

# University of St Andrews



Full metadata for this thesis is available in  
St Andrews Research Repository  
at:

<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

This thesis is protected by original copyright

Tu DA 237. P5. H2.

PHILIPPA OF HAINAULT AS  
QUEEN OF ENGLAND,  
1328-1369.

by  
Sandra L. Hamilton

St. Andrews University  
May, 1972



24-1-1944

Th 5936

I declare that this dissertation has been composed by me, that the work of which it is a record has been done by me, and that it had not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a candidate for the degree of Master of Letters in the University of St. Andrews in October 1970.

May 1, 1972.

I certify that Miss Sandra L. Hamilton has fulfilled all the conditions of the capital R resolution and regulations governing the degree of Master of Letters in the University of St. Andrews.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations.....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Chapter One.....	14
Philippa of Hainault, 1328-1336	
Chapter Two.....	39
The Start of the Hundred Years' War	
Chapter Three.....	66
Renewal of War	
Chapter Four.....	81
The Marriages of Her Children	
Chapter Five.....	126
Philippa's Last Years	
Conclusion.....	145
Bibliography.....	149

## ABBREVIATIONS

In the following work, chronicles have been cited either by the name of the author ( e.g. Knighton for Chronicon Henrici Knighton), or by the most distinctive word in the title.

CCR	Calendar of Close Rolls
CFR	Calendar of Fine Rolls
C Pap Reg	Calendar of Papal Registers
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls
Rot. Parl.	Rotuli Parliamentorum
Foedera	Rymer's Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, et Cujuscunq̄ue Generis Acta Publica.

## INTRODUCTION

Philippa of Hainault was the second surviving daughter of Count William of Hainault, called the Good, and his wife Jeanne of Valois, daughter of Charles of Valois. The Avesnes family, the ruling family of Hainault, was an old and honoured one of the Low Countries. Philippa's childhood was a quiet and sheltered one; she and her sisters were taught to be pious, hard-working, and generous ladies capable of running large households, raising large families, and entertaining in the most gracious manner of the day. Hainault was fundamentally an agricultural rather than commercial county, and as such suffered few of the social upheavals and riots experienced in the more industrialized areas of the Low Countries.<sup>1</sup> Count William was known among his contemporaries as a man of good judgement and chivalric virtue. In 1314, he had mediated between Adolf de la March, bishop of Liege, and his opponents. During the same year he had played an important part in the imperial elections, supporting Lewis of Bavaria, who won over Frederick of Austria. At Cologne in 1324, he saw his daughter Margaret married to Lewis of Bavaria, and his daughter Johanna married to William, heir

---

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed description of the economic, social, and political structure of Hainault, see H.S. Lucas, The Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, 1326-1347, Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA, 1929, Chapter I.

apparent to the Count of Juliers. He acted as mediator in most of the feuds, and there were many, in the Low Countries. His own boundary dispute with John III, Duke of Brabant, was settled by betrothing his only son, William, to John's daughter, Johanna. Philippa's father was, in short, a respected prince with a commanding position in the Low Countries. At the time of Philippa's marriage to Edward III of England, her father was Count of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland, holding alliances with the Duke of Brabant, Count of Guelders, Marquis of Juliers, and Holy Roman Emperor. His wife's nephew was the King of France, and William could choose to support French policy or not, as he chose. In a time of French territorial expansion, however, William chose not to support France, possibly because Hainault had a wide and geographically unprotected border with France.

If the Avesnes family was an honoured one, it was by no means a complaisant one. While Count William held a secure position in Hainault at the time of Philippa's English marriage, it had not always been so, indeed, the history of the Avesnes family was one of fierce argument and inter-family dispute concerning the family lands. From 1244 onwards they had had to fight for their possessions and the right to hold Hainault. Two rival branches, the Avesnes and the Dampierres, had fought for the lands, and not until 1322 had a settlement been reached which was satisfactory to both sides, under the mediation of the French king, Philip V.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> See Lucas, op. cit., p. 31, note 58, for refernces to this contest.

Thus, while Count William was reckoned to be a good and fair man, he was by no means considered a weak ruler or a prince easily beaten in a dispute.

In 1326, Anglo-Hainault relations were somewhat strained, owing to commercial disputes. Count William had promised compensation to English sailors for damages received in Zeeland, but never paid them.<sup>3</sup> English sailors took their own reprisal off Dover, which act was followed by reprisals on both sides.<sup>4</sup> By this time Queen Isabella, daughter of Philip le Bel, thus cousin of Jeanne of Valois, had left England and sought refuge with Charles IV. Charles of Valois was fatally ill in December 1325 and his daughter Jeanne, Countess of Hainault, was in Paris to be with him, possibly with her daughter, Philippa.<sup>5</sup> It is very possible, indeed, likely, that Isabella met her cousin while Jeanne was in Paris. When Isabella first arrived in France she had met with much sympathy, being seen as the innocent victim of a cruel husband. All during her stay, her husband Edward II anxiously awaited her return, with his son, to England. He wrote urgent letters to his son commanding his speedy return. One starts, "...since that your homage has been received by our dearest brother, the King of France, your uncle, be pleased to take your leave of him, and return to us with all speed in company with your mother, if so be that she will

---

<sup>3</sup> CPR, 1324-1327, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> CCR, 1323-1327, pp.505-506, 540-541; Foedera, II,i,p.614.

<sup>5</sup> Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swinbroke, ed. E.M. Thompson, Oxford, 1899, p. 20.

come quickly: and if she will not come, then come you without further delay, for we have great desire to see you and to speak with you, therefore stay not for your mother...", and another says, "Edward, fair son, you are of tender age...if you now act contrary to our command and continue in wilful disobedience, you will feel it all the days of your life, and all other sons will take example to be disobedient to their lords and fathers."<sup>6</sup> The letters were to no avail with Edward, but perhaps they helped to intensify the straining relations of Isabella and the French court. By summer 1326, her relationship with Mortimer had become so openly scandalous that Charles IV felt himself obliged to be rid of her. Froissart says that Robert of Artois suggested to Isabella that she look to John of Hainault, a perfect knight in contemporary opinion, for help. Yet, Artois was on good terms with Philip until 1332, so it would seem unlikely that he advised the English queen.<sup>7</sup> It is more likely that Isabella's recent meeting with her cousin Jeanne and Hainault's strained relations with Edward II had more influence on her choice of Hainault as a refuge. She travelled quickly and quietly through France, then Cambresis, and on to Ostrevant, where a poor knight of Hainault, Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, gave her shelter until the royal court at Valenciennes heard of her coming and sent John of Hainault to accompany her with her son to the court. According to Froissart, when John approached

---

<sup>6</sup> J.O.Halliwell, Letters of the Kings of England, vol. I, London, 1846, pp. 29, 30, 35.

<sup>7</sup> Sir John Froissart, Chronicles of England, France, and Spain, and the adjoining Countries, trans.&ed. Thomas Johnes, London, 1839, vol.I, p. 6.

Isabella and heard her story, he gallantly promised her aid: "Lady, see here your knight who, though every one else should forsake you, will do everything in his power to conduct you safely to England with your son, and to restore you to your rank with the assistance of your friends in those parts."<sup>8</sup> In Hainault, Isabella was still considered an innocent woman. But it was Count William, not John, who was most important to her. Count William collected a fleet of 140 ships, provided provisions, an army of around 700 men-at-arms, and agreed to reimburse ship owners for any losses incurred.<sup>9</sup> On August 25th, a marriage contract was drawn up between the Count's eldest, unbetrothed daughter, Philippa, and Isabella's son Edward. The arrangement of the marriage was against the wishes of the English king and his advisors. Prince Edward promised to give Philippa a proper dowry and marry her within two years, or forfeit L 10,000. Mortimer and the Earl of Kent, who had joined Isabella, guaranteed these conditions.<sup>10</sup> With the invasion plans complete, Isabella left Hainault with an army under John of Hainault and soon secured the throne of England for her son.

Once the deposition of Edward II was accomplished, negotiations began in earnest for the marriage of Edward and Philippa. As they were second cousins, through their mothers, it was necessary to secure a papal dispensation, which proved to be no easy matter. As the

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., vol. I, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Adae Murimuth, Continuatio Chronicarum, ed. E.M. Thompson, Rolls Series, London, 1889, p. 46.

<sup>10</sup> Lucas, op. cit., p. 55, note 20.

pope had long desired peace between France and England, this was one of the first matters attended to in early 1327. By April 11, Charles IV and Edward III had ratified an agreement concerning the disputed lands in Gascony.<sup>11</sup> When the differences with France appeared to be near an understanding Adam Orleton, bishop of Hereford, and Bartholomew Burghersh, constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports, were sent to Avignon. John of Hainault had already approached the pope, John XXII, concerning the dispensation, but the English envoys met with no initial success. Aitus Clerencio, envoy of Hugh of Angouleme, archdeacon of Canterbury, kept the pope informed of the English position. William of Hainault had the abbot of Vicogne and Michael de Linea, seignior of Pontoit, at Avignon presenting his petition as well. John XXII remained unmoved.

Neither the violent overthrow of Edward II nor the close blood relationship of Edward and Philippa was the main reason for the pope's refusal. At the time that the request for the dispensation was made, Count William's son-in-law, Lewis of Bavaria, Holy Roman Emperor, was at Trent, preparing to invade Italy. In 1323 Lewis had invaded Lombardy to aid Galeazzo Visconti, a Ghibelline, against the papal troops at Milan, and he now threatened the pope again. William's second daughter, Johanna, was the wife of William, son and heir apparent of Gerhard, Count of Juliers. The lands of the Count of Juliers were within the arch-

---

<sup>11</sup> Foedera II, ii, pp. 700-701, 703; CPR 1327-1330, p. 60.

bishopric of Cologne. The family coveted the archbishopric for one of its own members, and the present archbishop, Henry of Virneburg, was old and infirm. Gerhard asked the pope to reserve the see. If the pope refused, the Count might join Lewis. If he agreed, the brother-in-law of his strongest enemy would have the greatest ecclesiastical power in the Rhineland. Count William already held the loyalty of the bishops of Cambrai and Utrecht, along with his close relations with the Counts of Guelders and Juliers, and John, Duke of Brabant and Limburg. Papal interests in all these areas could only be advanced with Count William's consent. William's close relations with France and the Holy Roman Empire made him important in all continental European affairs. A marriage link might join Edward III to Lewis the Bavarian, with the Low Countries providing a commercial, financial, and personal link between them. The marriage might further provide a solid geographic base in the Low Countries from which to invade Capetian France, and the Avignon Papacy. The situation was not improved when John of Hainault raised an army and crossed to England to fight the Scots,<sup>12</sup> Lewis was demanding support from his Low Country allies for his Italian war, but William was holding back, and as William held back, so did William's friends. The pope still waited. Edward and Isabella wrote again requesting the dispensation and on 30th June the pope sent an oral message explaining his position.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> CPR, 1327-1330, p. 108.

<sup>13</sup> C Pap Reg., vol. II, p. 484.

Edward wrote on 15th August concerning the pope's fears about Count William,<sup>14</sup> as did William's envoys. In July the envoys were dismissed by the pope, who asked them to stop in Holland on their way to England and explain his decision.

In the face of papal obstinency, William decided to threaten the curia by planning to join Lewis, who already had the ~~Bombard~~ crown. With him would go the Counts of Juliers and Guelders. With this threat heavy in the air, the pope reconsidered. Edward wrote reassuring him that no harm would come to the church from the marriage. He would use all his influence on Count William to insure that papal interests were heeded.<sup>15</sup> Hostilities then broke out between John, Duke of Brabant, and Reginald, seignior of Valkenburg, requiring William's attention and lessening his threat to the papacy. On 29th August, William's envoys promised that William would support the pope, even against Lewis, and on 30th August, the dispensation was granted.<sup>16</sup> A full statement was made by the envoys on 3rd September.

Without a doubt, the securing of the dispensation was the most difficult part of the marriage preparations. Once it was secured, Roger Northburgh, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, was sent to Hainault to complete the marriage arrangements.<sup>17</sup> Count William received him with pleasure on 25th October. All the important figures of Hainault were present to greet

---

<sup>14</sup> Foedera, II, ii, p. 712-713.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 712-713.      <sup>17</sup> CPR 1327-1330, p. 266.

<sup>16</sup> C Pap Reg., II, p. 265.

the bishop and his party, and efforts were made to complete the arrangements as soon as possible. On 28th October, the final document was ready and witnessed by John of Hainault, seignior of Beaumont, and Walter, seignior of Bousies.<sup>18</sup> The contract was celebrated with great festivities at Valenciennes. Many of Edward's future allies were present, as well as many of his future enemies, including, John, King of Bohemia, Gerhard, Count of Juliers, John, Count of Namur, the Count of Arnsburg, Adolf, Count of Berg, William, heir apparent to the Count of Juliers, his brother Walram, future archbishop of Cologne, William, burgrave of Voorne, John of Hainault, and the bishops of Cambrai, Tournai, and Arras.<sup>19</sup> Bartholomew Burghersh and William Clinton were to conduct Philippa and Count William to England for the wedding and on December 16th, Philippa started out for England. With her went many great knights, especially Walter Manny, who was to have a brilliant career in arms in England, and also including Jean de Bernier, provost of Valenciennes, grand bailiff and receiver for Hainault, Gerard, seignior of Pottes, and William van Durvenvoorde, the Count's chamberlain.<sup>20</sup> Count William decided to stay in Hainault and sent his brother in his stead, with Adolf, Count of Berg. They crossed from Wissant to Dover, and were met by the bishops of Norwich and Hereford,<sup>21</sup> not Reginald Cobham and the Earl of Warwick, as Froissart states.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Lucas, op. cit., p. 71, note 115; Foedera II,ii,p. 718-719.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.,p.71.

<sup>22</sup> Froissart, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>20</sup> Froissart, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>21</sup> Annales Paulini, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, London, 1882, vol. I, p. 338.

According to Froissart, they arrived in London on the 22nd and were joyfully met by large crowds. <sup>23</sup>

A gift of victuals worth 300 marks was given to Philippa on December 24th. The mayor, with a large group of townspeople, then accompanied her to Holborn, from whence, on 27th December, she began her journey north to York to meet Edward, escorted by the king's second cousin, John Bohun. <sup>24</sup>

York had been in the midst of preparations to receive the bride since 18th December. Nicholas Hugate, canon of St. Peter's, had been instructed by the king to prepare the archepiscopal palace for her. <sup>25</sup> When she reached York, Froissart says, "All the lords of England who were in the city came forth in fair array to meet her, and with them the young king, mounted on an excellently-paced hackney, magnificently clad and arrayed, and he took her by the hand, and then embraced and kissed her, and so riding side by side and with great plenty of minstrelsy and honours, they entered the city and came to the queen's lodgings. So there the young King Edward wed Philippa of Hainault in the cathedral church of St. William." <sup>26</sup> The ceremony did not take place until 25th January, <sup>27</sup> as Roger, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and Count William did not arrive until 23rd January. Philippa's dowry of 15,000 l. black Tournais was settled on her in May. <sup>28</sup> Her companions were rewarded for conducting her safely to York: Jean de Berniers received land in

---

<sup>23</sup> Froissart, op. cit., p. 25. <sup>27</sup> Murimuth, op. cit., p. 57.

<sup>24</sup> Annales Paulini, op. cit., p. 339.

<sup>25</sup> CPR 1327-1330, pp. 191, 316. <sup>28</sup> Foedera II, ii, p. 743.

<sup>26</sup> Froissart, op. cit., p. 25.

fee simple in England or Ponthieu worth 100 l. Tournais annually, van Durvenvoorde and the seignior of Pottes each received 20 l. sterling annually from the customs receipts of Yarmouth.<sup>29</sup> Philippa's full dowry, however, was not settled on her until January 1, 1331, after the fall of Isabella and Mortimer.

To Philippa, then aged fourteen, it must have been a very exciting, if not overwhelming time. It is very evident that this was a political marriage but many chroniclers say it was also a love match. It seems likely that at least some youthful affection was present, as Edward and Philippa had met each other a year before the marriage and apparently had pleasant memories of the meeting. No reliable likenesses of Philippa in her youth remain today, but it is likely that she was pleasant in appearance. Froissart claims that when they met, "the young Edward devoted himself most and inclined with eyes of love to Philippa rather than the rest, and the maiden knew him best, and kept closer company with him than any of her sisters. So I have heard from the mouth of the good lady herself ..."<sup>30</sup> There is an insert for the year 1319 in the register of Walter Stapelton, bishop of Exeter, which is headed "The Inspection and Description of the Daughter of the Count of Hainault", to which has been added "who was called Philippa and who was wedded to Edward III."<sup>31</sup> She is described thus, "The lady whom

---

<sup>29</sup> CPR 1327-1330, pp. 270, 421, 454.

<sup>30</sup> Sir John Froissart, Chronicles of England, France, and Spain, ed. S. Luce, Paris, 1899, p. 235, vol. i.

<sup>31</sup> F.C. Hingeston-Randolph, The Register of Walter Stapelton, 1307-1326, London, 1892, p. 169.

we saw has not uncomely hair, betwixt blue-black and brown. Her head is clean-shaped, her forehead high and broad and standing somewhat forward. Her eyes are blackish brown and deep. Her nose is fairly smooth and even, save broad at the tip and also flattened, yet it is no snub nose. Her nostrils are also broad, her mouth fairly wide. Her lips rather full, especially the lower one. Her teeth which have fallen and grown again are white enough, the rest not so white. The lower teeth project a little beyond the upper, but this is little seen. Her eyes and chin are comely enough. Her neck, shoulders, and all her body and lower limbs are reasonably well shaped; and all her limbs well set and unmaimed, and nothing amiss so far as a man may see. Moreover she is brown of skin all over, and like her father, and in all things pleasant enough, as it seems to us. And the damsel will be of the age of nine years on St. John's Day next to come, as her mother saith. She is neither too tall nor too short for her age, of fair carriage, and well taught in all that becometh her rank, and highly esteemed and well beloved of her mother and father, and of all her meinie in so far as we could learn the truth." In all English sources, from 1328 onwards, Philippa is mentioned as being slightly younger than Edward, not two years older, as this account would make her. It is likely that this is an account of an older sister, possibly Sybella, who died in childhood. But it is not unlikely that Philippa and her sisters might have resembled

each other, atleast in some characteristics. Froissart claims further that when Edward and Isabella left Valenciennes in 1326, "Isabella embraced the damsels in turn, and after her the Prince of Wales. The Lady Philippa, when it came her turn, burst into tears, and on being asked why she wept said: 'Because my fair cousin of England is about to leave me, and I had grown so used to him.' Then all the knights who were there present began to laugh." <sup>32</sup> Froissart may have coloured the story to make better reading but perhaps the gem of it is true. In maturity he describes her as, "Tall and upright...wise, gay, humble, pious, libral and courteous, decked and adorned in her time with all noble virtues..." <sup>33</sup> If she was not beautiful Philippa was at the least queenly.

---

<sup>32</sup> Froissart, ed. Luce, op. cit., p. v615. i, p. 235.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 427.

## CHAPTER ONE

### PHILIPPA OF HAINAULT, 1328-1336

The first two years of Philippa's marriage were quiet ones. While Isabella and Mortimer were in power, Philippa and Edward lived a simple domestic life, with few royal responsibilities. Isabella was the powerful Queen Regent while Philippa was the unassertive Queen Consort of a king who was a minor. Edward and Philippa do not appear to have been discontent in this position, yet it is strange that two young people who had been groomed from early childhood to accept royal responsibilities should have led so quiet and undemanding an existence. They had both been reared in the sophisticated environments of royal courts, and it is doubtful that at the age of fourteen to fifteen years, Edward or Philippa could have been so immature as to make it necessary for Isabella to relieve them of all royal responsibility. If the description given of Philippa in Hardyng's Rhyming Chronicle is at all correct, she was certainly physically mature at the time of her wedding. He says, when negotiations were being finalized for a Hainault bride for Edward, they chose "...her with good hippis...,...For she will beare good soones..., To which they all accorded with one assent, And chase Philip that was full feminine..."<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> John Hardyng, Rhyming Chronicle, ed. Henry Ellis, London, 1812, p. 317.

Hardyng is likely to be right on this point for at sixteen Philippa bore her first child, a strong boy. Her emotional maturity is likely to have been well-developed, also. She had grown up as member of a large, close-knit family, in relatively peaceful surroundings. Throughout her life, Philippa frequently corresponded with her parents and sisters, and visited them whenever possible. She appears at fourteen as a stable person, able to cope with her new duties as a royal wife in a foreign land. As Isabella gave no reasons for quietly ignoring Philippa, one must assume that there were no reasons for it. Obviously, as long as Isabella and Mortimer were in power, Isabella, not Philippa, was the first lady of the land. Philippa was not crowned for two years following the marriage, nor was her dowry completed until after the fall of Isabella and Mortimer. Foreign dignitaries seeking influence at the English court did not approach Philippa, they approached Isabella. Thus, Philippa and Edward lived happily together in quiet surroundings.

There are few entries concerning Philippa in the official documents of 1327-1330. Yet the few that one does find are telling of her character and by carefully piecing together the information on Philippa in this period one can construct a reasonably complete picture of the girl. Philippa spent January through March, 1328, in York with all the royal family. Edward, with Mortimer and the English army, had been fighting the Scots. March 17th saw the conclusion of a peace treaty, known as the 'Shameful Peace', which ended the hostilities and the need to remain in York. Immediately after

Easter, the royal family began a slow journey south. The first time Philippa is mentioned in the Patent Rolls, aside from entries dealing with marriage preparations, is at Stamford on April 8th, and her charitable nature is at once revealed. Here she gave pardon to a young girl, Agnes, daughter of Alice Penrith, who had been appealed by a William Short before the stewards and marshalls of the household for a robbery at Bishopsthorpe. Agnes had been convicted, but as she was under the age of eleven, she had been committed to Marshalsea prison until she reached an age to undergo judgement.<sup>2</sup> This is the first of many such documents which occur throughout Philippa's reign. She was especially kind to women and to immigrants from the Low Countries, but willingly gave aid whenever she could to any needy person who came to her attention.

In June, Edward and Philippa reached Woodstock, near Oxford, where they spent the first two years of their married life. This was to become Philippa's favorite palace, the one to which she returned most often. At this time her household was set up, containing a few of her Hainault friends, but for the most part made up of English attendants. Walter Manny was the most illustrious of the Hainaulters to remain with her, as carver at her table. Her household expenses were funded from three sources. These included the traditional prerogatives due her; in England and

---

<sup>2</sup> CPR 1327-1330, p. 257.

Ireland she collected the queen's gold, equal to one-tenth of the sum of any voluntary fine made with the king, in Wales she collected the amobrage, a sum taken from every woman on her marriage, the amount varying with woman's resources. Secondly, Philippa was entitled to the income of all lands assigned to her in dower, and thirdly, she was given supplementary grants. In later years, as her finances became more and more complicated by growing debts, loans were secured for her.<sup>3</sup> Until 1331, however, Philippa did not have a very large household or the funds to run one. Aids, lands, and castles which traditionally belonged to the Queen of England enriched Isabella, not Philippa. In the first two years of marriage, Edward met Philippa's household expenses,<sup>4</sup> until April 1329, when she was granted a yearly sum of 1000 marks out of the Exchequer towards the expenses of her chamber, until some better provision could be made for her estate.<sup>5</sup> Not until February 1330, was Isabella persuaded to transfer the castle, honour, and borough of Pontefract to Philippa.<sup>6</sup> She also received the former Despenser lands in Glamorgan and Morgannow,<sup>7</sup> and Loughborough, another Despenser manor.<sup>8</sup> The annual income from these estates was to comprise L 3000, the total amount of dower promised to her. This amount, however, was not sufficient to meet her expenses. Philippa had no source of income to meet her personal maintenance expenses, nor was she

---

<sup>3</sup> Hilda Johnstone, "The Queen's Household," in T.F. Tout, Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England, vol. v., p. 265.

<sup>4</sup> CCR 1330-1333, p. 383.

<sup>5</sup> CPR 1327-1330, p. 389.

<sup>6</sup> CPR 1327-1330, p. 501.

<sup>7</sup> CFR 1327-1337, p. 161.

