, and experience he was the natural leader of the baronial opposition. Indeed, just months earlier he had been considered the most dangerous enemy whom Edward and Gaveston faced.[13] Lincoln may have been more interested in gaining political concessions from the king than material ones--later in the reign Lincoln made substantial loans to Edward[14]--and concessions were promised at the Northampton parliament in August.[15] At the same time the king also ordered Gerard Salvayn, escheator north of the Trent, to restore to Lincoln any goods removed from Skipton castle when it had been removed from the earl's custody and granted to Gaveston the previous June.[16] By early October Lincoln became a regular witness to charters, and the recipient of royal favors like those already shown to Gloucester and Hereford.[17]

Influenced in part perhaps by the promises made at Northampton, and following Lincoln's example, the rest of the earls returned to the royal fold. With Gaveston gone a more relaxed and trusting atmosphere existed, and even his most intransigent opponents, like Pembroke and Warwick, were reconciled to the king. On 9 October a land grant was

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[13] Vita, p. 4.

[14] E.g., 3000 marks on 23 October 1310. C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 286.

[15] For the Northampton parliament in particular, and Edward's political concessions in general, see below, pp. 125-26.

[16] C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 74.

[17] C.53/95 mm.1-14; C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 146, 166.

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made at Pembroke's request, and on 15 November he appears as a witness to a royal charter.[18] On the same day Pembroke received a grant of the town and castle of Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire.[19] Warwick, too, appears to have been won over, despite what the Vita has to say about his steadfast maintenance of his opposition to king and favorite.[20] On 11 August he was given license to alienate land in mortmain,[21] and for the next several months he is found witnessing charters.[22] Finally, on 2 December 1308 Edward apparently sought to cement their new relationship when he granted four former Templar manors to Warwick.[23]

Lancaster is the notable exception to this revived harmony between the king and earls. On 22 September he and Warenne did meet with the king,[24] and Lancaster is found witnessing charters on 4 October, 4 November, and 8 November.[25] As Maddicott has noted, however, he does not witness any charters between 8 November 1308 and 10 March

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[18] E.159/82 m.4; C.53/95 m.12.

[19] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 145.

[20] Vita, p. 7.

[21] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 136.

[22] C.53/95 mm.2-14.

[23] The manors of Frechampstead, Sherbourne, Walsall, and Warwick. E.159/82 m.6.

[24] C.53/95 m.13, no.46; Bodley MS Latin Hist C 5 (R) m.3.

[25] C.53/95 mm.12-14.

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1310, and the flow of royal favors towards him also ceases at this time.[26] At the very time when the rest of the earls were growing closer to the king, Lancaster, who had hitherto been loyal to Edward, began to drift away.[27] This, of course, was a development of grave import not only for Gaveston's career, but for the entire reign. Nevertheless, at this point Lancaster was not actively opposing the king, so that by the end of 1308 it is fair to speak of a general reconciliation of Edward and his earls having taken place.

Before turning to Edward's efforts to appease Clement V and Philip IV, something must be said about the king's conciliatory political dealings with the barons. The Northampton parliament, which opened on 4 August 1308, was an essential element in Edward's program of reconciliation. Five of the earls--Gloucester, Hereford, Lincoln, Richmond, and Warwick--were present, and they received more than just the personal favors described above. According to the Annales Paulini, the king reached a concord with the earls by agreeing to remove six of his counsellors and to be guided by what the earls and barons should ordain at the next parliament.[28] Edward's eagerness to mollify the magnates is further demonstrated by the letters summoning attendance at this parliament, which was held at Westminster beginning on

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[26] C.53/95 m.12; C.53/96 mm.5-6; Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, p. 92.

[27] Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, pp. 92-94.

[28] Ann. Paul., p. 264. The counsellors were the elder Despenser, Nicholas Segrave, William Bereford, William Inge, and two others left unnamed. Cf. Lanercost, p. 212.

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20 October 1308.[29] In these letters Edward explained that the purpose of this parliament was further to discuss certain matters that had been raised but not fully considered at the Westminster parliament following his coronation the previous spring. At that time "certain obstacles" had arisen to prevent full discussion of several issues being made, but no such obstacles now remained.[30] Such a deferential attitude towards the earls and barons, coupled with the granting of favors to them, had the desired effect.

By early in 1309 Edward was confident enough of his renewed relations with the magnates to put his work to the test. In March he sent an embassy to the pope.[31] The purpose of this embassy, led by the bishops of Norwich and Worcester and the earls of Pembroke and Richmond, was to convince Clement V that the English barons themselves, both lay and ecclesiastical, were willing to have Gaveston return.[32] This embassy, of course, was not Edward's initial contact with the pope regarding Gaveston.

The king first wrote to Clement on 16 June 1308, the very day of Gaveston's appointment as king's lieutenant in Ireland.[33] He com-

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[29] Parl Writs, II, i, p. 22.

[30] Ibid., p. 22. The "certain obstacles" which had been removed is certainly a reference to Gaveston's exile.

[31] Foedera, II, i, 68-69.

[32] Ibid. The embassy also included Grandson, Boniface de Saluciis, archdeacon of Buckingham, Amanieu VII, lord of Albret (1298-1324) and Robert fitz Payn.

[33] Ibid., II, 49-50.

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plained to the pontiff that Gaveston had been made earl of Cornwall by the will and with the counsel and consent of the magnates. In fact, Edward claimed, the grant of the earldom had been made without Gaveston's prior knowledge and at the barons' request. Now these same men had turned against the favorite, and so the king sought papal assistance. A second letter was sent to the pope on the same day dealing more specifically with the crucial issue of Gaveston's excommunication.[34] In addition, other letters were sent seeking the support of the assembled body of cardinals at Avignon,[35] and Edward's personal envoy there, Othon de Grandson, was urged to act on Gaveston's behalf.[36]

In dealing with the pope at this time, Edward was able to negotiate from a position of some strength. He had commanded, at the pope's request, that the Order of the Knights Templar be suppressed in England on 10 January 1308,[37] but in England there was no popular

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[34] Ibid., II, i, 50.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid. As was Amanieu de Albret. This entry is followed by a memorandum that all of the above-mentioned letters of 16 June were read in the king's presence before the earl of Richmond, Hugh Despenser, William Melton, and Adam de Osgodby. Later in the year, at the time of Pembroke's mission, Grandson received £783, 6s. 8d. to pursue the king's business. E.101/373/24 m.3.

[37] Foedera II, i, 16-17 for Clement's request. Ibid., II, i, 18-19 and 23, for Edward's orders. Similar orders were issued for Scotland, Ireland and Wales, Ibid., II, i, 23, as well as continental possessions, Ibid., II, i, 17. However, Edward seems to have been quite dubious about this entire business, Ibid., II, i, 19-20.

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reaction against the order as there was in France.[38] Throughout 1308 and 1309 Clement continued to write, exhorting Edward to complete the suppression of the Templars, and Edward, in response, continued to order action be taken against them.[39] The nature of Edward's response, however, makes it clear that he did not share the pope's enthusiasm for the task. It was merely a means of gaining the pope's gratitude and indebtedness.

This was not Edward's only political concession to the pope. In order to gain papal--and to some extent, baronial--support he was willing to free Bishop Walter Langton of Coventry and Lichfield, as well as the Scottish bishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews. In July 1308 the king had refused a papal request to free these prisoners.[40] In the autumn of that year, however, he relented. Lamberton of St. Andrews was given a conditional release, while Wishart of Glasgow was sent to the pope himself.[41] On 3 October Edward ordered the restoration of Langton's temporalities.[42] Then, at the Westminster parliament held later in the same month, the bishop's freedom was finally conceded.[43] On 9 November, after spending more than a year in prison,

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[38] See Tout, Political History of England, London, 1904, v. 3, p. 254; McKisack, Fourteenth Century, pp. 291-92; n.37 above.

[39] Foedera, II, ii, passim.

[40] Ibid., II, i, 53.

[41] Ibid., II, i, 65; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 94.

[42] Foedera, II, i, 58, 65.

[43] Ann. Paul., p. 264; he was released specifically auctoritate

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Edward's boyhood foe was released.[44]

On his side, meanwhile, the pope wrote to Edward urging him to reach a concord with his barons.[45] He also proposed to send Arnaud, bishop of Poitiers, Peter, bishop of La Sabine and Bertrand Caillau to negotiate between the two sides.[46] They arrived sometime in early autumn, and in December Caillau went to Ireland, presumably to interview his uncle regarding terms that the latter would consider in order to gain a return to England.[47]

There was one other aspect of Edward's policy towards the pope during 1308-09: bribery. No other construction can realistically be placed upon the gifts Edward presented to the pontiff and members of his family at this time. On 16 June 1308, the day of his first correspondence with the pope regarding the business of Gaveston's exile, the king granted the castle and town of Blanqueford to Clement's nephew, Bertrand de Got.[48] This grant, valued at 1500 li. chip. per annum, was made "on account of the love we bear towards the most holy father in Christ, the supreme pontiff Clement."[49] The pope warmly

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summi pontificis.

[44] Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, p. 94, n.4.

[45] Dated Poitiers, 11 August 1308. Foedera, II, i, 54.

[46] Ibid., 54, 49, 60. It would appear, however, that Peter's main task was securing the freedom of Langton, Lamberton and Wishart.

[47] E.101/373/24 m.2; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 94.

[48] Foedera, II, i, 51.

[49] Ibid.

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thanked the donor in August.[50] In January 1309 several hundred pounds were spent on jewels for the pontiff.[51] Finally, on 15 May Edward's envoys in Avignon conceded the right of justice in Budos to Raymond-Guillaume de Budos, another of Clement's nephews.[52] Once again the grant was made "as much for the pope as for his nephew." It was valued at 25 li. bord. per annum.[53]

Having thus prepared the way, Edward dispatched his ambassadors in March 1309.[54] On 25 April their mission was crowned with success. On that day Clement V issued a bull of absolution clearing the way for Gaveston's return to England.[55] Clement's issuance of this bull presupposes that the English barons and the French king had already agreed to Gaveston's recall. Edward's campaign to win the barons' approval has already been discussed. Gaining his father-in-law's consent, however, proved to be the king's most difficult task.

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[50] Ibid., II, i, 57.

[51] E.403/144 mm.5-6.

[52] Foedera II, i, 72-73. Interestingly, this grant was not confirmed until the Stamford parliament at which Gaveston was reinstated. This clearly shows the quid pro quo nature of the dealings between Edward and Clement. Foedera II, i, 82.

[53] Ibid., II, i, 72.

[54] The ambassadors were provided with letters commending them and their business to some 24 cardinals. In addition, the bishop of Worcester was commanded to present annual pensions of up to 500 marks sterling to six cardinals. Foedera II, i, 69.

[55] Registrum Simonis de Gandavo, Diocesis Saresbiriensis, 1297-1315, ed. C. T. Flower and M.C.B. Dawes, Oxford (Cant. & York Soc., v.40-41), 1934, pp. 314-16; Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, 1283-1317, ed. W. W. Capes, London (Cant. & York Soc.), 1909,

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It is quite possible that the grants made to Queen Isabella in May 1308 were meant to soften Philip's antipathy towards Edward, and by extension, Gaveston.[56] The first correspondence specifically broaching the subject of the favorite's exile, however, was drafted on 16 June 1308.[57] The letters sent to Philip were virtually identical to those addressed to the pope on the same day. Philip's response, like Clement's, was to send negotiators to England. He chose his brother Louis d'Évreux, and Bishop Guy of Soissons.[58] Louis was in England by mid-September, but his first undertaking appears to have been to seek a truce between England and Scotland rather than between the English king and his barons.[59] Such a truce was arranged in late November and was quite unpopular in England.[60] Heavy prises had already been made and a muster ordered in anticipation of a Scottish campaign, although the latter seems to have been cancelled in August.[61] Edward's lack of action against Bruce is frequently bemoaned in the

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pp. 451-52.

[56]She was given the counties of Ponthieu and Montreuil for her personal expenses. C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 68, 74.

[57]Foedera, II, i, 49.

[58]Ibid., II, i, 63, 64.

[59]Edward dined with Louis on 12 September. Bodley MS Latin Hist C 5 (R), m.3.

[60]Foedera, II, i, 63.

[61]Parl. Writs, II, i, 373-74; C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 81-82; See Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, p. 109 and n.2.

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chronicles, and it may be that the rumors of a secret alliance between the two kings began to circulate at this time.[62] Nevertheless, Edward wrote to Philip expressing his gratitude for his father-in-law's assistance in arranging a truce,[63] and the king of France continued to use Bruce as a bargaining tool.[64]

The unpopular Scottish truce is a clear example of the lengths to which Edward was prepared to go in order to gain Gaveston's recall, but it is not the sole aspect of his policy of reconciliation with Philip. Perhaps of even greater importance was the suppression of the Templars. Although nominally a papal initiative, this suppression was in reality engineered by the French king. Although Edward had on 1 December 1307 ordered that the seizure of the Templars in England take place on 10 January 1308, on 4 December 1307 he had written to the kings of Portugal, Castile, Sicily and Aragon, cautioning them against believing the accusations being brought against the knights.[65] His subsequent behavior reinforces the impression that Edward had left the door open for a future reversal of his position regarding the suppression if such a change became politically advantageous.

Two letters written in April 1309 make it clear that by that time

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[62] Lanercost, p. 212; Vita, p. 7.

[63] Foedera, II, i, 64.

[64] Ann. Paul., p. 266, claims that Philip summoned both Edward and Bruce to a French parliament, but neither attended. Foedera, II, i, 68.

[65] Foedera, II, i, 19.

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Philip had not yet fully relented in his opposition to Gaveston's return. The first letter, dated 13 April and addressed to the cardinal deacon of Santa Maria Novella, thanks the cardinal for his previous intercession with Philip on Gaveston's behalf, and urges him to continue in the same capacity.[66] The second letter, dated 28 April and addressed to Philip himself, is Edward's response to recent letters from Philip.[67] From this brief response it is evident that even in late April negotiations between the two kings were still underway, and that at least some disagreement still existed. Problems still existed elsewhere as well.

The fact that by March 1309 Edward felt confident enough about his relations with the English magnates to dispatch an embassy to the pope does not mean that no friction remained between the two sides. Tournaments were banned throughout Edward's second regnal year, and even as late as May 1309, the earls of Hereford, Lancaster, Pembroke and Warwick required letters guaranteeing their safety in order to approach the king.[68] Nevertheless, the course of events between the time of the dispatch of the embassy to Avignon and the reinstatement of Gaveston some five months later clearly shows that the king was still anxious to appease the earls, and that the earls wanted more

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[66] Ibid., II, i, 71.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Gloucester, Lincoln, Richmond and Arundel pledged that the other earls would be safe. Pembroke, of course, was still abroad. Foedera, II, i, 75.

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than just material concessions.

The most important event of this period was the parliament held at Westminster from 27 April to 13 May.[69] At this parliament Edward asked for two things: the grant of a tax of a twenty-fifth on the laity, and Gaveston's return.[70] The first request was conditionally granted provided that the king would address himself to a list of grievances presented in the form of a petition, while the second request was flatly refused.[71] Balked of his main objective, Edward chose to deliberate on the matters contained in the petition rather than responding immediately. The chronicles claim that he rejected the petition utterly.[72] This is not so. He used it as a bargaining tool, refusing to redress these grievances until July at the Stamford parliament, at which meeting the collection of the twenty-fifth was ordered and Gaveston was reinstated as earl of Cornwall.

The petition of grievances contained eleven articles dealing respectively with: abuses of the purveyance system;[73] imposts upon wine, cloth, and merchandise belonging to foreign merchants; fluctuations in the value of English currency; the jurisdiction of royal

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[69] Parl. Writs, II, i, 24-36.

[70] Stubbs, Constitutional History, v. II, pp. 338-39.

[71] Rot. Parl., I, 443-45.

[72] Ann. Lond., p. 157; Ann. Paul., p. 267.

[73] Article 1 and article 7 are based on article 2 of the Articuli super Cartas, Stat. Realm, I, 137-38.

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stewards and marshals (articles 4 and 5);[74] means for presenting petitions in parliament; prises taken at fairs and markets; the use of writs of protection to delay the action of common law;[75] the sale of writs of pardon to criminals; the illegal holding of common pleas by constables of royal castles;[76] and illegal seizures of lands by the king's escheators.[77] Such close resemblance to the Articuli super Cartas of 1300 must be more than mere coincidence. These similarities immediately bring certain questions to mind about the framing of the 1309 petition: when, where, and by whom was it drafted? Dr. Maddicott has examined this issue at great length, and he has convincingly suggested that this set of grievances was formulated at a tournament held at Dunstable in Bedfordshire between 30 March and 7 April.[78]

This tournament was attended by the earls of Arundel, Gloucester, Hereford, Lancaster, Warenne, and Warwick, each with a large retinue, and a great number of unattached knights.[79] The notion of a tournament's being used as a forum for the formulation of a political program

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[74]Articles 4 and 5 are based on article 3 of the Articuli.

[75]Article 8 is based on article 6 of the Articuli.

[76]Cf. Articuli super Cartas, article 7.

[77]Cf. Articuli super Cartas, articles 18 and 19.

[78]Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, pp. 95-97, for the dating of this tournament. For his discussion of its significance, see pp. 95-102.

[79]The tournament roll is printed in Collectanea Topographica et Geneologica, iv (1837), pp. 63-72.

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is appealing for several reasons. The petition claims to be the work of the "communalte" of the realm, and although some chroniclers attribute it solely to the earls and barons, several of the grievances seem to reflect the concerns of lesser subjects.[80] Moreover, the political potential of such a gathering helps to explain Edward's ban on tournaments both before and after the April parliament.[81] Finally, it gives credence to the Vita's statement that during 1312 the barons raised an army and pursued Edward and Gaveston under the guise of attending tournaments.[82] This sort of political activity foreshadows future developments, for while it does not necessarily indicate the existence of a clearly defined baronial opposition, let alone of moderate and extremist parties, it does show the widespread nature of dissatisfaction with Edward's rule. The king's reaction, in turn, shows his duplicity and foreshadows both the creation of the Ordinances and their failure.

The Lincoln parliament had refused to allow Gaveston's return.

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[80] "Community of the realm" is, of course, a controversial phrase open to various definitions, and this dubiosity is reinforced by this petition. Article 6, for instance, is specifically stated to have come from the knights and burgesses. Nor can the articles concerned with common law have been of much interest to the earls and barons.

[81] Tournaments were banned at Stamford on 2 February and at Newmarket on 28 April. On 12 May tournaments were banned throughout England until September. This order was repeated on 16 June, while on 14 June letters of like tenor were sent to the earls of Arundel, Gloucester, Hereford, Lancaster, Warenne, and Warwick specifically. Foedera, II, i, 66, 71, 72, 76. Parl. Writs, II, ii, 20.

[82] Vita, p. 23.

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A month later, however, the papal bull of absolution had arrived in England.[83] On 11 June Edward read this bull before Archbishop Winchelsey and the bishops of London, Winchester, and Chichester.[84] The bull describes Winchelsey's excommunication of Gaveston as having been passed upon him, "non monitum, non citatum, non confessum, nec super aliqua fraude convictum." Clement goes on to say that his original decision was not to intervene in this dispute, but rather to refer the matter to Hugh Gerald, cantor of Périgord. He had changed his position not because of Gaveston's claim that the excommunication was null,[85] nor because of Edward's supplications, but only because the king had finally assured him that the disputes between himself and his magnates had been settled, and that the latter were now prepared to accept Gaveston's recall.

In fact, however, Archbishop Winchelsey was not prepared to give in without a fight. He sent copies of the bull to his suffragans asking for their comments and opinions. The replies were not encouraging. Bishop Woodlock of Winchester replied on 22 June that he believed "the rescript to be canonical and valid," but suggested a

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[83] Ann. Paul., p. 267, states that it was delivered by the bishop of Norwich on 24 June, but in fact, it apparently arrived some two weeks earlier. See below, n.84.

[84] Registrum Henrici Woodlock, Diocesis Wintoniensis, 1305-1316, ed. A. W. Goodman, Oxford (Cant. & York Soc., v. 43-44), 1940, p. 370.

[85] Gaveston claimed, through his proctor, Bertrand Caillau, that the excommunication was invalid because he had been legitimately recalled in 1307. Reg. Gandavo, p. 315. Reg. Swinfield, p. 452.

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meeting of the bishops and nobles "for the quieting of scruples and to secure unanimity."[86] Simon of Ghent, bishop of Salisbury, asked to be excused from giving an opinion,[87] and Winchelsey would surely not have liked the opinions of such royalist bishops as Langton of Chichester, Reynolds of Worcester, and Salmon of Norwich. The archbishop had no choice, at least for the present, but to give in.

Gaveston was back in England by 27 June, a full month before the parliament was scheduled to meet at Stamford.[88] Armed with the papal bull of absolution, and with the favorite at his side, Edward secured the reinstatement of Gaveston as earl of Cornwall.[89] He also addressed himself to the grievances presented at Lincoln, but it is impossible to say whether he did so as part of the price of Gaveston's restoration or simply to obtain the twenty-fifth granted at Lincoln but not yet collected.[90]

The Statute of Stamford, in which Edward responded to the Lincoln

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[86] Reg. Woodlock, p. 370.

[87] Reg. Gandavo, p. 314.

[88] Bodley MS Latin Hist C 5 (R) m.10.

[89] He was re-enfeoffed on 5 August 1309. See below, n.106.

[90] Collection of the twenty-fifth was not begun until after the Statute was sent to the sheriffs on 20 August; J. F. Willard, Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property, 1290-1334, Cambridge, Mass., 1934, p. 25. The traditional view is that Gaveston's recall was a quid pro pro for the statute, but being armed with the papal bull, Edward was in fact presenting the magnates with a fait accompli, so that acceptance by the magnates was desirable but not necessary.

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petition, is not a particularly original piece of work.[91] It begins by reciting the second, third, and sixth of the Articuli super Cartas, which dealt in detail with purveyance and with the holding of pleas before the steward and marshal. These provisions were reconfirmed. Then the statute addressed the holding of pleas by royal constables. Next, the new customs (of 1303) were suspended, saving the ancient prises and customs due to the king, pending the examination of the effects of this suspension. As to the other grievances, the statute simply says that "the King hath granted them fully." From this cursory examination of the Statute of Stamford it is clear that purveyance and the control of royal officials were considered to be the crucial elements of dissatisfaction with Edward's government.[92] The king's subsequent inability, for whatever reason, actually to implement these controls was directly responsible for much of the reign's later unrest. For the present, however, a tenuous peace had been established.

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Upon his return from Ireland and reinstatement as earl of Cornwall, Gaveston's position appeared more secure than it had been at any prior time during the reign. The earl of Gloucester remained supportive of his brother-in-law, as always; Lincoln reportedly acted

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[91] Stat. Realm, I, 154-56.

[92] See also, De Prisis injusticiis non capiendum a viris ecclesiasticis seu aliis, Stat. Realm, I, 153-54.