<sup>8</sup> CPR 1327-1330, p. 508, 512, 541.

to receive any until 1363, when Edward again paid these expenses for her. Edward was to be in debt for all of his reign and, not surprisingly, it was exceedingly difficult for Philippa to meet the expenses of her household, and later those of her children, with the funds that Edward could afford to give her. Philippa was constantly in debt or near to it, not because she was extravagant or managed her money badly, but because the English crown in the fourteenth century was still paying off the debts of Edward I's wars and to that burden was added the continual drain of Edward III's wars.

After the fall of Isabella and Mortimer, in autumn 1330, Philippa's situation improved slightly. In December she received L 1529 : 8: 4, from the king's share of the papal first-fruits, and L 1000 from the customs at Hull.<sup>9</sup> On the expected strength of the Hull customs, the Bardi advanced her L 400.<sup>10</sup> All her lands were reassigned in January 1331, and she gained many lands that Isabella had been holding. She lost Glamorgan,<sup>11</sup> but in return she received the castle, honour, and town of Knaresborough ( L 533:6:8), the castle and town of Tickhill ( L 333:16:5), the castle, honour, and town of High Peak ( L291:13:4), and the honour of L'Aigle ( L 230).<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, in February 1333, the Bardi claimed L 2268:15 in repayment of loans made to Edward for his queen, making it necessary for Edward

---

<sup>9</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 34.

<sup>12</sup> CPR 1330-1334, pp 55-56.

<sup>10</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 34.

<sup>11</sup> CPR 1330-1334, pp. 55-56.

to grant her another L 2000 to meet their claim.<sup>13</sup> In March of the same year, she was granted another 500 marks annually for household expenses, which in February 1334 was raised to 800 marks.<sup>14</sup> For the moment she was solvent, but over the whole of her life, she was in constant need of new grants to keep her so. Part of her problem was that there was a discrepancy between the value of her possessions and the income she received from them. For example, of the L 1000 due her from Hull, Philippa had received only L 940 by October 15, 1331.<sup>15</sup> In addition to that, Philippa's receiver contributed funds from her wardrobe to that of her husband when they were abroad.<sup>16</sup>

The structure of Philippa's independent household, which lasted only until 1363, was similar to that of the king. She had a great seal<sup>17</sup> and a privy seal. Her officials included two stewards north and south of Trent, bailiffs, reeves, farmers of castles, forests, or manors, receivers and a general receiver, who was the centre of the organization. These officials dealt with Philippa's interests at the local level. Above them were Philippa's treasurer, steward of the household, controller and cofferer. Her finances were handled by her own wardrobe, chamber, and exchequer. Philippa had an advisory council made up of these central officials who supervised all her affairs. Her officials frequently changed positions within the structure of her household; John Eston was cofferer from 1330 to 1331, then became receiver in 1336. John Amwell was

---

<sup>13</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 399; CCR1333-1337, p. 10.

<sup>14</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 420, 512. <sup>16</sup> Foedera, III, ii, p. 687.

<sup>15</sup> CCR 1330-1333, pp. 257, 272. <sup>17</sup> CPR 1350-1354, p. 435; CPR 1354-1358, p. 594.

first controller of the household, then collector of the queen's gold. John Gatesden was both superior steward of the queen's lands in Ulster and Connaught and controller of her chancellor and treasurer in England.<sup>18</sup> Later, in 1354, John Cook combined the offices of receiver general and treasurer.<sup>19</sup> November 1331, saw, along with the reassignment of her revenues a complete change of all her receivers and accounting officials. Commissioners north and south of Trent were appointed.<sup>20</sup> Until 1336 she had individual receivers for all her different revenues: one for revenue north of Trent, one south of Trent, one for queen's gold and all other revenues. In 1336 John Eston combined the three offices and kept careful records for all of them. These records show that issues from Philippa's dowry lands were used to meet the expenses of her household while her other revenues were used to support her chamber. The revenues used to support the chamber included income from specified pieces of land, queen's gold and amobrages, and grants from the king's exchequer. Eston not only received income for her, he also paid out the expenses of his office. He received a fee for his work, as did the queen's attorney. There were also farms and rents to be paid on some of Philippa's lands, wages for her constables, janitors, watchmen in her castles, her messengers, for the purchase of parchment for keeping her records, and references are found for the exchange

---

<sup>18</sup> H. Johnstone, in Tout, op. cit., p. 252.

<sup>19</sup> CCR 1354-1360, p. 80.

<sup>20</sup> H. Johnstone, in Tout, op. cit., p. 255, note 1.

of money for travel abroad. In the records of the chamber notations are found concerning Philippa's illuminator, fiddler, and midwife, and for special alms for nuns and chaplains. The money for such expenses came from both wardrobe and chamber funds.<sup>21</sup> The last year for which all three accounts are available from Eston is 1342-1343 and it is unknown if these offices were combined after that date. If they were not, their functions would still have remained closely connected.

Most of the men who held offices for Philippa had gained experience in other royal households. William Colby, her first treasurer, had served as controller of Edward II's chamber from 1323 to 1324. Philippa rewarded him by begging the pope to grant him a preferment, which the pope did in 1330.<sup>22</sup> His controller was John Amwell. In 1332 to 1333, Colby was transferred and served as clerk of the queen's privy seal,<sup>23</sup> and by 1333 he was also dean of York. One William Kirksly served directly after Colby, and he was replaced with William Culpho.<sup>24</sup> William Kirkby took on this office in 1337 and kept it until 1345.<sup>25</sup> He apparently did well in this office, as Philippa was eager to reward him with a prebend or any dignity in the king's gift.<sup>26</sup> Roger Clun, Philippa's cofferer, succeeded Kirkby as treasurer by 1347 to 1348, and was

---

<sup>21</sup> H. Johnstone, in Tout, op. cit., p. 256.

<sup>22</sup> C Pap Reg, 1305-1342, pp. 292, 349.

<sup>23</sup> H. Johnstone, in Tout, op. cit., p. 256, note 9.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p. 256.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p. 257, note 5.

<sup>26</sup> CPR 1338-1340, p. 158.

himself succeeded by the keeper of the king's great wardrobe, John Cook, who served until his death in 1358. By 1358 Philippa was approaching great financial difficulties and Cook was helped by William Ferriby, a member of the Yorkshire family, and his kinsman Richard Ravenser.<sup>27</sup> Most of the men who served Philippa were highly competent and experienced businessmen. The one great exception to this was Sir John Molyms, who was appointed steward of the queen's lands, lordships, and liberties south of Trent, in 1352, despite the fact that he had disgraced himself in the king's service in 1340 when he had enriched himself while administrating lands belonging to the king's chamber. He acted acted as a commissioner of oyer and terminer, inquiring into injustices at the hands of Philippa's officials. A petition to parliament in 1353 complained of his "... too grievous fines and amercements."<sup>28</sup> He was dismissed in 1357.

Philippa's officials worked, when not traveling with her, in houses in La Réole in Vintry Ward, London, granted to Philippa by Edward in December 1330.<sup>29</sup> After repairs were made to the buildings, Philippa's great wardrobe and privy wardrobe established themselves there in October 1333. The expenses for these alterations were paid from joint funds from her wardrobe and chamber. Here worked Thomas Tetbury, clerk of the great wardrobe from 1330 to 1361,<sup>30</sup> and William London, the queen's

---

<sup>27</sup> H. Johnstone, in Tout, op. cit., p. 257, note 12.

<sup>28</sup> Rot. Parl., ii, p. 253.

<sup>29</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 37.

<sup>30</sup> CPR 1361-1364, p. 41.

tailor. The treasurer had his own chamber and stable, but all other general business of the wardrobe was handled at La Réole. In 1327, Philippa's household was small, but it grew as her family increased and as she took on the responsibilities of royal wards, with their finances to watch as well.

Many entries can be found in the Patent Rolls concerning her household staff, but it is difficult to discover much about them but their names. In December 1330, a grant of land was made to Roger Belet, pantler in Philippa's household,<sup>31</sup> and from entries in the roll we know her attorney was Hasculph Whitewell.<sup>32</sup> One John Dene was her usher and was in personal attendance on her. In July 1328 he was granted permission to have his brother, Geoffrey Dene, and one John Body, carry out his duties as controller of customs in the port of Southampton, so long as his attendance on the queen prevented him from executing them in person.<sup>33</sup> Walter Wight, yeoman of the cuphouse, was rewarded with a grant of the office of warrener of Thorley and Weoley, on the Isle of Wight.<sup>34</sup> He, along with Henry Botellerie, acted as a purveyor of her household, with a number of other men.<sup>35</sup> Philippa was as generous to these people as she could be. Until 1330 she did not have the means to grant them gifts and rewards, but from autumn 1330 onwards throughout her lifetime, the official documents are full of records of her generosity to her

---

<sup>31</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 33.

<sup>32</sup> CPR 1330-1334, pp. 82, 454.

<sup>33</sup> CPR 1327-1330, p. 413.

<sup>34</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 453.

<sup>35</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 510. The other men included Richard Podenhale, William Cornwall, John atte Hallee, Robert Imworth, John Melford, Robert Hemelhamsteale, Richard Bovendon, Alexander Ware, and Thomas Tetbury.

attendants. She was especially kind to her ladies. The ladies of her chamber included Emma Priour, Joan Carru, Amy Gaveston, Elena Maule, and Mabel Fitz-Waryne. In July 1330, Emma Priour received a life grant from the abbot and convent of Selby.<sup>36</sup> Amy Gaveston received in January 1332 a grant for life of the lands in Havering atte Bower and elsewhere in the county of Essex, which escheated to the queen by the forfeiture of Robert William.<sup>37</sup> In June she received a further grant for life, for service to the queen, of the manor of Wonfield, Berkshire, an escheat by the forfeiture of Roger Mortimer, late Earl of March.<sup>38</sup> Elena Maule received in 1333 a fee farm of 20 l. paid at the exchequer by the abbot and convent of Clive,<sup>39</sup> which was immediately followed by the grant of a fee farm of 18 l. 13s. 4d. payable by the abbot and convent of Clive for the manor of Brampton, Devon.<sup>40</sup> Joan Carru was given custody of the manor of Earlslane, Herefordshire, which had belonged to Edmund Mortimer. She was to hold the manor, valued at L 211: 19: 10, rent free, during the minority of the heir.<sup>41</sup>

Perhaps it was her generous nature that recommended Philippa so strongly to the pope, for if Philippa was ignored by Isabella, she was not ignored by the pope. Indeed, she seems to have been highly in his favour for he granted her many small indulgences immediately

---

<sup>36</sup> CPR 1327-1330, p. 544.

<sup>37</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 244.

<sup>38</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 306.

<sup>39</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 457.

<sup>40</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 461.

<sup>41</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 541.

after her wedding. In June 1329, he granted that her confessor could hear the confessions of her household, as well as the faculty to have a portable altar. <sup>42</sup> Earlier, he had written to her personally congratulating her on becoming queen, and pointing out her duty to assist the king in defending the rights and liberties of the church, protecting the poor and exercising herself in good works. <sup>43</sup> He wrote, in another letter, asking her to fulfil the duties of her position, to love her husband, and encouraging her to have recourse to the pope and to the church whenever the occasion should require it. <sup>44</sup> He granted her permission to enter religious houses of women with her retinue, that her confessor could give her plenary absolution in the case of sudden death, and that the religious might eat meat at her table on free days. <sup>45</sup> In return, the pope asked certain favours of her. He wrote Edward III in August 1329, asking that the property of the Templars in England be restored to the Hospitalers. Rome had requested this before, but nothing had been done to restore the lands. At the same time he wrote Philippa, requesting that she use all her influence with the king to secure this restoration. <sup>46</sup> Philippa's charity is again evident in her dealings with the curia concerning one William Cosins. He was a subdeacon at Exeter who, "...when a boy, put a small knife into John Mouthan's leg, in order to free his head, which John was holding

---

<sup>42</sup> C Pap Reg, Let., 1305-1342, pp. 260, 291.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 489.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 291.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 489.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 492.

fast between his legs, John being then a clerk. William, being ignorant of the law, [which held excommunication as punishment for striking a man in holy orders] was ordained and held a benefice, value 1 mark, which he has resigned. Dispensation and remission of fruits received, at queen Philippa's request." <sup>47</sup>

In July 1328, Isabella travelled north again, to Berwick, to witness the marriage of Lady Joan, sister of Edward III, to David Bruce, as fulfilment of one of the terms of the peace of March 17, 1328. Apparently Edward was not pleased by this marriage of his sister, who was only seven years old, for neither he nor Philippa attended it. Nor was Joan given any dowry, although when in 1332 her sister Eleanor married the Count of Guelders she received a dowry of L 10,000 from her brother Edward. <sup>48</sup> It appears that the absence of a dowry in Joan's case was a further sign of Edward's displeasure with this match. The marriage was the physical embodiment of the peace treaty of 1328, a peace which pleased no one in England except Isabella and Mortimer. <sup>49</sup> As a political settlement, the marriage was to prove a failure, as was the peace treaty, nor was it to prove a happy marriage for Joan, but at this time Edward could not have prevented it from taking place. King Charles IV of France had died in 1328, leaving no direct heir, thus giving Edward a claim to the throne through his mother, but Isabella did

---

<sup>47</sup> C. Pap. Reg. Let., 1305-1342, p. 291.

<sup>48</sup> Foedera, II, ii, p. 834.

<sup>49</sup> See R. Nicholson, Edward III and the Scots, Oxford, 1965, p. 52 for further discussion of the marriage.

not wish him to pursue it as it would probably necessitate war. The accession of a new French king, Philip of Valois, however, meant that Edward must go to France and pay homage for Ponthieu and Guienne, which he did in summer 1329. Perhaps while he was abroad Edward first heard stories concerning his mother's character, and believed them, for when he returned to England he was more restless in his powerless position, and not as cooperative with his mother as had been formerly. In February 1330, plans were finally begun for the coronation of Philippa. The date was set for 4th March, a Sunday, in Westminster. Letters were immediately sent out to the lords spiritual and temporal of the kingdom, summoning them to the ceremony. One such letter was sent by Edward on February 28th to Bartholomew Burghersh, "...to appear with his barons of the Cinque Ports, to do their customary duties at the coronation of his dearest Queen Philippa, which takes place, if God be propitious, the Sunday next to the Feast of St. Peter, in the cathedral of Westminster." 50

Though the notice was short, most of the lords were able to complete the journey in time. Not only was the notice short, but the ceremony itself was shortened as much as possible, as Philippa was then heavily pregnant with her first child. Once she was crowned she returned immediately to Woodstock.

At the same time that Philippa was pregnant with her first child, her sister Jeanne, Countess of Juliers, was also pregnant with her first child. There was communication between the two royal courts concerning

---

50 Foedera, II, ii, p. 781.

the condition of the sisters, for on 10th May, Edward promised to pay Dino Forsezzi and Bartholomew Bardi for bringing news to Philippa of the birth of her sister's child.<sup>51</sup> On the morning of 15th June, Philippa was delivered of her first son, a large, strong baby. Thomas Prior, the queen's valet and messenger, carried the news to Edward and was rewarded with 40 marks a year for life.<sup>52</sup> Joan of Oxford was the baby's nurse,<sup>53</sup> and Katherine Haryngton was Philippa's nurse.<sup>54</sup> Philippa, aged sixteen, made a rapid recovery, and was congratulated on the birth by the pope.<sup>55</sup> She insisted on nursing the baby herself; there are claims that she and Prince Edward formed the model for many paintings and sculptures of the Virgin and Child during this period,<sup>56</sup> including one statue at Sandford Church. Edward was very proud of his son. Perhaps this encouraged him in his drastic actions to remove his mother and Mortimer from power, for only a few months later, in October, he, with the help of William Montacute, his good friend, took Mortimer and conducted him to the Tower, where he was quickly condemned to death and taken out to Tyburn to be hanged. Isabella was treated kindly by her son, who had her removed to Castle Rising on the Norfolk <sup>COAST</sup>, where she remained for many years, leading a quiet and secluded existence. One of the most touching letters Philippa ever received from the pope concerned Isabella's confinement. He wrote in November concerning the king's treatment of his mother, and asked that Philippa do all she could to induce

---

51 CPR 1327-1330, p. 523.

52 CPR 1330-1334, p. 74.

53 CPR 1327-1330, p. 72.

54 G. Beltz, Memorials of the Order of the Garter, London, 1841, p. 244.

Edward to look upon his mother favourably, remembering the many hardships she had endured for him.<sup>57</sup> Kind-hearted Philippa must have acquiesced, for the following summer she received another letter from the pontiff thanking her and commending her for the sympathy and consolation she gave to Isabella, and begging her to help to restore the good name of the Queen Mother, which had been undeservedly injured.<sup>58</sup> One wonders if the pope could have been so naive as to think this possible, but undoubtedly Philippa did her best to smooth over the unpleasantness between mother and son. Edward was not a vengeful king. He settled many of the revenues that Isabella had held on Philippa, to whom they really belonged as part of her dowry. When their first daughter was born, Edward named her Isabella, in honour of his mother, and when Isabella, many years later, had adjusted to her role as Queen Dowager, she was allowed to return to court. Twenty-four years after Mortimer was found guilty of treason and executed, the judgement was reversed, his estates being restored to his family, many members of which served Edward well. But in 1330, a parliament was quickly called to pass an act of indemnity on all those concerned with the death of the Earl of March.<sup>59</sup> At the same time, the widow of the Earl of Kent was restored to the family possessions, and William Montacute was generously rewarded.<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> C Pap Reg, Let, 1305-1342, p. 497.

<sup>56</sup> Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, ed. Thomas Hearne, London, 1810, vol II, p. 548-549.

<sup>57</sup> C Pap Reg, Let, 1305-1342, p. 498.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, p. 501.

<sup>59</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 64.

<sup>60</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 31, 54.

All at once Philippa's position changed, for now she, not Isabella, was acknowledged as queen. As has been explained, her household was greatly expanded at this time, and her full dowry was settled on her. Princess Eleanor, Edward's sister, who had been in the care of Isabella, was placed under Philippa, and the two girls, for Eleanor was only twelve, appear to have been good friends. In February 1331, Philippa received a grant to try to cope with the expenses of her expanding family. She was granted the issues of the county of Chester, from the time of the arrest of Roger Mortimer Earl of March. This was to cover the expenses of the households of Philippa's son Edward, Earl of Chester, and Edward's sister, Eleanor.<sup>61</sup> Philippa's mother visited her that summer and it must have been a happy time for Philippa.<sup>62</sup> Entertainments were planned on a lavish scale; tournaments were held at Dartmouth, Stepney, and Cheapside. It was at Cheapside in September that an incident occurred that further revealed Philippa's charitable nature and endeared her to her subjects.<sup>63</sup> A great wooden viewing stand had been built across the street from which Philippa and her ladies were to watch the tournament. When King Edward and his knights, all dressed as Tartar warriors, approached the stand, Philippa and the ladies rose to bow. As they did so, the wooden stand collapsed, and they fell to the ground amidst the debris. Edward was furious and determined immediately to execute the carpenters

---

<sup>61</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 78.

<sup>62</sup> Foedera, II, ii, p. 823.

<sup>63</sup> Murimuth, op. cit., p. 63; Annales Paulini, op. cit., p. 355, Baker, op. cit., p. 48.

who had built the stand. They were standing in front of him being condemned when Philippa rushed forward, threw herself on her knees and begged her husband to forgive them. Edward was nothing if not chivalrous, and could not refuse to grant pardon at his lady's request. The final outcome of the event was that a large stone stand was built for future use. During the visit of the Countess of Hainault, Walter Manny was knighted and a marriage was negotiated between Edward's sister Eleanor and Reginald II, Count of Guelders and Zutphen.<sup>64</sup> Eleanor was only fourteen, the Count was a widower with four daughters, but the marriage was to be happier than might have been expected, and Eleanor bore him two sons. Christmas 1331, was spent at Wells in Somerset, and preparations for the marriage continued. Edward gave her L 1500 as her marriage portion,<sup>65</sup> along with gifts of clothing and furniture, groceries and a purple chariot covered with gold stars. He and Philippa accompanied the Count and Eleanor a short distance on their journey from Wells to the coast, and when they parted Philippa gave Eleanor a furred robe.<sup>66</sup>

Spring 1332 found Philippa awaiting the birth of her second child. The palace at Clarendon was prepared for her, but she chose to go at last to Woodstock for the birth.<sup>67</sup> There, in June, Princess Isabella was born.<sup>68</sup> Edward was as pleased with his

---

<sup>64</sup> CPR 1330-1334, pp. 188, 250, 262, 269.

<sup>65</sup> Foedera II, ii, p. 823, 825, 832, 833.

<sup>66</sup> Extracts from the Issue Rolls, ed. F. Devon, London, 1837, p.142.

<sup>67</sup> Foedera, II, ii, p. 829.

<sup>68</sup> Chronicon Angliae, ed. E.M. Thompson, Rolls Series, London, 1874, p. 4.

daughter as he had been with his son. Philippa's reception of the court after the birth was a very splendid affair. Philippa was dressed in red and purple velvet embroidered with pearls and sat on a bed of green velvet, embroidered with a mermaid and merman holding the shields of Hainault and England. All the household received new clothes for the occasion, and the baby herself had a robe of Lucca silk edged with fur.<sup>69</sup> A household was immediately arranged for the baby. She had a tailor, John Bromley, and a damsel, Joan Gambon, both of whom received L 10 per year.<sup>70</sup> Philippa both arranged and oversaw the households of all her children. For Prince Edward, now three, she chose a tutor in the person of Dr. Walter Burleigh, the queen's almoner and a respected Oxford scholar. Prince Edward was educated by Burleigh with Burleigh's son Simon, and a few other carefully chosen boys. But Philippa was not to remain at Woodstock for long.

By 1333 Edward was firmly in control of his kingdom, and began to turn his thoughts north to Scotland and the unsatisfactory peace agreement his mother had made in his name with Robert Bruce. Robert Bruce had died in 1329 and his son David, Edward's brother-in-law, was now king. When Edward Balliol invaded Scotland and managed to have himself crowned at Scone, he offered to acknowledge Edward as his liege lord and superior, surrender the town and castle of Berwick to the English, and follow Edward in any foreign wars.

---

<sup>69</sup> Issue Roll, op. cit., p. 145.

<sup>70</sup> CPR 1354-1358, p. 144; CCR 1339-1341, p. 58, 1341-1343 p. 656.

Edward seized on the opportunity, and his sister Joan and her husband were removed to France for safe-keeping by their loyal supporters. Edward went north to help Balliol secure the country, and Philippa soon followed. Throughout her life she was to be a great traveller. Wherever Edward went, his wife soon followed him, no matter what hardships were involved. Her journey to Scotland could not have been a very pleasant one. It was necessary for her to leave her children at Clarendon, in the charge of a governess. In April 1333, Philippa joined Edward at Knaresborough. Here again, Philippa's kindness showed itself, for at her request one Agnes Scarborough was saved from hanging. Agnes was granted a pardon, after being convicted before the stewards and marshalls of the household, of the larceny of a surcoat and 3s., in money. She was to be hanged, but her execution was deferred because she was pregnant.<sup>71</sup> From Knaresborough the royal party moved on to Tweedmouth in June, where Edward had all of Philippa's carts, horses, war-horses, and palfreys lodged, and from whence she retired to Bamborough castle, and English stronghold.<sup>72</sup> Edward then moved onwards twenty miles to take Berwick, which remained in the hands of David's supporters. Edward held the two sons of the governor of Berwick as hostages and did not anticipate a long struggle. The Earl of Douglas surprised him, however, by besieging Bamborough castle, in an attempt to draw Edward away from

---

<sup>71</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 425.

<sup>72</sup> Chronicon Angliae, op. cit., p. 4.

Berwick and bring him quickly to the battlefield. Douglas was mistaken, for his strategy merely incited Edward to a greater anger. Bamborough was well fortified and well provisioned, so Edward left Philippa safely inside its walls to endure the siege while he finished attending to Berwick. The two boy hostages that Edward held were immediately killed as a sign of his displeasure. Instead of a siege at Berwick, as Edward had originally planned, he threw his troops at the walls and quickly took the town. Then, he marched to Bamborough and met Douglas at Halidon Hill on July 19th. Douglas was killed and Edward marched on to Bamborough to release Philippa from the castle.

With Berwick secure, Edward and Philippa travelled south. When they arrived at Clarendon, according to B. C. Hardy, they discovered that their children had been neglected by the governess, who had spent all the money left for their maintenance, and accumulated large debts, besides. Edward paid L 500 to clear the debts, and Philippa never left her children at home again, except when war made it absolutely impossible for them to travel with her.<sup>73</sup> The whole family spent Christmas 1333 at Wallingford. Sometime in February, Philippa was delivered of her third child, a daughter Joan. More grants were made to Philippa to cover the expenses of this new increase in her family. Some discrepancy arises as to the exact date of her birth, but that it occurred in the early part of 1334 is proven by the fact that on 6th March Philippa was granted

---

<sup>73</sup> B.C.Hardy, Philippa of Hainault and her Times, London, 1810, p. 83.

the issue of the county of Chester, the castles of Chester, Bestorn, Rhuddlan, and Flint, and all other places in Wales and England that the Earl of Chester held by the king's grant. These issues were to be used for the sustenance of Edward, Earl of Chester, the king's son, and Isabella and Joan, the king's daughters. Furthermore, Philippa was to order the household of Edward, Isabella, and Joan at her will. <sup>74</sup> While Philippa arranged her children's households, Edward began to negotiate marriages for them. In October 1332, his ambassadors had begun to treat with ambassadors of Philip of France for a match between Edward's son and a daughter of Philip. <sup>75</sup> In 1335 negotiations were in progress to join Isabella with the eldest son of King Alfonso of Castile, and Joan with the eldest son of the Duke of Austria. <sup>76</sup> None of these arrangements was carried to a conclusion.

It was not long before Edward was again heading north, and not long thereafter that Philippa followed him, this time with all of her children. According to Hardy, special quarters were provided for the children at York. Philippa seems to have moved about a great deal in the north, and from June to August her children were sent to Peterborough Abbey and placed in the care of the abbot, Adam Butley, who apparently grew fond of them and gave them many presents. <sup>77</sup> During this time Philippa travelled to Norwich. Here, in 1331,

---

<sup>74</sup> Foedera, II, ii, p. 880.

<sup>75</sup> Foedera, II, ii, p. 838.

<sup>76</sup> Foedera, II, ii, pp. 929, 910.

<sup>77</sup> Hardy, op. cit., p. 85.

she had arranged for a colony of Flemish weavers to be established. In July of that year Edward had written to a weaver, a John Kempe of Flanders, that "...if he will come to England with his servants and apprentices of his mystery, with his goods and chattels, and with any dyers and fullers who may be inclined willing to accompany him, beyond the seas, and explain their mysteries in the Kingdom of England, they shall have letters of protection and assistance in their settlement." <sup>78</sup> Whether or not John Kempe came to England is unknown, but certainly a colony of Flemish weavers was established there by 1335, for Philippa frequently visited them. At first, as aliens, they were unpopular with the natives of Norfolk, but in time they were accepted, and the cloth-weaving industry expanded greatly, and spread from there over much of England. <sup>79</sup>

Sometime during the summer of 1335, Philippa gave birth to a son, William, named after her father, at Hatfield in Yorkshire. The child lived only a few months and was buried in York minster in the spring of 1336. <sup>80</sup> During this same time an incident is recorded in Durham when Edward was lodged at St. Cuthbert's Priory, at Durham Cathedral. Philippa travelled from Knaresborough to join him. Then, "...being unacquainted with the customs of the church, the Queen went through the abbey gates to the Priory, and after

---

<sup>78</sup> Foedera, II, ii, p. 823.

<sup>79</sup> See W. Longman, The Life and Times of Edward III, London, 1869, vol. I, p. 87.

<sup>80</sup> Chronicon Angliae, op. cit., p. 5.

supping with the King, retired to rest. This alarmed the monks, one of whom went to the King and informed him that St. Cuthbert had a mortal aversion to the presence of women. Unwillingly to give any offence to the church, Edward immediately ordered the Queen to arise, " which she did, and "...in her undergarments only, returned by the gate through which she had entered, and went to the castle; after most devoutly praying that St. Cuthbert would not avenge a fault which she had through ignorance committed." <sup>81</sup> Froissart was indeed correct in describing Philippa as a pious woman.

By spring 1336, Edward was growing tired of the north and went south briefly, leaving his brother John of Cornwall in charge in the north. Family matters were again attended to. Prince Edward's nursery staff was dissolved, and his early attendants generously rewarded. <sup>82</sup> Philippa received a grant to sell old oaks on her estates, and received one-third part of the king's prises of wine at three ports. <sup>83</sup> Edward went north in September, but his brother died before he got there, in the first week of October. Edward appears to have been distracted from Scottish affairs, for he left the north and did not return for twenty years. A year later, Prince Edward received his uncle's title of Cornwall, which King Edward raised from an Earldom to a Duchy. <sup>84</sup> Prince Edward was thus the first

---

<sup>81</sup> John Sykes, Local Records of Northumberland and Durham, Newcastle, 1866, Vol. I, p. 41.

<sup>82</sup> CPR 1348-1350, p. 108; Cpr 1354-1358, p. 72.

<sup>83</sup> CPR 1330-1334, p. 319.

<sup>84</sup> Thomas Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, ed. H.T. Riley, Rolls Series, London, 1863, vol. I., p. 197.

English Duke. At the time of his investiture, twenty new knights were dubbed. Already, however, Anglo-French relations were growing cool. It would not be long before Edward and his knights would go to war in France. And Philippa would soon follow them.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE START OF THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR

Isabella and Mortimer could not afford to go to war in France over Edward III's claim to the French crown, but by 1338 Edward could do so himself. It is not the present purpose to go into the causes of the Hundred Years War, but suffice it to say that by 1337 to 1338 the accumulative reasons for Anglo-French hostilities brought the two countries into conflict. In April, 1337, the Bishop of Lincoln, Henry Burwash, the Earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon, and two 'learned doctors' were sent to the Low Countries as an embassy to start setting up alliances for Edward.<sup>1</sup> At Valenciennes they saw Philippa's father, Count William, who was sick in bed with gout, but more than willing to do all he could for Edward. According to Froissart, Count William spoke to the envoys with great enthusiasm: "I vow to God, if the king can succeed in this, I shall be much rejoiced; for as you may easily imagine, I feel more interested for him who has married my daughter than for King Philip, who has never done anything for me though I have married his sister. He also prevented, clandestinely, the marriage of the young duke

---

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Anglicana*, op. cit., p. 198.

of Brabant with my daughter; on which account I will not fail my dearly beloved son, the king of England, in any respect, if his council should undertake the advising of it. I will give him every aid, as will John, my brother, now present, who has before assisted him." <sup>2</sup> The Count goes on to help the envoys decide which princes to approach, and how to win their friendship: "I cannot think of any lords that can so powerfully assist him as the Duke of Brabant, his cousin-german, the bishop of Liege, the Duke of Guelders, who married his sister, the Archbishop of Cologne, the Marquis of Juliers, Sir Arnold de Bacqueville, and the Lord of Fauquemont: - these are the lords that can, in a short time, furnish greater numbers of men at arms than any I know; - they are very warlike themselves, and, if they choose, can easily make up ten thousand men completely armed and equipped; but you must give them money beforehand, for they are men who love to gain wealth." <sup>3</sup> Froissart, writing twenty years after the event, explains how Edward came to set up his expensive alliance system. He claims further that forty knights bachelor went immediately to Hainault to help with the negotiations, "...among them many young knights bachelors, who had one of their eyes covered with a piece of cloth so that they could not see with it. It was said that they had made a vow to some ladies in their country, that they would never use but one eye until they had personally performed some deeds

---

<sup>2</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 40.

of arms in France..."<sup>4</sup>

As eye patches play an important part in the vows allegedly made in the poem "The Vows of the Heron", it is likely that some sort of chivalric vowing did occur around this time. It is unlikely that the vows made were as elaborate as the ones in the poem, which claims to relate an event which took place in September 1338, and in which Philippa played a major role. As Thomas Wright points out, by September, Edward had been abroad for two months. The poem was probably composed after 1340,<sup>5</sup> but it is not unlikely that the spirit of 1338 is correctly conveyed to the reader. In 1338 the cause of war was very popular: Edward had no difficulty in finding men to go abroad with him. It is perhaps useful, then, to look briefly at the poem, and especially at the part that Philippa plays in it. According to the poet, Count Robert of Artois, the French exile living at the English court, sought to incite Edward to go to war so that Edward might secure his claim to the throne and so that he, Robert, might secure the lands which he claimed had wrongly been taken from him. One day he went fowling and caught a heron, apparently considered to be a cowardly bird which was frightened of its own shadow. Artois had the bird cooked and then carried into the banquet table by two beautiful maidens. He defied those present to make vows of bravery on the cowardly bird, which the company proceeded to do with great vigour.

---

<sup>4</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p.40, vol, I.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Wright, Political Poems and Songs, Rolls Series, London, 1859, vol. I, p. xiv.

Edward, of course, vowed to go to France, to take the throne. The Earl of Salisbury next vowed to join him and to cover one eye with a patch until he had performed some feat of arms in France. Sir Walter Manny, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Suffolk, Jean Fauquemont, a famous Hainault knight, all made vows to go to France and then Artois knealt before Philippa. According to the poet she made a long speech:

"Vassal", said the queen, "now talk to me  
no more;  
A lady cannot make a vow, because she has  
a lord;  
For if she vow anything, her husband has  
a power  
That he can fully revoke what she shall vow;  
And shame be to the body that should think  
of it,  
Before my dear lord shall have commanded  
it me."  
And said the king: "Vow, my body shall  
acquit it;  
But that I may accomplish it, my body shall  
labour;  
Vow boldly, and God shall aid you."  
Then said the queen: "I know well for some  
time  
That I am big with child, that my body has  
felt it,  
It is only a little while since it moved  
in my body;  
And I vow and promise to God who created me,  
Who was born to the Virgin, while her body  
remained perfect,  
And who died on the cross, they crucified  
him,  
That my fruit shall never issue from my  
body,  
Until you have led me to the country over  
there,

To perform the vow that your body has  
vowed.  
And if it should be ready to issue, when  
it will not be need,  
With a great knife of steel my body shall  
slay itself;  
My life will be lost, and the fruit will  
perish."  
And when the king hears this, he thought  
of it very gravely,  
And said: "Certainly no one will vow more."  
The heron was divided, the queen ate of it.  
Then, after this was done, the king made  
his preparations,  
And caused ships to be stored, the queen  
entered;  
And led many a knight with him.  
From thence to Antwerp the king made no  
halt.  
When they had finished their voyage, the  
queen was delivered;  
The lady was brought to bed of a graceful  
fair son,  
Lion of Antwerp he was called, when they  
baptized him.  
Thus the noble dame acquitted her vow. 6

As Wright points out, Philippa's vow "was not very remarkable for its feminine delicacy,"<sup>7</sup> and, indeed, it is difficult to imagine Philippa, a quiet and retiring lady, making such a statement before an assembled company. Only in his lines concerning her careful deference to vow until her husband has approved it does the poet create anything that Philippa is likely to have done. If the poem was composed around 1340 by one of the Count of Artois's supporters to awaken new interest in his followers, it would be common knowledge that Philippa had joined her husband in Antwerp and

---

<sup>6</sup> Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 23-25.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xv.

had borne a son. Not since Eleanor of Aquitaine had gone crusading had an English queen been such an active follower of her husband's campaigns. Certainly Philippa was exceptionally well travelled for a queen consort in the fourteenth century, and perhaps her activity was unusual enough to give some credence to the vows attributed to her in this poem. But whether or not this is so, one feels Philippa must have been a very popular figure in the court for the poet to give her so much space and attention in his verses. She was known as a good and pious woman and if she had made such a vow it would have been a very serious challenge to the gentlemen present to keep their promises. If one assumes, however, that Philippa never took part in this ceremony, which probably never took place, and that the poem was composed for propagandistic purposes at a later date, it still shows that the poet must have held her name in high esteem as he was using it in an attempt to incite his readers on to greater deeds of arms.

By the end of 1337, preparations to go abroad were well under way. Count William of Hainault had died in June, and Philippa's mother had retired into a convent at Fontenelles on the Scheld,<sup>8</sup> but despite this, Edward's alliances in the Low Countries held together and war was inevitable. Philippa was granted L 564: 3: 4 for saddles, silver vases, purses, silk and jewels, all apparently necessities for travel abroad.<sup>9</sup> Not only was Philippa to accompany Edward

---

<sup>8</sup> op. cit.  
Froissart, ed. Johnes, vol I, p. 43.

<sup>9</sup> Foedera, II, ii, p. 1024.

abroad, but so was their daughter Joan, aged four,. Edward had for some time been attempting to arrange a marriage between his daughter and the eldest son, Frederick, of Duke Otto of Austria.<sup>10</sup> The Duke was eager to receive the girl at his court so that she might grow up in the surroundings of her future husband's court. Philippa's two elder children were left with their attendants in the Tower. Lord Edward, the Duke of Cornwall, was nominally the Guardian of the Realm.<sup>11</sup> King Edward was already negotiating marriages for Edward and Isabella, as well. Lord Edward was to be betrothed to Princess Margaret of Brabant, Isabella to the very unwilling son of the Count of Flanders, who had very definite French sympathies. Letters of protection were granted for the queen travelling abroad with John Bury, who must have been responsible for her safety during the crossing,<sup>12</sup> and Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, had seen to it that she was amply supplied with provisions for the journey.<sup>13</sup> Her daughter's needs were also considered as " a certain pallet was provided for the Lady Joan the King's daughter on her passage to foreign lands in a ship. "<sup>14</sup> In July 1338, Edward and Philippa sailed with 500 ships from Orwell to Antwerp. Froissart says the king was "...accompanied by many earls, barons, and knights, and come to the city of Antwerp, which at that time was held for the Duke of Brabant: multitudes came hither to see him, and

---

<sup>10</sup> *Historia Anglicana*, op. cit., p. 225.

<sup>11</sup> *Cronicon Angliae*, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> *Foedera*, II, ii, p. 1044.      <sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1021.

<sup>14</sup> Hardy, op. cit., p. 103.

witness the great state and pomp in which he lived. " <sup>15</sup>  
He claims that Edward met with the Duke of Brabant,  
the Duke of Guelders, the Marquis of Juliers, and Lord  
John of Hainault. They said they needed more time to  
consider commitments for war but would meet with him  
again in mid-August at Halle. In mid-August they agreed  
to join him. Edward immediately "...returned to the  
castle of Louvain, which he was preparing for his re-  
sidence: at the same time he sent to his queen, to in-  
form her of his intentions, and that if she would  
come to him, it would give him much pleasure, for he  
would not be able to repass the seas this year." <sup>16</sup>  
But on this point Froissart seems to be mistaken, for  
according to Knighton, Philippa and Edward, with their  
daughter Joan, all travelled together, with a brilliant  
retinue, and a force of Welsh archers, and success  
was prayed for by the church. <sup>17</sup>

Edward and Philippa did not long remain in Antwerp,  
for Edward was in a hurry to meet the Holy Roman Em-  
peror at Coblenz. Thus, as soon as wool sacks from  
England arrived, making Edward momentarily solvent, <sup>18</sup>  
the royal party set off. Joan was to be given to Duke  
Otto at Coblenz, Philippa was to accompany them only as  
far as Herenthals, which was reached by August 20th, <sup>19</sup>  
from whence she was to return to Antwerp to await the  
birth of her child. The Lady Joan was accompanied by  
her governess, Lady Isabella de la Mote, and John  
Montgomery, who were to remain with her in her new  
surroundings. <sup>20</sup> They travelled on to Cologne, then  
Bonn, Nonnerich, Audunach, and finally Coblenz. <sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, vol. I, p. 45. <sup>16</sup> Ibid, p. 47.

<sup>17</sup> Chronicon Henrici Knighton, ed. J.R.Lumby, Rolls Series,  
London, 1895, vol. II, p. 4

There they were met by the Emperor and Empress, Philippa's sister Margaret. Edward was created Vicar-general of the Empire, in grand ceremonies.<sup>22</sup> Joan was given over to Duke Otto, but was then placed in the care of the Empress Margaret, until she was older.<sup>23</sup> Edward made a slow progress back to Antwerp, arriving on 20th December.<sup>24</sup> He had visited all the main towns along the Rhine, receiving recognition as he went. At Herek, on the Brabant border, he had a throne erected in the market hall, from whence he "made laws, dispensed justice, read letters, coined money and received homage."<sup>25</sup> At Antwerp, "The king and queen kept their courts there in great state during the winter, and caused plenty of gold and silver to be struck at Antwerp."<sup>25</sup>

Shortage of funds was always one of Edward's main problems. The cost of his alliances, on top of the cost of equipping his own armies, was prohibitive, and his own income and prizes on wool never gave him the amount he needed. He borrowed constantly, from Italian merchants and from his own countrymen. During this winter he found himself in such need of funds that many, indeed most, of the crown jewels were pawned.

---

<sup>18</sup> Foedera, II, ii, p. 1054.

<sup>19</sup> CPR 1338-1340, p. 190.

<sup>20</sup> R. Pauli, Pictures of Old England, trans. by E.C.Otte, London, 1861, p. 167.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p. 156.

<sup>22</sup> Knighton, op. cit., pvol. ii, p. 5; Foedera, II, ii, pp. 1049, 1051, 1045.

<sup>23</sup> Pauli, op. cit., p. 163.

<sup>24</sup> CPR 1338-1340, p. 190.

<sup>25</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., vol. I, p. 48.

At times even Philippa's personal jewelry was used. Both Edward's and Philippa's crowns were pawned at Cologne,<sup>26</sup> and it took three years to buy them back.<sup>27</sup> Edward received 25,000 florins of Florence for his crown, and 5500 florins for Philippa's.<sup>28</sup> But one doubts if Philippa was ever personally concerned with the financing of her husbands wars, leaving that to Edward and his advisers. The most important event within their household at Antwerp was probably the birth of a son, named Lionel, probably after the lion in the arms of Brabant, on November 29th, at St. Michael's Abbey.<sup>29</sup> Edward received news of the birth on 12th December, and immediately rewarded the messenger, John Bures, with 100 pounds.<sup>30</sup> Philippa's uprising was properly celebrated with minstrels and singing boys, from the cathedral, and was attended by all the important people of Antwerp. Eleanor of Lancaster, a good friend of Philippa, and the king's cousin, was with her, but was soon to return to England as she, too, was with child. According to law, if the child was born out of the English realm, it would be unable to succeed to lands within the realm. Philippa must have been very fond of Eleanor, for Edward issued a statement that "since their stay was very grateful and desirable on account of their services to himself no less than their comfort to the queen Philippa" she was to remain abroad with her husband.

---

<sup>26</sup> Foedera, II,ii, p. 1124.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p. 1202, 1210.

<sup>28</sup> CPR 1338-1340, p. 534.

<sup>29</sup> Murimuth, op. cit., p. 87; Historia Anglicana, op. cit., p. 223.

<sup>30</sup> CPR 1338-1340, p. 197.

and the child would still be eligible to inherit the family lands. At the time of the birth, Eleanor was granted L 100 yearly, again, in consideration of her long stay with the queen.<sup>31</sup> The abbey in which Lionel was born was also rewarded for its hospitality, with the advowson of a church in Northamptonshire.<sup>32</sup>

The English court remained at Antwerp all winter, with only short visits to Brussels, Louvain, and Ghent. In December Prince Edward, now being ten years old, joined his parents. In February 1340, Edward made a brief visit to England to ask for more funds. Philippa, who was expecting another child, and the two young princes were left at the abbey of St. Bavon at Ghent, as surety of Edward's return.<sup>33</sup> Thus, Edward was away when Philippa gave birth to her fourth son, John, "a lovely and lively boy."<sup>34</sup> Jacob Van Artevelde, the Flemish burger and Edward's great friend, stood as godfather for John, who came to be known as John of Ghent or Gaunt.<sup>35</sup> Years later, when John, as Duke of Lancaster, held a great deal of power, a rumor was started to the effect that Philippa gave birth to a daughter at Ghent, who died, and in order to avoid the wrath of her husband, Philippa had substituted the son of a Flemish porter in the cradle. On her death-bed, she was said to have told the Bishop of Winchester, William Wykeham, that if the boy ever came close to inheriting the throne, this story was to be made known.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Hardy, op. cit., p. 110.

<sup>32</sup> CPR 1338-1340, p. 313.

<sup>33</sup> French Chronicle of London, ed. G.J.Aungier, London, Camden Society, 1844, p. 73.

<sup>34</sup> Murimuth, op. cit., p. 104. <sup>35</sup> Lucas, op. cit., p. 377, note, 12.

<sup>36</sup> Chronicon Angliae, op. cit., p. 107.

This rumor can be dismissed as ridiculous for several reasons. Firstly, Philippa had two live and healthy sons, and two daughters, already, so it is unlikely that the king's wrath would have been great at the death of another daughter. Furthermore, Philippa's son William had died at York several years before, which had caused only sorrow. With the birth of John, Philippa's household was once again enlarged, and her expenses were beyond her income. She was granted 2000 marks as a gift from the king, to meet her heavy expenses abroad.<sup>37</sup> During the winter, Jacob Van Artevelde had a son, whom he named Philip in honour of the English queen, who stood as godmother to the child, according to B.C.Hardy, although diligent research has not revealed the source of his information.<sup>38</sup> During the winter Philippa "was often visited and comforted by Jacob von Arteveld and other lords and ladies of Ghent"<sup>39</sup> so she appears to have spent her time pleasantly while awaiting Edward's return.

In the meantime, more negotiations were being made for the marriages of Philippa's daughters. Edward had long desired to wed his daughter Isabella to the son of the Count of Flanders, to draw the son, if not the father, into an alliance with the English. This was again pressed for in the autumn of 1339 for, "perpetual alliance and mutual aid."<sup>40</sup> News of Joan at the Imperial court was not pleasing, either, as now Emperor Lewis began to show French sympathies.

---

<sup>37</sup> CPR 1340-1343, p. 236.

<sup>38</sup> Hardy, op. cit., p. 115.

<sup>39</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 58.

<sup>40</sup> CPR 1338-1340, p. 378.

Joan was taken from the Empress Margaret and moved to the Austrian court of her future husband. However, shortly after her arrival, Duke Otto died and was succeeded by his brother Albert, who also had strong French tendencies. Edward changed his mind and John Montgomery, who was still with the girl, was ordered in April 1340 to return to Ghent with Joan.<sup>41</sup> Thus, all the royal children were at Ghent in 1340 except Isabella, who remained in London at the Tower. When Edward planned to return to Ghent in June, however, she was allowed to travel with the ladies going to join the queen. A great fleet of 200 to 260 ships sailed for Sluys on Thursday morning, 22nd June. On Friday the 23rd, they came into sight of the French armada, just off Sluys. Of the English fleet Froissart says, "There were in this fleet a great many ladies from England, countesses, baronesses, and knights' and gentlemen's wives, who were going to attend on the queen at Ghent: these the king had guarded most carefully by 300 men at arms and 500 archers."<sup>42</sup> Therein followed the famous battle which ended in victory for England. The next day, which was mid-summer, Edward and his fleet entered the port, "As soon as they were landed, the king, attended by crowds of knights, set out on foot on a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Aardenburg, where he heard mass and dined. He then mounted his horse, and went that day to Ghent, where the queen was, who received him with great joy and

---

<sup>41</sup> Pauli, op. cit., p. 168.