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as a "friendly mediator and go-between" at this time, securing Warenne's friendship for the favorite; and the rest of the earls, except Lancaster, had sealed Gaveston's charter of re-enfeoffment, and so were at least not openly opposed to him.[93] Moreover, Gaveston attempted to build upon this new foundation by associating with his fellow earls, something he had never previously undertaken to do.[94] On 5 August, the very day of his re-enfeoffment with Cornwall, a pardon was granted at the joint request of Gaveston and Gloucester.[95] The following day the earl of Cornwall joined all of the other earls and some thirty-five barons in sealing a petition of protest addressed to the pope concerning papal provisions in England.[96] In late November Gaveston, the earl of Lincoln, and other members of the council were directed to select suitable messengers to be sent to the pope in the on-going discussion over papal provisions and other matters.[97] A few weeks later, on 10 December, Gaveston presented a petition to the king in concert with Gloucester and Lincoln.[98] This petition requested of the king that collection of the twenty-fifth originally granted in

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[93] Guisborough, p. 384; Vita, p. 7.

[94] His name appears in conjunction only with Walter Reynolds in 1307 and Roger Mortimer of Wigmore in 1308, H. T. Riley, ed., Memorials of London, London, 1868, p. 63; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 56.

[95] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 180.

[96] Ann. Lond., pp. 161-65.

[97] E.159/83 m.11[d]; E.368/80 m.13.

[98] Parl. Writs, II, ii, 41; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 189.

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April be halted from 21 December 1309 until 10 February 1310 because the articles of the Statute of Stamford--which may well have purchased Gaveston's recall--were not being observed.[99] Four days after presenting this petition, Cornwall joined Gloucester and Richmond in obtaining a grant that allowed John Droxford, bishop of Bath and Wells, to repay his debts to the exchequer, including those incurred as Edward I's keeper of the wardrobe, at a rate of 100 marks per annum.[100] Even as late as May 1310 the favorite is found working in concert with Lincoln to secure repayment of over £1000 to Henry Nasard.[101] It is instructive to note, however, that with the exception of the petition of 6 August to the pope, Gaveston is found working in association with only three of the other ten earls: Gloucester, Lincoln, and Richmond. The chroniclers are quick to explain why the others shunned him.

The chronicles are nearly unanimous in stating that upon his return from Ireland, Gaveston's behavior became even more offensive than it had hitherto been.[102] He is once again depicted as draining the treasury and impoverishing the crown, providing the king with evil counsel, and controlling the flow of royal favors.[103] In

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[99] Collection was suspended, but ordered to be resumed on 1 April 1310. C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 204.

[100] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 202.

[101] R.G., IV, 113.

[102] Ann. Lond., p. 157; Vita, p. 8; Bridlington, pp. 35-36; Trokelowe, p. 68; Walsingham, p. 125.

[103] Knighton, p. 408; Murimuth, p. 14.

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addition to these charges, it is during this period that Gaveston is first alleged to have maligned the other earls with "turpia cognomina."[104] Warwick, for instance, became "the black dog of Arden," Lincoln was "burst-belly," and Pembroke became known as "Joseph the Jew." Lancaster's nickname has been variously rendered as "fiddler," "churl," and "player," but the most vicious epithet of all went to Gaveston's relative by marriage, Ralph de Monthermer, who was referred to as "whoreson." The chroniclers find it no wonder that the earls in turn despised Cornwall. Obviously, there is no way to corroborate the chroniclers' accounts of these slanderous nicknames, yet there is no reason to doubt them. Moreover, their other charges are to some extent borne out by the record evidence.

Even during his exile, Gaveston had continued to receive grants of land and other favors.[105] Surprisingly perhaps, now that he had returned to England this pattern became less pronounced, and the

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[104] Vita, p. 8; Lanercost, p. 216. This is not likely, however, since one of Gaveston's targets, Ralph de Monthermer, earl of Gloucester by right of marriage 1297-1307, was already dead in 1309. For the evidence available to verify these nicknames see Tout, Place of Edward II, p. 12 n., and Baker, p. 183 n.

[105] Some of the more notable examples are: In July 1308 Edward ordered that debts owed to Arnaud de Gabaston be paid to Arnaud-Guillaume de Marsan from the issues of the duchy of Aquitaine; C.Ch.W. 1244-1326, p. 277; On 5 April 1309 Gaveston and his wife received a weekly market and annual fair at one of their manors in the Isle of Wight; C.Ch.R. 1300-26, p. 452; on 4 May certain lands appurtenant to High Peak; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 108; Later in May custody of lands and wardships of 4 deceased tenants-in-chief in Yorkshire; Foedera, II, i, 73; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 114; 10 June he received the manor of Wroxale in Wight; C.Ch.R. 1300-26, p. 129.

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favors he received were by no means of the sensational proportions described in some of the chronicles. Gaveston seems to have been cautious during this period and to have made an attempt at avoiding ostentation so as not to alienate his former opponents again.

In any event, Gaveston was re-enfeoffed as earl of Cornwall upon his return. It can have come as a surprise to no one that on 5 August at Stamford he exchanged the Gascon and English lands with which he had been compensated a year earlier for all the lands appurtenant to the earldom.[106] This grant was supplemented on 28 August.[107] In late October Gaveston also received the wardship and marriage of Thomas Wake.[108] On 14 November Edward granted the prisage of wine at Dartmouth, Exmouth, and two other Devon ports to the earl of Cornwall and his wife Margaret.[109] In early February the favorite was given licence for life to hunt in the king's forests and parks, and to fish in his ponds.[110] On 13 February the king granted certain manors to Margaret, widow of the late Edmund earl of Cornwall, provided that she paid an annuity of £46 14s. 11d. to Gaveston and his wife.[111] On

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[106] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 187; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, pp. 171, 225-26; C.Ch.R. 1300-26, p. 131; C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 48.

[107] Foedera, II, i, 86; C.P.R., p. 187.

[108] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 196.

[109] Foedera, II, i, 98; C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 200, 358.

[110] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 211.

[111] Foedera, II, i, 103; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 208.

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the same day Edward also arranged for Gaveston to be excused from certain debts to the exchequer incurred during the period of his exile.[112] The sum of these grants between August 1309 and February 1310 was no more than any of Edward II's earls might have expected and received.

There was, of course, another area in which the earl of Cornwall's influence revealed itself even more fully. This was in procuring favors for others. In the period before his second exile, one of the most frequent complaints made against Gaveston was that he had control over royal patronage.[113] Upon his return this appears once again to have been the case, but as with the grants he himself received, Gaveston was careful not to be ostentatious in bestowing favors at this time. Several grants he procured were related to his stay in Ireland. On 28 June, the day after the king and favorite were reunited at Chester, a grant previously made to John Wogan by Gaveston under the Great Seal of Ireland was confirmed.[114] On 10 September another grant of Irish lands was made on Gaveston's request, this time to John le Blund, who was about to accompany the earl of Cornwall to Scotland.[115] On 29 January Nicholas de Balscote was named to replace John de Hothum as chancellor of the exchequer at Dublin at Gaveston's

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[112] E.159/83 m.16[d]; E.368/80 m.31. A similar, more limited, order had been made on 14 September 1309. E.159/83 m.11[d], 12[d]; E.368/80 m.15.

[113] See above, Chapter III.

[114] C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 122-23; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 173.

[115] C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 49.

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request.[116] Nor did Gaveston confine himself to Irish matters. On 15 August 1309 the prior of St. Mary's, Ixworth, received licence to acquire land in mortmain at Gaveston's request.[117] On 4 November one of Gaveston's long-time servants was rewarded by the king with an annual pension of 10 marks.[118] In late January 1310, at Gaveston's request, Robert de Rocheford was granted permission to devise two manors held in chief.[119]

The fact that Gaveston's influence is not recorded more extensively at this time does not mean that it did not exist. For instance, Gaveston witnessed only one charter during this period, yet he was constantly with Edward and is specifically said to have been on the council.[120] Several mandates are given on Gaveston's information,[121] and on occasion he wrote directly to the treasurer himself.[122] There are only two things that one can safely say about Gaveston's control

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[116] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 206.

[117] Ibid., p. 181.

[118] Ibid., p. 197; Cf. E.403/154 m.6.

[119] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 205. He also presented two clerks to churches; Simon atte Pette to the chapel of Crookham on 21 May 1310, and his chaplain, Walter de London to the church of Harewell on 20 June 1310. Reg. Gandavo, pp. 725, 728. Gaveston's patronage was also sought by an unfortunate man named Thomas Elcot of Hexham who had survived being hanged and was therefore seeking pardon for his crimes. S.C.1/30/43.

[120] C.53/96 m.10; E.159/83 m.11[d].

[121] C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 197, 244; Foedera, II, i, 96.

[122] E.159/83 m.12; E.368/80 m.14.

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of patronage at this time: he tried not to emphasize it, but he was resented for it all the same.

The first sign that relations were strained between Gaveston and at least some of the magnates came only a month after his reinstatement. On 4 September 1309 Edward wrote to Clement V thanking him for having absolved Gaveston.[123] At the same time he also requested that Gaveston and his proctor, Bertrand Caillau, be absolved from an undertaking to stand on oath against those who wished to confront him with the charges for which he had been excommunicated.[124] The full seriousness of the situation was revealed a month after this.

On 18 October the earls of Arundel, Lancaster, Lincoln, Oxford and Warwick, refused to attend a secretum parliamentum at York because of Gaveston's presence.[125] Edward was trying to mount some sort of Scottish campaign at this time, and so on 26 October he issued summonses for another parliament to be held at York on 8 February to discuss the Scottish situation. The period between October 1309 and February 1310 was one of great unrest in England. There was dissatisfaction with Edward's continued taking of prises, and the north in particular became unsettled.[126] On 18 December Edward ordered the

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[123] Foedera, II, i, 88.

[124] Winchesley's dissatisfaction was seen above, pp. 137-38. The chroniclers contend that the absence of some earls from Stamford indicated their antipathy. Bridlington, p. 35; Ann. Paul., p. 157; Vita, p. 7.

[125] Guisborough, p. 384.

[126] See C.D.S., III, 20.

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arrest and imprisonment of rumor-mongers.[127] He also changed the site of the February parliament from York to Westminster.[128] This was just as well, since on 4 February it was necessary to order the arrest of disturbers of the peace in Lancashire.[129]

The parliament that had been summoned for 8 February was the occasion of the climax of this period of tension. The magnates assembled in London, but once again they refused to attend parliament if Gaveston were present.[130] Alternatively, claiming to fear for their safety, they threatened to come before the king in arms.[131] The king sent writs to Hereford, Lancaster, Pembroke and Warwick forbidding this.[132] As in the previous year, Gloucester, Lincoln, Richmond, and Warenne were to guarantee the safety of their disaffected fellows and maintain the peace during the parliament.[133] In the end, however, Edward was still compelled to dismiss Gaveston from his company before the parliament could actually be held.[134]

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[127] Foedera, II, i, 101.

[128] Parl. Writs, II, ii, 40.

[129] Foedera, II, i, 102.

[130] Vita, pp. 8-9; Ann. Paul., p. 268.

[131] Guisborough, p. 385; Vita, p. 9.

[132] Foedera, II, i, 103.

[133] Ibid., II, i, 103.

[134] Vita, pp. 8-9; Ann. Lond., pp. 167-68.

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Parliament finally opened on 27 February.[135] Once again, as in the previous April, Edward was presented with a petition of grievances.[136] This petition was a scathing indictment of the first two and a half years of the king's rule. It was first of all claimed that Edward was led by evil counsel and was unable to maintain his household except by extortion. Edward I had left the realm intact, but now Scotland was lost, while the crown had been dismembered in England and Ireland without baronial assent.[137] He had squandered grants of a twentieth for the Scottish war and of a twenty-fifth to alleviate the need for prises and other exactions without advancing the war or lifting the burden of prises for his subjects. Therefore, the barons humbly prayed that they should be allowed to redress these and other dangers facing the kingdom for the salvation of the crown, which they were bound by their allegiance to maintain.[138]

It is reported that despite the earlier prohibition the earls and barons had arrived at this parliament armed, and forced the king to agree to their demands.[139] And indeed, Edward himself was later

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[135] Ann. Lond., p. 168.

[136] BL MS Burney 277 f6^{v}, which refers to this petition as La Secunde Emprise e l'ordenaunce mustre par le cunte de Loncastre. Ann. Lond., pp. 168-69. Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series, 1860), II, i, 198-99.

[137] The dismemberment of Ireland, like the reference to evil counsel is a direct, although unfounded, assault on Gaveston.

[138] Once again the doctrine of capacities was used to distinguish between the crown and the king. See above, Chapters I and IV.

[139] Flores, v. 3, p. 146; Vita, p. 9; Trokelowe, p. 66, all say

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to claim that he had agreed to them only under duress.[140] The fact remains, however, that Edward gave in. On 16 March 1310 he agreed to the selection of a body of prelates, earls and barons to ordain reforms and redress grievances.

Edward fought against this but was forced to give in to threats of no allegiance, etc.

[140] See below, Chapter VI.

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CHAPTER VI

THE ORDINANCES OF 1311

Edward II's consent to the election of a body of "prelates, earls, and barons, [with] full power to ordain and establish the estate of [his] household and realm,"[1] set in motion a long chain of events leading England to the brink of civil war. Although the instrument mandating the creation of the Ordainers states that this was done of the king's free will, such was not the case.[2] The hostility arising from Edward's subsequent efforts to circumvent the work of the Ordainers resulted in a bifurcation of the English aristocracy and a struggle for control of the government that dominated the rest of the reign. This was far from the original intent of the Ordainers, who sought to avoid such conflicts by ordering the king's household.

The baronial response to the king's concessions of 16 March 1310 was almost immediate. The day after Edward agreed to the election of the Ordainers, a group of prelates, earls, and barons sent letters to the king promising not to use their new powers to his prejudice or

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[1] Foedera, II, i, 105; Ann. Lond., pp. 169-70.

[2] "grantez de nostre fraunche volunte." Ibid. See above, Chapter V, nn. 139-40, for baronial coercion used to obtain this concession.

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disadvantage.[3] Two days later--one day before the actual election of the Ordainers had even taken place--a series of six preliminary ordinances was issued by the same group of magnates.[4] Although these ordinances were later embodied in the final Ordinances of 1311, their primary significance lies in their reflection of the grievances felt in early 1310 which were responsible for the birth of the entire plan of reform.

The first of these preliminary ordinances is concerned with the protection of the franchises of the church. This is followed by a section outlining the proposed work of the Ordainers. It explains that they are to sit in London in order to have ready access to expert opinions as well as to the records of the exchequer and chancery, and that they are to have the support and protection of the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of the city. The third, fourth, and fifth ordinances get to the heart of baronial discontent with Edward. No gifts are to be made by the king without the assent and counsel of the Ordainers; customs are to be paid into the exchequer to Englishmen so that the

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[3] Muniments Gildhallae Londoniensis, II, i, 200-202; Ann. Lond., pp. 170-71. These letters were sealed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Lincoln, Salisbury, Winchester, Norwich, Bath and Wells, Chichester, Worcester, Exeter, and St. David's, the earls of Gloucester, Lancaster, Lincoln, Hereford, Richmond, Pembroke, Warwick, and Arundel, and Henry de Lancaster, Henry de Percy, Hugh de Veer, Robert de Clifford, Robert fitz Payn, William Marshal, John Lovel, Ralph fitz William, Payn Tibetot, John Botetourte, Bartholomew Badlesmere, John de Grey, and John de Crombwell. See also BL Cotton Charter XVI 58, a notarial certificate of Galfridus Pranicone or Pravicone, clerk of Lincoln, dated 17 March, relating to the Ordainers' election.

[4] Ann. Lond., pp. 172-73; Foedera, II, i, 113; Rot. Parl., I, 446.

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king might live without resort to prises, and foreign merchants are to be arrested pending examination of their accounts. These three sections are all ostensibly aimed at replenishing the king's empty coffers, but they are also indirectly critical of Edward's favoritism and the household system of government. The last of these preliminary ordinances calls for the maintenance of Magna Carta. These six ordinances clearly show the nature of the magnates' dissatisfaction with the king. On the other side, it is equally informative to note that the ordinances of 19 March were not confirmed by Edward until 2 August.[5]

The actual election of the Ordainers, who were to serve until Michaelmas 1311, took place on 20 March 1310.[6] The complicated form by which the twenty-one positions were filled need not be rehearsed here, as it is readily available elsewhere.[7] The Ordainers were comprised of prelates, earls, and barons, and as a body they were not personally hostile to the king. As Phillips suggests, it may be more than mere coincidence that the earls of Lincoln and Pembroke were the

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[5] Foedera, II, i, 113. See below, n.13.

[6] The form of the election is printed in Parl. Writs, II, i, 43; and Ibid., II, ii, app. 27.

[7] Ibid. The Ordainers were the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Salisbury, Chichester, Norwich, St. David's, and Llandaff, the earls of Gloucester, Lancaster, Hereford, Lincoln, Pembroke, Richmond, Warwick, and Arundel, Hugh de Veer, William le Marshal, Robert fitz Roger, Hugh de Courtney, William Martin, and John de Grey.

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first two Ordainers elected.[8] Both were on good terms with Edward, and their initial election may have been meant to reassure the king of the Ordainers' loyalty and honorable intent. Nevertheless, the Ordainers represented a broad cross-section of the English aristocracy, including some of the king's--and Gaveston's--most vocal detractors, as well as several men hitherto associated with the royal party.[9] Once elected, the twenty-one Ordainers swore an oath "that they would make such ordinances as should be to the honor and profit of Holy Church, the honor of the king and to his advantage and that of his people according to right and reason and the oath the king had sworn at his coronation. They would not omit this for any man rich or poor, for love or for hate nor for anything."[10]

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[8]Phillips, Aymer de Valence, p. 30.

[9]Winchelsey is certainly to be numbered among Gaveston's enemies, as is his firm supporter, Simon of Ghent, bishop of Salisbury. Salmon of Norwich and Langton of Chichester had hitherto been strong supporters of the king. In any case, the bishops were already busy with business of a more clerical nature since the bishop of Poitiers had arrived six weeks earlier with 20 articles of objection against the king. Ann. Lond., pp. 165-67; Ann. Paul., p. 268. Of the earls, the most militant were, of course, Hereford, Lancaster, and Warwick. Pembroke, although a genuine reformer, was on sound terms with the king. Lincoln, Gloucester, and Richmond were supportive of the king. Of the barons, Hugh de Veer had a long career of service to the crown, Courtenay was the elder Despenser's grandson, Martin was Lincoln's father-in-law, and Grey was a justice. Fitz Roger died soon after his election, and was not replaced. Only Marshal was a Lancastrian adherent. See John H. Trueman, "The Personnel of Mediaeval Reform: The English Lords Ordainers of 1310," Mediaeval Studies, 21 (1959), pp. 247-71.

[10]Parl. Writs, II, i, 43; Ibid., II, ii, app. 27.

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The immediate result of the election of the Ordainers appears to have been renewed harmony between the king and his magnates.[11] Before long, however, Edward was actively seeking to undermine the work of the reformers. The dismissal of John Langton on 11 May, in favor of the king's longtime servant Walter Reynolds, was seen by contemporaries as a clear sign of royal opposition to the Ordainers.[12] The king was also believed to have had ulterior motives in deciding to renew hostilities in Scotland, and it is worth noting in this regard that Edward did not act on the confirmation of the preliminary ordinances until the Scottish campaign had been decided upon in June.[13]

There can have been no question that a Scottish campaign was an urgent necessity, regardless of any doubts about Edward's true motives. Edward I had nearly subdued Scotland in the later years of his reign, but then, in 1306, Robert Bruce had rebelled, and the Hammer of the Scots died without fulfilling his ambition. Within

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[11] In late March both Lancaster and Winchelsey witnessed royal charters at Westminster. C.53/96 m.2. On 1 April the king wrote to the pope that his difficulties with the magnates had been cleared up. Foedera, II, i. 105.

[12] Reynolds, who had been treasurer, was replaced by John Sandale. C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 234. According to Ann. Paul., p. 269, Reynolds' appointment was made "communitate tamen Anglie non consentiente."

[13] See Davies, Baronial Opposition, p. 363 and app. no. 90. These ordinances were not confirmed until 2 August, when the summons for the Berwick muster on 8 September was issued a second time. Foedera, II, i, 113, 114. The Vita reports that Edward's decision to fight Bruce was believed to be a pretext to avoid doing fealty to Philip IV. Vita, p. 11.

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eight weeks of his father's death on 7 July 1307, Edward II had withdrawn from Scotland.[14] At the time of the Ordainers' election he had not yet returned. In so far as the young king had a policy regarding Scotland, to date it had been a total failure. Aymer de Valence, victorious over Bruce at Methven, had immediately been replaced by the ineffectual earl of Richmond as king's lieutenant in Scotland upon Edward II's accession.[15] In both 1308 and 1309 the king issued summonses for military service and ordered the taking of prises to supply the army, but in each case a truce was arranged and no military action was taken.[16] Edward II had held councils on Scotland, but according to the author of the Vita, "the effects of these were not clear nor did they result in action."[17] Meanwhile, Bruce grew ever stronger.

By the autumn of 1308, "the three provinces in which loyalty to Balliol and Comyn would naturally die hardest, Buchan, Argyll, and Galloway, had been overrun by King Robert's forces."[18] On Christmas day 1308 Forfar fell.[19] This was the first major castle south of the

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[14] Edward withdrew in late August, having reached only as far as Cumnock in Ayrshire. By 3 September he was in Carlisle. Foedera, II, i, 5.

[15] Valence had been confirmed as lieutenant on 30 August by Edward II, but was replaced by Richmond on 13 September. Foedera, II, i, 4, 6.

[16] See above, Chapter V, n.61.

[17] Vita, p. 7.

[18] G. W. S. Barrow, Robert Bruce, Berkeley, 1965, p. 259.

[19] Ibid., p. 260.

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Mounth to be taken from the English. In March 1309 these successes were followed by an event of a different sort, which many historians see as the culmination of the first phase of Bruce's reign.[20] On the 16th and 17th of that month he held his first parliament at St. Andrews. This is significant in itself, but the business transacted was even more ominous for the English king. First of all, the magnates and prelates of Scotland swore loyalty to King Robert, and affirmed his right to the Scottish throne.[21] Equally worrisome to Edward must have been the parliament's other major act, the drafting of a reply to Philip IV of France, who was seeking support for a proposed crusade. The Scots promised to aid the French king as soon as Scotland had recovered her liberty and was at peace.

By late 1309 the English were having difficulty supplying the garrisons on the Forth line.[22] Those above the line, such as Banff, Dundee, and Perth were practically given up, with Edward instructing their commanders in December 1309 to arrange truces on whatever terms they could until the following Michaelmas.[23] This is the background against which one must place the councils of May and June 1310 and

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[20] Ibid., p. 266; Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, p. 109; W. C. Dickinson and A. M. Duncan, Scotland to 1603, 3rd rev. ed., Oxford, 1977, pp. 163-64.

[21] Barrow, Bruce, pp. 261-66; printed in G. Donaldson, ed., Scottish Historical Documents, Edinburgh, 1974, pp. 48-50.

[22] Barrow, Bruce, p. 273.

[23] Rotuli Scotiae, ed. D. MacPherson, v. I, London, 1814, p. 80.

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Edward's decision to campaign in person that year.[24] Despite contemporary opinions, no other decision was conceivable.

On 18 June the English magnates were summoned to appear at a muster at Berwick on 8 September.[25] A sign of what was to come was given in early August at a council meeting called by Edward at Northampton, a meeting to discuss strategies to be used against Bruce.[26] The earls of Arundel, Hereford, Lancaster, and Pembroke refused to attend, citing the importance of their business in London in order to excuse their absence.[27] Following this meeting the summonses to the Berwick muster were re-issued, but the reformers adamantly refused to leave off their work on the Ordinances.[28] They sent their requisite services to the muster, but declined to serve the king in person.[29] This refusal is all the more striking when it is recalled that Hereford, Pembroke, and Warwick all held lands in Scotland, lands they stood to lose if Bruce were not checked. Nevertheless,

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[24] An especially significant meeting was held on 16 June. See Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, p. 113, and Davies, Baronial Opposition, app. no. 90.

[25] Parl. Writs, II, i, 394-99.

[26] Ann. Lond., p. 174; Ann. Paul., p. 269. This council was apparently attended by five Ordainers: the bishop of London, the earls of Gloucester, Lincoln, and Richmond, and William Martin. C.53/97 m.22.

[27] Ann. Lond., p. 174; Ann. Paul., p. 269.

[28] Foedera, II, i, 114.

[29] Parl. Writs, II, i, 50-52, 54, 56.

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the only earls to serve with the king personally were Gaveston, Gloucester and Warenne, while the earl of Lincoln remained in London, having been appointed *custos* by the king on 1 September.[30]

The author of the *Vita* divides the Ordainers into two groups.[31] One, led by Warwick, is said to have been moved to stay in London by a genuine zeal for reform, while the other, comprised of Lancaster, Pembroke, and Hereford, is said to have been motivated by their hatred for Gaveston alone. This is a view to which certain historians subscribe, but it is too facile.[32] The right to draft the Ordinances had been fought for and won before Edward settled upon a Scottish campaign, and it is not likely that the majority of the Ordainers would have put aside their work to go to Scotland even if Gaveston had not accompanied the king. Lancaster, although certainly Gaveston's foe, was the leading advocate of the Ordinances long after the favorite's death, while Pembroke's absence from the 1310-11 campaign, according to his biographer Phillips, "may have been caused by Gaveston's continued presence as well as a desire not to compromise his value as a reformer by seeming too close to the king."[33] The personal aspect of the preliminary ordinances is not explicit. That

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[30] *Foedera*, II, i, 116.

[31] *Vita*, p. 11.

[32] Maddicott is the most recent historian to support this view, *Thomas of Lancaster*, p. 114. It was also accepted by Gaveston's most recent biographer, Taylor, "Peter of Gavaston," p. 290.

[33] Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, p. 30.

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Gaveston was explicitly attacked in the final version of the Ordinances was more likely a response to Edward's behavior after August 1310 than Gaveston's own behavior either prior or subsequent to that date. Gaveston may have been the occasion for the Ordinances--although not their cause--[34] but it was the spirit of reform and not personal hatred that prevented Edward's magnates from accompanying him to Scotland.

The earl of Cornwall had retired from the court in February 1310,[35] and was still in the north at Easter.[36] By 11 May, however, he was once again with the king, as he witnessed the surrender of the great seal by the bishop of Chichester.[37] To what extent he was involved in the various discussions about a Scottish campaign is unknown, but he was one of the first to make preparations for it. He had left the king by mid-July, and was already actively raising a retinue by that time.[38] Gaveston and Edward were in frequent communication throughout August and September, until on 18 September they were reunited when Gaveston presented his service to the king at Berwick.[39] His three knights' services were fulfilled by Alexander

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[34] Davies, Baronial Opposition, p. 358.

[35] See above, Chapter V, n.134.

[36] E.403/152 m.4. Easter 1310 was on 19 April.

[37] C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 258.

[38] Rotuli Scotiae, I, 89; C.Ch.W. 1244-1326, p. 317.

[39] Edward sent letters to Gaveston on 26, 27, 28 & 30 August, 2, 3 (3 separate times), and 12 September. E.101/374/7 ff.5v, 6, 7.

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Cheverel, Edmund Wasteneys, and the illustrious Giles d'Argentein.[40] Other men accompanying the earl of Cornwall to Scotland included Robert Darcy, Thomas le Latimer, William de Vescy of Kildare, Sir Warin de l'Isle, Baldwin le Moigne, and Nicholas de Walsokne.[41] His retinue also initially included no less than 38 archers.[42]

At Biggar on 1 October, Edward conferred two grants upon his favorite. Gaveston was made justice of the forst north of the Trent, and keeper of Nottingham castle.[43] Edward had already alarmed the Ordainers in May by replacing Langton with Reynolds in the chancery. At that time, however, the king had not yet confirmed the preliminary ordinances, and thus could not be accused of having contravened them. Now, however, the preliminary ordinances were in force, and both of these grants to the earl of Cornwall were in direct disregard of their provisions. This wanton behavior must have further steeled the Ordainers' already firm resolve to check the king's powers, and it

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Gaveston sent a palfrey to the king at York on 15 August and letters on 12 September. E.101/374/7 ff. 4^{v}, 7. Gaveston may have joined the king before 18 September since on 7 September he is found witnessing a royal charter, C.53/97 m.20, and on 11 September Edward made a gift of £2 to Gaveston's archers, E.101/374/7 f.7.

[40] Parl. Writs, II, ii, 403.

[41] C.Ch.W. 1244-1326, pp. 317, 322, 327, 328, 345, 352.

[42] On 25 October, 26 of Gaveston's archers were given license to return home, E.101/374/7 f.9^{v}, while on 18 November, Edward gave £5 to 12 of Gaveston's archers, Ibid., f.11.

[43] Foedera, II, i, 116; Parl. Writs, II, i, 57; C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 73.

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must also have been a major source of inspiration for the personal clauses of the Ordinances, especially number 20, which was aimed at Gaveston. Nor was Edward conciliatory in the wake of this action. Three weeks later he provided the Ordainers with another source of anxiety and hostility when he ordered the removal of the exchequer and both benches to York by the following Easter.[44] Lincoln is reported to have warned the king against such a move, and is said to have threatened to resign his lieutenancy over it.[45] The Ordainers as a whole are described as being, "much disturbed and enraged."[46] If Edward had actually hoped to undermine the Ordainers' authority by means of a Scottish campaign, so far he had achieved the reverse--and he had not yet even made contact with Bruce's forces.

A letter from two of the earl of Richmond's retainers, dated 6 October, informed the earl that the king and the earls of Cornwall, Gloucester, and Warenne were at Biggar, en route to Glasgow.[47] Their spies had informed the English commanders that Bruce's forces were on a moor near Stirling. It does not appear, however, that contact was made with the Scots at this time. None is recorded, and on 25 October the king gave 26 of Gaveston's archers license to return home.[48] By

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[44] E.159/84 m.13[d]; C.D.S., III, 33.

[45] C.D.S., III, 33.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., p. 31.

[48] E.101/374/7 f.9[v].

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early November the English forces had separated.[49] The exact location of the four contingents is not certain, but most likely they were moving towards positions on the line of the Tweed, since on 25 November it was already known that the king and queen would winter at Berwick, with Gloucester at Norham, Warenne at Wark, and Cornwall at Roxburgh.[50] There was frequent communication between the English commanders, but little apparent activity.[51] The explanation for this may be that Edward was attempting to negotiate with Bruce. It is reported that eight days before Christmas 1310, Sir Robert de Clifford and Sir Robert fitz Payn had met with Bruce, with Edward's approval, at Selkirk.[52] A second parley with Bruce was to have been undertaken by the earls of Cornwall and Gloucester at Melrose, but Bruce withdrew after it was rumored that he would be taken captive at this meeting.[53]

At the time of the Selkirk parley Gaveston had been at his winter quarters at Roxburgh,[54] and he was still there on 16 January 1311. On that date Robert Wodehouse was sent to him by the king in order to

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[49] This is apparent from the dispatch of letters on 2, 5, and 19 November. E.101/374/7 f.11.

[50] C.D.S., III, 33.

[51] E.101/374/7 ff. 11, 13, 14, 14v. Gaveston was also in contact with the chancellor, Bishop Reynolds of Worcester. Ibid., f.11v. One exception to the rule of inactivity was an "equitatura" led against the Scots by Gaveston from Hermitage Castle, Roxburgh. BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.82v.

[52] C.D.S., III, 39.

[53] Ibid.

[54] E.101/347/7 f.13.

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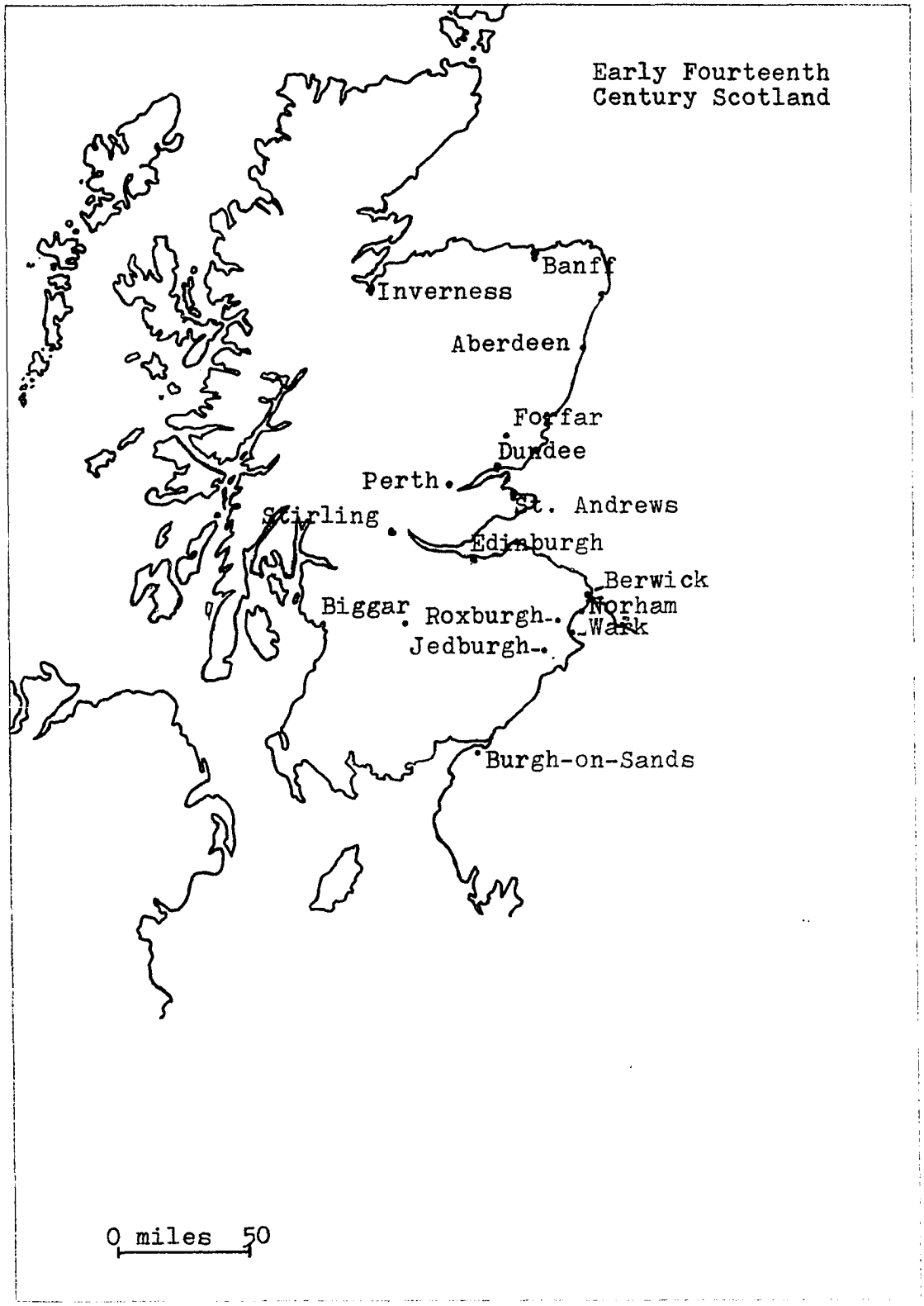

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expedite certain business of the king.[55] Negotiations with Bruce having fallen through, this business was apparently arranging for the earl of Cornwall to lead an army north as far as Perth. According to the Lanercost chronicler, Gaveston took a force of 200 men north in order to prevent Bruce, who was then headed towards Galloway, from recruiting an army north of the Forth.[56] On 21 January Gaveston was reportedly in Dundee, where two prests were taken. The goods obtained for his army in these and one other prest taken at Berwick on 16 February included 30 casks of wine, 10 casks of flour, 12,000 stockfish, and various grains. The value of these goods was placed at £464.[57] The exact date of Gaveston's arrival in Perth is not recorded, nor is there any record of significant encounters between his forces and the Scots.[58] As king's lieutenant north of the Forth, the earl of Cornwall moved frequently between Perth and Dundee and was in regular contact with Edward.[59] More than that cannot be said.

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[55] BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.10.

[56] Lanercost, p. 214. An anonymous letter of 22 February states that the earl of Cornwall was gone to Perth with "a great 'route' of people to keep those parts." C.D.S., III, 50. A similar letter dated 14 April gives Gaveston 500 men. Ibid., 41.

[57] E.101/373/26 f.31; C.D.S., III, 45.

[58] According to Lanercost, p. 214, Gaveston did not leave Berwick before 2 February. This is possible, since payments were made to various persons on 25, 26, 27 January and 1 and 2 February, who were said to be "eunti usque Perth in comitiva Comitis Cornub'." E.101/374/7 ff.15^{v}, 16, and Richard Comicedieu received £7 for transporting Gaveston's men across the Forth at Queensferry for 14 days. Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.37; E.101/373/30 f.2^{v}.

[59] Letters to Gaveston were specifically sent to Dundee rather than Perth on 3 March, 28 March, and 9 April, Bodley MS Tanner 197

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Soon after Gaveston departed for Perth, Edward received word that the earl of Lincoln had died on 6 February.[60] On 4 March the earl of Gloucester was appointed custos,[61] and justices William de Bereford and Henry le Scrope, recently summoned to Berwick, were appointed to advise him.[62] The loss of Lincoln was a severe blow to the king. The two men were said to have understood each other.[63] Moreover, Lincoln's death not only removed the steadying influence of the aged earl upon the reformers in London, but also vastly strengthened the economic and political power base of the earl of Lancaster, of late the king's most formidable opponent. Now endowed with five earldoms, and unquestionably the king's most wealthy subject,[64] Lancaster wasted little time in testing his strength against Edward. According to the supposed death-bed accounts of Lincoln's last words, he had enjoined his son-in-law to "free the people from vexatious exactions . . . and seek to remove evil counsellors and foreigners from [the king's] court."[65]

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ff. 44, 15, 13; E.101/373/30 f.4^{v}, while Gaveston's clerk, Thomas de London, paid out wages at Dundee on 12 April, Bodley MS Tanner 197 ff. 30, 30^{v}, 32, 33, 35.

[60]Edward was aware of Lincoln's death by 15 February. On that day he ordered Roger Wodehouse to go take Pontefract and Clitheroe castles into the king's hands. BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.9.

[61]Foedera, II, i, 129.

[62]C.47/22/10/8.

[63]C.D.S., III, 33.

[64]The earldoms were Lancaster, Leicester, Darby, Lincoln, and Salisbury. For a survey of Lancaster's wealth, see Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, pp. 8-39.

[65]Trokelowe, pp. 72-73; Walsingham, p. 130.

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Although no doubt apocryphal, this is an accurate outline of the goals of Lancaster's subsequent political program, and the strength of his resolve to reform Edward's style of rule was demonstrated as soon as he travelled north to swear fealty to the king for his newly inherited lands. Lancaster is said to have refused to leave England in order to meet Edward.[66] Likewise, the king refused to cross the Tweed in order to receive his cousin's pledge of fealty. Threats were reportedly made and civil war was rumored.[67] Eventually, however, the king relented, crossed the Tweed, and met Lancaster at Haggerston. Lancaster, however, would not relent. It is reported that he refused to greet the earl of Cornwall, thereby causing the latter--and no doubt the king--great offense.[68] Be that as it may, fealty was sworn and, at least for the moment, peace was maintained between king and earl. On 27 May Edward ordered that Lancaster be delivered of the Lacy lands.[69]

While the king wintered at Berwick, Gaveston had campaigned beyond the Forth. In February, the earls of Gloucester and Warenne had

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[66]The entire sequence is reported in Lanercost, p. 215.

[67]Lancaster threatened to return with 100 knights and enter his inheritance by force. Ibid.

[68]It is most unlikely that Gaveston was present at any such meeting between the king and Lancaster. The earl of Cornwall was present in Berwick only once between the time of Lincoln's death and the king's departure for London the following summer. This was between 24 and 30 March. Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.6; C.D.S., III, 40, 45. This date, however, cannot correspond with Lancaster's meeting with the king, since on 27 March the former was in Leicester. Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, Appendix 3, p. 342.

[69]C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 92.

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also been active, passing through the forest of Selkirk and receiving the inhabitants into the king's peace.[70] Lincoln's death and Gloucester's subsequent dispatch to London did not have any immediate effect upon Edward's policy of ignoring the Ordainers while pursuing his fruitless Scottish campaign. This is illustrated by certain events of March 1311. An anonymous letter dated 27 March reports that the earl of Cornwall arrived at Berwick "from Perth the other day molt privement with Sir Henry de Beaumont, and scarcely any attendants, on some business with the king."[71] This business is revealed by a letter from the king to his chancellor, Reynolds, also dated 27 March.[72] In this letter Edward ordered Reynolds to make sure that the Ordainers submitted any decisions they made to him, but he was not to act upon them without the king's more thorough consideration and consent.[73] After this meeting Gaveston returned to Perth, which he had undertaken to hold until three weeks after Easter (2 May 1311).[74] It was rumored at this time that Bruce meant to give battle to the earl of Cornwall, but did not believe he was able to meet the king's forces on open ground.[75] No battle was fought. In early May

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[70] Lanercost, p. 214.

[71] C.D.S., III, 40.

[72] C.47/22/10/8.

[73] Ibid.; ". . . plus grant conseil et assent de nous."

[74] Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.6; C.D.S., III, 40, 41.

[75] C.D.S., III, 40.

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Gaveston transferred command of Perth to Henry de Percy and the earl of Angus, who headed a force of 200 English men-at-arms.[76] The earl of Cornwall remained north of the Forth, however, campaigning from Dundee,[77] so that, as Guisborough puts it, "he might acquire a [good] reputation and praise."[78] In this he was disappointed, as the Scots refused to come out and fight. Instead, they "constantly fled to their hiding places in the mountains and marshes."[79]

Edward's policy of ignoring the Ordainers had been doomed from the outset. Their stubborn determination to seek reform had been clearly demonstrated in their refusal to accompany the king to Scotland. Now, in the spring of 1311, it became even more difficult for Edward to ignore them. He had nothing to show for his costly stay in Scotland,[80] and Lincoln's death had weakened his influence in London.

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[76] Ibid.

[77] He was in frequent contact with the king throughout May and June. Bodley MS Tanner 197, ff.40^{v}, 54^{v}, 55^{v}, 60^{v}, 61; E.101/373/30 ff.5^{v}, 6, 6^{v}, 7, 7^{v}, 8. On 14 June Thomas de London received £1046 6s. 6d. owed to Gaveston for wages and provisions purchased for Perth and Dundee. E.101/373/30 f.7^{v}. On 19 June London received a gift of £86 13s. 4d. for Gaveston from the king at Dundee. Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.55^{v}.

[78] Guisborough, p. 386.

[79] Ibid.

[80] A thorough study of the cost of the 1310-11 campaign would require a separate work, but some idea of the scale of expenditure can be given by citing a few examples. On 28 February the king wrote to his treasurer and Henry le Scrope, co-executors of Lincoln's estate, demanding the immediate dispatch of 4000 marks. Foedera, II, i, 128-29. Edward's financial dealings with Gaveston are also revealing. Prests valued at £446 have been discussed above, p. 164 and n.57. In early April the king sent Gaveston 1400 marks for various expenses.

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What's more, Gloucester was not in a position to restore the king's influence. Although the young earl attempted to act as a mediator throughout the reign, in 1311 he was involved in a feud with Lancaster.[81] His presence in London, therefore, could only further increase already existing tensions there and throughout the realm.[82]

Not much is known of the actual process by which the Ordinances were drafted. It is clear that the earls, along with Archbishop Winchelsey perhaps,[83] were responsible for the final form of the Ordinances. Although the Ordainers were said to have dispersed from London in anger following Edward's orders to move the exchequer to York in October 1310,[84] by February 1311 the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, Pembroke, and Warwick were reunited in the capital, and

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Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.54; E.101/373/30 f.4; C.D.S., III, 45. In June another £1000 was sent. See above, n.77. Nevertheless, despite these and other disbursements, in March 1312 the king still owed the earl of Cornwall some £400, and so granted him the revenues of the Berwick custom on wool and hides. Foedera, II, i, 160.

[81] The feud was actually between two retainers of the earls, Henry de Segrave (Lancaster) and Walter de Berningham (Gloucester). See Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, p. 116; C.D.S., III, 41. On 20 July 1311 Segrave was forbidden to come to parliament armed. Foedera, II, i, 140; Parl. Writs, II, i, 67-68; C.P.R. 1307-13,

[82] Despite a general ban against tournaments for the duration of the Scottish campaign, specific bans were issued in January and March 1311, and the general ban repeated in May. Foedera, II, i, 125, 131, 135. In June a state of private warfare existed in Norwich. Ibid., 137.

[83] For Winchelsey's involvement, and the clerical influence in the Ordinances, see Denton, Robert Winchelsey, pp. 261-65.

[84] C.D.S., III, 33.

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were said to be in the process of deciding certain matters.[85] That the Ordainers were making progress in their work is also suggested by Edward's consultation with Gaveston, and the tone of the resultant letter sent to the chancellor in March.[86] In early April an anonymous correspondent reported that "the king is in no mood yet for a parliament."[87] Edward could not, however, ignore the need for a parliament, even in order to avoid the Ordainers. He required one in order to raise men and money for a further campaign.[88] The Ordainers, on the other hand, needed a parliament to be held because their terms of office were approaching the end. During May and June the reformers were in frequent contact with the king, seeking his return to the south.[89] On 16 June, Edward finally gave in, agreeing to summon a parliament for 8 August.[90]

The fact that the king had decided to call a parliament did not mean that he was ready to abandon his Scottish campaign or to capitulate to his baronial opponents. He clearly intended to continue the campaign, since on 18 June he ordered merchants to bring their wares

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[85] See Phillips, Aymer de Valence, p. 31.

[86] See above, n.72.

[87] C.D.S., III, 40.

[88] See M. Powicke, Military Obligation in Medieval England, Oxford, 1962, pp. 139-40, for a discussion of Edward's attempt to raise a levy without parliamentary consent. Parl. Writs, II, i, 408-11.