<sup>42</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 72.

kindness." <sup>43</sup> The entire family was thus united, but not for long. The Ladies Isabella and Joan could not have been of much use in Ghent, but in residence in England they would be symbols of the royal family abroad, so they were both sent back to the Tower. B.C.Hardy reprints a summary of a wardrobe roll for 1340, with entries concerning the two girls. The cost of their journey was L 57: 14: 2,. Joan had two damsels, Isabella had three, Alexia de la Mote being Isabella's chief damsel, and Lonota Worthingpool being Joan's. Each girl had a chaplain, but they shared the services of cooks, butlers, valets, and household workers. They ate from silver dishes, kept in leather hampers, and slept in a bed covered with green silk and velvet. While they were in the Tower, Philippa sent them gifts of two dresses and robes of green, edged with fur. They had scarlet hose and new dresses for all the chief feast days of the church. Each received a penny a day for church offerings. They had a minstrel, Gerard Gay, to whom they gave a winter coat in November. Generous gifts were also made to their other attendants. Thomas Bassenthwaite was given a winter coat for leading Isabella's palfry from London to Westminster; John, the bargeman, received 12 s. for rowing them across the Thames. <sup>44</sup>

The English royal family was soon together in England. Edward was pursuing the siege of Tournai when Philippa's mother, the Countess of Hainault, emerged

---

<sup>43</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>44</sup> Hardy, op. cit., p. 199-200.

from her convent to beg on her knees that her brother and son-in-law stop their warfare. She presided over peace talks for three days until terms were agreed on at Esplechin in the end of September.<sup>45</sup> Then, "The king of England went to Ghent, where his queen was, and soon after crossed the sea with all his people..."<sup>46</sup> They sailed through a bad storm and arrived late at night, November 3rd, at the Tower, to discover that the constable, Mathew de la Beche, had gone into London on personal business, and no one was about.<sup>47</sup> Only a few ladies were with the two princesses. Edward was very angry, for the next day he dismissed de la Beche, along with his ministers, and quarrelled with the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>48</sup> In a few days, however, they were all reinstated.<sup>49</sup> The family spent Christmas together in the Tower, and a few weeks later Philippa went to Langley. Her daughters remained in the Tower but frequently visited her.

Philippa spent the next four years in England, taking care of her estates and those of her children, while Edward made periodic trips abroad without her. The year 1341 found her in great financial need, not because of her own extravagance, but because Edward owed her so much money. Not only had he pawned her crown a year earlier, but he was also bound to her for £ 7375, which he slowly paid off with wool. She received 100 sacks in November for the present expenses of her household<sup>50</sup> and in April received 230, which she sent

---

<sup>45</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit. p. 85.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 86.      <sup>49</sup> Historia Anglicana, op. cit., p. 224.

<sup>47</sup> Chronicon Angliae, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>48</sup> Foedera, II, ii., p. 1141, 1142.      <sup>50</sup> CPR 1340-1343, p. 687.

abroad to settle some unpaid debts.<sup>51</sup> A year later more sacks were sent "for deliverence of divers jewels" pledged abroad.<sup>52</sup> Giovanni Portinari advanced Edward L 2500 to redeem Philippa's two crowns and some other valuables, and from 1341 payments in wool were made to him.<sup>53</sup> Even though Philippa was poor she did her best to give aid to others in need. Queen's College Oxford, was founded at this time by Philippa's chaplain, Robert Eglesfield, in her honour, and Philippa gave him what aid she could. In her own right, Philippa was a well educated woman of the age. She wrote her business letters in French, and gave protection in her later years to both Froissart and Chaucer. On January 18, 1341, Robert Eglesfield was granted a license to found a hall of scholars, chaplains, and others, to be called Queen's College. It was arranged that there would be a provost, twelve fellows, and seventy poor young men. The college was very poor; in 1342 Edward commuted a debt of L 27 acquired by the college, as it did not have the means to pay it.<sup>54</sup> Philippa pleaded for many advowsons for the college; they acquired Burgh in Westmoreland, Newbold, Pacey, and Warwick.<sup>55</sup>

Philippa's family grew larger in 1341. In June she gave birth to a son, Edmund, at Langley.<sup>56</sup> Once again, Joan Oxonia was nurse, and Matilda Plympton was bersatrix, or cradle-rocker.<sup>57</sup> Edward was having

---

51 CPR 1340-1343, p. 168.

52 CPR 1340-1343, p. 397.

53 CPR 1340-1343, p. 480.

54 CPR 1340-1343, p. 491.

55 CPR 1340-1343, pp. 244, 249.

56 Historia Anglicana, op.cit., p. 253.

57 CPR 1348-1350, p. 108;  
1354-1358, p. 72.

trouble, both with his allies abroad who were proving untrustworthy, except for Van Artevelde, and with Balliol in Scotland, who was too weak to hold on to his kingdom. Thus, Edward left Philippa shortly after the birth of Edmund and travelled north again. It was during this trip north that stories were first told of Edward's attempted infidelity to Philippa. Edward had rewarded his friend William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, with Wark Castle in Yorkshire. William had since been taken prisoner in France, but the lands were held by his wife, Katherine Grandison, and their fourteen year old son. Wark was besieged by the Scots, so the story goes, but young William managed to escape to Edward at Berwick for help, which <sup>was</sup> immediately given. The Countess entertained Edward the evening that he relieved the castle, and he was smitten with her beauty. Froissart devotes an entire chapter to explaining how "The King of England is Enamoured with the Countess of Salisbury." He says "the king could not take his eyes off her, as he thought he had never before seen so beautiful or sprightly a lady; so that a spark of fine love struck upon his heart, which lasted a long time, for he did not believe that the whole world produced any other lady so worthy of being loved." <sup>58</sup> But the Countess gracefully rebuffed his advances, and her virtue saved Edward from his "wish to dishonour so vituous a lady." <sup>59</sup> There is some speculation that this woman was not Katherine Grandison, who was thirty-two at the time, while Edward was thirty, but her pre-

---

<sup>58</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes. op.cit., p. 103.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

sumptive daughter-in-law, Joan of Kent, who was in her household.<sup>60</sup> While Joan was growing to be a great beauty, she would have been thirteen years old at the time, so it seems likely that it was Katherine who was the object of Edward's eye. Following this romantic interval, Edward secured a truce with the Scots and travelled south.

The year 1341 to 1342 saw many splendid festivities. Large tournaments were arranged, including one at Northampton, where several combatants were killed.<sup>61</sup> Philippa's brother, William, and her uncle, John, visited England at this time, and were lavishly entertained. At a tournament held at Eltham, William was slightly injured in the arm.<sup>62</sup> One was held at Norwich, while the king and queen once again visited the Flemish weaving community there, and another at Dunstable, where Isabella and Joan made their first public appearances in the royal stand.<sup>63</sup> During 1342, Lord John of Gaunt was created Earl of Richmond. As with the estates of Chester, the estates of Richmond were assigned to Philippa in trusteeship for her son, for the maintenance of Isabella, Joan, Lionel, John, and Edmund.<sup>64</sup> Confusion arose over the creation of John as Earl of Richmond, as Edward, who appears generous but forgetful, had already given Richmond to the Duke of Brittany, and Robert of Artois as well. For a time, there were three 'Richmonds' although John was always styled 'of Gaunt' until he became Duke of Lancaster, and Philippa continued to

---

<sup>60</sup> M. Galway, "Joan of Kent and the Order of the Garter," BUHJ, vol 2, 1947-1948pp. 13-51.

<sup>61</sup> Murimuth, op. cit., p. 124. <sup>63</sup> Hardy, op. cit., p. 132.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 124. <sup>64</sup> Foedera, II, ii, p. 1214-1215.

receive the Richmond revenues despite the other claims. Lionel was also provided for at this time, as Edward betrothed him to Elizabeth de Burgh, who was only a few years older than Lionel and Countess of Ulster in her own right, as she was orphaned. One imagines that Edward hoped that by marrying his son to the Countess of Ulster, that Lionel might one day become King of Ireland. In 1341 Elizabeth joined the royal nursery at Woodstock. It is difficult to say when they were married, for some sort of solemnization took place almost at once.<sup>65</sup> In 1341, Edward declared that Elizabeth "shall marry Lionel when he is old enough", but by May 1346, Philippa was granted custody of Elizabeth's lands "to hold until the king's son Lionel, still of tender age, who has married Elizabeth, shall be of age to rule them himself."<sup>66</sup> A year later Edward gave "to his dearest consort Philippa, the wardship of the person of Elizabeth de Burgh,...until Lionel yet tender in years shall take Elizabeth to wife."<sup>67</sup> In the same year, 1347, he speaks of "the King's daughter Elizabeth, wife to his son Lionel", but in 1359 the clerk of Philippa's chapel received a gift of L 10 for marrying Lionel and Elizabeth.<sup>68</sup> It therefore seems likely that two ceremonies took place, one in 1342 to 1345, and a second in 1359. Whenever she married Lionel, Elizabeth joined the royal household late in 1341, a few months before Philippa gave birth to a daughter, Blanche, who lived only a few days, and was

---

<sup>65</sup> Murimuth, op. cit., p. 125.

<sup>66</sup> CPR 1340-1343, p. 187.

<sup>67</sup> Foedera, III, p. 99.

<sup>68</sup> Issue Roll, op. cit., p. 170.

buried in the chapel of St. Edmund, in Westminster Abbey. <sup>69</sup>

The year 1342 found Edward acquiring another war for himself and another royal ward for Philippa. The inheritance of the Duchy of Brittany was in dispute, claimed both by Charles of Blois, through his mother, who was Arthur III's (the Duke of Brittany) granddaughter by his second son, and John, who was Arthur III's youngest son. Philip VI of France was to settle the claim, but John, fearing an unfavourable decision, fled to England and recognized Edward as King of France and paid homage for the Duchy. Charles immediately went to take possession of the Duchy, but found John's wife, Joan, in firm command, with her infant son. Joan sent to Edward for help, which, surprisingly, he sent. In supporting John de Montfort's claim, he denied that a man might inherit through a woman, as he was trying to do with the French crown. Edward sent an army under Sir Walter Manny, who quickly delivered the castle. Joan's son was sent to England and received into the royal nursery sometime during the summer of 1342. At this time, Edward was still hoping to marry Isabella to the son of the Count of Flanders, and was negotiating to betroth Joan to Pedro, son of Alfonso of Castile. An alliance was being made with Brabant, and hopefully Prince Edward would marry Princess Margaret. The son of the Duke of Brittany was kept in the royal nursery as a future royal bridegroom, nonetheless. During the summer, Robert of Artois crossed

---

<sup>69</sup> *Historia Anglicana*, op. cit., p. 228; *Chronicon Angliae*, op. cit., p. 12.

to Brittany to fight and was fatally wounded at Vannes. He returned to England and died a few months later. Froissart says he was "courteous, courageous, and gallant, and of the first blood in the world." <sup>70</sup> Edward himself went to Brittany in October, but returned to England in spring 1343.

When Edward returned in March, he met Philippa at the Tower and they travelled to Havering atte Bower in Essex, where they spent Easter. <sup>71</sup> In May, Edward held a parliament and created his son Edward Prince of Wales, investing him with a ring, gold coronet, and silver wand. <sup>72</sup> As the young prince was only thirteen, he was not knighted, for if Edward waited to do so until his son had attained fifteen years, and aid could be collected from all the knights and barons in the realm. The summer passed quietly, and one next hears of Philippa in October, when she and Edward received news of the death of the Count of Guelders, who was thrown from his horse and died of the injuries. Edward's sister Eleanor had been happily married to the Count, by whom she had two sons. Following her husband's death, Eleanor's sons managed to take most of her dower from her, and she died, aged thirty seven a poor woman. After her death, the younger son murdered the elder, and then died shortly thereafter himself. All of the Count's lands thus went to a daughter of a first marriage.

As Edward was not actively at war in 1343 he

---

<sup>70</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 120.

<sup>71</sup> Murimuth, op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>72</sup> DNE, vol. XXXIII, p. 91.

held tournaments for amusement. A large tournament was held at Smithfield, at mid-summer. According to Murimuth, Robert Morley, who gave the tournament, dressed as the pope, with twelve knights dressed as cardinals. Against these men fought the Prince of Wales with a party of close friends, but which side won is unknown.<sup>73</sup> The greatest tournament of all, however, was given by Edward himself at Windsor in early 1344. Much confusion has surrounded this contest, which some historians have assumed was the occasion of the founding of the Order of the Garter, as, indeed, did some of the chroniclers.<sup>74</sup> The founding of the Garter actually happened three or four years later, but the tournament of 1344 was, nonetheless, very grand. Froissart says, "About this time, the king of England resolved to rebuild and embellish the great castle of Windsor, which king Arthur had first found in time past, and where he had erected and established that noble round table from whence so many gallant knights had issued forth, and displayed their valiant prowess of their deed of arms all over the world."<sup>75</sup> The Arthur legend was indeed the theme of the tournament, although Froissart is incorrect in assuming that the tournament was the occasion of the founding of the Order. Construction of the round tower at Windsor was begun at this time, to house Edward's round table, and invitations were sent to knights from France, Scotland, Burgundy, Hainault, Flanders,

---

<sup>73</sup> Murmuth, op. cit., p. 230.

<sup>74</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 125.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

Brabant, the Empire, and, of course, to knights at home. The queen was to be present, surrounded by three hundred ladies and damsels, "all of high birth and richly dressed in similar robes." <sup>76</sup> Murimuth, as well, says "At quae etiam fecit omnes dominos austalium partium Angliae et uxores burgensium Londoniensium per suas literas invitari." <sup>77</sup> Safe conducts for fifteen days were granted to all participants from abroad, and during the time of the tournament, from 19th January to 14th February, no English knight might leave the country. A great banquet was held, and according to Murimuth, jousting was held for three days. <sup>78</sup> The entire affair was a tremendous success. It is evident that Edward planned to hold a similar event every year, for he granted to Henry Lancaster, Earl of Derby, who had distinguished himself at Windsor, the privilege of holding jousts in Lincoln of three days duration every year, with the caveat that they were not to conflict with his Round Table jousts. <sup>79</sup> Only one sad incident marred the occasion; Sir William Montacute was fatally wounded in the lists, and died after eight days. <sup>80</sup>

On the whole, 1344 was a relatively peaceful year. Edward concentrated on strengthening his financial position, and managed to retrieve his crown from his creditors. In the autumn, on October 10th, Philippa gave birth to her fourth daughter, Mary, at Waltham. <sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op.cit., p. 125.

<sup>77</sup> Murimuth, op. cit., p. 155.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 155.

<sup>80</sup> Beltz, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>79</sup> Hardy, op. cit., p. 145.

<sup>81</sup> Murimuth, op. cit., p. 159.

As he had done in the past, Edward made new grants to Philippa to meet the expenses of the new child's household staff. This time Philippa received the custody of the temporalities pertaining to Westminster Abbey, which the crown had held since the death of the abbot, and which Philippa was to hold until a new abbot was appointed.<sup>82</sup> However, Philippa appears not to have wished to accept such a grant, for she sent her attorney to surrender the letters patent back to the chancery, and they were cancelled. William Kellesey, the King's clerk, was given the custody, but Philippa then appears to have changed her mind, for in February 1345, Kellesey was replaced by Roger Basent, who was to take charge of the temporalities of Westminster Abbey for the queen.<sup>83</sup> The birth of Mary solved the problem of uniting the five year old heir of Brittany to the English royal house, for he was at once affianced to Mary. In September 1345, Duke John of Brittany died, leaving his son to Edward's guardianship, so Philippa's nursery contained another Duke. Philippa had vowed early in 1344 that she would go on a pilgrimage abroad, but she was granted an indulgence to allow a proxy to carry out her vow.<sup>84</sup> Throughout her life, Philippa was never to be out of favour with the papacy, and this small indulgence was only one of many that she received as signs of the pope's good favour.

Early 1345 found Edward planning to go abroad again. As he was still unable to gain support from

---

<sup>82</sup> CPR 1343-1345, p. 432.

<sup>83</sup> CPR 1343-1345, p. 490.

<sup>84</sup> Foedera, III, p. 18.

the Count of Flanders, Edward proposed that the Flemings renounce allegiance to the Count and instead accept his first born son, the Prince of Wales, as Count of Flanders. While Philippa remained at home with Lionā, aged seven and now Guardian of the Realm, Edward and his eldest son travelled to Sluys, where he told his old friend, Jacob Van Artevelde, of his plan. Van Artevelde was a very powerful figure in Flanders, and when he championed Edward's proposal he must have appeared to be over-mighty, and a threat to the county, for the burghers of Ghent surrounded his home and killed him. Thus an end was brought to the plan to make Philippa's son Count of Flanders.<sup>85</sup> On July 26th Edward and the prince returned home, to Westminster,<sup>86</sup> They were shortly followed by a deputation of burghers from the principal towns in Flanders, who came to mollify Edward's anger. They suggested that Edward had "a fine family of sons and daughters" and that they had a young lord, and perhaps a marriage could be arranged to one of Edward's daughters, so ultimately, "one of his children would be in possession of Flanders."<sup>87</sup> The young count would have to be forced to participate in such a union, but this might possibly be arranged, and Edward was appeased.

For Philippa, the major event of 1345 must have been the death of her brother William. He was killed in early October in battle at Friesland. Not only

---

<sup>85</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 144.

<sup>86</sup> Foedera, III, p. 53.

<sup>87</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 144.

was this a sad event for Philippa, but it became the cause of a family dispute, for William had no children. Philippa's eldest sister Margaret, was to receive the earldom, but much of the family property was to be divided among the sisters, which led to involved arguments. Late in October, Sir John Levedale, Sir William Sturry, and Ivo Clinton, a clerk, were sent to John of Hainault, who was administering the lands until Margaret was able to take over her new responsibilities, to claim lands in Zeeland, and elsewhere for Philippa.<sup>88</sup> The issue was not settled, for the following June Theodore, Lord Mountjoy and Faucanberg, was sent as Philippa's representative to plead against Philippa's sisters in the disputes for the lands.<sup>89</sup> During these negotiations, Philippa's uncle, Sir John, was persuaded by the French to believe that Edward was unable to continue his payments to retain John's aid, and, as Froissart says, "This put Sir John so much out of humor, that he renounced all treaties and agreements which he had entered into with England...The king of France was no sooner informed of it, than...he recompensed him in his kingdom with a greater revenue than he had derived from England."<sup>90</sup> After seventeen years of close and friendly relations with her family, Philippa now found herself in a different position. The royal family was also affected by a death at home, for the Earl of Lancaster died. His son, Henry, who was a close friend to Edward, succeeded to the Earldom,

---

88 CPR 1343-1345, p. 555.

89 Foedera, III, pp. 61, 65, 80.

90 Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 145.

which was shortly raised to a Dukedom. Earlier, Edward had bought back the castle and town of Pontefract from Philippa, for L 1000, which had been part of her marriage portion. The land had formerly belonged to the Lancaster family, and Edward returned it to them. Duke Henry had two daughters, one of whom, Blanche, would some day marry Philippa's son John.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RENEWAL OF WAR

The treaty of Esplechin ended on July 24, 1345; on June 30th Edward and the Prince of Wales sailed for France, leaving Lord Lionel as Guardian of the Realm, and Philippa as Queen Regent. <sup>91</sup> Prince Edward had now reached sixteen years of age, and immediately on landing at Cap La Hogue in Normany, Edward knighted him and some of his close companions, including the young Earl of Salisbury. Then he began the march that would end at Crecy. There, on 26th August, the first great English victory of the Hundred Years War was attained, and Prince Edward won his spurs fighting with Sir John Chandos, Sir Thomas Holland, and many others. <sup>2</sup> By the end of the day, eleven princes and eighty great lords were dead, and King Philip was wounded in the throat and thigh. John of Hainault, in his first battle opposing his former allies, found himself on a side badly beaten; with some difficulty he managed

---

<sup>1</sup> Foedera, III, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 163.

to remove King Philip from the field and take him to the safety of the Castle of La Braye. Unreliable tradition has it that Prince Edward wore black armor at Crecy and henceforth was known as the Black Prince for that reason. The King of Bohemia was killed at Crecy and it has also been believed that Prince Edward took the king's crest and motto as his own. This is unlikely, as the king's crest was a vulture sprinkled with gold leaves; Edward's crest was originally two feathers, to which he later added a third. The feather badge appears on some of his plate and on some of Queen Philippa's as well, making it seem unlikely that it came from a source outside the English royal family.

After Crecy, the English forces moved north, to Calais where they began a long siege. An entire town was built by the English around the fortress, called Villeneuve-le-Hardi, and a blockade was set up to prevent supplies reaching Calais by sea. But while Edward was occupied in France, Philippa was busy in England. On 20th July, she gave birth to her fifth daughter, Margaret, at Windsor. Agnes Poore was named nurse to the child,<sup>3</sup> and Philippa received a grant of L 1000 to be paid to her within two years for the increased<sup>3</sup> expenses of her household.<sup>4</sup> It was not long after the birth of this child that it became evident that the peace arranged in Scotland in 1342 was not going to be durable. When Edward went to Normandy in July 1346, it was evident that trouble could be expected

---

<sup>3</sup> CPR 1348-1350, p. 468.

<sup>4</sup> CPR 1343-1345, p. 552.

in the North, for he did not call for levies of troops from the North and the Lords Percyaand Neville, and the Archbishop of York, were left in charge of the border defenses. Furthermore, John, Earl of Kent, remained in England to aid the council and queen if any trouble should arise. <sup>5</sup> On 20th Aug<sup>st</sup>, writs were issued to raise a large army in the North to defend the border against Scottish invasions, and two months later the armies met.

Philippa's whereabouts during the period of the next few months is a matter of some confusion. It has been generally accepted that Froissart's account of her actions at this time is <sup>o</sup>correct, so it is perhaps worth while to look closely at what he relates. He says that King David treacherously decided to take advantage of Edward's absense from England to invade the North. He met with all his supporters at Perth, "but they could not make their preparations so secretly as to prevent news of it coming to the knowledge of the Queen of England, who had taken up her residence in the North, near the borders. She wrote, and sent summons to all that were attached to the king of England to come to York by a certain day. Many men at arms and archers, who had remained at home, put themselves in motion, and advanced to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which the queen had appointed as the final place of r<sup>e</sup>d<sup>e</sup>z<sup>o</sup>us." <sup>6</sup> He describes how the Scots moved on, over 30,000 strong, past Roxborough, to burn York. Here, according to Froissart, was Philippa's finest hour. "The queen of

---

<sup>5</sup> Foedera, III, p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 173.

England, who was very anxious to defend her kingdom, and guard it from all disturbers, in order to show that she was in earnest about it, came herself to Newcastle-upon-Tyne.\* She took up her residence there, to wait for the forces she expected from the different parts of the kingdom. The Scots, who were informed that Newcastle was the place of rendezvous, of the English army, advanced thither...The queen of England then came to the place where her army was, and remained until it was drawn out in four battalions...The queen now advanced among them, and entreated them to do their duty well, and defending the honour of their lord and king, and urged them, for the love of God, to fight manfully. They promised her that they would acquit themselves loyally, to the utmost of their power, and perhaps better than if the king had been there in person. The queen then took her leave, and recommended them to the protection of God, and St. George." <sup>7</sup> Then followed the battle of Neville's Cross, a resounding victory for the English. According to Froissart, Philippa was not only present, in the North at the time of the battle, but she personally encouraged the English troops to fight well. King David was captured during the battle, by a squire named John Copland. If Froissart is believed, Philippa was much involved in the proceedings which followed the battle. He says, "When the queen of England, who had remained in Newcastle, heard that her army had gained the day, she mounted

---

<sup>7</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes. op. cit., p. 174.

\* It is much more likely that the army assembled at Durham.

her palfry and went to the field of battle. She was informed that the King of Scotland had been made a prisoner, by a squire named John Copland, who had rode off with him, they could not tell whither. The queen ordered him to be written to, to bring the king of Scots to her, and to tell him that he had not done what was agreeable to her, in carrying off his prisoner without leave. All that day the queen and army remained on the field of battle, which they had won, and on the morrow returned to Newcastle." <sup>8</sup> Letters were duly sent to John, who answered "that he would not give up his prisoner, the king of Scots, to man or woman, except his own lord, the king of England." Philippa wrote to Edward at Calais, explaining the situation, and he wrote to John Copland, ordering him to come to Calais. John explained his answer to Philippa and begged Edward "not to take it amiss, if I did not surrender him [ David ] to the orders of my lady the queen; for I hold my lands of you, and my oath is to you, not her, except it be through choice." <sup>9</sup> Edward forgave him and sent him back to York, where he surrendered David to Philippa," and made such handsome excuses that she was satisfied." <sup>10</sup> Philippa was the major figure of the day, calmly holding command of her temper and her army. Then, "When the queen had sufficiently provided for the defense of the city, of York, and the castle of Roxburgh, the city of Durham, and the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, as well as for all the borders,

---

<sup>8</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 178.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

and had appointed the lords Percy and Neville governors of Northumberland, to take proper care of it, she set out from York, and returned to London. She ordered the king of Scots, the earl of Murray, and the other prisoners, to be confined in the Tower of London, and, having placed a sufficient guard over them, set out for Dover, when she embarked, and, with a favourable wind, arrived before Calais three days preceding the feast of All Saints. The king, upon her arrival, held a great court, and ordered many magnificent entertainments for all the lords who were there, but more especially for the ladies; as the queen had brought a great many with her, in order to see fathers, brothers, and friends, that were engaged at the siege of Calais." <sup>11</sup>

Interesting as is Froissart's account, he is the only contemporary chronicler who describes Philippa as having any part in the battle, and it must be remembered that Froissart was not really contemporary with these events, as he first appeared at the English court in 1365. He did, however, take time to travel extensively in the border country and Scottish lowlands, gathering facts from eye witnesses and participants in the events he describes. Unfortunately, he sometimes confuses events, merging two or more together or mis-dating them. This is not necessarily the case with his account of the battle of Neville's Cross, but as he is the only chronicler to mention Philippa it must be accepted as doubtful that she was there. Buchon noted in his edition of the chronicle

---

<sup>11</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 179.

that "If we were to reject all the important facts for which we have only the testimony of this conscientious historian, there would be few interesting facts left in the curious history of these long wars." <sup>12</sup> Not only does no other chronicler mention Philippa's presence at the battle, but no documents relating to the battle collected in the *Foedera* mention her, either. Thomas Wright believes that she could not have been present on the basis of information given in two contemporary poems written on the battle. The poem 'On the Battle of Neville's Cross', makes no mention of her, and surely if she had been there her presence would have been noticed by a poet. The poet's account of the battle differs from Froissart's on another important point, for he says that King David was not captured in battle, but in flight from the field, and was found hiding among thick bushes [ Brus David affugit... Copland attingit fugientem...rex fugiens capitur ]. <sup>13</sup> Holinshed claims Philippa was there, for he says she rode "from ranke to ranke and encouraged hir people in the best manner she could, and that done, she departed, committing them and their cause to God, the giver of all victories." <sup>14</sup> It is not unlikely that Holinshed got his information directly from Froissart's account, so this does not necessarily corroborate the story. Whether or not Philippa was at Durham with the troops, Froissart is incorrect in saying that she ordered King David to the Tower, for that was done by Edward. <sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Les Chroniques de Sire Jean Froissart, ed. J.A.C. Buchon, Paris, 1835, vol. 1, p. 253.

<sup>13</sup> Wright, op. cit., p. 40-46. <sup>15</sup> Foedera, III, p. 99.

<sup>14</sup> Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland, London, 1807, reprinted AM Press, New York, 1965, vol I, p. 644.

Nor did she receive the king at the Tower, for Daivid was too weak to travel until December. He was removed south under heavy guard and received by the Lord Lionel, seated on the English throne, on January 2, 1347, by which time Philippa was already at Calais. <sup>16</sup>

Philippa arrived at Calais with her daughter Isabella and baby Margaret sometime in November 1347. She had been expected for some time, for on 8th October, Edward had issued an writ of aid to his allies in Flanders to secure the safe passage of Margaret, Empress of the Romans, who was travelling through Flanders to visit her sister, Philippa. <sup>17</sup> It has been suggested that Philippa had been expected to arrive in October, but was delayed by the trouble in Scotland. This would support Froissart's story, but there are so many other reasons why she could have been delayed, especially including financial problems or bad weather, that this cannot be accepted as proof of Froissart's ver<sup>a</sup>city. Isabella travelled with her mother because Edward was once again at work arranging a marriage for her with the Count of Flanders. While Edward was besieging Calais, he sent for the chief burgher of Flanders and asked again for their help in securing the match. He pointed out that the woolen industry of Flanders depended on the availability of English wool, which apparently was reminder enough of the necessity of keeping good Anglo-Flemish relations for them to whole-heartedly support the negotiations. Isabella was now fourteen years old,

---

<sup>16</sup> Foedera, III, p. 99.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

Count Louis was fifteen and living at the French court. The burghers invited the prince to return to his lands, which he did reluctantly. When the subject of the proposed marriage was broached, he declared, "that he would never take to wife the daughter of him who had slain who had slain his father." <sup>18</sup> The Count preferred the suit of the Duke of Brabant, who was eager to marry the Count to his daughter. The Flemings were not at all pleased with the Count's behavior, and kept him under close arrest. He remained obdurate, throughout the winter, which Edward and his family spent in the makeshift town built around Calais, "in a royal and noble manner." <sup>19</sup> Despite the poverty of the crown, the appearances of grandeur were upheld at all costs. Froissart explains, "Many barons and knights, from Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, and Germany, came to pay their respects to the king and queen, whilst they were besieging Calais; and none returned without considerable presents." <sup>20</sup> Sometime in February, Count Louis broke his resolve, and declared himself ready to consider marrying the English princess, causing much relief to the Flemish burghers. It was arranged that Philippa and Edward were to accompany the Lady Isabella to the Abbey of St. Vinoc at Bergues, near Dunkirk, in early March to meet with Count Louis and his burghers. Edward, Philippa, and Isabella, travelled in great state to Bergues, where Louis respectfully saluted them. Edward explained that he had no hand in

---

<sup>18</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 180.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 180-181.

the death of the Count's father, who had died in the fighting at Crecy, and whose funeral Edward had attended.<sup>21</sup> The marriage was then discussed and the treaty worked out. A copy of the marriage treaty was dated March 3, 1346 at Dunkirk, for Isabella and Louis, appears in the *Foedera*, with a note that the seal was torn off, probably because the marriage never took place. But for the time being, the Count returned to Flanders, while Edward, Philippa and Isabella returned to Villeneuve-le-Hardi, to prepare for the wedding. Philippa began to make great preparations for her daughter; "whilst the king was making preparations for rich presents of cloth and jewels to distribute on the wedding day, the queen was employed in the same manner, as she was anxious to acquit herself on the occasion with honours and generosity."<sup>22</sup> Isabella was to have L 25,000 of Paris, money of Flanders, yearly, until possession of Ponthieu was obtained to replace it, and 400,000 gold deniers.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately for Isabella, the week before the wedding Louis managed to escape from his guard. He went out hawking with his keepers, and in the open fields, "the falconer fled his hawk at a heron, and the earl did the same with his: the two hawks pursued their game, and the earl galloped off, as if following them, crying, 'Hoye, Hoye!' When he was some distance from his keepers, and in the open fields, he struck spurs into his horse, and made such speed that he was soon out of sight: he did not stop until he got into Artois, where he was safe."<sup>24</sup> One can imagine the amusement

---

<sup>21</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.      <sup>23</sup> *Foedera*, III, p. 111.

<sup>24</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

of the king of France. Agnes Strickland, working on the premise that "life in the fourteenth century was an acted romance" <sup>25</sup> thought Isabella helped Louis work out his escape, so she could make a love match later in life. There is no evidence of this and it seems most unlikely. To assuage her embarrassment, Isabella was given more ladies and an increase in her allowance. Louis shortly thereafter married Margaret of Brabant, whom Edward had hoped to match with his son the Prince of Wales.

Thus, in the spring of 1347, Edward had active negotiations in progress for only one of their children, Lady Joan. Once plans for an Austrian marriage had ended, Edward opened negotiations with King Alfonso of Castile, for the betrothal of Joan to Alfonso's son Pedro, later known as The Cruel. As early as autumn 1344, an ambassador had been sent to Castile to negotiate, authorized to offer L 10,000 as Joan's dowry, or up to L 20,000 if necessary. <sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, Philip of France also offered a daughter to Alfonso, apparently at a higher price, for the English offer had to be raised. It was also agreed that a Spanish knight might visit the English court to see Joan, and report on her appearance. Edward wrote to the King and Queen of Castile, the Spanish Chancellor, and to Alfonso's mistress, Eleanora de Guzman, who was a very powerful figure at the court. All this was to no avail, and the proceedings moved along very slowly.

---

<sup>25</sup> Agnes Strickland, The Lives of the Queens of England, vol. I, London, 1854, p. 569.

<sup>26</sup> Foedera, III, pp. 22,23.

With the marriage plans for his children gone awry, Edward turned back to concentrating on the siege of Calais, and Philippa remained with him. In July 1347, Philip at last approached the city, saw how strong were the English defences, turned away on 2nd August, and returned to Paris. With the last hope of rescue gone, Calais surrendered. Froissart's account of this basically agrees with the account of Giovanni Villani, a Florentine chronicler, and while Froissart has undoubtedly coloured the events in the interest of dramatic reading, he is probably basically correct.<sup>27</sup> Other accounts, such as Knighton's,<sup>28</sup> simply omit how Edward treated the people of Calais immediately after their surrender, so one must turn to Froissart for details. He relates that when the garrison saw the retreat of the French army, they lost heart completely, and Sir John de Vienne appeared on the battlements, offering to treat with the English. Sir Walter Manny was sent to negotiate, with orders to make it clear that Edward was neither obliged nor willing to make any concessions to the inhabitants. Sir Walter argued that if Edward showed no mercy to these people his own men would lose spirit, for if they in turn were taken by the French, they could expect no mercy in retaliation for the mass killing. Edward relented, agreeing that only six of the chief townsmen be sent to his camp, bare-headed and bare-foot, with ropes about their necks, bearing the keys to the town. When this was announced in Calais, six of the most important

---

<sup>27</sup> Chronicon di Giovanni Villani, Firenze, 1823, tom, VII, p. 317.

<sup>28</sup> Knighton, op. cit., vol. II, p. 48.

men, including a father and son, volunteered to go to save the rest of the town. They were led to Edward, who received them in his tent, surrounded by his court, with Philippa at his side. They presented the keys very humbly, and "all the barons, knights, and squires, that were assembled there in great numbers, wept at this sight." Edward, however, remained unmoved and ordered the headsman to appear. "All present entreated the king, that he would be more merciful to them, but he would not listen to them." Walter Manny made an eloquent speech but to no avail until at last Philippa entered a plea. "The queen of England, who was at that time very big with child, fell on her knees, and with tears said, 'Ah, gentle sir, since I have crossed the sea with great danger to see you, I have never asked you one favour: now, I most humbly ask as a gift, for the sake of the Son of the Blessed Mary, and for your love to me, that you will be merciful to these six men.' The king looked at her for some time in silence, and then said, 'Ah, lady, I wish that you had been anywhere else than here; you have entreated in such a manner that I cannot refuse you; I therefore give them to you; to do as you please with them.' The queen conducted the six citizens to her apartments, and had the halters taken from round their necks, after which she new clothed them, and served them with a plentiful dinner: she then presented each with six nobles, and had them escorted out of the camp in safty."<sup>29</sup> If this happened, it is another example of Philippa's

---

<sup>29</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 188.

generous and charitable nature. If it did not, it shows Froissart's ability to make a good story. One is inclined to think that it could have happened, as according to the laws of warfare, in case of seige, the conqueror was neither obligated nor expected to show mercy to the besieged, andmmost successful sieges ended in a massacre. Edward had spent almost a year and a vast amount of money on the siege, and was unlikely to have felt compassion for the suffering of the besieged. Froissart was wrong, nonetheless, in saying that Philippa was pregnant, and was wrong when he stated that Edward remained in Calais until Philippa was brought to bed of a daughter, Margaret, for Margaret was born in June 1345. It has been suggested that Philippa was still nursing the child at this time, and this is possible. <sup>30</sup>

Once the siege was over, Edward showed considerable mercy to the people in the town, by feeding them and allowing them to remain in Calais if they took an oath of loyalty to him; those who did not were allowed to leave, without their possessions. The houses of John Daire, one of the six men whom Philippa saved, were granted to Philippa as a residence until her departure from Calais. Some historians have seen this as a selfish act, as Philippa granting a man his life and then removing his property for her own benefit, <sup>31</sup> but it seems more likely that this grant was mere coincidence, as the six men were the wealthiest in the town, and would be the most likely to have the best

---

<sup>30</sup> Hardy, op. cit., p. 178.

<sup>31</sup> M. Levesque, La France sous les Cinq Premiers Valois, Paris, 1788, p. 518.

houses. When the castle was secured by Sir Walter Manny and the Earls of Warwick and Stafford, Philippa and Edward rode through the streets of the town to their lodging, "at the sound of trumpets, drums and all sorts of warlike instruments." <sup>32</sup> A nine month truce was arranged by the pope, and on 12th October, Edward and Philippa, with the Ladies Isabella and Margaret, and Prince Edward, sailed home. A violent storm arose, causing Edward's famous remark, "St. Mary, my blessed lady! What should be the meaning of this, that always in my passage to France the winds and seas befriend me, but in my return to England, I meet with nothing but adverse storms and destructive tempests." <sup>33</sup> On landing, the royal party proceeded to the tomb of Edward II, where Edward and Philippa made offerings, in thanks for a safe return home.

---

<sup>32</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 189.

<sup>33</sup> Historia Anglicana, op. cit., p. 271.

CHAPTER FOUR  
THE MARRIAGES OF HER CHILDREN  
1348-1362

Edward returned from Calais to England to be greeted with great enthusiasm by his countrymen. Little had been accomplished abroad but while the wars made the crown poor, they made individual soldiers wealthy. Walsingham says, "it seemed as if a new sun had risen, on account of the abundance of peace, the plenty, and the glory of the victories," for "there was no woman who had not garments, furs, feather beds, and utensils from the spoils of Calais and other foreign cities." <sup>1</sup> Just before he left Calais, Emperor Lewis died and Edward was offered the Imperial Crown. <sup>2</sup> Fortunately for England, he had the sense to gracefully refuse it, and the quarrels and expense that would have accompanied it. Immediately on his return, Edward began organizing tournaments, and from May 1347 through April 1348 no less than nineteen were held, <sup>3</sup> in spite of the poverty of the crown. The feudal Aid due on the knighting of the Prince of Wales, who had been knighted at La Hogue a year earlier, was being collected. Philippa

---

<sup>1</sup> Historia Anglicana, op. cit., p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Foedera, III, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> N.H.Nicolas, History of the Orders of Knighthood, vol. I, London, 1842, p. 11, note 1.

was to receive L 500 from these funds, but Edward <sup>was</sup> forced to agree to give her the sum later, as he needed all of the Aid for his own expenses. <sup>4</sup> But Philippa, one imagines, was more interested in being reunited with her children. Lady Joan, in letters of this period is styled "the favourite of her mother". <sup>5</sup> She probably was Philippa's favourite as she appears to have been a quiet, obedient child, who was very fond of embroidering. Isabella was more similar to Edward III, in that she appears to have attended most of his tournaments and had a much larger household staff than any of the other children; at this time she had seven bedchamber women while Joan had only three. One tournament given at Canterbury was in her honour; she and her ladies rode into the town wearing masks, and were greatly feted. <sup>6</sup> Lionel and Elizabeth de Burgh were already married, but still in the royal household. John of Gaunt was now eight years old, Edmund of Langley was growing up with the young of Earl of Pembroke, an orphaned grandson of Roger Mortimer, who was a king's ward, and Edmund's close friend. Lady Mary was three, and her future bridegroom, the Duke of Brittany, was five. Lady Margaret had been abroad with Philippa, so now they were all together again. Prince Edward and Lady Isabella each had their own households, but Philippa had charge of all the younger ones. Soon after their return home, Edward granted to Philippa in trust for Edmund all the castles and lands north of Trent, which had formerly been held by John de Warenne,

---

<sup>4</sup> CPR 1345-1348, p. 452.

<sup>5</sup> Foedera, III, p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> Nicolas, op. cit., p. 14.

Earl of Surrey.<sup>7</sup> She also received all the prizes of wine taken in the port of Southampton in the next ten years, as she was in great need of funds.<sup>8</sup> Guardians and controllers were appointed by Philippa to care for the Ulster estates, but she kept the Richmond and Warenne lands under her own control.<sup>9</sup>

If Edward returned to England on a great wave of popularity, Philippa did not.<sup>10</sup> At this time she was met with a series of lawsuits concerning her officials and the management of her lands. The men who returned from the wars abroad were used to the ways of plundering and looting; during the next few years Philippa was constantly dealing with thieves and with assaults on her property and servants, most of which she had investigated and the culprits punished, when possible. One Richard Heghan, a purveyor of hay, oats, and other necessities for her horses at Nottingham, was violently assaulted and nearly fatally wounded.<sup>11</sup> Some of her chattels on the Warenne lands were stolen, valued at L 200, only two weeks after she received them as a gift from the king.<sup>12</sup> Philippa was unpopular for her hard stand against persons who infringed on her rights. In April, two of her carts and horses carrying wine, worth L 40, and twelve of her horses were arrested and held so long that the horses died of hunger.<sup>13</sup> Yet some of her unpopularity was due to the slow payment made to persons who gave goods to her purveyors, and perhaps their unhappiness was justified. Philippa was

---

<sup>7</sup> CPR 1345-1348, p. 371

<sup>11</sup> CPR 1348-1350, p. 175.

<sup>8</sup> CPR 1345-1348, p. 449.

<sup>12</sup> CPR, 1348-1350, p. 161.

<sup>9</sup> CPR 1345-1348, pp. 446, 228, 371. <sup>13</sup> CPR 1348-1350, p. 78.

<sup>10</sup> CPR 1345-1348, p. 402.

very poor in 1347, but her need for supplies was as great as ever. Feeding her large household was no small matter,<sup>14</sup> and her hall required "brushwood, coal, litter, and other necessities."<sup>15</sup> Extensive building was also being carried on. Thomas Tetbury, clerk of the Queen's Wardrobe, was frequently ordered to bring timber from the queen's parks at Havering, Barnstead, and Islewrth, and stone from her quarries at Tollesworth and from other quarries in Kent to La Réole in London.<sup>16</sup>

While Philippa laboured with her legal disputes, the festivities celebrating Edward's homecoming went on. Knighton complains that all morals had decayed, and that the women attended the tournaments dressed as men, with their hair tightly bound in gold nets/under gorgets, which were helmet-shaped hats, held in place with jeweled daggers.<sup>17</sup> It was a "very shameful thing" Men and women alike, wore fur, silk, and gems, and ev<sup>e</sup>n eating habits were affected, meals now taking hours and containing many courses. Philippa was at this time occupied with the preparations for her daughter Joan's wedding with Pedro of Castile. In April 1347, orders had been sent from Calais to the sheriffs of London to prepare ships for the Lady Joan, which were to carry her from Sandwich to Calais.<sup>18</sup> More delays were caused by Alfonso's mistress, Eleanora de Guzman, so the party never set out. On 18th November, after Edward's return to England, letters of protection were issued to Andrew Offord, who was going to Spain in

---

14 CPR 1348-1350, p. 93.

15 CPR 1348-1350, p. 106.

16 CPR 1348-1350, p. 5.

17 Knighton, op. cit., vol II p. 58.

18 Foedera, III, p. 146.

the King's service with the Lady Joan.<sup>19</sup> Edward had promised a large dowry to Alfonso, which he did not have the means to provide, but in spite of this the preparations went forward. The royal family spent Christmas at Guildford, while orders went out for ships to assemble at Portsmouth. King Alfonso, who was not worried about the dowry, sent his own minstrel, Garcia Gyvell, to entertain Joan on her journey.<sup>20</sup> Edward wrote to Alfonso commending to him, his "dearest daughter Joan, distinguished, notwithstanding her youth, by the gravity of her manners, and the comeliness of her befitting grace,"<sup>21</sup> while Philippa prepared Joan's trousseau. The wedding dress was cloth of gold, covered with embroidery, and the vestments of her chaplain were cloth of gold as well, covered with designs of serpents and dragons in combat. She also had tapestry hangings for two rooms, one covered with birds and one with flowers, all the fittings for her own chapel, including carpets, cushions, altar cloths and plate, and a vast amount of furniture. Her bed cover was silk, embroidered with fighting dragons. She had scarlet and purple saddles covered with pearls for herself and all her ladies, and a wardrobe of cloaks, hoods, dresses, ribbons, 12,000 pins, a looking glass, bath, warming pan, washing bowls, two folding chairs, spices, silver plate, and many objects to give as presents.<sup>22</sup> Joan was to proceed to Bordeaux with Sir Robert Bouchier and the Bishop of Carlisle, and await word from King Alfonso

---

<sup>19</sup> CPR 1348-1350, p. 26.

<sup>22</sup> Hardy, op. cit., p. 192.

<sup>20</sup> Foedera, III, p. 157.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p. 148.

and Pedro, who were at Bayonne. Joan set out on January 9, 1348, from Westminster, with her parents, who accompanied her as far as Mortlake. On 6th February she reached Plymouth, but not until 21st March did the weather allow her to sail. She arrived in Bordeaux on 31st March, well ahead of the marriage now set for 1st November, at the cathedral of Bayonne. Joan was to spend the summer in Bordeaux while the final preparations were made.<sup>23</sup> But Joan did not live to see this wedding, for she died of the plague in September in a small village near Bordeaux, to which she had been removed to avoid the contagion of the city. Edward wrote long letters to Alfonso, one of which starts, "your daughter and ours was by nature wonderfully endowed with gifts and graces; but little now does it avail to praise them, or to describe the charms of that loved one who is -- oh grief of heart-- forever taken from us."<sup>24</sup> The Bishop of Carlisle had been with her at her death and now returned to England to give the details of her death to her parents. All of Joan's attendants were given gifts for their service; Amy Gloucester received an annual sum and Stephan Cushington, who had accompanied her to Bordeaux, was also rewarded.<sup>25</sup>

Before the death of Joan and the outbreak of plague in England, Edward's chief interest was the success of his tournaments. It is likely that the Order of the Garter was founded at this time, spring 1348. It was

---

<sup>23</sup> Foedera, III, p. 153.

<sup>24</sup> Foedera, III, 172.

<sup>25</sup> CPR 1348-1350, pp. 198, 343.

certainly not founded in 1344, as Froissart supposed, nor is it likely to have been founded in 1349 or 1350, when England was suffering from the Black Death. By 1348 the Round Tower at Windsor had been completed, which was to be the domicile of the Order. The Prince of Wales was one of the original founders, and as Nicolas points out, he was knighted abroad in 1346, so he could not have been a member if it had been founded in 1344.<sup>26</sup> During 1346 and 1347 both King Edward and his eldest son were abroad, at Crecy and Calais. When they returned to England on 12th October 1347, they were received as heroes, and celebrated their victories with tournaments and jousts. From October 1347 to January 1348 great tournaments were held at Bury, Eltham, and Windsor.<sup>27</sup> The royal family kept Christmas at Guildford, then held tournaments at Windsor, Canterbury, and Lichfield. Some of the festivities around Christmas were to celebrate the espousal of Lady Joan with Prince Pedro of Castile. About this time the King's Great Wardrobe records expenses for various articles embroidered with blue garters, including a mantle, hood, and surcoat for Edward's person, a blue taffeta bed covered with garters of gold and silk with the motto 'Honi soit qui mal y pense', and twelve blue garters embroidered with the same motto in gold and silk were provided for the tournament at Eltham.<sup>28</sup> For the tournament at Canterbury gowns were provided for twelve ladies, including Lady Isabella, who were the guests of honour. On 22nd August 1348, Edward issued a letter

---

<sup>26</sup> Nicolas, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 12, note 3.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 11, note 1. Here is given a complete list of all nineteen tournaments held in 1347-1348.

patent explaining that he had built a chapel to the honour of God, the Virgin Mary, St. George the Martyr, and St. Edward the Confessor, at Windsor to support twenty three canons and a warden, and twenty four knights. This appears to be the first official mention of the Order.<sup>29</sup> If the date of the origin was uncertain, the reason for the choice of the garter as a symbol of the Order is even less certain. The traditional story is that a lady at court dropped a garter while dancing, which the king picked up, to the amusement of those around him. The king noticed their amusement and exclaimed "Honi soit qui mal y pense!" Polydore Virgil was the first chronicler to relate this tale and he was not sure if the lady was the queen or the king's mistress; and if it was Edward's mistress arguments arise as to whether it was Katherine Grandison, Countess of Salisbury, or Joan of Kent, presumed to be the next Countess of Salisbury.<sup>30</sup> Ashmole claims that so august a body as the Order of the Garter could not have received its emblem from so trivial an incident, and that the garter was worn by Richard I and his men while on crusade.<sup>31</sup> This seems unlikely; it is evident that as early as 1344 Edward planned to institute an order of high honour for his great knights. The badge chosen for the order was not as important as the reason for founding the order, and it seems likely that some small incident, such as a lady dropping her garter, could have suggested its use to Edward as a

---

<sup>29</sup> Nicholas, op. cit., p. 15, note 3. In its complete form it was to have twenty six, not twenty four, knights.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 18, note 1.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

symbol of the Order. Ladies were associated with the Order from its beginning, and Nicolas suggests that, "Homage to woman-- the peculiar pride and duty of knighthood, was inculcated by the device of the Order.." <sup>32</sup> Queen Philippa, the wives of the companions, Princess Isabella, and a few other illustrious ladies, were all members of the Order; they were all present at the festivities, and were called 'Dames de la Fraternite de Saint George'. <sup>33</sup> Records remain of Philippa's expenses in 1358 which prove conclusively that she was included in the festivities. In that year she and her ladies were present at the Feast of St. George, and for the occasion she was given L 500 to provide herself with a proper dress. <sup>34</sup> Like the knights of the Order, Philippa made an offering on St. George's Day in the chapel at Windsor. <sup>35</sup> But to go back to 1351, records remain of the royal robes provided for that occasion. Edward wore a robe of cloth of gold with fur trim. Over this was a robe of red velvet embroidered with silver clouds and eagles made of gold and pearls, and in the beak of every eagle was a garter with the motto of the Order. Philippa received L 200 on this occasion for her apparel, and a red velvet robe covered with clouds and eagles. Lady Isabella received a red velvet robe covered with 119 circles of silk and pearls, trees of silk and gold, and a terrage of green velvet with flowers and leaves. <sup>36</sup> Thus, it is apparent that whenever the Order was founded

---

<sup>32</sup> Nicolas, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 25, note 2.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 25, note 8.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 41, note 2.