[89] Bodley MS Tanner 197, ff.20, 44, 55.

[90] Parl. Writs, II, ii, 37-38.

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to Berwick in order to provision his army.[91] Before he left for the south in late July, Edward also appointed the earl of Cornwall his lieutenant in Scotland.[92] A muster was scheduled for Berwick on 1 August, although it was not held.[93] Indeed, by August--despite Edward's hopes and plans--the folly of the campaign was painfully evident. Despite their best efforts, Gaveston and his fellow commanders had been unable to administer a check to Bruce, who during the first week of August 1311 ravaged northern England.[94] It must have been soon after this that Gaveston retired from Scotland to Bamborough castle,[95] where he awaited the outcome of Edward's dealings with the Ordainers.

On 3 August a copy of the Ordinances was sent to the king for his inspection,[96] and after some delay, parliament finally met on 16 August.[97] Trouble was feared in London, and the mayor and citizens, still under oath to protect the Ordainers, took steps to safeguard the city during the parliament.[98] The Ordainers and a variety of royal

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[91] C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 324.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Foedera, II, i, 139; Parl. Writs, II, i, 69.

[94] Lanercost, p. 216; Barrow, Robert Bruce, pp. 281-82.

[95] According to Baker, p. 4, Murimuth, p. 15, and Ann. Paul., p. 269, he was placed there for his own safety by Edward.

[96] C.47/37/110. Printed in Davies, Baronial Opposition, app. 114.

[97] De Antiquis Legibus Liber, ed. T. Stapleton (Camden Soc., 1846), p. 251.

[98] Parl. Writs, II, i. 69.

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officials were present as the Ordinances were read chapter by chapter.[99] Edward, predictably, balked at accepting the proposed reforms. He claimed that he was not bound to consent to the Ordinances, since all things touching his sovereignty had been specifically excluded from the Ordainers' grant of authority. The opposition, however, held firm. The king next said that he was willing to compromise. He would confirm all the other chapters if the Ordainers would withdraw the one demanding Gaveston's exile in exchange. Again the opposition held firm. So, for a time, did Edward. Eventually, however, the king's advisers convinced him of the real danger of civil war, and Edward accepted the Ordainers' program of reform.

The Ordinances were published in the presence of the earls of Arundel, Hereford, Lancaster, Oxford, Pembroke, and Warwick, and several bishops and barons, in the churchyard at St. Paul's by the bishop of Salisbury, acting in Winchelsey's stead, on 27 September 1311, two days before the expiration of the Ordainers' franchise.[100] On 5 October the Ordinances were announced to the people, again in the churchyard at St. Paul's, by the earl of Gloucester, Henry de Percy, the elder Despenser, Robert fitz Payn, Payn Tibetot, the chancellor, the treasurer, and other members of the king's council.[101]

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[99] The chancellor, treasurer, justices, barons of the exchequer, knights of the shire, the mayor, aldermen, and the worthiest citizens of London were all there. This was in accordance with Ordinance 39. Antiquis Legibus, p. 251.

[100] Antiquis Legibus, p. 251; Trokelowe, p. 67; Flores, III, p.334; Ann. Paul., p. 270.

[101] Antiquis Legibus, p. 251. This is a revealing list, as it

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Six days later the Ordinances were sealed with the great seal and sent to the sheriffs of every county in England to be published and confirmed.[102] The penalty for not observing the Ordinances was excommunication.[103]

The forty-one clauses of the Ordinances of 1311 have been examined at length many times, most notably by Davies,[104] and there is no need to rehearse them all here. Basically, the Ordinances were a declaration of existing law coupled with a series of administrative reforms designed to eradicate Edward II's abuses of the household system of government. There was, however, one other aspect to the Ordinances: the personal clauses.[105] These clauses, aimed at Gaveston, the Beaumonts, and the Frescobaldi, appear petty to modern eyes, yet there can be little doubt that contemporaries viewed them as the most important clauses of the Ordinances.[106] Gaveston in particular was a symbol of the corruption of the household system that the barons hoped to remedy, and therefore his elimination was an essential prerequisite to the implementation of the Ordainers'

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accurately names those councillors still loyal to the king.

[102] Foedera, II, i, 146; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 439.

[103] Flores, III, p. 147; Guisborough, p. 386; Ann. Paul., p. 270.

[104] Davies, Baronial Opposition, pp. 368-82.

[105] These are but four in number (20-23).

[106] Ann. Paul., p. 270; Bridlington, pp. 40-41. The author of the Vita considered Ordinance 20 so important that he included a Latin translation of it in his account, pp. 19-20.

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program.

Chapter 20 of the Ordinances can only be described as a vitriolic attack upon the royal favorite.[107] The catalogue of charges against Gaveston reads much like a contemporary chronicle. Among other things, he is charged with providing the king with evil counsel, draining the royal treasury and sending it abroad,[108] accroaching royal power, making alliances with people to live and die with him against all men,[109] estranging the king from his people, removing good ministers in favor of his own nominees, receiving lands and other gifts to the diminution of the crown, lately in defiance of the preliminary ordinances,[110] obtaining royal protection for criminals, leading the king into hostile lands,[111] and obtaining sealed blank charters.[112]

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[107] Stat. Realm, I, 162.

[108] The first documented case of Gaveston sending money out of the country dates from after the issue of the Ordinances. Blasio de Shenes of Frescobaldi was sent to Brabant and elsewhere on the earl's business prior to 19 October 1311. BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.83. See below, Chapter VII, n.43.

[109] The exact proportions of Gaveston's retinue are unclear, but do not appear to have been excessively large. As to oaths "to live and die" with another man, the most significant ones were made between Gaveston's foes, e.g., Hereford and Lancaster. DL.25/1982. For Gaveston's retinue, see above, Chapter III.

[110] See above, n.43.

[111] This is apparently a reference to the recent Scottish campaign, yet the loss of Scotland bulked large in the condemnation of the king presented in February 1310 that had led to the Ordinances being drafted to begin with.

[112] He reportedly took these to Ireland during his lieutenancy. Ann. Lond., p. 156; Lanercost, pp. 211-12. This is ridiculous since he had the Great Seal of Ireland at his disposal.

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Moreover, Gaveston had been exiled by Edward I and returned without the proper baronial assent.[113] For all these reasons it was now decreed that the earl of Cornwall should be perpetually exiled, not only from England, but from all English possessions. He was to leave from Dover by 1 November 1311.

None of the charges against Gaveston was substantiated with any sort of evidence in the Ordinances. His notoriety was clearly such as to render proof of his guilt unnecessary. Moreover, even his own exile was not enough to satisfy his opponents, for in late November 1311 a set of supplementary ordinances was issued.[114] Tout and Davies concluded that these additional ordinances, sometimes known as the household ordinances because of the nature of their content, were "simply another effort on the part of the more energetic earls to give effect to the [Ordinances]," a set of specific applications to the general principles put forward in the full text of the Ordinances.[115] As a result of this joint pronouncement, no thorough investigation of the relationships of the persons specifically named in this document has ever been undertaken, yet such an investigation is quite revealing.

Of the twenty-seven persons specifically named in the household

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[113] See above, Chapter III, nn.6-7.

[114] Ann. Lond., pp. 198-202; Mun. Gild. Lond., II, ii, 682-90. The date is given by Tout, Chapters, II, p. 198 n.1. It would seem that these additional ordinances were drafted by a select committee, comprised solely of the earls of Lancaster and Warwick.

[115] Tout, Place of Edward II, p. 87; Davies, Baronial Opposition, p. 382.

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ordinances, no less than eighteen had links to the favorite. Along with a general call for the exile of Gaveston's kindred, his nephews Bertrand and, presumably, Arnaud Caillau were specifically singled out for that fate.[116] Other persons with obvious connections with the favorite who were condemned either to exile or dismissal from the king's service were John de Charlton and John de Knockin, his former yeomen,[117] his retainers Robert Darcy and John de Sapy,[118] his attorney, William de Vaux,[119] his clerk and treasurer, Roger de Wellsworth,[120] his clerk and paymaster in Ireland, John de Hothum,[121] and Amerigo dei Frescobaldi, the financier, who both here and in the original Ordinances undoubtedly more than earned his own censure.[122] Less obviously connected with the earl of Cornwall were Burgensus de Tilly and his son Arnaud, and Robert Lewar. The elder Tilly and Lewar served with Gaveston in Scotland in 1311, and, as Maddicott has

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[116] Arnaud became a household knight in March 1313. E.101/375/8 f.5.

[117] E.101/13/7 m.1.

[118] Lincoln, Dean and Chapter Muniments, D.11/56/1 51; BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.83.

[119] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 397.

[120] E.403/143 m.4.

[121] 39th D. K. Report, p. 34.

[122] Frescobaldi had been constable of Bordeaux. His deputy in that post, Ugolino Ugolini, was also censured by the Ordainers. Nevertheless, Gaveston's connections with foreign merchants was a frequent source of complaint in the chronicles, and he certainly had dealings with the Frescobaldi. See above, n.108.

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suggested, Gaveston may have been behind the younger Tilly's appointment as marshal of the exchequer at Michaelmas 1311.[123] At least indirectly connected with Gaveston were Gerard Salvayn, who went to France on the earl's business in autumn 1311,[124] Edmund Bacon and John de la Beche, who were both appointed custodians of Cornish lands after Gaveston's exile in 1311,[125] and Ingelard Warley, the keeper of the wardrobe, who, like Piers, had been a member of the household of the prince of Wales and intimate with Edward ever since.

It is, of course, possible to reconcile the dismissal of the above-named persons with the aims of the so-called program of constitutional reform embodied in the Ordinances. Yet it seems curious that several contemporary chroniclers, none of them friendly to Gaveston, saw the supplementary ordinances simply as a further personal attack on the favorite, who by this time was already in exile.[126] The Lords Ordainers clearly sought to reform the government of Edward II. Just as clearly, they had no real conception of the constitution as an integrated impersonal political system, but could only see as far as the personal components that went to make that system up. Because of

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[123] Bodley MS Tanner 197 ff.30, 40^{v}, 32, 33, 35; E.101/374/7 f.11^{v}; Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, p. 118.

[124] BL MS Cotton Nero C. VIII f.65.

[125] C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 117. The household ordinances themselves report that these lands were turned over to Gaveston's own officers by the king. Ann. Lond., p. 201, Mun. Gild. Lond., II, 680.

[126] Ann. Lond., p. 198; Bridlington, p. 40; Vita, p. 21.

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this, their intervention could not in and of itself change the system in any fundamental sense.

In procuring Gaveston's exile the Ordainers did, at least temporarily, achieve one of their primary aims. Otherwise, however, their work resulted in failure. Edward opposed the implementation of the Ordinances from the outset, and he was eventually successful in securing papal absolution from the oath he had taken to uphold them.[127] Moreover, it was clear even before the Ordinances were published that the Ordainers had no real machinery by which to enforce their reforms.[128] This remained the case following their publication as well. Although writs issued on 9 and 11 October 1311 revoked all grants made in England, Scotland, Ireland and Gascony since 16 March 1310, these writs were apparently never enforced.[129] Similarly, Gaveston's lands were taken into the king's hands according to the terms of Ordinance 20, but they were then entrusted to the care of Gaveston's own officers by the king.[130] Although the household ordinances addressed both of these issues, the fact that they required address at all is indicative of the inherent weakness of the reform program.

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[127]This was, of course, much later; in 1320.

[128]As evidenced by Edward's grants to Gaveston on 1 October 1310. See above, n.43.

[129]Foedera, II, i, 145; C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 108; C.Ch.R. 1272-1326, pp. 98-104.

[130]See above, n.125. On 10 February 1312 Bacon was ordered to restore the honors of Wallingford and St. Valery to Gaveston. C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 429.

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If one were needed, another example of Edward's circumvention of the Ordinances is found in his appointment "until the next parliament" of Walter Langton as treasurer on 23 January 1312.[131] Throughout the rest of the reign the Lancastrian faction tried to implement the Ordinances, but they never met with more than temporary success in the face of Edward's determined resistance.

One cannot seriously suggest that the Ordainers never expected their program to succeed, even if that program was perhaps "no more than personal grievances decked out in constitutional and administrative trappings."[132] One can, however, say that the Ordainers' only real success was in the settling of those personal grievances against Gaveston. They obtained his exile, and, upon his illicit return to England a few months later, they remained united long enough to destroy him. In so doing, however, they also destroyed their own unity, thereby dooming their already slender prospects for success on a grand scale.

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[131] Ibid., p. 413.

[132] Taylor, "Peter of Gavaston," p. 311. For a recent discussion of the Ordainers' limited aims, see Charles T. Wood, "Personality, Politics, and Constitutional Progress: The Lessons of Edward II," Studia Gratiana, xv (1972), pp. 519-36.

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CHAPTER VII

GAVESTON'S FINAL EXILE AND DEATH

While the king confronted the baronial opposition in London and attempted to forestall the implementation of the Ordinances in the summer of 1311, Gaveston remained in the north. The two men were in frequent communication throughout the period from July to October 1311, however, and Gaveston must have been aware of the tide of sentiment once again flowing against him.[1] Even in the relatively safe north there seems to have been danger for the favorite. An attempt may even have been made on his life--although this is uncertain--since in September 1310 he, William de Vaux, and five others had been pardoned for the death of a certain Thomas de Walkingham of Yorkshire.[2] In any event, once the Ordinances had been proclaimed and his exile had once again been decreed, Gaveston was obliged to leave the sanctuary of the north and travel south for the first time in over a year. On 8 October 1311 Edward issued letters of safe conduct for the earl of Cornwall and his company so that the earl might join the king.[3] This safe

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[1] Letters were sent or received by the king on 10, 17 and 19 July, E.101/374/8 f.25, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII ff.99, 101^{v}; 12, 13 and 24 August, Ibid., ff.99^{v}, 102, 28 September, C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 445; and 17 October, BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.100.

[2] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 277.

[3] Foedera, II, i, 143; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 393.

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conduct ran only through 1 November, the appointed date by which the favorite was to abjure the realm. In fact, he did not actually leave until 4 November, and then from the Thames, not from Dover as decreed in the Ordinances.[4] A few days later, Gaveston's brother Arnaud-Guillaume de Marsan also left England, returning to Gascony with his retinue.[5]

Piers could not return to his native Gascony with his brother. The Ordainers had learned from previous experience that they must be specific, and by article 20 of the Ordinances Gaveston was exiled from all English possessions, at home and abroad. Although it is not perfectly clear where he did spend this brief exile, Flanders is the most likely possibility. On 9 October, just one day after summoning the favorite to court, Edward had written to his sister Margaret, duchess of Brabant, asking that she and her husband Duke John receive Gaveston with favor and treat him well during his exile.[6]

The two most detailed accounts of Gaveston's final exile are to be found in the chronicles of Trokelowe and Walsingham.[7] Both writers

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[4]Ordinance 20; Ann. Lond., p. 202; Ann. Paul., p. 271.

[5]The exile of Gaveston's friends and relatives, although not embodied in the Ordinances, was also demanded by the barons; Vita, p.21; Bridlington, p. 40. At the time of his departure, on 15 November 1311, the king waived certain of Arnaud-Guillaume's debts and reimbursed him for certain expenses, totaling £264 10s.; BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, f.83. Previously the king had made a gift of £20 to Arnaud-Guillaume's knight Aninsantias on 3 October; E.101/375/8 m.27^{d}, and on 11 October he had given 20 marks to Marsan's 26 men; BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, f.83.

[6]Foedera, II, i, 144; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 441.

[7]Trokelowe, pp. 68-69; Walsingham, p. 126.

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claim that Gaveston originally went to France, but that he was forced to flee when Philip IV ordered his arrest and detention.[8] Thus, they claim, he ended up in Flanders by default rather than by choice. The author of the Annales Paulini not only locates Gaveston in the Low Countries, but specifically places him in Bruges for the duration of his stay.[9] Despite the colorful language and presentation of events found in Trokelowe, his general account of Gaveston's final exile is supported by what little record evidence remains. It is quite likely that Gaveston at least passed through France, since on two occasions Gerard Salvayn was sent to Paris by Edward to secure letters of safe conduct for the favorite.[10] Gaveston, of course, must have been aware of Philip's feelings towards him, and thus it does not seem possible that France was ever seriously considered as a haven.[11] Flanders, on the other hand, presented no such difficulties, and was just as close to England. Also, in addition to Edward's letters to his sister and brother-in-law, there is some circumstantial evidence that appears to link Gaveston to the duchy at this time.[12]

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Ann. Paul., p. 271.

[10] On 13 October 1311, returning on 28 November 1311, and on 1 December 1311, returning on 13 January 1312. BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, f.65.

[11] See above, Chapter IV, for Philip's reaction to Gaveston's behavior at the coronation. Also, Philip had recently imprisoned the favorite's nephew, Bertrand Caillau, in an attempt to prevent the latter from presenting Gaveston's case before the pope. E.101/375/8 f.12.

[12] A payment of £4 13s. 9d. was made for the period 8 July to 10 November 1312 to a falconer for training two of Gaveston's falcons

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Tensions remained high in England despite the favorite's departure. On 16 November the king prohibited a tournament at Northampton.[13] On 28 November Edward sent letters to six of the earls forbidding them to come to parliament armed.[14] Two days later, Hugh Courtenay and William Martin were commissioned to search for Gaveston, who was rumored to be wandering about the southwest.[15] The Vita states that at this time he was reported to be hiding either with the king himself, or at his own castles of Wallingford and Tintagel.[16]

Against this background why Gaveston should have returned so soon, if indeed at all, remains something of a mystery. Aided by hindsight, historians have traditionally seen Gaveston's return as in keeping with his arrogant character and an inevitable step along his road to self-destruction.[17] But was it? Surely the favorite realized that nothing had improved during the brief period of his absence. Moreover, Gaveston himself seems to have envisioned a much more prolonged sojourn. This is evident from his nomination of Robert de

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in Flanders. E.101/375/8 f.44.

[13] Foedera, II, i, 149; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 398.

[14] Foedera, II, i, 151; Rot. Parl., I, 447.

[15] Foedera, II, i, 151; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 405.

[16] Vita, p. 21.

[17] The overall historiography of Piers Gaveston is discussed in Chapter I above. For specific comments regarding Gaveston's return to England at this time, see: the various chronicles as cited elsewhere in his chapter; Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, pp. 121-22; Bingham, Edward II, p. 72.

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Kendal, William de Vaux, Roger de Wellsworth and John de Hothum as his attorneys for a period of five years.[18] Also, before going into exile, "he asked for and obtained from the king letters testifying to his good character and loyalty; and to these letters the king affixed his seal, and many magnates . . . did likewise."[19] Although some chronicles speak of Gaveston's returning unbidden, the Vita's account, which depicts Edward as recalling his favorite in a fit of pique, is more likely correct.[20] Not only does a royal initiative explain Gaveston's elaborate preparations for exile, but as Taylor notes, "Edward's recall of his favorite was . . . in keeping with his general attitude toward the Ordinances."[21]

The chronicles disagree as to whether Gaveston returned before or after Christmas 1311.[22] It is possible that he was in England by this time, but it does not seem likely. He was not with the king in any case, since on 23 December Edward paid a messenger from Gaveston £1 for delivering a letter from the earl and returning to him with the royal reply.[23] Moreover, had Gaveston already returned to England

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[18] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 397. At the same time Gaveston also obtained letters of protection for himself for five years.

[19] Vita, p. 20.

[20] Vita, p. 21.

[21] Taylor, "Career of Peter of Gavaston," p. 320.

[22] Bridlington, p. 41, Ann. Lond., p. 202, Walsingham, p. 126, and Vita, p. 21 place his return before Christmas. Ann. Paul., p. 271, places it after Christmas. Trokelowe, p. 69, simply places his return around Christmas.

[23] BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, f.84.

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it seems likely that Edward would have announced his presence and restoration, as he did in mid-January, since otherwise the favorite was liable to be treated as a public enemy by any of his numerous foes in accordance with the Ordinances.

Gaveston joined the king at York, which he reached by way of Nottingham, sometime in early January 1312.[24] On the 18th of that month Edward declared Gaveston to be a good and loyal subject, and stated that he had been exiled contrary to the laws and customs of the realm.[25] Two days later all of Gaveston's lands were restored to him.[26] During the next two months the favorite was once again elevated to his former unrivalled position.[27] Despite an order dated 27 January in which the king called for the Ordinances to be observed in so far as they were not prejudicial to him,[28] it must now have been clear that there could be no negotiated peace between the barons and the crown while Gaveston was alive.

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[24]The king did not spend Christmas there, as some of the chronicles claim, but at Westminster. Both king and favorite seem to have been in York on 18 January, but a more precise date for their arrival is not available. Foedera, II, i, 153. Gaveston spent 2 days and nights in Nottingham in secret some time in January. E.101/375/8 f.25.

[25]Foedera, II, i, 153; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, pp. 448-49.

[26]Foedera, II, i, 154; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 449.

[27]Among the grants made to him during this period were the castles and honors of Wallingford and St. Valery, Foedera, II, i, 156; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 429, and the Berwick wool custom, Foedera, II, i, 160; C.P.R. p. 449.

[28]Foedera, II, i, 154; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 449.

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By late January Edward was involved in preparations for war. Between 9 and 26 January the king sent several letters to the mayor and citizens of London ordering them to guard the city for him.[29] On 31 January, however, Edward changed his orders, allowing the earls and barons to enter London provided that they were not horsed, armed, or suspect.[30] On the surface this volte face is inexplicable. In fact, it was probably a concession to reality, since two days earlier Gaveston had been officially declared loyal at the Guildhall, and this had provoked a strong reaction.[31] Nevertheless, even if he was willing to concede London, Edward was actively engaged in inspecting and fortifying castles throughout the kingdom.[32]

Throughout this period the king and favorite remained together at York. As mentioned above, on 20 January Edward issued mandates to sheriffs throughout England ordering the restoration of Gaveston's lands. Like the letters proclaiming him a good and loyal subject, these were followed by a memorandum stating that they were drawn up in the king's presence, under threat of forfeiture, and that when sealed the king took them with him--he is said to have placed the first set on his bed.[33] The chancery clerks were obviously aware of

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[29] Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. 44-46; Ann. Lond., p. 202.

[30] Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. 46; Ann. Lond., p. 203.

[31] Ann. Paul., p. 271; Ann. Lond., p. 203; Trokelowe, p. 69.

[32] The concession of London was by no means clear. On 8 February the king once again wrote to the mayor and citizens of London ordering them to keep the city for him. Foedera, II, i, 156.

[33] Foedera, II, i, 153-54; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 449.

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the tense political situation and were taking every possible precaution. So were Edward and Gaveston. On 24 January Gaveston was joined at York by eight of his archers.[34] Then, on 28 January, Edward commissioned William de Montacute and John de Percy to inspect ten castles, checking the defenses, munitions and stores, and where necessary providing these castles with trustworthy keepers.[35] York itself was fortified somewhat, with nearly £30 being spent on repairs to the castle.[36] Moreover, throughout January and February the king gathered both men and warhorses.[37]

York was not an ideal defensive position, and at first glance it may seem odd that Gaveston and the king should have remained there for so long. The probable explanation for the duration of their stay is that Margaret de Clare, Gaveston's wife and Edward's niece, was in the final stages of pregnancy. A payment of ten marks was made on 5 February to Agnes, Gaveston's former nurse, presumably for attending the countess during her pregnancy.[38] Margaret, having given birth to a daughter Joan, was churched in the house of the Franciscans in York on 20 February.[39] On this occasion Edward paid "King Robert" and

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[34] BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, f.86^{v}.