Philippa and her ladies formed an important part of it. Messengers were sent to command the presence of lords and ladies at the feast of St. George, including the Duke of Brabant, Queen of Scotland, and other foreign ladies. <sup>37</sup> King Edward, Prince Edward, and Henry Lancaster were the three most important members, followed by the twenty four companions. Each companion was paired with a lady; Philippa at Edward's side, Lady Isabella with her brother, Prince Edward, and the other ladies behind them.

Hard upon the celebrations of Edward's victories and the founding of the Order of the Garter, came the Black Death. Lady Joan had died of it at Bordeaux in September 1348, and by late October or early November it had crossed the channel and taken hold of England and Scotland. Large gatherings of people were prohibited, no parliaments, tournaments nor jousts were held for a year, while the worst ravages of the disease were felt. Constant rain did not improve conditions; the chronicles of these years are full of reports of earthquakes, floods, whirlwinds, and hail storms. Wycliffe wrote his 'The Last Age of the Church' prophesying 1400 as the last possible year of life on earth. From November 1348 through January 1349 London was hard hit with the disease. The truce with France which should have continued only until September 1349 was prolonged until October 1350. Sir Walter Manny showed his generosity by buying a piece of ground in Smithfield for

---

<sup>37</sup> Knighton, op. cit., II, p. 99.

the purpose of burying victims of the plague. Knighton writes that towns and villages "were desolated, without a house being let in them, all those who dwelt in them being dead." <sup>38</sup> The summer of 1349 saw an easing off of the pestilence, and by autumn it had almost passed. Chroniclers wrote that this was a punishment on a people too compliasant and concerned with worldly wealth. <sup>39</sup> In September 1348, Philip of France had suggested that the two dowager queens of France and England should mee\_t and try to arrange a lasting peace, and while the queens never met, Henry of Lancaster and the Comte d'Eu did try to negotiate a final peace, but nothing came of it. Once the pestilence had passed, and both countries had dealt with their domestic problems arising from it as best they could, they both turned back to their warfare.

By late 1349, David of Scotland had been in captivity in London for almost two years. He was, no doubt, very comfortable as he had rooms in the Tower and Windsor Castle and was allowed to take part in all great festivities and jousts. Nevertheless, he was still a prisoner, and in October 1348 his wife, Edward's sister Joan, was granted a safe passage to London to plead for his release. <sup>40</sup> Scotland did not have the resources to pay off the large ransom Edward had set on David. Joan was received kindly by her brother and Philippa, and indeed, in later life she was to claim Philippa as a close friend. But in 1349, her plea was

---

<sup>38</sup> Knighton, op. cit., p. 59, 64.

<sup>39</sup> Historia Anglicana, op. cit., p. 273.

<sup>40</sup> Foedera, III, p. 174.

unanswered, she was not allowed to visit her husband, and after a few months she returned to Scotland. As David already had a mistress, it was perhaps in Joan's better interest not to meet him. After Queen Joan returned to Scotland, the royal family left Windsor in February and began a slow progress through the South. Philippa spent the spring with her family at Woodstock, Langley, and Clarendon, perhaps in search of clean air and places free from the plague. With them travelled a doctor, Master Godfrey Fromound, the King's clerk and physician, who received twelve marks daily and eight marks a year for his robes, for having attended Queen Philippa and others of her household.<sup>42</sup> Edward busied himself with another attempt to see his daughter Isabella married. On 1st February instructions were sent to the Marquis of Juliers to negotiate a marriage between Isabella and the Holy Roman Emperor, but again the negotiations came to nothing.<sup>43</sup> Isabella suffered another loss in April when her favorite lady in waiting Isabella Throxford, died, possibly of plague. Later in the spring Edward settled a gift of L 40 on her, for the petty expenses of her chamber.<sup>44</sup> June found Philippa back at Windsor awaiting the birth of another child, William. By June the plague was subsiding, and Philippa's recovery was celebrated with jousts. Edward spent L 60 for carpets for her uprising, and Philippa received L 500 to cover the expenses of her purification.<sup>45</sup> Lord William, however, did not survive infancy, and was

---

42 CPR 1348-1350, p. 229.

43 Foedera, III, p. 181.

44 CPR 1348-1350, p. 340.

45 Issue Roll, op. cit.,  
p. 154.

interred next to his sister Blanche, in St. Edward's Chapel in Westminster Abbey. Shortly after this sad event, St. Stephan's Chapel at the royal palace of Westminster was completed. The chapel was decorated with panels of figures representing King Edward and his family, thought to be likenesses of the members of the royal family. The figures were later covered with paneling, rediscovered in 1800 and copied by the Society of Antiquaries, and then destroyed by fire in 1834. Philippa appears to have been a slim and graceful woman, with regular features, and elegantly coiffed hair, with loose ringlets framing her face and the rest of her hair tightly coiled at the back of her head, beneath her crown. The portraits of her daughters, Isabella, Mary, and Margaret, show them in similar gowns and with similar hair styles, and in the same pose, so while the paintings may represent a general likeness of Philippa, it is difficult to say if the artist was painting her exact features. The portraits of Edward and his sons show them dressed more elaborately than the queen and her daughters; their surcoats are highly decorated, and great attention is paid to the detail of their weapons and armor. In contrast, Philippa appears conservatively dressed and in a very pious attitude. <sup>46</sup>

More deaths occurred in autumn 1349. Philippa travelled west in September, pausing for three days in Dorsetshire. She visited the tomb of Sir Hugh Courtenay, who had been a young knight and a friend of the royal family, and offered a piece of cloth of gold at

~~his tomb~~ <sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Hardy, op. cit., facing pages 232, 248, 49.

his tomb. <sup>47</sup> Sir Hugh had been at the siege of Calais and returned to England to be created one of the original Knights of the Garter. In the same year, Katherine Grandison, Countess of Salisbury, died as well. The confusing scandal caused by Edward's cousin, Joan of Kent, also began. Joan's father, Edmund, was Edward II's brother. Following her father's death, Joan was briefly a royal ward, then placed in the household of the Countess of Salisbury, apparently betrothed to the Countess's son, William Montacute. According to the chronicles of the time, Joan was married to William Montacute, committed adultery with Sir Thomas Holland, and was therefore turned out of the Montacute household. Thomas Holland, younger son of a poor knight, was to greatly increase his fame and fortune through a brilliant military career. After a divorce, Joan married Sir Thomas Holland. Following Sir Thomas's death, she married Prince Edward, Philippa's eldest son. This is a rather unfair biography of Philippa's future daughter-in-law, and if one examines the papal archives concerning Joan, a different story emerges. It appears that there was never any record of a betrothal of Joan to William Montacute, although when Joan's sister Margaret was betrothed careful records were made. <sup>48</sup> In the account that Holland gave to Pope Clement VI, Holland claims that he married Joan 'per verba de presenti' sometime in 1340, when she was eight and he was twenty. <sup>49</sup> The marriage was consummated before Holland went to

---

<sup>47</sup> DNB, vol. XLV, p. 166.

<sup>48</sup> Foedera, V, p. 177.

<sup>49</sup> Reg. Vat., 180, fol. 298, as printed in R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, vol. IV, Paris, 1928, p. 9, note 2.

Prussia late in 1340 or early in 1341. In his absence, Joan was given by her mother and King Edward to William Motacute. Joan, who was very young, was apparently overwhelmed by the wishes of her powerful family, remained silent and went through with the second marriage in February 1341. When Holland returned from abroad in 1341, he discovered this, and the papal account implies that he informed William at once that he was already married to Joan. For some reason, perhaps lack of funds, Holland did not pursue his case at this time, but returned to France. In 1344 King Edward appointed him steward of William Montacute's household, which gave rise to the scandalous tales the chroniclers told of infidelity.<sup>50</sup> Holland fought at Crecy and was at Calais; on his return to England in 1347 he apparently felt strong enough to step forward and claim Joan as his wife. He entered a plea at Avignon on 3rd May 1348 for the annulment of her marriage to Montacute and asked that she be restored to himself.<sup>51</sup> Joan decided to support Sir Thomas Holland and Montacute placed her under restraint. A papal mandate of 3rd May 1348 demanded that she be given freedom to appoint a proctor and carry on the case.<sup>52</sup> After ten months of consideration, the papacy restored Joan to Holland. She remained on good terms with Montacute, however, who soon married Elizabeth Bohun. Some historians have hinted that Joan kept her marriage to Holland secret in the hope that Prince Edward would ask her to marry him, much to his parents'

---

<sup>50</sup> DNB, vol. p. 156

<sup>51</sup> C Pap Reg, 1342-1362. p. 252-253.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 253.

disapproval.<sup>53</sup> This would seem to be a backward reading of events, for there is no evidence of this, and it is hard to imagine a child of eight being so crafty. Joan and Prince Edward were friends, however, and he stood as godfather for two of her children. He was her third cousin and also a good friend of Thomas Holland, so perhaps this<sup>15</sup> neither scandalous nor surprising.

For the time being, Philippa returned to her role of estate manager. In autumn 1348 she leased two manors to William de la Pole for 250 marks; winter found her receiving the rich prize of a French ship full of "wine, fruit, hides and other goods for the King's enemies", forfeited at Bristol.<sup>54</sup> During

September she was granted the lands of the late Philip Despenser, during the minority of his heir; as the widow was still living, Philippa sold the lands and the marriage of the heir back to her.<sup>55</sup> Philippa was still generous to her attendants, and entries constantly appear giving gifts to friends and old servants. When Edmund Rose, King's yeoman, married Agnes Archer, Philippa's damsel, they received an annuity of forty marks.<sup>56</sup> Philippa's damsel Elizabeth Vaux was also granted forty marks for her past services; John and Perota Talworth received twenty marks yearly for services rendered, and Roger and Agnes Belet, and Peter and Elizabeth Routh each received ten pounds yearly.<sup>57</sup> Philippa was busy at this time building a park at

---

<sup>53</sup> Hardy, op. cit., p. 207.

<sup>54</sup> CPR 1348-1350, pp. 420, 460.

<sup>55</sup> CPR 1348-1350, pp., 397, 551. <sup>56</sup> CPR 1348-1350, p. 39.

<sup>57</sup> CPR 1348-1350, pp. 430, 441.

Brixstoke, for which purpose Edward lent her his yeoman, Walter Wight, to supervise the work. <sup>58</sup>

Even while England and France were at peace, disturbances arose and plans continued for war. The quiet caused by the Black Death ended with a threat on Calais in winter 1349. Edward sent Sir Walter Manny to deal with it, and he and Prince Edward followed Manny to France to fight in disguise under his banner. Calais was saved, and they returned to England. Alfonso of Castile died of the plague in March 1350, thus starting a dispute over the throne between his second, but eldest surviving son Pedro, and Charles, Alfonso's grandson by his eldest son, then deceased. France supported Charles and England began to have trouble with coastal raids by Spanish pirates. At the beginning of August, news reached Edward that a fleet of forty Spanish ships was gathering at Sluys, with the intention of invading England. Froissart gives a very detailed, and remarkably accurate, if dramatic, account of it. When Edward realized conflict was inevitable, he sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury and commanded him and all the clergy to pray for victory over the Spaniards. Says Froissart, "The king of England hated the Spaniards greatly...[he] therefore issued a special summons to all gentlemen who might be at that time in England, and left London. He went to the coast of Sussex, between Southampton and Dover, which lies opposite to Ponthieu and Dieppe, and kept his court

---

58 CPR 1348-1350, p. 530.

in a monastery, whither the queen came also. " 59  
All the great knights of England and Gascony joined the royal court at Winchelsea, including Sir Robert Namur, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and the Earl of Stafford. "The prince of Wales and John, earl of Richmond, were likewise on board the fleet; the last was too young to bear arms, but he [ Prince Edward ] had him on board because he loved him much." In all, "There were 400 knights; nor was he [ King Edward ] ever attended by a larger company of great lords." For three days they waited while Philippa remained at Winchelsea. Then the Spanish fleet approached, with "full ten thousand men... The king of England being at sea, had very distinctly explained to all his knights the order of the battle he would have them follow: he had appointed the lord Robert de Namur to the command of a ship called the Salle du Roi, on board of which was all his household. The king posted himself in the fore part of the ship : he was dressed in a black velvet jacket, and wore on his head a small hat of beaver, which became him much. He was that day, as I was told by those who were present, as joyous as he ever was in his life, and ordered his minstrels to play before him a German dance which Sir John Chandos had lately introduced." 60 This casual attitude to war is difficult to understand today; one feels that Edward's lack of concern for the danger to his person, and thus to the government of his realm, was courageous to the point of being foolhardy. Nonetheless, while Philippa waited on a hillside above the

---

59 Froissart, ed. Johnes. op. cit., p. 197.

60 Ibid., p. 198.

sea where the battle was fought, Edward and his two sons personally ordered and fought the battle of Les Espagnols sur mer. Luck, as much as skill, was on the side of the English, for despite many hazardous incidents, they won. At one point, "The young prince of Wales and his division were engaged apart: his ship was grappled by a great Spaniard, when he and his knights suffered much: for she had so many holes, that the water came in very abundantly, and they could not by any means stop the leaks, which gave the crews fear of her sinking: they therefore did all they could to conquer the enemy's ship, but in vain; for she was very large, and excellently well defended. During this danger of the prince, the duke of Lancaster came near, and, as he approached, saw that he had the worst of the engagement, and that his crew had too much on their hands, for they were bailing out water; he therefore fell on the other side of the Spanish vessel, with which he grappled, shouting 'Derby to the rescue!' The engagement was now very warm, but did not last long, for the ship was taken, and all the crew thrown overboard, not one being saved. The prince, with all his men, instantly embarked on board the Spaniard, and scarcely had they done so when his own vessel sank, which convinced them of the imminent danger they had been in." <sup>61</sup> So the battle went, "When it was completely over, and the king saw he had none to fight with, he ordered his trumpets to sound a retreat, and made for England. They anchored at Rye and Winchelsea a little after nightfall, when the

---

<sup>61</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes. op. cit., p. 199.

king, the prince of Wales, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Richmond and other barons, disembarked, took horses in the town, and rode to the mansion where the queen was, scarcely two English leagues distant. The queen was mightily rejoiced on seeing her lord and children: she had suffered that day great afflictions from her doubts of success; for her attendants had seen from the hills of the coast the whole of the battle, as the weather was fine and clear, and had told the queen, who was very anxious to learn the number of the enemy, that the Spaniards had forty large ships: she was therefore much comforted by their safe return. The king, with those knights who attended him, passed the night in revelry with the ladies, conversing of arms and amours. On the morrow, the greater part of the barons who had been in this engagement, came to him: he greatly thanked them for all the services they had done him; before he dismissed them, when they took their leave, and returned every man to his home." <sup>62</sup>  
This account agrees closely with that of Walsingham, <sup>63</sup> the only difference being the number of ships each claims was lost; Walsingham says twenty six Spanish ships were lost, while Froissart puts the number at only fourteen. If Edward's attitude to the battle was one of casualness, of eagerness to display his military abilities, one imagines that Froissart must be correct in depicting Philippa as an anxious and uneasy bystander. While her husband and son had fought battles before, they had never done so while she waited

---

<sup>62</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 199.

<sup>63</sup> *Historia Anglicana*, op. cit., p. 169.

a few mile away and her attendants kept her posted on the details of the fight. If the English had lost, Philippa could have lost her husband and two eldest sons, along with countless other friends and relations. She must have been very thankful, indeed, to see them return safely. The royal family returned to London, where Edward was now more popular than before.

The winter of 1350 to 1351 must have been excessively severe, for great preparations were made for it. In October, Philippa charged a merchant, one Thomas Leggy, to purvey furs and other goods, pertaining to the fur trade, for herself, the king's children in her custody and the members of her household. <sup>64</sup> Thomas Berhampstead, William Fifhide, and his sons, were granted ten wagon loads of firewood, from the forest of her manor of Berkhamstead yearly for life, at any time they chose. <sup>65</sup> Repairs were made on many of her holdings; her house and buildings at Castle Devizes in Wiltshire were repaired at this time. <sup>66</sup> During this winter the services of another doctor wer required by the royal household. In January 1351 Bartholomew Thomasyn, a citizen of London, born in foreign parts, was rewarded for his services to the King, Queen Isabella, and Queen Philippa, with a grant of remission of 3 d. in the pound, and other customs, paid by aliens on goods exported and imported. <sup>67</sup> The summer of 1351 found Philippa still busy repairing her estates. In August work was started at Barnstead; her carpenter, William

---

64 CPR 1348-1350, p. 571.

65 CPR 1350-1354, p. 6.

66 CPR 1348-1350, p. 571.

67 CPR 1350-1354, p. 22.

Ledecomb, was ordered to engage stonemasons, plumbers, and other workmen, and to arrange for building materials. 68 It was during this summer, too, that Philippa secured permission for her bailiff, Alan Str<sup>e</sup>there, to work some of the coal mines in Tynedale, at Alderstone. These mines had been closed since the days of Henry III, owing to the Scottish raids, but they now proved to be successful ventures, so more mines were sunk, and the coal industry was begun in the North in earnest. 69 In May she appointed Thomas Clough, keeper of her castle, town, and honour of High Peak, Derby, to hire men and to work the lead mines in the area for her use. 70 This, too, was successful, and John Moneyasse was soon appointed to work from time to time, as required by the King and Queen, looking for lead, and arranging for its transport by sea from High Peak to London. 71 As in her encouragement of the weaving industry, Philippa had great success in encouraging a renewed interest in mining in England.

After years of Edward's attempts to arrange a marriage for his daughter Isabella, 1351 saw Isabella taking matters into her own hands. A great part of the year was spent in preparation for her marriage to a Gascon noble, Bernard Ezzi, son of the Lord of Albret, the distinguished diplomat. Politically, England had little to gain from such a match, but Isabella believed she was in love with Bernard Ezzi, and Edward, who had had so much difficulty in trying to espouse his nineteen year old daughter, gave his consent, possibly

---

68 CPR 1350-1354, p. 161.

69 CPR 1350-1354, pp. 15, 17.

70 CPR 1350-1354, pp. 43, 73.

71 CPR 1350-1354, p. 76.

with a sigh of relief. Philippa had little to do with the preparations, unless records of her involvement have been lost. Nonetheless, Edward made lavish arrangements for Isabella, and grants were made in parliament to both the Lord of Albret and his son.<sup>72</sup> Several of Isabella's old attendants were given pensions and removed from her household, including Joan Fastbury and Margery Ingelly.<sup>73</sup> Orders were given to hang the royal chapel at Windsor with cloth of gold, but the Lord of Albret asked that the marriage take place in Gascony, which request was granted. Isabella received a generous marriage portion, with the condition that if the marriage did not take place she would be allowed keep the grant. Dresses covered with silver and gold embroidered trees, doves, and other objects, were made for her. She received a mantle of Indian silk, furred with ermine, a great deal of jewelry, including 119 circles of silk and pearls, each with an *Agus Dei* in gold on green velvet in the center, possibly to be used as wedding favours.<sup>74</sup> Isabella was to leave England immediately after Christmas, and in November orders were sent out to Walter Harewell, the king's serjeant-at-arms, to gather five ships together for her passage, while all mariners going to Gascony, were asked to assemble at Plymouth to accompany her party.<sup>75</sup> But Isabella changed her mind a week before she was to sail. Her father could not make her change her mind, and Bernard Ezzi returned to Gascony alone. He renouced his rights of inheritance in favour of a

---

<sup>72</sup> Foedera, III, p. 218.

<sup>74</sup> Hardy, op. cit., p. 223.

<sup>73</sup> CPR 1350-1354, pp. 53, 303.

<sup>75</sup> Foedera, III, p. 235.

younger brother, entered a monastery, and died shortly thereafter. Isabella remained in England, and kept the marriage portion and her new wardrobe. She held a unique position at the court, for no English princess ever before remained unmarried at the age of nineteen, unless she was destined for the convent. Isabella had an independent household, was included in all the court festivities and celebrations, and apparently enjoyed her position.

Meanwhile, Philippa was concerned, as usual, with financial matters. At the end of 1351, Edward pardoned her for life of a yearly rent of fifty one shillings due to him for her manor of Langley Marreys.<sup>76</sup> Negotiations were still in progress for her lands in Hainault, now under the leadership of Henry of Lancaster. He persuaded the Empress Margaret, Philippa's sister, to abdicate in favour of her eldest son, William, who became Count of Hainault and Duke of Bavaria. Philippa appears to have been fond of her nephew William, for pardons were granted in England at his request,<sup>77</sup> and the matter of the inheritance was quickly settled. The following spring, Count William married Lancaster's eldest daughter, Maud, further cementing Anglo-Hainault relations. Maud had been the widow of the Earl of Stafford at the age of six, and was twelve at the time of her second marriage. The marriage was celebrated by the entire English court, and solemnized at Westminster.<sup>78</sup> Following the wedding, Henry, now Duke of Lancaster, accompanied his daughter and Count William back to

---

<sup>76</sup> CPR 1350-1354, p. 189.

<sup>77</sup> CPR 1350-1354, p. 244.

<sup>78</sup> Thomas Walsingham, Ypodigma Neustriae, ed. H.T.Riley, Rolls Series, London, 1876, p. 294.

the continent. He was to try to arrange a marriage between the baby daughter of the Count of Flanders,<sup>79</sup> to whom Edward had tried to marry to his daughter Isabella, and John of Gaunt. This came to nothing, and in a few years Lord John married Lancaster's younger daughter, Blanche, who brought him the Lancaster inheritance.