[35] The castles were Hastings, Portchester, Old Sarum, Bridgnorth, Bedford, Buckingham, Colchester, Orford, High Peak and Somerford. C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 469-70.

[36] BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, f.64^{v}.

[37] Ibid., ff.63^{v}, 85, 85^{v}.

[38] Ibid., f.87^{v}.

[39] Ibid., f.84^{v}.

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certain other minstrels the rather kingly sum of forty marks for entertaining the assembly.[40]

During February the king was also once again in contact with the pope.[41] In addition, he sent letters to his envoy, Gaveston's nephew, Bertrand Caillau.[42] Since Gaveston's exile in the autumn of 1311 Caillau had spent some £1253 6s. 8d. of his own money pleading his uncle's cause, and had actually borrowed another 3,050 gold florins.[43] Even so it appears to have been of little avail. Indeed, during February Gaveston seems to have been making contingency plans against the possibility of a hasty return to exile. William de Mosewell, a yeoman in the king's household, was assigned to assist Gaveston with certain business.[44] Later he was sent abroad by the king and Gaveston on the earl's secret business. In March he went to Rome and then Flanders, apparently remaining aborad until July. In addition to this business conducted by Mosewell, Thomas de la Hyde, steward of Cornwall, delivered £853 to Bernard de Marsan and Bertrand Assalit on 6 February on Gaveston's command.[45] On this occasion the charge of

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[40] BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, f.84^{v}.

[41] E.101/373/26 f.51^{v}; Foedera, II, i, 156.

[42] E.101/373/26 f.51^{v}.

[43] S.C.8/286/14296; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 514; C.P.R. 1313-17, p. 45.

[44] BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, f.88.

[45] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 417. Assalit was sent to Cornwall on the earl's business-i.e., to get the money--on 3 February. BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, f.87^{v}. In August 1312 Assalit and Marsan were arrested by William Martin, who seized £1,000, 129 pieces of tin, armor, and

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of taking money out of the country was probably well founded. Gaveston was apparently playing it safe in case he was forced to leave England on short notice, and this is surely the worst fate that either Edward or he ever envisioned befalling him.

By mid-March the king was still in York, but Gaveston was no longer with him. On 16 March Geoffrey de Sellinges, one of Gaveston's retainers, received the remarkable sum of £50 for delivering good news of him to the king.[46] Possibly the good news was that Gaveston had decided to remain in England, or more specifically, that he had settled upon Scarborough as his refuge.[47] This is indicated by the record evidence. On 17 March some forty-eight men-at-arms and foot soldiers were sent to strengthen the garrison, which had previously been considerably smaller.[48] About a week later Gaveston was joined at Scarborough by his brother Arnaud-Guillaume de Marsan and his company of eleven men.[49] Repair work was begun on 2 April and continued

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other goods. C.Cl.R. 1307-13, pp. 417, 582.

[46] BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, f.84.

[47] Gaveston's own castle of Knaresborough might have been the expected choice. On 31 January 1312 Robert Rector was paid £10 for repairs on this castle. E.101/373/26 f.51^{v}; E.101/374/20 m.1. Presumably Scarborough was chosen because it provided direct access to the sea.

[48] E.101/14/21.

[49] Marsan had returned by 28 January 1312, when he received a prest for £20, E.403/159; E.101/373/26 f.55^{v}. On 9 March he received a further £13 6s. 8d. for his men's wages, E.101/373/26, ff.74, 75^{v}. Each of his 11 men was paid 5s. for the journey from York to Scarborough on 18 March, E.101/373/26, f.79.

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intermittently until early July.[50] An attempt was also made to increase the castle's stores.[51] At the same time, the king was also trying to gain the support of the burgesses of York and Scarborough, whose liberties he reconfirmed.[52] The king and his favorite were not, however, the only ones preparing for war.

The earls and their supporters were also busying themselves with organizing and preparing for armed conflict. The barons assembled at St. Paul's in March, where Archbishop Winchelsey excommunicated Gaveston according to the Ordinances.[53] Trokelowe states that at this time Thomas of Lancaster was chosen as leader of the opposition.[54] Whether or not this was in fact the case, the various magnates undertook to support one another in the future, and Lancaster did emerge as their dominant figure. It was also at this meeting that the barons decided to divide up the kingdom for greater security. Gloucester was charged with protecting the south; Hereford with Essex and the east; Lancaster with Wales and the west; Robert de Clifford and Henry de Percy with the Scottish marches; and Pembroke and Warenne were given the task of actually capturing Gaveston.[55] This meeting

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[50] The total amount spent came to more than £48. E.101/374/20, m.1; BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, ff.59, 65^{v}.

[51] E.101/374/20, m.1.

[52] C.Ch.R. 1300-26, pp. 185-87, 189-91.

[53] Vita, p. 22; Flores, v. III, p. 149.

[54] Trokelowe, pp. 69-70.

[55] Ann. Lond., pp. 203-04; Cf. Vita, p. 23.

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of the barons was followed in early May by a provincial council of clergy, also held in London.[56] The bishops there agreed that their oath to the Ordinances was still in force, and that those who infringed the Ordinances should be excommunicated. As Maddicott remarks, "the coalition of Earls and clergy, led by Lancaster and Winchelsey, was now stronger than it had ever been before or ever would be again."[57]

On 31 March the king and favorite rejoined each other.[58] The same day Gaveston was made _custos_ of both Scarborough and Carlisle castles.[59] Three days later his position was further strengthened when he was restored to the office of justice of the forest north of Trent.[60] In addition, at his own request, Gaveston was made keeper of Nottingham castle.[61] On 4 April he solemnly swore that as keeper he would relinquish Scarborough castle to no one but the king--and not even to him if he (the king) were a prisoner.[62] This pledge may have been occasioned by letters from Lancaster demanding that the

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[56] F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, _Councils and Synods_ (Oxford, 1964) II, ii, 1369-71.

[57] Maddicott, _Thomas of Lancaster_, p. 124.

[58] BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, f.98.

[59] _C.P.R._ 1307-13, p. 454; _C.F.R._ 1307-19, p. 129.

[60] _Foedera_, II, i, 163; _C.P.R._, pp. 450-51.

[61] _C.F.R._ 1307-19, p. 130.

[62] _C.P.R._ 1307-13, p. 454.

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king either surrender Gaveston or send him back into exile.[63] Edward had no such intentions. Indeed, if anything, Lancaster's demands served only to strengthen Edward's resolve and to warn him of the seriousness of the situation.

On 5 April the king wrote to various Gascon leaders, ordering them to raise troops.[64] The same day he decided to abandon York for the relative safety to be found farther north. A week later he and Gaveston were in Newcastle.[65] The royal party remained in Newcastle for three weeks, during which time the baronial forces, assembling and moving under the guise of tournaments, moved ever nearer.[66] That the king remained stationary so long at Newcastle can be accounted for by the fact that Gaveston was ill. On 26 April Master William de Burntoft, a doctor, and brother Robert de Birmingham, a monk from Tynemouth, were each paid £6 13s. 4d. for providing the earl with a cure.[67] Edward may have been planning to stay even longer, for while

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[63] BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, f.87^{v}.

[64] Foedera, II, i, 163.

[65] The king's movements can be followed in the calendars of the Close and Patent rolls, C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 451-52; C.Cl.R., pp. 416-17. On 6 April there are letters dated Boroughbridge and Northallerton, on the 7th, Northallerton, on the 8th, Northallerton and Darlington, on the 10th, Durham, and on the 12th, Newcastle on Tyne.

[66] Vita, p. 23.

[67] BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, f.86. Also, on 24 April the king gave £20 in coins to paupers, "tam pro ipso Rege quam pro comite Cornubie." BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, f.51^{v}.

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in Newcastle he issued orders for purveyance.[68] But whatever his intentions, and whatever Gaveston's health, on 4 May they were forced to leave for Tynemouth. From there they set sail for Scarborough the very next day.[69]

The reason for this swift departure was the arrival of an army led by Lancaster, Percy and Clifford.[70] The king left everything behind in his haste to get away. Newcastle submitted and Lancaster seized the abandoned jewels, horses and arms.[71] He also supposedly consoled the queen who, being pregnant, was left at Tynemouth.[72] Lancaster had missed capturing the Great Seal, and indeed the entire royal party, by only a matter of hours, but even so, Newcastle was a major victory for the baronial cause.[73]

There can be no question that Edward's decision to leave Gaveston at Scarborough while he himself went on to Knaresborough and then York was a tactical error of the first order.[74] He appears to have

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[68] C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 455-56.

[69] Foedera, II, i, 169; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, pp. 459-60.

[70] Ibid.

[71] According to the Vita, p. 23, Lancaster planned to restore this booty, but as discussed below in Chapter VIII, these jewels and horses became an essential bargaining tool for the opposition after Gaveston's death.

[72] Trokelowe, pp. 75-76.

[73] Foedera, II, i, 169. Maddicott suggests that one result of this incident was some sort of alliance between Lancaster and the queen; Thomas of Lancaster, p. 125.

[74] By 17 May he was in York. BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, ff.88,

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been aiming at raising additional forces with which to oppose Lancaster, but in fact he played into the earl's hands.[75] Lancaster was now able to place his army between king and favorite, at once stripping Gaveston of his most effective defense--the king's presence--and preventing him from receiving future reinforcements.

Lancaster was apparently present during the initial stages of the siege of Scarborough, which lasted only about a week to ten days, and some three hundred of his troops remained at the castle throughout the operation.[76] The actual conduct of the siege, however, was left to Pembroke, Warenne, Percy and Clifford, as arranged at St. Paul's.[77] Gaveston was in communication with the king on 10 May and again two days later, possibly just before the siege got under way, but probably just as it did.[78] A week after receiving the first letter from Gaveston Edward ordered the Ordainers to abandon the siege, but to no avail.[79] Two days later, on 19 May, short of

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107^{v}; E.101/374/8 f.25.

[75]The chronicles are in general agreement that the siege of Scarborough began soon after Edward's departure and was facilitated by it. Ann. Lond., p. 203; Flores, v. III, p. 150; Trokelowe, p.76; Vita, pp. 23-24.

[76]S.C.8/205/10204.

[77]Percy and Clifford, of course, were to have protected the Scottish marches according to the London annalist, but that seems likely to have been merely a piece of propaganda.

[78]BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII, f.88, 107^{v}.

[79]Foedera, II, i, 169; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 460.

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supplies and men, and apparently despairing of relief, Gaveston agreed to terms with his besiegers.[80]

Pembroke, Warenne and Percy agreed to take Gaveston to St. Mary's Abbey, York, where the agreement would be discussed with the king and the earl of Lancaster or his representative. If the king refused to negotiate with the prelates, earls and barons and a final concord could not be reached by 1 August, then on that date Gaveston was to be returned to Scarborough. The garrison was to be maintained but not increased in the interval. The same applied to the castle's stores. Pembroke and the other two swore to guarantee the favorite's safety until 1 August, agreeing to forfeit all of their property if they failed to do so. For his part, Gaveston promised not to attempt to persuade the king to alter anything in the agreement.

This was a simple, straight-forward, workable arrangement. Given mutual trust perhaps the situation could have been resolved; but given the previous five years, suspicion was much more common than trust. Obviously Gaveston found the terms of this arrangement he had made with Pembroke, Warenne and Percy favorable, to say the least. They were, in fact, considered so favorable to him by contemporaries that one chronicler described the settlement as, "submissio magnatum facta Petro de Gaveston."[81] There were also rumors of bribery, past and

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[80]The terms can be found in three locations: BL MS Harley 636 ff.233, 233^{v}; Ann. Lond., pp. 204-06; Literae Cantuariensis, III, ed. J. B. Sheppard, Rolls Series, London, 1898, pp. 388-92.

[81]BL MS Harley 636 f.233.

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future. The Flores claimed that Pembroke had received one thousand pounds from the king in return for promising to protect Gaveston.[82] On an even grander scale, the Vita stated that Edward planned to secure the favorite's freedom by the 1 August deadline with the help of the pope and the king of France, to whom he was prepared therefore to give jointly Gascony in fee![83]

Despite such rumors, an attempt was made to adhere to the terms of the arrangement. By 26 May Pembroke, Warenne and Percy were with the king in York.[84] Gaveston was most likely with them, but as his name does not appear among those present it may be that he was kept under guard and away from the king. There is also no record of the earl of Lancaster or any representative of his being present in York at this time. Nevertheless, the agreement does appear to have been discussed. Trokelowe refers to a colloquium taking place between the king and barons,[85] who remained at York for at least three days.[86] Another sign of a genuine attempt to reach a settlement is the summoning on 3 June of a parliament to meet at Lincoln on 8 July, well

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[82] Flores, v. III, p. 150. The Tintern version of the Flores asserts that it was Gaveston himself who bribed Pembroke, Flores, v. III, p. 336.

[83] Vita, p. 24.

[84] C.53/98 m.2 no.7.

[85] Trokelowe, p. 76.

[86] C.53/98 m.2. no.6.

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within the negotiating period.[87] Following this meeting in York, Gaveston was placed in the custody of Pembroke, and the two earls headed south in search of greater safety.[88]

On 9 June Pembroke and Gaveston reached Deddington in Oxfordshire. Here Pembroke left his charge with a few retainers in the rector's house, while he himself rode on to his manor of Bamptom to visit his wife.[89] Learning of this, the earl of Warwick raised a considerable force and early the next morning he made the 25-mile journey to Deddington and surprised his adversary. The Vita records the event as follows:

> Coming to the village very early one Saturday he entered the gate of the courtyard and surrounded the chamber. Then the earl called out in a loud voice: 'Arise traitor, thou art taken.' When Piers heard this, seeing that the earl was there with a superior force and that his own guard did not resist, he dressed himself and came down. In this fashion Piers was taken and led forth not as an earl but as a thief; and he who used to ride on a palfrey is now forced to go on foot.
>
> When they had left the village a little behind, the earl ordered Piers to be given a nag that they might proceed more quickly. Blaring trumpets followed Piers and the horrid cry of the populace. They had taken off his belt of knighthood, and as a thief and a traitor he was taken to Warwick, and coming there was cast into prison. He whom Piers called Warwick the Dog has now bound Piers with chains.[90]

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[87] Parl. Writs, II, i, 72.

[88] Flores, p. 151; Vita, p. 24; Trokelowe states that they were specifically headed for Gaveston's manor of Wallingford, which adds to the suspicion that Pembroke might have been bribed, p. 76.

[89] Ann. Lond., p. 206; Flores, p. 151; Trokelowe, p. 76.

[90] Vita, p. 25. See also, Ann. Lond., pp. 206-07; Flores, pp. 151-

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Warwick was probably acting on his own initiative when he seized Gaveston, but having done so he waited to act until the other magnates could assemble.[91] Nine days passed before they acted, nine days full of discussion, debate and deliberation.

From 10 June until Gaveston's death on the 19th, Pembroke strove to recover his former prisoner. First he asked Gaveston's brother-in-law, the earl of Gloucester, to intervene on his (Pembroke's) behalf in order to spare him from dishonor and the forfeiture of his lands. Gloucester's reply was not comforting:

> My lord earl, the wrong done to you is not to be imputed to Earl Guy. He did this with our aid and counsel; and if, as you say, you have pledged your lands, you have lost them anyhow. It only remains to advise you to learn another time to negotiate more cautiously.[92]

Next Pembroke appealed to the assembled University and the clerks and burgesses of Oxford.[93] His concern by now was as much to be cleared of the suspicion of collusion as actually to recover Gaveston.[94] But again he met with no support.

52; Trokelowe, p. 76. Oddly, the St. Paul's annalist states that Gaveston escaped from Pembroke's custody rather than that he was captured by Warwick. Ann. Paul., p. 271.

[91]However, at least one other magnate, John Botetourt, was present at Deddington with Warwick. Bodley MS Tanner 90 f.1.

[92]Vita, pp. 25-26.

[93]Vita, p. 26.

[94]This suspicion is clearly addressed by some of the chroniclers who remark on the lack of fortification at Deddington. Trokelowe, p. 76; Baker, p. 5. Bridlington, p. 43, reports a rumor that Gaveston was taken "with Pembroke's permission and at his suggestion."

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Meanwhile, Lancaster, Hereford, Arundel and some lesser magnates were present at Warwick.[95] Lancaster appears to have led the discussions on the Gascon's fate,[96] and it was presumably he who advised Gaveston's execution since, "while he lives there will be no safe peace in the realm of England, as many proofs have hitherto shown us."[97] Yet the earls and barons were hesitant to act without at least the semblance of legality. One chronicle states that Lancaster and Warwick sat in judgment on Gaveston as if it were a tribunal,[98] while according to the canon of Bridlington, two royal justices, William Inge and Henry Spigurnel, were called in to examine the case.[99] The justices reportedly sentenced Gaveston to death as a traitor on the authority of the Ordinances, which, conveniently, had not been revoked in Warwickshire.[100]

Legal considerations having been tended to, the magnates did their best to assure one another of their mutual support. On 18 June letters were written by both Lancaster and Warwick guaranteeing

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[95] Ann. Lond., p. 207; Flores, p. 152; Trokelowe, pp. 76-77; Vita, p. 26.

[96] See Trokelowe, pp. 69-74. The Vita also implies Lancaster's leadership, p. 28.

[97] Trokelowe, p. 77.

[98] BL MS Cotton Cleopatra D IX, f.83^{v}. Cf. Flores, pp. 151-52.

[99] Bridlington, pp. 93-94.

[100] Ibid., p. 94. As Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, p. 128, notes, this is quite possible since the sheriff of Warwickshire was John de Dene, one of Warwick's retainers.

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Hereford against any losses he might suffer because of his involvement in Gaveston's death.[101] Similar letters were sealed on the same day by John Botetourt, giving his sanction to Warwick's undertaking, and pledging his support to the earl against all men--even the king.[102] No doubt many similar letters were drafted which no longer survive, but the pattern and purpose are clear.

Finally, on 19 June, the magnates were ready to act. On that morning,

> The Earl of Warwick sent a sharp-tongued messenger to Piers, telling him to look to his soul, because this was the last day he would see on earth. When the messenger, hastening with his message, reached Piers, he said: 'Look to yourself, my lord, for this day you shall die the death.' And Piers when he heard the word death sighed a little and groaned: 'Oh! Where are the presents that bought me so many intimate friends, and with which I had thought to have sufficient power? Where are my friends, in whom was my trust, the protection of my body, and my whole hope of safety; whose lusty youth, unbeaten valor, and courage was always aflame for hard tasks? They had promised to stand by me in war, to suffer imprisonment, and not to shun death. Indeed my pride, the arrogance that one single promise of theirs has nourished, the king's favour and the king's court, have brought me to this sorry plight. I have no help, every remedy is vain, let the will of the earls be done.[103]

And the will of the earls was done. Gaveston was led off along the road to Kenilworth until the earl of Lancaster's land was reached.

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[101] DL 34/1/13; DL 25/1982. A letter to the same effect was sealed at Winchester on 3 July by Henry Percy. DL 25/1900.

[102] Bodley MS Tanner 90 f.1.

[103] Vita, pp. 26-27.

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The Vita explains that, "Thomas Earl of Lancaster, being of high birth and thus more powerful than the others, took upon himself the peril of the business."[104] Indeed, Warwick is said not to have left his castle on the 19th.[105] Upon reaching Blacklow, "immediately by the earl's command he was handed over to two Welshmen, one of whom ran him through the body and the other cut off his head."[106] So ended the unfortunate life of Piers Gaveston.

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[104] Ibid., p. 28.

[105] Ibid., p. 27.

[106] Ibid., p. 27. He was beheaded, rather than hanged as a thief and drawn as a traitor, in deference to his brother-in-law, the earl of Gloucester. Ibid., p. 26. For Gaveston's execution, see also Ann. Lond., p. 207; Ann. Paul., p. 271; Flores, v. III, p. 152; Trokelowe, p. 77; Walsingham, p. 133; Baker, p. 5; Murimuth, pp. 17-18; Bridlington, p. 44.

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CHAPTER VIII

AFTERMATH

In many ways, Gaveston's death caused more problems than it solved. Not least of these problems, for the king at any rate, was the disposition of the favorite's body. According to the Annales Londonienses, after the earl of Cornwall had been beheaded, all of the observers dispersed leaving the corpse where it lay until four shoemakers from Warwick placed it on a ladder and carried it off to earl Guy.[1] Warwick, however, refused to accept the body and ordered the shoemakers to return it to the site of the execution, which lay outside his fief.[2] In any case, the chroniclers are in agreement that ultimately a group of Dominican friars removed the corpse from its bloody repose on Blacklow Hill to Oxford, and that from there it was eventually taken to the Dominican house at Langley for honorable burial.[3]

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[1] Ann. Lond., p. 207.

[2] Ibid. According to the Vita also, p. 27, Warwick never left his castle that day.

[3] Ann. Lond., p. 207; Ann. Paul., p. 271; Baker, p. 5; Bridlington, p. 44, Flores, III, p. 153; Murimuth, p. 18; Trokelowe, p. 77; Vita, pp. 28, 58-59; Walsingham, p. 133. One minor discrepancy is that Murimuth reports that Gaveston's head was carried off in his hood by the Dominicans, while the Vita claims that they sewed it back onto his body.

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While Gaveston's body, clothed in gold and preserved with balsam and spices, lay in Oxford--he could not be buried by the friars as he had died excommunicate--Thomas de London and Philip de Edyndon were assigned by the king and the countess of Cornwall to remain with and watch over it.[4] They did so for approximately four weeks in June and July 1312 at an expense of £16 7s. 9½d., and may in fact have stayed with the body until it was moved to Langley over two years later.[5] Meanwhile, the king demonstrated his concern for the well-being of Gaveston's soul as well as for his physical remains. The Dominicans, and in particular the convent at Langley, profitted most from Edward's interest in the late earl's soul, but they were not alone in this.[6] On 17 July 1312 the Dominican Order received a gift of 100s. toward the expenses of their provincial chapter in return for praying for Piers.[7] In September the Dominicans in London received 20 marks in order to celebrate mass for Gaveston's soul, while another 11s. 6d. was given to them for the soul of Gaveston's illegitimate brother, Guillaume-Arnaud de Gabaston.[8] This was followed on 7 October by a

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[4]Trokelowe, p. 77; BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.64^{v}.

[5]On 17 June 1316 they were paid a further £7 11s. 3d., E.403/178 m.3. Cf. C.Cl.R. 1313-18, p. 125.

[6]The Flores charges that the Dominicans took charge of the body only in order to ingratiate themselves with the king, III, p. 153. While they clearly profitted, Edward had already endowed the convent at Langley with £100 p.a. in 1310. E.403/155 m.3.

[7]E.101/375/8 f.4; E.403/162 m.5.

[8]E.101/375/8 f.3.

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gift of £75 to the friars at Langley for the favorite's soul.[9] In 1313 brother Walter de Ashridge was sent by the king to diverse abbots, priors and other religious figures in the counties of Suffolk, Essex, Hertford, Bedford, Buckingham, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire bearing letters patent under the privy seal directing them to pray for Gaveston's soul. For this 122 day odyssey, which clearly demonstrates the king's genuine concern for Gaveston's soul, Ashridge received £8 10s.[10]

In December 1314 Edward was finally prepared to see Gaveston's body interred. He had not yet extracted a full measure of revenge against his barons,[11] but he had apparently secured for Piers a posthumous papal absolution from Winchelsey's sentence of excommunication, clearing the way for the favorite's burial.[12] No expense was spared on this no doubt--at least for Edward--emotional ceremony. John de Redding received £4 17s. 6d. for transporting the late earl of Cornwall's body from Oxford to Langley on 23 December 1314.[13] More than

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[9] E.403/164 m.10. They received another £10 on 25 January 1315. E.403/172 m.9.

[10] E.101/375/8 f.15.

[11] According to the Vita, Edward had desired to postpone Gaveston's burial until after avenging his death, p. 58.

[12] This is indicated by the presence of Archbishop Reynolds and numerous other clerics at the funeral. In all probability this mission had been undertaken by Piers' brother Arnaud-Guillaume de Marsan, who set out for the papal curia in the autumn of 1312. Edward sent letters on 28 October to Philip IV seeking safe conduct for Marsan in France, and on 20 November he wrote to the pope requesting a favorable reception for the Gascon's suit. Foedera, II, i, 185, 188.

[13] E.101/375/16 m.1[v].

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£300 was expended on three cloths of gold in which Gaveston was to be dressed for burial,[14] but consideration was also given to the living. On Christmas day the king ordered 23 tuns of wine taken to Langley, and another £15 was spent on food.[15] Piers was finally laid to rest on 3 January 1315 in the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Winchester, Worcester and Bath and Wells, some fourteen abbots, the earls of Norfolk and Pembroke, the mayor of London, and numerous royal officials and household knights.[16] The total amount expended by the king on Gaveston's physical and spiritual preservation between the time of his death and burial was in excess of £600.[17]

Edward's attachment to the favorite was not buried along with Gaveston at Langley. Regardless of his many failings as a ruler, Edward must be commended for his sense of loyalty, a constancy clearly demonstrated in his devotion to Gaveston's memory. From the time of Gaveston's interment onward, Edward endowed the Dominican convent at Langley with 500 marks per annum.[18] He also promoted the favorite's

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[14] E.101/375/15.

[15] E.101/376/2; C.Cl.R. 1313-18, p. 139.

[16] E.101/375/17 m.1; Trokelowe, p. 88.

[17] In addition to the expenses already cited must be added £144 15s. 11d. for the maintenance of the corpse between 8 July 1312 and 7 July 1313, including some 5,000 pounds of wax, E.101/375/8 f.18, and £2 10s. 10½d. for candles at the funeral. Allowance must also be made for other unrecorded expenses. If anything, the figure £600 is too conservative.

[18] Ann. Paul., p. 273; Trokelowe, p. 77. These reports are borne

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remembrance elsewhere. Between October 1315 and October 1316, for instance, every Augustinian house in England and Ireland celebrated a daily mass for Piers' soul,[19] while in 1314 the king had given 50 marks to the chancellor and scholars of Oxford University for Gaveston's intention.[20] In June 1317 Edward made a grant in mortmain to the abbot of Thame of an advowson in order to provide sustenance for six new monks who were to celebrate mass daily for the souls of the king's ancestors and his deceased favorite.[21] A similar grant was allowed to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's in 1320 with provision again being made for daily masses for Gaveston's soul,[22] and as late as June 1326 another grant in mortmain was made, this time to the convent at Leeds, with provision for five canons and one clerk as server to celebrate divine services daily in the priory for Gaveston's soul.[23]

Edward also gave continuing care to the maintenance of Gaveston's sepulcher at Langley. In 1319-20 a Turkish cloth was placed over the

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out by the issue rolls for the duration of the reign, e.g., E.403/165 m.2; 170 mm.2, 4; 177 m.8; 180 mm. 4-5.

[19] E.101/376/7 f.4.

[20] E.403/172 m.10.

[21] C.P.R. 1313-17, p. 672. Cf. C.Ch.W. 1244-1326, p. 472, which demonstrates the efficacy of using Gaveston's name when requesting a favor from the king also.

[22] C.P.R. 1317-21, p. 529.

[23] Ibid., 1324-27, p. 281. Masses were also said for Gaveston's soul at Kenton. E.101/375/8 f.4; E.101/376/7 f.4.

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tomb.[24] In August 1320 this was replaced by two cloths from Lucca, which were in turn supplanted on 30 March 1322 by three gold cloths of the same provenance, two of which were presented in the king's name, the other in the queen's.[25] In 1324 the king sent his own confessor, Robert de Wufford, to Langley to celebrate the anniversary of the favorite's death,[26] and the following January he sent brother Robert Asessour there with 100s. to give a pittance to each friar so that they should remember Piers.[27]

The king also strove to maintain Gaveston's family and servants after the latter's death. On 20 September 1312 Edward endowed Gaveston's widow Margaret with the castle of Oakham (Rutland), the manors of Kirkton (Linc.) and Burstwick (Yorks.), with their members, towns, hamlets, hundreds and appurtenances, the county of Rutland with three hundreds, the hamlets of Egleton and Langham, and view of frank-pledge and sheriff's aid in some 18 towns throughout the county. The annual value of these holdings was placed at 2,000 marks.[28] On

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[24] BL Add MS 17362 f.53^{v}. Another Turkish cloth was given to Trinity Church, Canterbury for his intention. Hist. MSS Comm., III, 262.

[25] BL Add MS 9951 f.45^{v}. BL MS Stowe 553 f.113.

[26] E.101/379/19 f.15^{v}.

[27] E.101/380/4 f.23^{v}. They had also received pittances amounting to £5 on the day of Gaveston's burial, E.101/376/1 m.2, on 19 April 1324, E.101/379/19 f.10 and on 19 June 1324, E.101/379/19 f.14.

[28] C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 497.

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7 October the king expanded the grant by also confirming Margaret in the knight's fees, and the advowsons of the churches and hospitals appurtenant to the castle, manors and lands previously granted.[29] Edward also made some provision for his niece's immediate needs by supplying her with a prest for £157 19s. 4d. in 1312,[30] while in January 1313 he made a gift of cloth worth £100 to her.[31]

Margaret de Clare's land settlement remained fixed until December 1316, when a new arrangement was made by the king. Burstwick was surrendered to Edward, and to replace its revenues of 1,000 marks per annum the countess was instead enfeoffed with the following lands drawn from the earldom of Cornwall: the castle and manor of Eye (Suff.), the manor and town of Henley (Oxford), the manors of Hadleigh (Suff.), Harewell (Berks.), Little Weldon (Northants), Newport (Essex), Bradninch, Lydford and Wik Suthenge (Devon), the manor of Fordington with the hamlet of Whitewell (Dorset), the hamlets of Dallinghoo, Alderton and Thorton (Suff.) and numerous rents throughout the kingdom.[32] The term of the grant was for her life provided she did not marry without the king's license. On 3 March 1317 the king granted to Margaret in addition to this, and on the same terms, the knight's fees, and the advowsons of churches, religious houses and

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[29] Ibid., p. 502; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 538.

[30] E.101/374/20 m.4; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 491.

[31] E.101/375/8 f.28.

[32] C.P.R. 1313-17, pp. 576-79.

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hospitals appurtenant to the above-named lands.[33] It should also be mentioned that by this time, although a final partition and settlement had not yet been established, Margaret, along with her sisters Eleanor and Elizabeth, as co-heiress to the earldom of Gloucester, was a major landowner in her own right.[34]

In April 1317 Margaret de Clare married Hugh d'Audley.[35] In order to do so she had first to surrender her Cornwall lands, but on 13 May the king regranted jointly to Hugh and Margaret and the heirs of their bodies the lands enumerated in the grants of December 1316 and March 1317.[36] In June 1318 the king took these lands back into his own hands in accordance with the Ordinances, but in September he restored them.[37] Meanwhile, at the parliament held in York in September 1318 Hugh and Margaret presented a petition by which they sought to gain possession of the entire earldom of Cornwall.[38] The Audleys released their claim to Cornwall in December in return for a settlement with the king assuring them of 2,000 marks per annum, or should Margaret

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[33] Ibid., pp. 623-24.

[34] See Ibid., pp. 660, 666; Ibid., 1317-21, pp. 60, 102. For the terms of the partition see M. Altschul, A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217-1314, app. II, pp. 304-05.

[35] The wedding took place on 28 April 1317. G.E.C., V, 715.

[36] C.P.R. 1313-17, p. 664.

[37] C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 374.

[38] Rot. Parl., I, 453.

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predecease Hugh, 1200 marks p.a. to him.[39] Nevertheless, the York parliament of April 1319 deliberated on the petition and decided that all grants made to Piers and Margaret should be revoked, annulled and extinct, and therefore the Audleys' claim was rejected.[40] From this point forward, there is no longer any real connection between Margaret de Clare's fortunes and her late husband Piers. It will suffice to note that she lived until 1342, holding most of the properties discussed above until that time.[41]

Edward also tried to arrange a comfortable existence for his grand-niece, Gaveston's daughter, Joan. She was raised at the convent at Amesbury along with the king's niece, Eleanor of Hereford. The two girls received a joint annual allowance of 100 marks.[42] The king also attempted to arrange a suitable marriage for Gaveston's daughter. His first attempt came to nought in October 1316 when Thomas Wake, formerly the earl of Cornwall's ward and now Joan's proposed husband, married someone else without the king's license, for which he was fined £1,000.[43] When the king later made new arrangements for Joan's marriage in May 1317 he took added precautions to avoid a recurrence.

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[39] C.P.R. 1317-21, p. 251.

[40] Rot. Parl., I, 453; C.Cl.R. 1318-23, p. 143.

[41] C.I.P.M., VIII, 253-55, no. 382. The inquisition was ordered on 15 April 1342.

[42] E.101/325/13 m.5.

[43] Foedera, II, i, 299; C.P.R. 1313-18, p. 553.

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Thomas de Multon, lord of Egremont, whose son and heir John was to marry Joan when they reached a reasonable age, entered into an agreement with the king by which he was to receive £1,000 and be excused of £10,000 in debts at the exchequer. In exchange, he was not to eloin, or alienate, any properties that were to become John's, and he was to provide 400 marks per annum for Joan at once and put aside suitable lands in dower for her should John predecease her in Thomas' lifetime.[44] But in the end this too came to nought as Joan died of illness, aged only 12, on 13 January 1325.[45]

Less can be said of the fortunes of Gaveston's Gascon relatives after the favorite's death. The only member of his immediate family to remain in England was Amy de Gabaston, a lady of the queen's bedchamber for both Isabella and later Philippa.[46] Presumably either a sister or niece of Piers, she married John de Driby, and between 1331 and 1340 received several grants of land from the queen for her good service.[47] One of Piers' brothers, Arnaud-Guillaume de Gabaston, died in 1312,[48] while the other, Guillaume-Arnaud de Marsan left the

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[44] Foedera, II, i, 654; C.Cl.R. 1313-18, p. 468. The £1,000 was to be paid by Thomas Wake in three sums of 500 marks each. The first payment was duly recorded on 6 July 1317, E.403/180 m.3.

[45] C.I.M. 1307-49, pp. 325-26, no. 1329. She is there wrongly aged 15.

[46] E.101/374/14 ff.5^{v}, 6; C.P.R. 1330-34, p. 244.

[47] C.P.R. 1330-34, pp. 244, 306, 414; Ibid., 1338-40, p. 522; C.I.M. 1307-49, p. 315, no. 1290. Driby was the king's yeoman, C.P.R. 1340-43, p. 481.

[48] As evidenced by the king's gift for his soul on 14 September 1312. E.101/375/8 f.3.

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realm before the end of that year.[49] Guillaume-Arnaud did return to England at least once subsequently,[50] but the bulk of his career was spent in Gascony, where he supported the king of England faithfully and well until his name last appears in the extant records in 1324.[51] Several members of the Caillau family remained prominent throughout the reign. Foremost among them was Gaveston's nephew Bertrand, who was dispatched to the pope soon after the favorite's death, and who continues to appear in the records into the reign of Edward III.[52] Arnaud Caillau was admitted into the king's household as a simple bachelor in March 1313, and in 1316 a Fort Caillau is found in the king's service.[53]

Finally, as with his relatives, the king also took an interest in Gaveston's former servants. Of course, a great many of the earl of Cornwall's servants had been in the king's service prior to and even during their tenure with the favorite.[54] Nevertheless, the pro-

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[49] See above, n.12.

[50] On 26 March 1316 he received 10 marks toward his expenses in London, with another 5 marks forthcoming on 1 April and £20 on 7 April. E.403/177 m.11.

[51] R.G., IV, passim. Foedera, II, i, 571. Another possible relative of Gaveston, Bernard de Marsan, the king's yeoman, was sent to Gascony with Piers' former yeoman, Bertrand Assaillit in August 1312, C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 484.

[52] C. Papal Letters, 1305-42, p. 107. See also, P. Chaplais, ed., The War of Saint-Sardos, Camden, 3rd ser. lxxxvii (1954), for the continuing importance of Bertrand in particular and the Caillau family in general.

[53] E.101/375/8 f.5; E.101/376/7 f.66.

[54] For instance Robert Darcy and Robert de Kendal among his

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portion of the earl's followers either entering the king's service or being rewarded with favors or preferments is striking if not surprising.[55] To a certain degree this enlistment of Gaveston's former supporters can be attributed to the continuing tension existing between the king and his barons,[56] but no doubt here too Edward's sense of loyalty, and perhaps responsibility and guilt, was at work.

If the king felt remorse over the death of the earl of Cornwall, however, the majority of the magnates and the general populace of England did not. Two songs commemorating Gaveston's death have survived, vividly illustrating the fervent nature of the widespread sympathy for his killers. Gaveston's death was viewed as a justified execution long overdue and was expected to bring peace to the realm. One of the songs reads in part:

> Celebrate, my tongue, the death of Piers who disturbed England,
> Whom the king in his love placed over all Cornwall,
> Hence in his pride he would be called earl and not Piers.
> The people of the kingdom were saddened by the defrauding of the treasure
> When Piers would become wastefully insolent with the treasury,
> Not bearing in mind what the future day might produce for him.
> This is the work of our salvation that Piers is dead.
> . . . He who was unwilling to have an equal, clothed in the extreme of pride,

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knights, George de Percy and John de Charleton among his yeomen, and Thomas de la Hyde and Thomas de London among his officials.

[55]The king was, of course, their immediate lord after Gaveston's execution since the earldom reverted to the crown.

[56]This is especially true in cases such as that in which the king retained John de Haughton and 18 of his fellows, all formerly Gaveston's archers, following the earl's death. E.101/375/8 f.28^{v}.

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> . . . He who placed himself as a head above his equals loses his own head.
> Justly his body is pierced whose heart was so puffed up;
> Land, sea, stars and world rejoice in his fall.
> . . . Now he no longer behaves himself as an earl, or a king;
> The unworthy man, worthy of death, undergoes the death he merits.
> . . . Glory be to the Creator ! Glory to the earls
> Who have made Piers die with his charms !
> Henceforth may there be peace and rejoicing throughout England ! Amen.[57]

But the earls' unjustified action in executing Gaveston did not lead to peace and rejoicing throughout England, despite the approbation of poets. On the contrary, it nearly led to civil war.

The king's reaction to Gaveston's execution was blind rage.[58] He had been in communication with Piers as late as 10 June, and he trusted the earl of Pembroke. The barons' act of defiance in seizing and beheading the favorite must therefore have come as a complete surprise. Edward quickly summoned his council--which by mid-July included Pembroke and Warenne[59]--which was split between those who favored war and those who urged negotiation.[60] As in the previous spring, preparations for war were made even as the king summoned his barons to parliament and sought the intercession of the pope and the king of France.[61] On 26 June the king ordered the mayor of London to

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[57] Thomas Wright, ed., The Political Songs of England, Camden Soc., vi (1839), pp. 259-61.

[58] Brut, p. 207; Flores, III, p. 336; Trokelowe, p. 77; Vita, p.30.

[59] C.53/98 m.2; E.101/374/17; E.101/375/8 f.27.

[60] Pembroke was said to be for war. Vita, p. 30; Flores, III, pp. 336-37.

[61] Parl. Writs, II, i, 86-87; Foedera, II, i, 175-76.

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hold the city against his enemies and the mayor agreed to do so.[62] During July and August Edward attempted to secure his position in southern England, travelling to Dover and fortifying the castle there, receiving the fealty of the Cinque Ports, securing by letters close to constables and mayors castles and vills throughout the kingdom, and ordering the shire levies of the counties around London to be raised.[63] On 30 July the king felt strong enough to order the seizure of Henry Percy's lands and person for Percy's part in Gaveston's death,[64] and by the time the opposition earls and barons approached him at the end of August, Edward's defences were in order and he had drawn a considerable force to himself.[65]

The magnates had been summoned to be present on 20 August at Westminster at a parliament to discuss the Ordinances.[66] In the month

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[62] Foedera, II, i, 170; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 427.

[63] Foedera, II, i, 173; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, pp. 428-29, 540, 544; C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 485-88. Mandates were also sent to every sheriff in England to distrain all qualified men to receive knighthood by All Souls (2 Nov.). Foedera, II, i, 174; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, pp. 542-43.

[64] Foedera, II, i, 173; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 469; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 485.

[65] Although he may not have had the 1,000 men-at-arms attributed to him in the Tintern version of the Flores, III, p. 337, he had raised 500 foot from Norfolk and Suffolk, 100 foot from the forest of Dene, all men available from Windsor, etc. C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 544; Parl. Writs, II, i, 89. This in addition to his own retinue and those of Pembroke, Warenne, Despenser, Henry de Beaumont et al.

[66] Parl. Writs, II, i, 86-87. Edward sent John de Benstede specifically to ensure the attendance, unarmed, of Lancaster, Hereford and Warwick. Foedera, II, i, 175; Parl. Writs, II, i, 88; C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 489-90.

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prior to this meeting the king had twice issued orders forbidding assemblies, and twice also forbidding the barons from coming to parliament armed.[67] Nevertheless, when Lancaster, Hereford and Warwick actually arrived in London on 3 September, they and the army of supporters they had raised were in arms.[68] Fortunately, they did not approach the king directly and thus provoke a military response from him, but rather sent messengers to inquire as to why they had been summoned.[69] At this rather delicate moment the earl of Gloucester emerged as the primary mediator between the two sides. He was joined in his pacific efforts by the earl of Richmond, the cardinals Arnaud of St. Priscia and Arnaud, bishop of Poitiers, and Philip IV's brother Louis d'Evreux.[70]

Negotiations between the king and his barons were based on the former's desire to recover the jewels, horses and other goods belonging to Gaveston seized at Newcastle the previous April, and the latters' desire to see the Ordinances reaffirmed and themselves absolved from any wrongdoing in compassing Gaveston's death. Negotiations had apparently already begun at Markyate in Herefordshire prior to 28 Sep-

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[67] Foedera, II, i, 172, 175, 177, 178; Parl. Writs, II, i, 88; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, pp. 540, 548; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 490.

[68] Flores, III, p. 337, where the army is numbered at 4,200 men-at-arms and 5,000 foot; Vita, where Lancaster alone is said to have 1,000 horse and 1,500 foot, p. 32. Trokelowe, p. 78.

[69] Vita, p. 32.

[70] Ann. Lond., p. 210; Ann. Paul., pp. 271-72; Flores, II, p. 337; Trokelowe, pp. 77-78; Vita, p. 33; Walsingham, pp. 133-34.

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tember, on which date letters of safe conduct were issued to the earl of Hereford, Robert de Clifford, John Botetourt, John de Heselarton, Adam de Herwynton and Michael de Meldon to come treat with the mediators at Markyate.[71] For the king, an incentive to hasten the negotiations as well as a reason for doing so at Markyate rather than in London, may have been provided by the extremely volatile atmosphere existing in the capital, which despite the earlier agreement to support the king was probably strongly pro-baronial.[72]

The series of negotiations that commenced in late September continued until 20 December.[73] The exact chronology of events is unknown, but a general reconstruction is possible. Early in the discussions the magnates submitted a set of proposals to the king's representatives known as the Prima tractatio (ad pacem confirmandam).[74] It is interesting to note that this document claims to speak for the earls of Gloucester, Richmond, Pembroke and Warenne as well as Lancaster, Hereford, Warwick and Arundel, even though the first named group had already been reconciled with the king. In any case, in the Prima

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[71] Foedera, II, i, 180; Parl. Writs, II, i, 90.

[72] For the circumstances leading to Mayor Gisors decision to support the king, and the turbulent conditions in London both prior and subsequent to this decision, see G. A. Williams, Medieval London: From Commune to Capital, London, 1963, pp. 271-74.

[73] Safe conducts were issued on 28 September, 8 October, 2 and 11 November and 16 December. Foedera, II, i, 180, 182, 186, 191; C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 498-516.

[74] Ann. Lond., pp. 210-11.

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tractatio the barons offered, given sufficient securities, to come before the king at Westminster and seek his pardon as their liege lord, to supply him with 400 men-at-arms for six months at their own expense in the next Scottish campaign, for which they would also seek to obtain a parliamentary subsidy, and to surrender the goods taken from Gaveston at Newcastle. In return the barons explicitly asked for maintenance of the Ordinances, the removal of evil counsellors, the return of lands seized and the release of persons illegally imprisoned (presumably as a result of events since Newcastle), and they implicitly asked for an end to prises and the condemnation of Gaveston--referred to as commun enemy du roi et du roiaume--as a traitor.

Although in general terms the Prima tractatio bears some resemblance to the agreement that was ultimately reached in December 1312 and obviously provided at least a basis for further negotiations, it did not yield fruit immediately. Edward adamantly refused to declare Gaveston a traitor. He also balked at accepting the Ordinances, but his own attempt to quash them through the casuistry of two French clerks supplied by his father-in-law was politically unrealistic in the extreme.[75] As negotiations proceeded throughout the autumn of 1312 each side seems to have dragged its feet and distrusted the other.[76] The key stumbling blocks to a resolution of the conflict

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[75] Ibid., pp. 211-15.

[76] For a sense of the protracted nature of these negotiations, see Vita, pp. 33-38.