September 1351, saw King David returning to Scotland in an attempt to raise his ransom money, and spring 1352 saw him return to London, unsuccessful. Philippa remained busy running her estates, and rewarding her attendants. Her yeoman, John Sahan, was granted the constablership of Pevensey Castle, with 6 d. per day as his wage, to see that the castle was well stocked with men and victuals.<sup>80</sup> Margery Sutton, Philippa's damsel, was granted lands at Tickhill; Elizabeth Vaux, damsel, received another annuity of forty marks for life, with a farm as well; Augustine Waleys, Philippa's clerk and his wife Maud, received lands at Haverlyng; John Milford, her yeoman, received 12 d. per day wages, for his long service; Hugh Segrave received the office of crier in the Bench, with all fees and profits, while John Keynesham received wages of 3 d. per day, in addition to the office of keeping the park, out wood, and warren for Philippa at Keynesham.<sup>81</sup> Spring 1352, saw the return to England of the Black Death, but in a milder outbreak. The celebrations of St. George's Day were still held at Windsor. More is heard of Sir Thomas Holland and his wife Joan in this year. In

---

79 Foedera, III, p. 224.

80 CPR 1350-1354, p. 193.

81 CPR 1350-1354, pp. 329, 132, 345, 409, 345, 399.

August 1352 a grant of one hundred marks annually was made at the exchequer to Sir Thomas Holland and his wife Joan, until such time, if it were to happen, as her brother John might die without heirs. A year later John, Earl of Kent, did die without heirs, and Joan became 'suo jure' Countess of Kent and Lady Wake, with all the revenues of the estates. By summer 1353, dower lands had been resettled on John's widow, and the Holland's joined court society.

The summer of 1353 saw a drought and a food shortage was experienced in England. Count William of Hainault was greatly concerned about the welfare of his wife's countrymen, and kindly sent ships filled with rye to London, to relieve the English.<sup>82</sup> That autumn, Edward made generous gifts to members of the royal family. Isabella received the manors of Weden Pynkeneye, Northampton, Cosham in Wiltshire, and Swalcliffe in Berkshire.<sup>83</sup> As usual when not at war, one of Edward's greatest concerns was arranging marriages for his children. Lady Mary had been betrothed since birth to the Duke of Brittany, John de Montfort. His rival, Charles of Blois, had been a prisoner in the Tower since 1347. After five years of imprisonment, Blois offered to raise a great ransom for his release, and offered an alliance against France. Proof of his sincerity was to be a marriage between his son and Lady Margaret. Blois was a first cousin to Philippa, but the pope was in favour of the alliance and could be expected to

---

<sup>82</sup> Foedera, III, p. 263; Historia Anglicana, op. cit., p. 277.

<sup>83</sup> CPR 1350-1354, p. 504.

bless the match. Edward seriously considered the match until the Duke of Lancaster pointedly stated that the sisters could not marry such intense rivals. If Edward recognized the claim of Charles of Blois, he must denounce de Montfort's claim, thus breaking faith with the young Duke, and with the Duchess, his mother. This would have been a blot on Edward's honour but he was saved from having to make the choice. Charles of Blois was allowed to return home in the summer of 1353 to raise the ransom, leaving two sons and a daughter as hostages for his return. The young de Montfort, fearing that Edward might remove support from his claim, appeared at a tournament at Smithfield, in armor for the first time publically displaying the arms of Brittany. Edward recognized his title, so Charles of Blois lost his chance for English support. September 1353 found Edward pleading for funds to extend the war another three years, to an unwilling parliament. By January 1355, preparations for an immediate renewal of hostilities were in motion. Prince Edward was appointed King's Lieutenant in Aquitaine, with full power to make treaties, take homage, buy horses, and carry on the King's business.<sup>84</sup> In January it was ordered that no horses were to be exported from the country, and in March orders were given to gather all ships at Southampton and Plymouth, to be placed at the King's disposal.<sup>85</sup> In June the Archbishops were commanded to pray for military success.<sup>86</sup> On January 7th, Philippa gave birth to her final child, Thomas, at Woodstock.<sup>87</sup>

---

84 Foedera, III, pp. 303, 307, 309, 312.

85 Foedera, III, p. 298.                      86 Foedera, III p. 303.

87 Historia Anglicana, op. cit., p. 280.

Her uprising in March was greatly celebrated, with a tournament at Woodstock held in her honour.<sup>88</sup> After this, seventeen year old Lord Lionel was knighted and the Duke of Lancaster was created Chief Admiral of the English Navy.<sup>89</sup> Prince Edward left London for Plymouth in June, and sailed to Bordeaux in September. Philippa was to remain in England as Queen Regent with her son Edmund of Langley, who was now Guardian of the Realm. King Edward, his sons Lionel and John, and the Duke of Lancaster, sailed for Calais, which they reached on 2nd November. Edward had hardly started to ravage the French countryside when he received news that the Scots were in arms again, attacking Berwick. Leaving his son Edward to conduct the French campaign, King Edward returned home. Edward held Christmas at Newcastle, then relieved Berwick in the week of January. This was all most unfortunate for King David. In July 1353, he had again gone to Newcastle to attempt to raise his ransom, but he again returned unsuccessful. By July 1354, however, it seemed as though terms might be worked out for his release. Edward promised him his freedom on payment of 90,000 marks, to be paid in yearly installments. This was agreed upon in October. November saw the outbreak of more Scottish raids, and David saw his chance for freedom lost again. About this time Edward Balliol ended his pretense of ruling Scotland, and gave his crown and title to King Edward, for L 2000 per year. Edward became King of Scotland &

---

<sup>88</sup> Robert Avesbury, op. cit., p. 422.

<sup>89</sup> Knighton, op. cit. vol II, p. 80.

a ceremony at Roxburgh, on 17th January 1355.<sup>90</sup> He then marched further North, and as he did so, the Scots laid waste to the surrounding countryside. This was the 'Burnt Candelmas', but despite the difficulty of securing provisions for his men and horses, Edward reached Edinburgh. He expected to be supplied by his fleet at Leith, but the ships were destroyed by a violent storm. Edward returned by land to London, arriving there in March with his two sons. He was greeted by Philippa, who was relieved to see her family again.

King Edward and Queen Philippa spent the winter quietly at Windsor, while Prince Edward carried on the war in France. A new royal protégé appeared at this time, in the person of William Wykeham. William had been educated by Sir John Scures, who brought him to Edward's notice through a mutual friend. Wykeham was an architect as well as a scholar; he had already taken part in the design and building of the Round Tower at Windsor. In 1356 he was made clerk of the royal works at Henley and Easthampstead,<sup>91</sup> and one of the surveyors of works at Windsor. He was also chaplain to the King, and was held in high favour of Philippa. In 1356 his duties also included keeping the King's dogs at Windsor.<sup>92</sup>

At this same time, Prince Edward was occupied in France. In seven weeks, 500 towns and villages had been burnt and plundered, although no real military advantage had been gained. At last, on Monday, September 19, 1356, Prince Edward met King John in open conflict

---

<sup>90</sup> Foedera, III, pp. 318. 319.

<sup>91</sup> CPR 1354-1358, p. 383, 463.

<sup>92</sup> Issue Roll, op. cit., p. 163.

at Poitiers. After the efforts of Cardinal de Perigord to secure a truce failed, the battle began. When it was over, the English were triumphant, and the King of France and his youngest son, Philip, were captives. Prince Edward returned to Bordeaux, the center of his operations, with his captives. They all spent the winter in Bordeaux, at the Abbey of St. Andrew. A poor knight of Artois, Denis de Morber, who had brought the French king to Prince Edward, received 2000 nobles for his work.<sup>93</sup> In England, all churches were ordered to give thanksgiving for eight days, and bonfires, feasts, and banquets were held everywhere. In Bordeaux, the prince spent a very pleasant winter, lavishly entertaining his court and going deeply into debt. In early spring arrangements were made to convey King John to London. At the end of April the English fleet sailed, and after an eleven day voyage, landed at Sandwich on 4th May. The party headed straight for London, stopping briefly at Canterbury, Rochester, and Dartford on the way.<sup>94</sup> Edward was very impatient to receive the French King; he therefore arranged to go hunting near Canterbury when Prince Edward's party was on the road. According to Froissart, Edward suddenly jumped out of a thicket and invited the King of France to join him in the hunt. John declined, but Edward informed him that he was free to hunt whenever he pleased.<sup>95</sup>

The royal progress through London was very splendid. Froissart says King Edward "gave orders for the citizens of London to make such preparations as were suitable

---

93 Foedera, III, p. 385.

94 Froissart, ed. Johnes. op. cit., p. 234.

95 Obid., p. 234.

to receive so great a prince as the king of France. Upon which they all dressed themselves very richly in Companies, and the different manufacturers of cloth appeared with various pageants." On the fourth day of their journey, the royal party reached London, "where they were received with every honour and distinction, as indeed had they been by all the chief towns on their road." "The king of France as he rode through London, was mounted on a white steed, with very rich furniture, and the prince of Wales on a little black hackney by his side. He rode through London, thus accompanied, to the palace of Savoy... There the king of France kept his household for some time: and there he was visited by the king and queen of England, who often entertained him sumptuously, and afterward were very frequent in their visits, consoling him all in their power." <sup>96</sup> The king was welcome at Windsor for jousts, hawking or hunting, whenever he chose.

With the King of France in his power, Edward gave the King of Scotland and Charles of Blois their freedom. In August 1356, Charles of Blois was released and went straight back to Brittany to fight against the Duke of Lancaster. David of Scotland was released in October 1357. He agreed to pay a ransom of 100,000 marks, in ten yearly installments of 10,000 and went north to join his wife Joan. Shortly after his arrival in Scotland he was joined by his English

---

<sup>96</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 234.

mistress, Kate Mortimer, and Joan immediately left Scotland and sought protection at the English court. Edward granted her L 200 per year, and until her death five years later, she had the use of Hertford Castle as a residence. She was taken "into the special defence and protection of the King while she stays in England", and she and Philippa became good friends at this time.<sup>97</sup> Philippa lent Joan money to pay household bills, and was with her in her last illness.<sup>98</sup> Despite this, Edward and David remained on good terms politically. In this same year, Count William of Hainault, Philippa's nephew, went mad, and his brother Albert took over the active government of the County. William had no children by his wife, Maud of Lancaster, who now returned to England, where she was sympathetically received by the king and queen. William was confined for thirty years in the castle of Quesnoi, and died without ever regaining his sanity.

The next five years must have been relatively happy ones for Philippa and Edward, for at last they saw the successful completion of marriage plans for some of their children. The year 1357 continued with celebrations for Prince Edward's victory at Poitiers. The Feast of St. George was celebrated with great pomp at Windsor on April 23, 1358. As already has been stated, Philippa took part in these festivities, brilliantly arrayed. It was probably around this time that the portraits of the royal family were finished in St. Stephen's Chapel. Soon after St. George's Day

---

<sup>97</sup> Foedera, III, p. 385, 419.

<sup>98</sup> DNB, vol. XXIX, p. 391.

Sir Thomas Holland and his wife Joan left for Normandy. Sir Thoams had been the Lieutenant for the King in Brittany and adjoining parts of Poitou, during the minority of the Duke of Brittany,<sup>99</sup> and in 1356 was appointed governor of the Channel Islands. In 1359 he was appointed jointly with Philip of Navarre as Lieutenant and Captain General in all English possessions in France and Normandy.<sup>100</sup> It has been suggested that Sir Thomas was posted abroad to remove his wife from the court, and especially from the Prince of Wales who, despite the fact that Joan was the mother of four children and the wife of a good friend, was infatuated with her. This would seem to be nonsense. The posts given to Sir Thomas were too important to be used merely to rid the English court of an unwanted woman. Prince Edward has been described as "the hero of all Europe, handsome, brave, triumphant, and heir to a great kingdom [ who ] might have wedded any woman, Princess or commoner as he chose...", while Joan was "the mother of four children, growing stout, and losing something of her radiant beauty..."<sup>101</sup> As she is described by the Chandos Herald in 1361 as being very beautiful, one wonders how she could have been so changed in 1357. As no mention of an illicit romance between the Countess of Kent and the Prince of Wales can be found, one must assume that this is conjecture on the part of later historians.

By 1359 Lionel and Elizabeth de Burgh, Countess of Ulster, were definitely married. Lionel was the only one of Philippa's children to be so settled by

---

<sup>99</sup> Foedera, III, p. 273.

<sup>100</sup> Foedera, III, p. 408.

<sup>101</sup> Hardy, op. cit., p. 250.

by this time. In July 1359, fees were paid to the clerk of Philippa's chapel for the solemnization of three weddings, including that of the Earl of Ulster. <sup>102</sup>

There is no mention made, however, of when this solemnization took place. John of Gaunt spent Christmas 1357 with Lionel and Elizabeth, his brother and sister-in-law, at Hatfield, for which a record was kept, so it appears that the ceremony took place before Christmas 1357. Philippa appears to have been fond of Elizabeth, who was not very strong. In December 1356, Edward paid, L 13: 6: 8 to Master Pascal, a physician for services rendered to the Countess of Ulster. <sup>103</sup> It was from Elizabeth's household that a famous literary figure was to emerge, in the person of Geoffrey Chaucer.

An entry in Elizabeth's account book for April 1357, reads, "7 /- for an entire suit of clothes, consisting of a paltock (cloak) and a pair of red and black breeches, with shoes, provided for Geoffrey Chaucer", and in May another piece of clothing, "purchased for Geoffrey Chaucer in London," and in December, a gift of 3 s. 6 d., "for necessaries" . <sup>104</sup> Geoffrey Chaucer's father John, had been at Antwerp in attendance on Edward and Philippa at the time of Lord Lionel's birth. Geoffrey was only a few years older than Lionel, and grew up in his household. Chaucer tried his hand in the French wars, was immediately captured and ransomed back to King Edward for L 16, after which he remained in England, first in Lionel's household, and then in that of John of Gaunt.

---

102 Issue Roll, op. cit., p. 170.

103 Ibid., p. 164.

104 Hardy, op. cit., p. 251.

The Lady Margaret, Philippa's youngest daughter, was fond of Chaucer, as well. She was a quiet girl and wrote poetry herself.<sup>105</sup> Her father had tried to marry her first to the Charles of Blois, then to Duke Albert of Austria, but nothing came of either match. Margaret was fond of John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, who had been brought up in the royal nursery, and was a special friend of Margaret's brother, Edmund. Margaret, like her sister Mary, had been raised in quiet, simple, households, unlike her sister Isabella. Mary and Margaret each received twenty marks yearly for personal expenses, and no more.<sup>106</sup> After St. George's Day, Philippa and her younger children spent most of the spring and summer at Marlborough and Cosham. It was during this summer that Philippa fell from her horse and dislocated her shoulder.<sup>107</sup> Aside from that, the summer continued in relative peace until August 1357, when Queen Isabella died, and the English court went into mourning. She had lived alone quietly for twenty eight years, but her funeral was lengthy and pompous. Gravel was spread on the streets of London from Bishopsgate to Aldgate, and the entire city was cleaned for the procession through the streets.<sup>108</sup> Not until November were all the preparations complete. Isabella was buried in the habit of the Grey Friars, next to Roger Mortimer in the church of the Grey Friars at Newgate, under a large alabaster monument.<sup>109</sup> England remained at peace this year, while France fell into a worse and worse state, suffering the ravages

---

105 Hardy, op. cit., p. 252.

108 Foedera, III, p. 411.

106 Ibid, p. 252.

109 Knighton, op. cit.,  
vol II, p. 100.

107 Eulogium Historiarum, Ed. F.S.Haydon, Rolls Series, London, 1863, vol. III, p. 227.

of the Jacquerie while their king was in foreign captivity. The truce made by Prince Edward expired in June 1359, and King Edward had already begun preparations to go abroad again. The Earl of Pembroke was to accompany him this time, but before the departure Margaret and the Earl asked to be married. Edward consented and the marriage was solemnized by Thomas Clyneham, Philippa's own chaplain, in her private chapel. Edward gave Margaret a coronet of jewels and pearls, among other gifts,<sup>110</sup> This marriage was followed in June by that of John of Gaunt with Blanche of Lancaster,<sup>111</sup> the Duke's younger daughter. They were married at Reading; John was nineteen, Blanche a few years younger. This wedding was a major social affair. The Issue Roll of 1359 contains entries for "jewels purchased for the marriage of the Earl of Richmond and the Lady Blanche, to wit, for one ring with ruby, L 20; and for belt garnished with rubies, emeralds and pearls, L 18; and for tripod with cup of silver gilt, L 20," and also, "For divers jewels purchased for the marriage of the Earl of Richmond and the Lady Blanche, daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, L 139: 7: 4."<sup>112</sup> Lady Isabella gave John and Blanche a pair of silver buckles worth L 20, for which she was unable to pay, and two years later her father had to satisfy the bill.<sup>113</sup> The wedding, by the pope's dispensation, took place on Sunday. For the next three days jousts were held at Reading in their honour, followed by three more days of jousts in London. The jousts in London were exceptionally lavish, even for

---

<sup>110</sup> Issue Roll, op. cit., p. 172. <sup>113</sup> Ibid., p. 173.

<sup>111</sup> Historia Anglicana, op. cit., p. 286.

<sup>112</sup> Issue Roll, op. cit., p. 170, 172.

Edward, All the court was invited while the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London met all comers from all of Europe. Philippa, her daughters, and all her ladies were present. The king was not present, but enormous crowds watched the displays, and the tournament was a success. At the end of the three days, the defenders of London removed their helmets, and it was discovered that Edward, ever with an eye for the dramatic, and his four sons had led the defence. 114

When the festivities were finished, Edward began to make serious preparations to return abroad. King John was taken to Somerton Castle, 115 all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty were to prepare to join the king, and supplies were gathered together. The countryside of France had been ravaged so often that the army could no longer live off the land. Thus, 8000 wain horse carriages, 30 falconers, 60 pair of hunting dogs and greyhounds, fishing boats, ovens, mills, and many other things, were transported. 116

The Duke of Lancaster went ahead, followed by Edward and his four elder sons, who left Sandwich in late October 1359. This time Philippa remained at home, with her son Thomas, now aged four, who was nominally Guardian of the Realm; Philippa was again Queen Regent. 117 Margaret stayed with Philippa, as her husband travelled abroad with Edward. Several attempts were made by France to invade England in 1360, including one at Winchelsea on 15th March, when the invaders actually landed and

---

114 Sydney Armitage-Smith, John of Gaunt, Westminster, 1904, p. 15.

115 Foedera, III, p. 438. 116 Foedera, III, pp. 445, 475.

117 Foedera, III, pp. 450, 451.

slew some of the townspeople. <sup>118</sup> Beacon fires were laid along the coast, and Lord Thomas ordered King John removed to the Tower, all ships to be ready to defend the coast, and ordered men to garrison the castles of Pevensey, Old Sarum, and Marlborough. <sup>119</sup> Abroad, Edward was not enjoying a particularly distinguished campaign. He reached Rheims in November and camped outside of it until January 1360, when he moved on to Paris. As the Dauphin did not come out to meet him, Edward turned, and moved toward Brittany. According to the chronicles, a most extraordinary thing then happened. On 14th April, Easter Monday, a severe electrical storm broke over Edward and his army. Many men and horses were struck dead, causing Edward to vow to seek peace if they were spared. <sup>120</sup> When the storm subsided, he kept his promise, and on 8th May, a peace was signed at Bretigny. The claims of de Montfort and Blois were to be settled later, but all other issues were resolved, and Edward returned home. <sup>121</sup> From Rye, which he reached on 18th May, he immediately travelled to Westminster, which he reached the following morning. Philippa met him, and they told King John the news of the truce. <sup>122</sup> Thanksgiving was offered at St. Paul's and it was agreed to accept King John's brother and sons, the Dukes of Orleans, Anjou, Berri, and Bourbon, as hostages, while he returned home to raise his ransom. In July he was taken to Calais by Prince Edward

---

118 Foedera, III, p. 477.

119 Foedera, III, 475.

120 Knighton, op. cit., vol. II, p. 112; Chronicon Angliae, p. 42. p. 42.

121 Foedera, III, 487; Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 284-286.

122 Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 286.

and the Duke of Lancaster. Edward arrived in Calais a few weeks later, after festivities, John was released on 25th October. Edward and his sons returned to England in November.

The winter of 1360 was a quiet one. William Wykeham was busy making alterations at Windsor, and was made chief warder and surveyor of the castles of Dover, Leeds, and Hadleigh.<sup>123</sup> He was also to rebuild the castle at Sheppey, called Kingborough, which was to be renamed Queenborough in honour of Philippa. Early in 1361 another important literary figure appeared at the English court, Jean Froissart, a Hainaulter, arrived in England to present Philippa with a manuscript he had written on the battle of Poitiers. Froissart says he carried the manuscript to England where Philippa "most graciously received it of me, to my great profit."<sup>124</sup> She appointed him clerk in her household, and allowed him to gather whatever information he might need to write a complete history of the times.<sup>125</sup> He was free to stay at the court if he wished, or free to travel as a member of her household. After five years, he left the court and travelled about England in search of information. He spent a few months in Scotland investigating Edward's campaigns in the north. For events which happened before he joined the court, Froissart turned to the canon of Liege, Jean le Bel, who had also written a chronicle, and took much material straight from his manuscript. Froissart's chronicle is full of praise for his patroness, as one might expect. He claims,

---

123 CPR 1358-1361, p. 243.

124 Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 2.

125 Ibid., p. xix.

"The good Queen Philippa was in my youth my queen and sovereign. I was five years at the court of the King and Queen of England. In my youth I was her clerk, serving her with fair ditties and treatises of love; and for the love of the noble and worthy lady my mistress, all other great kings and lords loved me and saw me gladly. " 126

Lady Mary, it will be remembered, was still unmarried at this time. The settlement of the Duchy of Brittany was still not complete, and Edward planned to wait until John de Montfort had secured his claim. De Montfort arranged to meet Charles of Blois to settle the dispute, but Blois did not appear. Lady Mary spent the year at Leicester with her cousin and good friend Blanche of Lancaster, who had just given birth to her first child. 127 In March the Duke of Lancaster died of the plague and as Froissart says, "The king and all his barons, knights, and squires, were much afflicted, and wished it had not been so." 128 He was buried at Leicester, and as he left no sons, his estates were divided between his two daughters. Following this sadness, another royal marriage took place. Edward at last consented and during the summer Lady Mary and the Duke of Brittany were married at Woodstock. She was seventeen at the time, dressed in cloth of gold trimmed with ermine, while her bridegroom was twenty. Less than a year after her marriage, she fell into a torpor, from which she was not roused, and she died without ever regaining full consciousness. 129 Philippa must have been grief-stricken, for only a few weeks earlier Lady

---

126 Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. xix, xx.

127 Issue Roll, op. cit., p. 191. 129 Hardy, op. cit., p. 265

128 Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 33. 266.

Margaret had suddenly died. The two sisters were buried together in the Abbey of Abingdon. The Earl of Pembroke and the Duke of Brittany promised never to remarry without Edward's consent, but eventually they both did remarry. The Duke of Brittany next married a daughter of Sir Thomas Holland and Joan of Kent. Following her death, he married Princess Joan of Navarre. The Earl of Pembroke eventually married Anne, the only daughter of Sir Walter Manny.

Despit all this the greatest royal wedding was yet to come. Sir Thomas Holland died in Normandy in December 1360, and on 6th October 1361, Prince Edward <sup>CONTRACTED TO</sup> married Sir Thomas' widow, Joan, Countess of Kent, at Lambeth. This matter was apparently received by the rest of the royal family with mixed emotions. In 1361 Prince Edward was thirtyone and Joan was two years his senior, and the mother of four surviving children. All the previous negotiations to espouse the prince and Heir Apparent to an European princess had failed and it must be remembered that thirty one was an advanced age for an unmarried heir to the throne. Prince Edward had already produced sons, albeit illegitimate ones; Sir John Sounder and Sir Roger Clarendon were probably born after the Poitiers campaign. In January 1349 he had presented a horse "to his own little son, Edward". <sup>130</sup> It was, however, necessary for him to marry and have legitmate children. The circumstances leading up to this marriage with Joan are as confusing as any other part of her marital career. She was the

---

<sup>130</sup> R.P. Dunn-Pattison, The Black Prince, London, 1910, p. 176.

younger daughter and third child of Edmund of Woodstock, who had been executed in 1330. Queen Philippa had taken charge of her in 1331, and she had spent several years in the royal nursery at Woodstock. Froissart called her, "one of the most beautiful and virtuous women in England,"<sup>131</sup> while the Chandos Herald, who knew her personally, said she was "one of the loveliest women in the world, a lady of great worth..." and "was lovely, agreeable, and wise."<sup>132</sup> As early as 1348, Prince Edward had given his cousin Joan a gift of a silver biker.<sup>133</sup> Despite Joan's beauty, there were great difficulties bound to arise from such a match. Prince Edward was the god father of Joan's son Thomas, Joan was a ward of Edward's mother, and a first cousin to Edward's father. A papal dispensation was obviously needed to remove these barriers, and Innocent VI granted it.<sup>134</sup> That this was a love match was very obvious, for Edward and Joan had contracted their marriage secretly even before the dispensation arrived. Even though Prince Edward and Joan married with the King's consent and a papal dispensation, there were still more difficulties to consider. William Montacute, Joan's husband until the papal annulment of 1349, was still alive at the time of her royal marriage. If the papal decision of 1349 were reversed in favor of Montacute, any children Joan might have by Prince Edward would be illegitimate.