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continued to be Gaveston's status as friend or foe of the kingdom, and the presence of the favorite's former associates in the king's inner circle.[77] Finally, however, both sides agreed to a settlement on 20 December, although this settlement was provisional in nature and required the subsequent assent of the earls of Lancaster and Warwick.[78]

The treaty was sealed in London in the presence of the two cardinals, Louis d'Évreux, and the earls of Gloucester and Richmond, with the king represented by Pembroke, the elder Despenser and Nicholas Segrave, and the barons of Hereford, Robert de Clifford and John Botetourt. By its terms the barons were to receive the king's pardon at Westminster, and Gaveston's goods were to be surrendered at St. Albans on 13 January 1313. In addition, a parliament was to be held on 18 March to discuss an aid for a Scottish war and how to prevent the king's subjects from coming to parliament armed in future. Here the barons were to be pardoned for all offenses against Gaveston, in

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[77] If, as seems likely, Phillips is correct in dating the Rationes Baronum to the negotiations of autumn 1312, then the list of names of persons whom the barons sought to remove from the king is also likely from this period. The list, including 20 persons and all of Gaveston's lineage is identical to the household ordinances except for the inclusion of Edmund de Mauley, Gerard de Varlegiet and John de Houghton, and the substitution of Bertrand Assaillit for Bertrand Caillau. Phillips, Aymer de Valence, p. 49; R. A. Roberts, ed., Edward II, The Lords Ordainers and Piers Gaveston's Jewels and Horses, Camden Soc., 3rd ser. v, xli (1929), pp. 15-17.

[78] Foedera, II, i, 191-92; Ann. Lond., pp. 221-25; "Gaveston's Jewels," pp. 17-21; Lambeth MS 1213 ff.16-18.

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exchange for which they agreed to take no action against his supporters. Finally, there were several quite specific clauses in which it was agreed that inquiry would be made into the claims of Lancaster's retainer Griffin de la Pole in his conflict with John de Charleton,[79] and into the claims by another Lancastrian knight, Fulk Lestrange, that his lands had been illegally seized,[80] and that Henry Percy's lands would be restored pending the next parliament.

This treaty of December 1312 appeared to signal a major victory for the king. Nowhere in it were the Ordinances mentioned or was Gaveston condemned as a traitor. Realizing his success Edward acted to implement the terms of the agreement. Already on 18 December he had ordered the restoration of Percy's lands,[81] and on 26 December a commission was appointed to examine the Pole case.[82] Edward also reopened London to the barons, had his peace proclaimed throughout the kingdom, and promised to take only the ancient and customary prises.[83] Nevertheless, the earl of Lancaster, who must also have

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[79]This dispute over the lordship of Powys is discussed at length in Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, pp. 138, 140-41. Pole certainly had grounds for complaint, since on 29 October the king ordered the council to harass him in every possible way. S.C.1/45/170.

[80]Lestrange remained loyal to Lancaster until early 1322 despite the adulterous affair of Lancaster's wife with Eubolo Lestrange.

[81]Parl. Writs, II, ii, app. p. 60; C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 156.

[82]C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 546. On 31 December the same commission was also empowered to deal with Lestrange's claims. Ibid.

[83]Foedera, II, i, 192; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, pp. 501-02. London had been closed to Edward's adversaries on 5 October. Foedera, II, i, 181.

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realized how favorable the treaty was to the king, refused to accept the agreement negotiated on his behalf. Baronial discontent was evident by early January in renewed communications between Hereford and the royal negotiators.[84] On 13 January Lancaster failed to appear at St. Albans with Gaveston's jewels and horses.[85] Instead he sent a letter to one of the cardinals expressing his willingness to restore Gaveston's goods to the king--sicut bona eschauta sibi per felonum [sic] ipsius et regni--once Edward rectified certain grievances relating to the cases of Pole, Lestrange and other of Lancaster's retainers.[86] The real issue, as revealed in Lancaster's subtle wording, however, was whether or not the king would acknowledge Gaveston to have been a felon. If he would not, then Lancaster was prepared to withhold the goods.

Another period of negotiations, which had really begun almost as soon as the treaty was sealed, continued throughout January and February with Hereford acting as go-between for Lancaster and the royal agents.[87] Eventually the king was willing to give ground on the specific grievances outlined in Lancaster's letter of 13 January,

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[84]"Gaveston's Jewels," pp. 1-2.

[85]On 7 January 1313 John de Sandale and Ingelard Warley had been appointed to receive Gaveston's goods at St. Albans. Foedera, II, i, 194; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 519. They waited three days without success. Trokelowe, pp. 78-79; "Gaveston's Jewels," pp. 2-4.

[86]"Gaveston's Jewels," pp. 7-9.

[87]The negotiations are recorded in Ibid., pp. 1-15.

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but he refused to consider branding Gaveston a traitor.[88] Pressure was brought to bear on the magnates by the papal envoys, and along with Edward's gestures at appeasement this resulted in the return of Gaveston's jewels on 23 February, and of his horses soon thereafter.[89] This did not, however, conclude the peace negotiations, as the earls of Lancaster and Warwick had still not confirmed the December treaty.

Some time after the jewels and horses were conveyed to the treasurer, the barons presented the king with a document summarizing the progress of the negotiations to date and enumerating the difficulties still barring a final solution.[90] First, the barons sought a full acquittance for the goods restored to the treasurer.[91] More

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[88] Ibid., pp. 10-13.

[89] On 16 February Edward issued safe conducts for Lancaster and 40 men-at-arms to come with the jewels. Foedera, II, i, 202. On 23 February the jewels were taken from Clifford's house in Fleet Street to the Tower where the acting treasurer, Sandale, received them. E.403/164 m.2. Printed in Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, p. 336. An acquittance was issued on 27 February. Foedera, II, i, 203-05. The quantity and value of these jewels is stunning, and does more than any other piece of evidence to credit the charges of draining the treasury so often brought against the favorite. See Appendix II.

[90] Ann. Lond., pp. 225-29.

[91] They had received one on 27 February which leads Maddicott to date this document to 23-27 February; Thomas of Lancaster, p. 147. This is not necessarily correct since the barons did receive another acquittance on 5 November 1313. C.P.R. 1313-17, pp. 25-26; Ann. Lond., p. 227. Phillips dates the document 18 March-23 May on the basis of the parliament of 18 March being referred to in the past tense, Aymer de Valence, p. 59, n.1, but in fact all that is certain is that the barons had decided not to attend the parliament, hence any date between 23 February and 23 May is possible.

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significantly, while they expressed a readiness to submit to the king, the barons declined to attend the parliament scheduled to meet on 18 March because of the improper drafting of their summonses.[92] Similarly, they objected to the statutory form of the pardon offered to them in December since it was felt to imply that the king had issued it under duress.[93] In its place, therefore, the magnates proposed their own form of pardon, in letters patent, to be held by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London and Chichester, and the earls of Gloucester, Richmond and Arundel until such time as they made their submission. Finally, with a similar concern for legal niceties, the magnates also objected to special pardons in statutory form being issued to Gaveston's supporters.[94]

Edward does not seem to have made any reply to these demands.[95] They really required none since once again the only real points of contention revolved around Gaveston's status and the legality of his execution by the barons. Nevertheless, discussions did continue

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[92] Parl. Writs, II, i, 93, where no irregularity is noted.

[93] Since a statute would only be used where the law was unclear or insufficient, this implicitly condemned the execution of Gaveston as being beyond the law.

[94] If Edward pardoned them by statute, suit could only be brought against them by the king's will, whether the Ordinances were reinvoked or not.

[95] At this point information on the negotiations becomes scarce as the Ann. Lond. ceases to discuss them at length, and the account of the papal envoys preserved in "Gaveston's Jewels," closes on 10 February 1313.

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although they yielded no results. Nothing seems to have come of a set of safe conducts issued to Lancaster and others on 3 May to treat with the king's negotiators at Bedford.[96] Moreover, the situation was no doubt further exacerbated by Edward's departure for France on 23 May.[97] The parliament that opened on 8 July was a complete fiasco, since the king did not return to the capital until the 23rd of that month, by which time the magnates had grown impatient and left.[98] There was now a new French envoy in England, Louis de Clermont, and on 28 August Edward also requested of Philip IV that he send back Louis d'Évreux along with Enguerrand de Marigny.[99] Nevertheless, despite this apparent interest in the negotiations on the king's part, the outlook for a settlement was not bright when parliament next assembled in late September.

Tension remained high in September 1313. Despite two prohibitions from the king, Lancaster, Hereford, Warwick, Arundel and Gloucester met at a tournament at Brackley (Northants) on the way to parliament.[100] There the decision was apparently reached by the

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[96] Foedera, II, i, 211; Parl. Writs, II, i, 96. Further safe-conducts were issued during the king's absence abroad on 17 July. Foedera, II, i, 222; Parl. Writs, II, i, 101.

[97] C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 583.

[98] Parl. Writs, II, i, 103. It was resummoned for 22 September.

[99] Foedera, II, i, 226. Louis de Clermont had originally been sent to England to invite Edward to the knighting of Philip IV's sons. E.101/375/2 m.9.

[100] Foedera, II, i, 227-28.

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magnates to seek a settlement with the king once and for all. Although at the outset each side doggedly maintained its own version of the legality of Gaveston's execution, each side also felt pressure to bring an end to this conflict.[101] On 14 October in Westminster Hall the barons finally made their submission to the king and received his pardon.[102] On the following day this pardon was issued in the form of letters patent along with a pardon to those who had agreed to Gaveston's return and maintained him in it.[103] On 6 November further pardons were issued and several articles of the baronial demands of early 1313 were addressed.[104] Thus the process of negotiations was brought to a conclusion more than a year after this difficult situation had arisen. In the end neither side was likely satisfied, although at least for the moment the king appeared to have come out on top. As Phillips has remarked, "a final peace was made more from exhaustion than from conviction,"[105] but this final peace brings to an end Piers Gaveston's direct influence on English history. No doubt Piers' shadow lingered on in men's minds until the execution of Thomas of Lancaster in 1322 if not beyond, but shadows are the province of poets, not historians.

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[101] Vita, p. 43.

[102] Ibid.; Liber de Ant. Leg., p. 252.

[103] Foedera, II, i, 230-31; C.P.R. 1313-17, pp. 21-25.

[104] Foedera, II, i, 232-33; C.P.R. 1313-17, pp. 25-26. These included in agreement on the bearing of arms to parliament, an acquittance for the jewels, and pardons for Pole, Lestrange and Charleton.

[105] Phillips, Aymer de Valence, p. 38.

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CONCLUDING REMARKS

Piers Gaveston was not just the son of a simple Gascon bachelor, let alone as later accounts had it, the progeny of a disgraced French knight whose wife was a convicted witch.[1] He was born into a well established Béarnais family with widespread landholdings and connections to powerful members of the urban aristocracy in Bordeaux. By the time Piers arrived in England in 1297 he had had the opportunity both to observe politics and participate in warfare. In the household of the prince of Wales from 1300 to 1307, Gaveston made friendships and formed bonds that were to last throughout his brief lifetime. With the exception of his desertion from Scotland in 1306, he did nothing to bring dishonor upon himself while a puer in custodia. Indeed, the nature of the sentence of exile imposed upon him in 1307 clearly demonstrates that Edward I intended it more as a lesson for Piers' royal patron than for the young Gascon himself, and the sentence was by no means irrevocable.

With the dawning of the new reign and his immediate recall by Edward II, Gaveston became an important figure on the English political scene in the summer of 1307. There is no reason to believe that any of the earls or barons opposed Gaveston's return from exile, or that they objected either to his enfeoffment with the earldom of

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[1] John Stowe, Annals of England, 1615, p. 213.

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Cornwall in August or his marriage to Margaret de Clare in November. Nevertheless, by the spring of 1308 the separation of Edward from his Gascon favorite had become the central plank in a baronial platform of reform, and it continued to be so until the earl of Cornwall was beheaded in June 1312. To answer the question why this should have been so requires an examination of the forces at work during the first five years of the reign.

There are several possible reasons for the magnates' objections to Gaveston. Perhaps the most obvious and best known reason was the nature of Piers' relationship with the king. It has long been a matter of common assent among historians that Gaveston and Edward II were homosexual lovers. This, of course, is not something that can be verified through documentary--let alone physical--evidence at a remove of nearly 700 years. Although the most lurid and damning accounts of Piers' and Edward's relationship were all written after the reign, the accumulated weight of opinion is too great to overturn now, and in any event, regardless of the physical aspects of their liaison, there can be no doubt that theirs was a deep and lasting emotional bond. But can this homosexual relationship--granting for argument's sake that it was one--in and of itself account for baronial antipathy to the favorite? That Gaveston presented no threat to the production of an heir and the continuance of the Plantagenet line was clear not only from the birth of the future Edward III in 1312, but also by Edward's siring of an illegitimate son, Adam, who was old enough to campaign with his father in

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1322.[2] Another possible concern, that Piers prevented Edward from ruling effectively because of their dalliance--rather than because of the favorite's advice being taken--is also without foundation. The two men were seldom together after the first year of the reign, and most frequently enjoyed each other's company when campaigning against the Scots, the most urgent business of the reign. Gaveston may well have influenced Edward's actions, but his presence did not preclude the transaction of royal business. Putting aside as unlikely simple moral repugnance, the argument that the barons were opposed to the earl of Cornwall on the basis of his sexual proclivities, then, cannot be supported.

Many of the chroniclers and some subsequent historians have stressed Gaveston's humble foreign birth as the source of resentment to him. Certainly Gaveston was not by birth a member of the first rank of the nobility, but neither was he altogether an upstart. Moreover, as a Gascon he was by birth a subject of the English crown. Nor can his extraction have been of great concern to the English aristocracy of his day. Edward I was supposedly drawn to Gaveston initially because he was from the region "de bele manere,"[3] and many of the earls were themselves half English at best.[4] Finally, Gaveston did

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[2]BL MS Stowe 553 f.27.

[3]BL MS Harley 636 f.232.

[4]E.g., Aymer de Valence whose father was French, and Thomas of Lancaster, whose mother was.

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not accentuate his Gascon origins, as was once thought, by surrounding himself with his fellow countrymen. Most of his household and local officials as well as his armed retainers were of native English stock.

Another supposed reason for baronial opposition to Gaveston was his political influence. This supposition can only be an anachronistic attribution to the character of the younger Despenser to the earl of Cornwall. Such a conflation of the two favorites was common even among 14th-century chroniclers, but the resulting conclusions are insupportable. Gaveston--unlike Despenser--was extremely temperate in his behavior on the two occasions--during his regency in 1308 and his Irish lieutenancy in 1308-09--when he actually wielded power. During the rest of the reign he was notably uninterested and uninvolved in political affairs. Nor was Piers an empire builder like Despenser, who attempted to create an independent bailiwick for himself in Wales and the Welsh march in the 1320s. Gaveston took little if any active interest in his lands or their revenues. Although he was a great landowner, he appears not to have used his position in the kingdom as a means of expanding his holdings or of securing a military following. Militarily he was content--unlike many of Edward's other subjects--to command the king's forces rather than his own.

What, then, is left to account for the earl of Cornwall's widespread unpopularity? Only personal considerations remain. The records support the chroniclers' contention that Piers maintained a firm grip on the control of royal patronage and favors throughout the first five years of the reign. That this was an area more dear to

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the magnates than the actual administration of government is apparent from the nature of their determined and continued efforts to be rid of the favorite. Compounding this jealousy over the dispensation of favors was Gaveston's haughty personality. His victory over three of the other earls at the Wallingford tournament, whether by fair means or foul, no doubt accentuated the animosity between Piers and the peers of the realm. So too his regency, despite Gaveston's moderation while in office, was perceived as an affront to the dignity of the baronage. Finally, the coronation banquet with its misplaced emphasis on Piers and the gratuitous insults to the French ambassadors appears to have been the last straw in alienating baronial sentiment. And any hopes of a lasting reconciliation after the favorite's exile in Ireland were quickly dahsed when he demonstrated his disregard for baronial opinion by lampooning his fellow earls with demeaning nicknames upon his return.

If, then, the forces at work during the first five years of Edward II's reign were almost exclusively fueled by personal considerations, it remains only to consider the nature and results of the various machinations so inspired. First of all, it is apparent that it is incorrect to speak in terms of "parties" as an earlier generation of historians did. Loyalties among both the king's supporters and his opponents were based on personal oaths and bonds, were actuated by hopes of personal gain, and were often quite fluid. Similarly, it is a mistake anachronistically to attribute more modern political considerations and constitutional ideas to Edward II and his magnates.

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The latter group's quarrel was not so much with the household system of government as with the fact that they were no longer profitting from the system to the extent they considered appropriate.

The struggle between king and barons, which focused on Gaveston, had two major results. The first was that it further drained the already depleted treasury inherited by Edward II in 1307. Embassies to Paris and Avignon as well as preparations for defense and war were costly. More significantly, perhaps, while the English fought among themselves it became ever more clear that Scotland had been lost. It has recently been argued that Edward could not both protect Gaveston and bring the Scots to heel, although he might well have achieved either object alone.[5] This statement is attractive in its simplicity but unsatisfactory. Perhaps if Scotland had been settled, a less than outstanding king such as Edward II could have lived harmoniously with his barons even with a favorite like Piers Gaveston at his side. But this is mere speculation, and so is the opinion that Scotland would not have been lost if Edward had possessed the unqualified support of his magnates. The Scots (or Picts) had proved intractable since Roman times and even Edward I, the mighty Hammer of the Scots, had been unable totally to extinguish the flame of independence burning north of the border. In this as in other things, Gaveston may have acted as a catalyst, speeding processes already under way,

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[5]J. R. Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, Oxford, 1970, p. 89. The suggestion first appears in the Vita, pp. 13-14.

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but he did not create those processes. In many ways the earl of Cornwall's unfortunate career is a mirror of Edward II's own. Neither was a thoroughly bad man, and indeed each had many fine qualities to recommend him. Unfortunately, neither was suited to the role he played on the historical stage, hence the unenviable fate of each.

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APPENDIX I

GAVESTON'S ITINERARY, 1297-1312

1297		
14 August	Flanders	BL Add. MS 7965 f.76.
11 November	"	"
1300		
30 November	Knaresborough	BL Add. MS 7966A f.70^{v}.
1 December	"	"
1302		
24 December	Odyham	E.101/364/13 f.31^{v}; C.D.S., II, 368.
1303		
10 January	Basing	C.D.S., II, 368.
13 March	London	E.101/364/13 f.79.
26 June	Perth	E.101/364/13 f.95.
9 July	"	"
16 October	Dundee	"
17 November	Dunfermline	"
1304		
7 January	Dunfermline	BL Add. MS 35293 f.78.
25 January	"	"
19 February	"	"
28 March	St. Andrews	"
6 April	"	"
29 April	Strivelin	"
19 May	"	BL Add. MS 35293 f.79.
24 June	"	BL Add. MS 35293 f.78.
24 July	"	"
31 December	Lincoln	BL Add. MS 35293 f.79.
1305		
13 March	London	BL Add. MS 35293 f.79.
1306		
22 May	Westminster	Shaw, The Knights of England, pp. 111-22.
1307		
26 February	Lanercost	Foedera, I, ii, 1010; C.Cl.R. 1302-1307, pp. 526-27.
5 May	Dover	BL Add. MS 22923 f.14^{v}.
June	Ponthieu	"
16 July	London	E.101/373/15 f.21.
6 August	Dumfries	C.53/94 m.9; E.41/460.
12 August	"	E.101/373/15 f.9.

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1307			
	4 September	Carlisle	BL Add. MS 35093 f.3.
	7 September	"	E.101/373/15 f.25^{v}.
	9 September	Knaresborough	E.101/373/15 f.20.
	22 September	Norfolk	E.101/373/15 f.24.
	23 September	London	"
	24 September	"	"
	1 October	"	E.101/373/15 f.24^{v}.
	2 October	Norfolk ?	"
	8 October	London	"
	1 November	Berkhamsted	E.101/373/15 f.22.
	3 November	"	C.53/94 m.8.
	8 November	Westminster	C.53/94 m.10.
	10 November	London	E.101/373/15 f.26^{v}.
	14 November	Langley	E.101/373/7
	21 November	"	C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 17.
	26 November	"	C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 46.
	1 December	Langley ?	C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 26.
	2 December	Wallingford	Vita, p. 2.
	4 December	Reading ?	C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 25.
	26 December	Westminster ?	C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 31.
1308			
	13 January	Patricksburn	E.101/373/6 m.2.
	14 January	Dover	"
	18 January	"	C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 43.
	22 January	"	Foedera, II, i, 29; C.Cl.R. 1307-13, pp. 18-19; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 45.
	24 January	Canterbury	C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 18.
	26 January	Leeds (Kent)	S.C.1/35/57; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 44.
	27 January	"	C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 45.
	30 January	Canterbury	"
	3 February	Ewell	C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 19.
	8 February	Dover	C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 14.
	14 February	Dartford	C.53/94 m.8.
	20 February	Eltham	Foedera, II, i, 32; C.P.R. 1307-1313, p. 46.
	25 February	Westminster	C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 53.
	17 March	" ?	C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 56.
	20 March	" ?	C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 60.
	1 April	Wallingford	Lincoln Dean & Chapter Muniments, D II 56/1 no.51.
	19 May	Westminster	E.101/373/7
	6 June	Langley	C.Cl.R. 1307-13, pp. 67-68.
	7 June	"	C.53/94 m.6; Foedera, II, i, 48-49; C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 78.
	10 June	"	C.62/84 m.2.
	12 June	" ?	C.Ch.R. 1300-26, p. 110.

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1308		
25 June	Bristol	C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 80.
29 June	" ?	C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 80, 83.
11 December	Emly	C.R.P.C., p. 8.
1309		
12 April	Dublin	C.Ormond Deeds, p. 172.
23 April	Castle Kevin ?	C.R.P.C., p. 9.
6 May	Newcastle McKynegan	
12 May	Dublin	C.R.P.C., p. 14.
29 May	"	
1 June	"	C.R.Dub., p. 235.
27 June	Chester	Bodley MS Latin Hist. C 5(R) m.10.
28 June	" ?	C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 122-23.
11 July	London	Ann. Lond., p. 157.
5 August	Stamford	C.Cl.R. 1307-13, pp. 225-26; C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 180, 187.
10 August	Westminster	C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 226.
15 August	Langley ?	C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 181.
1 September	Chertsey ?	C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 137.
10 September	Westminster ?	C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 49.
2 October	Windsor ?	C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 244.
16 November	York	C.D.S., III, 20.
14 December	Westminster ?	C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 202.
25 December	Langley	Vita, p. 8.
1310		
29 January	Waltham ?	C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 205.
11 May	Woodstock	C.Cl.R. 1307-13, p. 258.
7 September	Newcastle	C.53/97 m.20.
18 September	Berwick	Parl. Writs, II, ii, 403.
6 October	Biggar	C.D.S., III, 31.
8 November	Berwick	C.53/97 m.7.
20 November	"	"
18 December	Roxburgh	E.101/374/7 f.13.
1311		
16 January	"	BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.10.
21 January	Dundee	E.101/373/26 f.31.
16 February	Perth	E.101/373/30 f.1.
3 March	Dundee	Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.44.
16 March	Berwick	E.53/97 m.1.
20 March	"	"
24 March	"	C.D.S., III, 40.
25 March	Petcocks	Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.6; C.D.S., III, 45.
28 March	Dundee	Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.15.
2 April	Perth	Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.54; E.101/373/30 f.4.
5 April	"	Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.54^{v}; E.101/373/30 f.4.

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1311			
	9 April	Dundee	Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.13; E.101/373/30 f.4^{v}.
	12 April	"	Bodley MS Tanner 197 ff.30, 30^{v}, 32, 33, 35.
	20 April	Perth	Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.54^{v}
	12 May	"	Bodley MS Tanner 197 f.40^{v}.
	14 July	Berwick	C.53/98 m.13.
	4 November	Thames	Ann. Lond., p. 202.
1312			
	18 January	York	Foedera, II, i, 153.
	20 January	"	BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.84v.
	3 April	"	C.F.R. 1307-19, p. 130; C.P.R. 1307-13, pp. 450-51.
	13 April	Newcastle	Foedera, II, i, 164.
	4 May	"	Foedera, II, i, 169.
	5 May	Scarborough	Ibid.
	9 May	"	E.101/373/26 f.65^{v}; E.101/374/20 m.2.
	10 May	"	BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII f.88.
	17 May	"	Foedera, II, i, 169.
	19 May	"	Ann. Lond., pp. 204-06.
	9 June	Deddington	Ann. Lond., p. 206.
	10 June	Warwick	Ann. Lond., pp. 206-07.
	19 June	Warwick/ Blacklow	Vita, pp. 27-28.

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APPENDIX II

PIERS GAVESTON'S JEWELS, HORSES, AND OTHER GOODS

Acquittance of the King made to Thomas earl of Lancaster, Guy earl of Warwick, Henry de Percy and Robert de Clifford; of the very many jewels which were Piers Gaveston's.[1]

Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, to all those by whom these letters are seen or heard, greetings.
Know that we have received, by the hands of the honorable father in God, Walter bishop of Worcester and John de Sandale, lieutenants of our chancellor and treasurer, by our command and in our name, from Thomas earl of Lancaster, Guy earl of Warwick, Henry de Percy and Robert de Clifford (by the hands of Humphrey de Bohun earl of Hereford and Essex) and the said Robert de Clifford and John Botetourt have delivered the jewels, horses, and the other things recorded below; that is to say:

A gold-plated silver goblet, enamelled, upon a tripod, with an enamelled cover and the arms of England and France on the base, which weighs £6 18s. 4d., and is worth four times its weight:

Also, 15 gold clasps of varying value; that is to say, one that weighs 6s. 8d.; worth 20 marks:

Also, a clasp that weighs 14d.:

Also, another clasp that weighs 4s. 4d.; worth £5:

" 4s. 10d.; worth £5:

" 2s. 7d.; worth 40s:

" 13s. 1d.; worth £10:

" 9d.:

" 2s. 10d.:

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[1]Printed in Foedera, II, i, 203-05, in French and Latin.

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" 30s.; worth £30:

" 6d.; worth 7s. 6d.:

" 10d.; worth 12s. 6d.:

" 23d.:

Also, another clasp worth 2s.:

Also, another clasp that weighs 2d.; worth 2s. 6d.:

" 2d.:

Also, in another sack, 12 gold clasps; that is to say, one jewelled golden buckle with a white cameo:

Also, another gold clasp that weighs 4d., and was given to the present king by Sir John de Leek:

Also, another clasp given to the king by lady Isabella, the sister, that weighs 8d.:

Also, another clasp, the gift of Edmund earl of Cornwall to lady Isabella, the sister, that weighs 4d.:

Also, another clasp, given to the king as a good New Year gift, the 22nd year of his reign, at Langley:

Also, another clasp, the gift of the queen:

" "

" the gift of the queen mother:

Also, 4 clasps without labels, unvalued, with jewels:

Also, another gold clasp, enamelled, without a label and unvalued:

Also, in another sack, 3 gold clasps; that is to say one that weighs 7d., a gift from the duchess of Brabant:

Also, another clasp, the gift of the prior of the hospital, that weighs 5d.:

Also, another clasp neither valued nor weighed and a ring, the gift to Sir Arthur by Sir William de Salmes:

Also, a buckle of gold with two emeralds, two rubies, two

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saphires, and 11 pearls, with a cameo in the middle, which buckle weighs 5s. 6d., a gift of the queen of Germany:

Also, a golden piece of jewelry with 9 emeralds and 9 garnets, with a white cameo in the middle, enamelled on the other part, neither valued nor weighed:

Also, a gold clasp with 2 emeralds, 2 rubies, 4 pearls and a saphire in the middle; worth 160 li. turn.:

Also, a gold buckle with diverse stones; worth 100 li. turn.:

Also, a gold buckle with 4 emeralds, 5 rubies, and 4 pearls; worth 65 li. turn.:

Also, a gold buckle with various stones; worth 50 li. turn.:

Also, another such gold buckle; also worth 50 li. turn.:

Also, a gold buckle, of old workmanship, that weighs 2s. 6d.:

Also, a piece of gold jewelry, with small emeralds, with a black cameo in the middle, received from the bishop of Bath and Wells:

Also a gold cross with 2 balas rubies, 3 saphires, and 4 pearls that weighs 3s. 9d.; worth 4 marks:

Also, in the same group of items, 7 large rubies and a balas ruby, 2 small rubies, 10 small emeralds, in gold rings, underneath a staff:

Also, a large garnet and a small saphire on the same staff, which are from the old treasure of the king, as is shown by a label hanging down from the staff:

Also, a large ring with a pontifical burst with 4 balas rubies:

Also, six rubies in rings, on another staff, from the same treasure:

Also, upon another staff, 3 rubies, an emerald, a peridot and a topaz from the same treasure:

Also, upon another staff, 2 rubies, 2 saphires, a garnet, and a crystal; the first 5 were gifts of bishops' executors, and the sixth from the daughter of Llewellyn, prince of Wales, labelled and valued all at 10 marks:

Also, upon another staff, 5 beautiful rubies, worth £63, as is

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found on the labels:

Also, upon another staff, 2 saphires, the first a gift of the bishop of Bath, the other of the abbot of Abyndon:

Also, upon another staff, 8 diamonds, of which 5 are large and 3 are small:

Also, upon another staff, 8 emeralds, of which one was the gift of Thomas archbishop of York:

Also, upon another staff, 7 rings, made into vessels like twisted cord, from the old treasure:

Also, upon another staff, 10 diamonds, from the same treasure:

Also, " 2 rubies, 5 saphires, a diamond and a cameo, which were given by various bishops and abbots, from the same treasure, as shown on the labels:

Also, upon another staff, a gemmed ring, with a ruby, an emerald, a balas ruby and a diamond, from the same treasure:

Also, upon another staff, a star saphire, set within emeralds:

Also, a ring with a ruby, and another ring with an emerald and a ruby:

Also, in a small cloth bag, various stones of various colors, which were received by the hand of Sir Hugh de Nottingham from the bishop of Bath, from the old treasure, year 5:

Also, a gold ring with a saphire that St. Dunstan forged with his own hands:

Also, an amethyst in gold and a saphire in gold and a small gold bar with relics:

Also, seven mounted stones, of which we know not the names, except jasper and amethyst:

Also, a cameo in gold, from Israel:

Also, 2 diamonds, 2 emeralds, and a cameo in a gold ring inside an enamelled silver box:

Also, a gold-plated silver box for carrying entities, the neck of a man surrounded by a ring:

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Also, a gold cross, with diverse stones, a gold piece with diverse stones, and 2 rings made into vessels like twisted cord:

Also, a silver pot with diverse stones:

Also, upon another staff, 2 saphires, one of which belonged to bishop Gilbert of Chichester:

Also, a small basket decorated with silver and gold, in which were the aforesaid things, except the cup:

Also, a great ruby set in gold, which was found upon the person of Sir Piers Gaveston when he was taken; worth £1,000:

Also, a ruby in a gold ring, which is called "la cerise," and was the king's:

Also, three large rubies in rings, an emeraid, a diamond of great value, in a silver box, enamelled, found on the said Piers when he was taken:

Also, two peridots, one in silver, the other in gold:

Also, two vessels, one large and one small; and from the small vessel a key hangs down, on a sterling cord, along with a chalcedony, which were found in his purse when he was taken:

Also, in a chest, bound in iron, an enamelled silver mirror, a relic, and a pricket, given to the king by the countess of Bar at Ghent:

Also, a stone with enamelled sides given to the king by the duchess of Brabant:

Also, another stone with enamelled sides:

Also, a large pot for refining silver; not valued:

Also, 4 small bars of ivory, decorated with latten, with small baskets:

Also, in another chest, a silver belt with enamelled silver escutcheons; that weighs £4 10s.:

Also, another belt, of silk covered with pearls; worth £10:

Also, 10 pieces of orphrey fringe and two pieces of jasper red fringed cloth:

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Also, a suit of armor with the arms of Sir Piers:

Also, another belt made of lion skin, decorated in gold with a cameo; worth £166 13s. 4d.:

Also, a gold dragon with enamelled wings; that weighs 65s. 10d., with a leather basket:

Also, a gold cup, with a cover; that weighs 61s. 8d.:

Also, a gold goblet with a gold cover, enamelled, upon a gold tripod; that weighs 59s. 10d.:

Also, a gold cup with a gold cover, that weighs 40s. 10d., with a tester for assaying gold:

Also, 2 gold drinking cups, one with a cover, that weighs 30s., and the other without a cover, that weighs 5s. 10d., with 2 leather baskets:

Also, a gold cup, enamelled with jewels, which queen Eleanor gave to the present king with her blessing,; that weighs 78s. 4d.:

Also, a gold salt cellar, that weighs 17s. 10d., with a silver box inside:

Also, a goblet of plain gold, without a base, with a gold cover, that weighs 26s. 8d.:

Also, a gold cup, that weighs 52s. 6d.:

Also 12 gold spoons, that weigh 21s., and a silver box that weighs 15s. 4d.:

Also, a gold eagle with rubies, emeralds, saphires, and pearls, with relics inside of St. Richard of Chichester, in a leather case:

Also, 15 gold spoons that weigh 21s. 8d., with a silver box that weighs 11s., and another leather box for the same things:

Also, a gold crown with various jewels; worth 100 marks:

Also, a silver chaplet, decorated with various jewels; worth 12s.:

Also, in another chest, a large silver pot, with 3 feet, for heating water, that weighs £6 15s. 10d.:

Also, a silver ship with 4 gold oars, enamelled on the sides,

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that weighs £7 16s. 8d.:

Also in another chest, a large silver shield "pur la moine", with an eagle on the reverse side, not re-weighed, in a leather box lined with fur:

Also, in another chest, a gold-plated silver pot, enamelled, that weighs £6 6s. 6d. and is worth £19:

Also, a gold-plated silver goblet, with a cover and a base and a tripod, enamelled with the arms of England and France; the goblet and cover weigh 46s. 8d.; the tripod itself weighs 7s.; and the value of the said goblet and cover and tripod is three times the weight:

Also, a silver pot, enamelled with the same arms, that weighs 50s. and is worth £7 10s.:

Also, an ivory box, decorated with silver, with 4 feet:

Also, a crystal goblet, from the old treasure, with a silver base with escutcheons, that weighs 2 marks:

Also, 2 silver salt cellars, with silver covers, that weigh 40s.:

Also, 3 silver plates for spice, and they weigh £4:

Also, a silver goblet without a base, with a gold cover, enamelled, with a tripod, that weighs 10s. 10d. and is worth 3 times its weight:

Also, a gold-plated silver cup, enamelled, that weighs £4 15s. and is worth 3 times its weight:

Also, a gold-plated silver pot, enamelled, for water, that weighs 50s. 10d. and is worth 2 1/2 times its weight:

Also, a silver cup from the old treasure that belonged to bishop Gilbert of Chichester, that weighs 43s. 4d.:

Also, another white-silver cup, that weighs 28s.:

Also, another silver cup, that weighs 30s.:

Also, " , with a pommel enamelled with the arms of England, that weighs 47s. 3d.:

Also, a silver cup, that belonged to archbishop Henry of York, that weighs 46s. 8d., from the old treasure:

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Also, a silver drinking-cup for water, with 6 drinking cups inside, and 2 salt cellars with lids; which weigh £4 6s.:

Also 6 silver spoons, that weigh 7s., inside the chest with the drinking-cups:

Also, a silver pot, that weighs 39s.:

Also, a gold-plated silver censer, that weighs 59s.:

Also, a silver ship for incense, that weighs 18s. 4d.:

Also, in another chest, "en un estreme," embroidered with pearls, given to the late king at Ghent by the countess of Flanders:

Also, a belt, decorated with ivory, notched with a purse hanging down from it, with a face of Saracen:

Also, a purse of gold cloth, with 2 stones from Jerusalem in it:

Also, in another chest, a silver pot that weighs £4:

Also, another silver pot, that weighs 66s. 8d.:

" " 70s.:

" " 71s. 11d.:

" " £6 18s. 4d.:

" " 65s.:

" , for drinking, that weighs 65s.:

Also, a silver plate, with feet, for spice, that weighs 40s.:

Also, a pair of silver basins, enamelled within with escutcheons, that weigh £9 5s.:

Also, another pair of gold-plated silver basins, with escutcheons with the arms of the said Piers on them, that weigh £25:

Also, 9 silver dishes, that weigh £26 13s. 4d.:

Also, 2 silver plates for fruit, with the arms of the king of England, that weigh 78s. 4d.:

Also, 100 silver shields, marked with an eagle, that weigh £126 15s. 2d.:

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Also, 48 silver saucers of diverse design, that weigh £16 5s. 8d.:

Also, in another chest, 30 silver saucers, that weigh £9 15s.:

Also, 17 silver goblets, marked with an eagle as above, that weigh £11 5s. 8d.:

Also, a pair of silver basins for chapel, that weigh £4:

Also, 20 silver goblets that weigh 20 marks:

Also, 36 silver spoons, that weigh 46s. 8d., in a leather box:

Also, a silver pot for water that weighs 55s.:

Also, a plate of scrap silver that weighs 26s.:

Also, in another chest, a silver pot for water that weighs £6 10s. 10d.:

Also, another silver pot that weighs £4 13s. 4d.:

Also, " " £4 16s. 8d.:

" " 66s.:

Also, in another chest, a silver pot for water that weighs 4 marks:

Also, a silver bit, with four gold-plated silver studs, and 2 lions, in a leather sack:

Also, a remnant of green silk:

Also, an old enamelled vessel, and a chalcedony:

Also, three chaplets, of little value:

Also, three silver forks, for eating pears:

Also, a length of serpentine in silver:

Also, a belt of white silver thread:

Also, another belt with bands of silver and gold, that weighs 43s.:

Also, another small belt of pearls; worth 10s.:

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Also, a chaplet from Paris; worth 6s. 8d.:

Also, a cross with a silver chain; worth 40d.:

Also, a jewel set in gold, with a white cross across it:

Also, a belt, decorated with silver, woven from the start:

Also, in another chest, a simple chasuble, a gold-plated silver chalice, a tunic, a dalmatic, 2 hauberks, a leather cape from "Naak", a stole, and 2 household banners:

Also, another chasuble, a tunic, a dalmatic, a fur-backed altar frontal of green cloth, decorated with gold birds and fishes:

Also, in another chest, a pair of plates covered with and decorated with silver, with 4 silver chains, covered with a bright red velvet cloth decorated with gold bezants:

Also, two pairs of iron leg armor, weathered and new:

Also, other diverse garments with the arms of the said Piers, with the shoulders decorated and embroidered with pearls:

Also, in a sack, a light helmet, brown with neglect:

Also, a velvet cloak trimmed with fur from "Menenoir":

Also, 25 pieces of cloth from diverse garments, of diverse colors:

Also, a cendal curtain:

Also, 2 pieces of velvet to cover plates with:

Also, a buckle for a palfrey with the king's arms:

Also, 4 shirts and 3 breeches from Gascony decorated with orphrey:

Also, an old banner with the arms of the said Piers:

Also, in another chest, 2 silver basins with the escutcheon of Sir Edmund de Mauley's arms, that weighs £7 4s., with a hanaper lined with fur:

Also, a silver cup that weighs 27s.:

Also, a silver pot that weighs 51s. 2d.:

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Also, another silver cup, with an enamelled pommel with the arms of France and England, that weighs 41s. 2d.:

Also, in another chest, 2 silver wash-basins that weigh £4 9s. 6d., with 2 leather boxes:

Also, 2 silver pots for water, one gold-plated the other white, that weigh 33s. 4d., with 2 leather boxes:

Also, a silver cup that weighs 26s. 8d.:

Also, in another chest, 3 silver shields, that weigh £28 4s. 10d.:

Also, 35 silver saucers that weigh £10 8s.:

Also, 21 silver goblets that weigh £10 20d.:

Also, a silver pot that weighs 52s.:

Also, a silver cup with an enamelled pommel with the arms of England and France, that weighs 33s. 4d.:

Also, 18 silver spoons that weigh 18s.:

Also, a silver salt cellar, that weighs 16s.:

Also, 41 destriers and coursers and 1 palfrey:

Also, 9 pack-horses:

Also, 12 cart-horses:

Also, 2 carts with full harness.

The above named items, assembled with other diverse things that are not specified in these our letters and are contained in an indenture of them, made between the said bishop and John de Sandale on the one side, for us, and received in our name, and John de Heselarton, knight, and Michael de Meldon in the name of the aforesaid earl of Hereford, Robert de Clifford, and John de Botetourt, on the other side, that were taken not long ago by the aforesaid earls of Lancaster and Warwick, Henry and Robert, at Newcastle-on-Tyne and elsewhere from the baggage of Piers Gaveston:

Of which jewels, horses, and all other things contained in these letters, and in the said indenture, and received by the aforesaid bishop and John de Sandale, as sufficient power was given to them by us, we acquit them for all time by these our letters patent . . . the

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aforesaid earls of Lancaster and Warwick, Henry and Robert, and all of their followers, adherents and those bound against all men, and demand nothing from them;

And, if they desire to have another acquittance than this, of the things accounted for in these letters and the aforesaid indenture, we shall, if we wish to, make one according to the terms of the treaty.

And we also desire that those things not returned be returned or their value paid, that is to say, the price of the dead horses, and other damaged, lost and unreturned things, between now and 6 March, except the aforesaid jewels if none are in arrears, which things we wish to be returned by the said date, upon which an acquittance will be given according to the terms of the treaty.

In testimony of which we have had these letters patent made.

Given at Windsor, 27 February 1313.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Add. MS.	Additional Manuscript
Ann. Hib.	Annales Hibernie ab Anno Christi 1162 usque 1370, in Chartularies of St. Mary's, Dublin and Annals of Ireland, vol. 2, ed. J. T. Gilbert, Rolls Series (London, 1884).
Ann. Ire.	Annals of Ireland: Fragment, A.D. 1308-1310, in Chartularies of St. Mary's, Dublin and Annals of Ireland, vol. 2, ed. J. T. Gilbert, Rolls Series (London, 1884).
Ann. Loch. Cé	Annals of Loch Cé, ed. and trans. W. A. Hennessy, Rolls Series (London, 1871).
Ann. Lond.	Annales Londonienses, in Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II, vol. 1, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series (London, 1882).
Ann. Mon. B.M.V.	Annales Monasterii Beate Marie Virginis juxta Dublin, in Chartularies of St. Mary's, Dublin and Annals of Ireland, vol. 2, ed. J. T. Gilbert, Rolls Series (London, 1884).
Ann. Paul.	Annales Paulini, in Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II, vol. 1, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series (London, 1882).
Arch. Dép. Pyr.-Atl.	Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques
Arch. Gironde	Archives historiques du Departement de la Gironde (Bordeaux and Paris, 1859-present).
Baker	Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynbroke, ed. E. M. Thompson (Oxford, 1889).
Book of Howth	Book of Howth, in Calendar of Carew Manuscripts, ed. J. S. Brewer and W. Bullen (London, 1871).
Bridlington	Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvon Auctore Canonico

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	Bridlingtoniensi, in Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II, vol. 2, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series (London, 1882).
BL	British Library
Brut	The Brut, ed. F. W. D. Brie, Early English Text Society (London, 1906).
Caithréim	Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh, ed. S. H. O'Grady (London, 1929).
C. Carew MSS.	Calendar of Carew Manuscripts, ed. J. S. Brewer and W. Bullen (London, 1871).
C.Ch.W.	Calendar of Chancey Warrants
C.Ch.R.	Calendar of Charter Rolls
C.Cl.R.	Calendar of Close Rolls
C.D.S.	Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland
C.F.R.	Calendar of Fine Rolls
C.I.M.	Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous
C.I.P.M.	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
C.J.R.I.	Calendar of Justiciary Rolls of Ireland, 1307-14, ed. J. Mills (Dublin, 1921).
C. Ormond Deeds	Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1172-1350, ed. E. Curtis (Dublin, 1932).
C.P.R.	Calendar of Patent Rolls
C. Rec. Dub.	Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin, vol.1, ed. J. T. Gilbert (Dublin, 1889).
C.R.P.C.	Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium, I, i, ed. E. Tresham (Dublin, 1828).
Cart. Rames.	Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia, 3 vols., ed. H. Hart and P. A. Lyons, Rolls Series (London, 1884-93).
Chron. Melsa	Chronica Monasterii de Melsa, vol. 2, ed.

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	E. A. Bond, Rolls Series (London, 1868).
39th D.K. Report 42nd D.K. Report	Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland, Reports, 39 (Dublin, 1909), 42 (Dublin, 1911).
E.H.R.	English Historical Review
Foedera	Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, ed. T. Rymer, vols. I, ii and II, i (London, 1816-18).
Flores	Flores Historiarum, vol. 3, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1890).
Grace	Annales Hiberniae, Jacobi Grace, ed. R. Butler (Dublin, 1842).
Guisborough	Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, ed. H. Rothwell, Camden 3rd ser., vol. 89 (London, 1957).
Higden	Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, vol. 8, ed. J. R. Lumby, Rolls Series (London, 1882).
Hist. Docs. Ire.	Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland, 1172-1320, ed. J. T. Gilbert, Rolls Series (London, 1870).
Hist. MSS. Comm.	Historical Manuscripts Commission, Reports
J.R.S.A.I.	Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
Knighton	Chronicon Henrici Knighton, vol. I, ed. J. R. Lumby, Rolls Series (London, 1889).
Lanercost	Chronicon de Lanercost, vol. 2, ed. J. Stevenson, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1839).
Lib. Quot.	Liber Quotidianus Garderobae, 28 Edward I, ed. J. Topham, Society of Antiquaries (London, 1787).
Marca	Pierre de Marca, Histoire du Béarn, 2 vols. (Pau, 1844, 1912).
Parl. Writs	Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military

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PRO	Public Record Office. N.B., all citations to documents in this dissertation refer to the holdings of the PRO unless otherwise indicated.
R.G.	Rôles Gascons, 1242-1314, 4 vols., ed. Francisque-Michel, C. Bémont, and Y. Renouard (Paris, 1885-1906, Paris and London, 1962).
Rot. Parl.	Rotuli Parliamentorum, 1272-1326, ed. J. Strachey et al. (London, 1767).
T.R.H.S.	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
Trivet	Nicolai Triveti Annalium Continuatio, ed. A. Hall (Oxford, 1722).
Trokelowe	Johannis de Trokelowe Annales, ed. H. T. Riley, Rolls Series (London, 1866).
Vita	Vita Edwardi Secundi, ed. N. Denholm-Young (London, 1957).
Vita et Mors	Vita et Mors Edwardi Secundi, in Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II, vol. 2, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series (London, 1882).

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