---

<sup>131</sup> Froissart, ed. Jones, op. cit., p. 101.

<sup>132</sup> Chandos Herald, Le Prince Noir, ed. M.K.Pope, E.C.Lodge, Oxford, 1910. p. 106, 144.

<sup>133</sup> Beltz, Op. cit., appendix, p. 385.

<sup>134</sup> Foedera, III, p. 626.

If the dispensation of 1361 were annulled, there would be a second chance of this. One imagines that Philippa was not pleased with the marriage of her eldest son, but she did attend the wedding at Windsor. King Edward, and Lord Lionel, did not attend, although the younger royal sons, Lady Isabella, Queen Joan of Scotland, and Countess Maud of Hainault were all present.

A French chronicler tells a strange story of the Prince's proposal to Joan, which can neither be proven true nor untrue. He claims that on the death of Sir Thomas Holland, many warriors approached the prince and asked him to speak on their behalf to the Lady Joan. A Monsieur de Brocas finally prevailed upon Edward to speak to Joan on his behalf. Lady Joan listened to the Prince, but then replied that she would never remarry. Thereupon followed a very romantic dialogue between the Prince and the Countess. Prince Edward "was enchanted with her and said to her, 'Ah, my dear cousin, is it the case that you refuse to marry any of my friends, inspite of your great beauty? Although you and I are of the same lineage, there is no lady under heaven that I hold so dear as you.' Thereupon the Prince became greatly enamoured of the Countess. And the Countess commenced to weep like a subtle and far seeing woman. And then the prince began to comfort her and kiss her passionately, grievously distressed at her tears, and said to her, 'I have spoken to you on behalf of one of the most chivalrous knights of England and one of the most honourable of men.' Madame the Countess replied, in tears to the Prince,

---

'Ah, Sir, before God, do not talk to me thus. For I have given myself to the most chivalrous knight under heaven, and for love it is, that before God I will never marry as long as I live. For it is impossible that I should have him to husband and my love for him parts me from all other men: it is my intention never to marry.' The Prince was extremely curious to know who was the most chivalrous knight in the world, and pressed the Countess to tell him. But the Countess, the more she saw him aflame, the more she begged him to make no further inquiry and said to him, 'Before God, my very dear lord, by His agony, by the Sweet Virgin Mother, suffer it be so.' To make a long story short, the Prince told her that if she did not tell him who was this most chivalrous knight in the world, he would make him his deadly enemy. Then the Countess said to him, 'My dear and indomitable lord, it is you, and for love of you that I will never have any other knight by my side.' The Prince, greatly amazed by the love of the Countess, replied, 'My lady, I also vow to God that as long as you live never will I have any other woman save you to my wife.' " <sup>135</sup> Whether or not this did ever occur is doubtful, and it seems unlikely that a chronicler would have details of so intimate a conversation. The dialog<sup>ue</sup> does, however, give a good impress<sup>ion</sup> of the author's idea of Joan. She must have been a sophisticated, and self-confident as well as very beautiful, woman to use such feminine strategy to such great success; she must have been the antithesis of frank, pious, motherly, Philippa. Both women had virtues

---

<sup>135</sup> Dunn-Pattison, op. cit., p. 187, 188.

and good qualities, but they lay in very different directions. Nonetheless, the marriage took place, and Prince Edward and Lady Joan left Windsor immediately for Berkhamstead. In January they entertained the King and Queen there, during which time it was decided that Prince Edward and his wife should go to Aquitaine as soon as possible, for Prince Edward to take up his duties as governor. In June, writs were issued to detain ships for their passage, and on July 19th, the King invested his son as Lord of Gascony and Guienne, subject only to the English crown.<sup>136</sup> Prince Edward promised to pay an ounce of gold yearly at Westminster, as acknowledgement of the overlordship of his father, and did homage for the principality. Prince Edward had many affairs to attend to before he left his English estates, and Christmas 1362 found Edward and Joan still in England. Once again, Edward and Philippa visited them at Berkhamstead, and in February 1363, they finally sailed for Gascony.

---

<sup>136</sup> Foedera, III, ii, p. 667.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### PHILIPPA'S LAST YEARS, 1362-1369

Philippa's family, owing to marriages and deaths, was being ever reduced. The days of her travelling abroad had ended and now her life must have been very involved in the affairs of her children. In September 1361, she had lost the company of Lord Lionel, who was sent to Ireland with his wife to take up residence in Dublin and exercise the powers of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for his father. It is hard to imagine anyone more unsuited for this difficult job than Lionel, Earl of Ulster. One of his first decrees was that no man born in Ireland was to approach him, and apparently he had no feeling, other than disdain, for his new subjects. February 1362 found him in a very poor position, as King Edward begged all absentee lords to return to Ireland and "assist his very dear son and his companions, who are in imminent peril."<sup>1</sup> Lionel survived this unpleasantness, and remained in Ireland another four years, but with little success in governing it. Philippa spent Christmas 1361 at Windsor, and 1362

---

<sup>1</sup> Foedera, III, ii, p. 636.

began with rejoicing, for Edward had reached the advanced age of fifty. Many gifts were bestowed on members of the royal family in honour of this. As has been stated, Prince Edward received the Duchy of Aquitaine for one ounce of gold per year; John of Gaunt was granted the late Henry Lancaster's Duchy of Lancaster, by right of his wife, Blanche; Edmund of Langley was created Earl of Cambridge; Lionel of Ulster, through his wife's descent of the Clares of Suffolk, was created Duke of Clarence.<sup>2</sup> Edward and Philippa made a triumphant progress throughout the kingdom, all outlaws and prisoners were pardoned, even those being held for treason, and it was declared that English, not French, should be used now and in the future in all English law courts.<sup>3</sup> Hunting parties were arranged in Sherwood, Clun, and Rockingham forests, among others, and in May a great tournament was held at Smithfield, at which both Edward and Philippa were present.<sup>4</sup> Knights from England, France, Spain, and Cyprus attended as special guests of honour, after the king. It was also enacted in 1362 that no one except the King, Queen, and their children had the right to purvey articles, all other nobles must pay for what they took in the way of food, goods, and other necessities.<sup>5</sup>

Philippa was now forty nine, and while the festivities of her husband's jubilee must have pleased her, the constant cares of her large and expensive household coupled with the loss of so many of her children and close friends, must have been telling on her.

---

<sup>2</sup> Foedera, III, iii, p. 681; Historia Anglicana, op. cit., p. 297.

<sup>5</sup> Historia Anglicana, op. cit., 298.

<sup>3</sup> Historia Anglicana, op. cit., p. 297.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 296; Knighton, op. cit., p. 118.

One finds few mentions of her in the chronicles from this time onward until the time of her death, in 1369. She still attended all state occasions in England, but she appears to have led a very quiet and retiring life in her last seven or eight years. Queen Joan of Scotland had died in September at Hertford Castle, with Philippa at her side, and a few months later Maud of Lancaster and Hainault died, possible of plague.<sup>6</sup> As she had no children, the entire Lancaster estate fell to John of Gaunt. With Prince Edward in Aquitaine and Lord Lionel in Ireland, King Edward, who was beginning to lose some of his strength, came to depend more and more heavily upon John's assistance at home, and with the acquisition of the rest of the Lancaster lands, John emerged as a very powerful figure. In this same year, Elizabeth de Burgh, Lionel's wife, died in August, leaving only a daughter, named Philippa after the Queen.<sup>7</sup> Queen Philippa, with the Countess of Warwick and the Archbishop of York, had sponsored the child, and it seems evident that Philippa had been fond of Elizabeth. This death must have seemed to Philippa like the death of another of her children. Christmas 1362 was spent at Windsor and was followed by the final visit of Edward and Philippa to Berkhamstead to say farewell to the Prince and Princess of Wales. At the end of February they left for Bordeaux, and Philippa never saw her son Edward again.

The year 1363 started quietly and saw the creation of a number of paternalistic laws. Anyone whose income

---

<sup>6</sup> *Historia Anglicana*, op. cit., p. 298.

<sup>7</sup> Knighton, op. cit., p. 119.

did not exceed L 10 per year was to refrain from wearing rich ornaments, for the king was concerned with the "outrageous and excessive apparel of divers people, against their estate and degree to the great distruction and impoverishment of all the land." <sup>8</sup> Practice of archery was to be encouraged, and June saw the prohibition of "vain games, handball, football, stick-ball, and dog and cock fights." <sup>9</sup> Soon new complications developed in Anglo-French relations and caused King John to return to his friends at the English court. King John and his young son Philip had returned to France to raise ransom money, leaving the King's brother and three sons as hostages. These four captives were treated very well; they were even allowed to stay in Calais and to hunt, as long as they did not remain out of English territory for more than three days at a time. In 1363 the Duke of Burgundy died, and King John bestowed the title on his youngest son, Philip, to the displeasure of his eldest son, the Duke of Anjou, who forthwith left his captivity in Calais and went to see his father. King John was most upset by this slur on his honour, and immediately wrote to King Edward asking for a safe conduct for himself and two hundred knights and attendants, and left for England. <sup>10</sup> He arrived at Dover in January 1364. The reasons for King John's return could have been many. Perhaps he was truly upset by his son's lack of good faith, or perhaps he remembered fondly his easy life in London, with his gracious hosts and no responsibilities; per-

---

<sup>8</sup> Foedera, III, p. 704.

<sup>10</sup> Foedera, III, ii, p. 718.

<sup>9</sup> Foedera, III, p. 770.

haps he went only to apologize for his son, or believed his life to be nearly finished and hoped by dying in captivity to release his sons from his ransom debt; or perhaps he wished encourage Edward to join himself and the King of Cyprus on a crusade. For whatever reason he chose to return, he was graciously received, as was the King of Cyprus, his friend, at this time. Froissart says the King of Cyprus "was honourably received on his arrival, as well by the barons of France who were there as hostages, as by the English lords, who rode out to meet him...It would take me a day if I were to attempt relating to you the grand dinners, suppers, and other feasts and entertainments that were made, and the magnificent presents, gifts and jewels which were given, especially by Queen Philippa." <sup>11</sup> He says of King John, "he had found so much loyalty and honour in his brother the King of England, the Queen, and his nephews, their children, that he could not sufficiently praise them: he did not in the least doubt but that they would be courteous, polite, and loyal, and friends to him in all situations. He was anxious to go to England, in order to make excuses for his son, the duke of Anjou, who had returned to France." When he landed at Dover, "News was brought to the King of England ( who at that time was with his queen at Eltham, a very magnificent palace that the king had, seven miles from London ) that the King of France had landed at Dover," A party was sent to greet him and "They attended him and conducted him with every mark of respect and honour, as they well knew how to do. Among other compliments, they

---

<sup>11</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 306.

told him that the king their lord was much rejoiced at his coming, which the king of France readily believed." When the party reached Eltham they received a very lavish reception. Froissart says, "I can never relate how honourably and magnificently the king and queen of England received King John." <sup>12</sup> On leaving Eltham he returned to the Savoy, where all members of the royal family frequently visited him, and he spent a pleasant winter. Philippa must have been a very gracious hostess to make a foreign king from a hostile land feel so welcome in England. King John was growing old, as well, and he was soon, "confined to his bed by sickness, of which he grew worse every day, to the great uneasiness of the king of England and his queen..." and in April he died. "The king, queen, the princes of the blood, and all the nobles of England were exceedingly concerned about him, from the great love and affection he had shown to them since the conclusion of the peace." <sup>13</sup>

One happy event did grow out of this sadness, for in the train of King John was a young knight named Ingelram de Coucy, who was the epitome of a handsome knight. He was Lord of Coucy, grandson of Duke Leopold of Austria, and had as his motto, 'Je ne suis roi, ne duc, prince, ne comte aussi: Je suis le sire de Coucy'. Froissart says the young man "took pains to shine in his dancing and singing whenever it was his turn. He was in great favour with both the French and the English: for whatever he chose to do he did well and with grace." <sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Froissart, ed, Johnes, op. cit., p. 308.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 309.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 308.

The Lady Isabella was then aged thirty three, Ingelram was twenty five, but they fell in love and were married at Windsor, in July 1365. <sup>15</sup> Edward not only granted de Coucy his freedom but created him Earl of Bedford as well, made him a Knight of the Garter, and granted his three hundred marks yearly. Isabella received L 4000, and was allowed to keep all her other property as well. The jewels Isabella wore at her wedding were valued at L 3000, and it was in all respects a grand ceremony; L 100 was given just to the minstrels. <sup>16</sup> Philippa received two embroidered bodices from Edward for the occasion; one had her motto 'Myn Biddinge', the other her favourite motto, 'Ich Wrude Muche'. <sup>17</sup> For four months the Earl and Countess of Bedford remained in England, then in November 1365, they finally sailed for France. This same year news came from Bordeaux that a son had been born to Prince Edward and Lady Joan, which <sup>MUST</sup> have caused joy and thanksgiving. <sup>18</sup> The young prince was named Edward, but he was not to survive childhood, dying at the age of seven. Walsingham says of this child, "He died none too soon", but does not explain this ominous comment. <sup>19</sup> The summer of 1365 found Philippa and Edward at Eltham, receiving a visit from Albert, Count of Hainault. Because of his elder brother William's madness, Albert wished to be recognized as Count, not merely as regent for his brother, whose madness had lasted for seven years. He had met with the Estates of Holland at Gertruydenburg, asking not only to be recognized as Count, but claiming that the County of Hainault was

---

<sup>15</sup> *Historia Anglicana*, op. cit., p. 180.

<sup>16</sup> *Issue Roll*, op. cit., p. 188. <sup>17</sup> *Nicolas*, op. cit., p. 485.

<sup>18</sup> *CPR 1364-1367*, p. 180. <sup>19</sup> *Historia Anglicana*, op. cit., 301

an indivisible territory, and, therefore, that the lands that had passed away at the death of Count William, Philippa's brother, be returned to the county. This was agreed, so that summer Albert travelled to England to visit his aunt and explain his position. King Edward refused to accept this loss of Philippa's lands, yet the Count parted on good terms with the English royal family.<sup>20</sup>

Edward and Philippa still had two unmarried children, Edmund of Langley and Thomas of Woodstock. Edward now attempted one last time, to secure for Edmund Margaret, daughter of Count Louis of Flanders and widow of the Duke of Burgundy. Margaret was very wealthy, although on the death of her husband King John had given the title of Duke of Burgundy to his son, Philip. Edward again tried to negotiate a marriage, and all went well until the pope was asked for the necessary dispensation for consanguinity, which he refused. The marriage was postponed from October 19, 1364 until December 18, 1364, to no avail.<sup>21</sup> Finally, Edward gave up, and a few years later Margaret married Philip, Duke of Burgundy. Thus, Philippa had the company of her son Edmund for a few more years. Her daughter Isabella returned to England for a prolonged visit in April 1366, with her husband and newborn daughter, Mary, so for a time Philippa's family gathered about her again. The Earl and Countess of Bedford remained in England for over a year; in the spring of 1367 Isabella gave birth to a second daughter, whom she named Philippa after her

---

<sup>20</sup> Foedera, III, ii, pp. 751, 764, 779, 789.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, pp. 774, 750, 758, 761, 777.

mother. The child was born at Eltham, with Philippa in attendance on her daughter at the time of the birth. <sup>22</sup> A few months later, the de Coucy family returned to France.

Meanwhile, Prince Edward was busy in Bordeaux, governing Aquitaine and becoming involved in the Spanish succession dispute between Henry of Trastamara and Pedro the Cruel. In the spring of 1366, Pedro arrived at Bordeaux with his two daughters, Constance and Isabella, seeking refuge for his daughters and aid to regain his throne. Lady Constance, who was to be John of Gaunt's second wife, and Lady Isabella, who was to marry Edmund of Langley, stayed at the Abbey of St. Andrew, with Princess Joan who was expecting second child. Prince Edward agreed to aid Pedro and plans were made to march to Castile as soon as possible. The march was delayed until after Christmas, however, in order to put the winter behind them and as Prince Edward wished to be with his wife, who "being far gone with child was melancholy and sorrowful at the thought of his absence. He was desirous to wait until she be brought to bed, as she wished to detain him." <sup>23</sup> The expedition left Bordeaux on the day of the birth of Prince Edward's second son, Richard. <sup>24</sup> For an adventure which began with so propitious an omen, one would have expected greater success in its outcome. Despite the English victory at Navarrete, the campaign was a dismal failure, and Prince Edward returned to Bordeaux that summer broken in health, with the poor remains of his army. <sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> Hardy, op. cit., p. 284.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 357.

<sup>25</sup> Historia Anglicana, op. cit., p. 305.

<sup>23</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 355.

Philippa's sadness for her eldest son's misfortune was in no way relieved by the problems that her younger son, Lionel, was experiencing; Lionel's policies in Ireland became more and more unpopular until in spring 1366, he was forced to move his ex-ch<sup>e</sup>quer from Dublin to the relative safety of Carlow, a walled city. In November 1366 he returned to England, determined never to go back to Ireland. King Edward sent the Earl of Desmond to govern Ireland, and looked about for a new position for Lionel. Edward had already arranged with David of Scotland that should David die without legitimate heirs, as became increasingly likely, Lionel should be appointed Heir. The Scottish parliament had not been very pleased with this arrangement but David had nevertheless entered into an agreement with Edward. The Scots were saved from falling into a fate similar to that of Ireland because David outlived Lionel. More negotiations were started to arrange a good marriage for Lionel, and after two years of work, it was arranged that Lionel should marry Violante, only child of Galeazzo Visconti, Lord of Pavia, and niece of Bernabo, Lord of Milan.<sup>26</sup> Galeazzo was apparently willing to pay a high price for so prestigious a match for his daughter, thus the contract was extremely favourable to England. Humphrey Bohun, Constable of England, travelled to Milan in July 1366 to begin the negotiations which culminated in the treaty signed at Windsor in April 1368. Lionel then set out for Italy to meet his bride, who gave him

---

<sup>26</sup> Foedera, III, ii, p. 797.

2,000,000 gold florins, and many towns, castles, and estates. <sup>27</sup> Lionel's progress across France to Italy was as splendid as the terms of the marriage; he had a retinue of almost five hundred men and 1280 horses, all of which crossed the channel in thirty nine ships and thirteen small vessels. A stop was made in Paris, where the entire party was lavishly entertained at the palace of the Louvre by King Charles and Lionel's sister and brother-in-law, the de Coucy's. Both Chaucer and Froissart were in his party, which left Paris and moved slowly to Sens and Cahmbery before finally reaching Milan in May. On June 5th, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, married Violante Visconti outside the doors of the cathedral of Milan, before a great crowd. <sup>28</sup> The celebrations which followed the wedding were nothing short of incredible. The wedding feast consisted of thirty courses, between each of which the English party received valuable presents. Nor did the celebrations end with the feast, but continued for almost five months. <sup>29</sup> Early in October, Lionel and Violante were at Alba in Piedmont; there on October 3rd, Lionel became violently ill and made his will. He died on 7th October, to the great grief of Galeazzo, who thus lost his expensive investment in an English alliance. Lionel was buried at Pavia with great ceremony, but at his father's request his body was moved to the church of the Austin Friars at Clare in Suffolk, and placed near the body of his first wife. <sup>30</sup>

Philippa's last years could not have been particularly

---

<sup>27</sup> Foedera, III, p.845.

<sup>28</sup> Historia Anglicana, op.cit., p 305

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 306.

<sup>30</sup> Foedera, III, ii, p. 888.

happy ones; at the time of her death in 1369 only five of her twelve children were living. Her eldest son was mortally ill either suffering from poison, as some chroniclers suggest,<sup>31</sup> or, more likely, from malaria or dropsy. Prince Edward's first born son, Edward, had died only seven years after his birth, and his younger son, Richard, was rumored to be frail. Philippa's eldest daughter, Isabella, had the misfortune to be caught in a case of conflicting loyalties during the next outbreak of Anglo-French hostilities. Her husband, feeling that he could not fight against his native land, left France to travel alone in Italy, sending his wife and two daughters back to the English court. Once Isabella returned to England, her husband wrote to her that he thought it best if they should remain apart, and she never saw him again.<sup>32</sup> Only Edmund of Langley and Thomas of Woodstock, now aged fourteen, and John of Gaunt, who now greatly sided his father in affairs of state, remained well and relatively happy. Philippa's last few years with her husband could not have been very happy ones, either, for Edward in 1367 and 1368 was already showing signs of senility. One of Philippa's own damsels, the famous Alice Perrers, was becoming his constant companion. In that year Edward granted her the manor of Ardington in Berkshire, which had lately belonged to the King's aunt, Mary, Countess Marshall. It seems unlikely that Edward could have kept secret from his wife the fact

---

<sup>31</sup> *Historia Anglicana*, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

<sup>32</sup> *Foedera*, VII, p. 172.

that he had a mistress in such constant attendance. Edward had had mistresses before, indeed, Philippa probably expected her far travelled husband to do so, but never before had he had one while she had been present. The renewed hostilities in France probably gave Philippa even more cause for worry; Prince Edward had planned to return to England in spring 1368, but the outbreak of war prevented it. King Charles chose a kitchen scullion to carry the news to the English King that he planned to wage war, causing such indignation on the part of the English that preparations for war were made very quickly indeed.<sup>33</sup> John of Gaunt was appointed Lieutenant for Calais, Guisnes, and the surrounding country.<sup>34</sup> Alliances were quickly secured where possible; a fourteen year truce was arranged with Scotland, the Duke of Guelders, Marquis of Juliers, and Sir Robert Namur, now a Knight of the Garter, were quickly approached and agreed to join Edward. Philippa was growing tired and weak by spring 1369, but she wrote to her nephew, Albert of Hainault, and attempted to secure his aid. As a token of good will she sent him a gift of jewels which had formerly belonged to Maud of Lancaster, Albert's sister-in-law.<sup>35</sup> Despite Philippa's efforts, Albert declined to join the English cause but neither did he join France, so perhaps her gift had some effect. This was not the end of her efforts, for she also wrote to the King of Cyprus, whom she had entertained several years earlier, and sent him jewels as well. To the end of her life,

---

<sup>33</sup> Foedera, III, ii, p. 865-867.

<sup>35</sup> Foedera, III, ii, p. 868.

<sup>34</sup> Foedera, III, ii, p. 871.

<sup>36</sup> CPR 1367-1370, p. 255.

Philippa did as much as she could for the cause of her husband; she was a completely loyal and devoted wife, a conscientious and dutiful queen.

John of Gaunt, Edmund of Langley, and the Earl of Pembroke, sailed for France in early summer. Now Edward III's travelling days were at an end, as well as Philippa's. Thus, he remained with Philippa at Windsor, with fourteen year old Thomas of Woodstock. Philippa died on 15th August 1369 at Windsor, with her husband and son Thomas near her. She was confessed by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, and given the last sacrament. The whole of her death scene is described in Froissart; as he was at the English court at this time, there is no reason to disbelieve his account. He begins by saying that while the English armies were occupied in France, "...a circumstance happened in England, which, though so very common, was not the less unfortunate for the king, his children, and the whole kingdom. That excellent lady, the queen of England ( who had done so much good, and during her whole life had assisted all knights, ladies, and damsels, who had applied to her, who had had such boundless charity for all mankind, and who had naturally such an affection for the Hainault nation, being the country from which she sprung) lay at this time dangerously ill at Windsor castle, and her disorder daily increased." <sup>37</sup> It is impossible to deduce from the meager information given in the chronicles of the time exactly what caused Philippa's illness. Perhaps at fifty five,

---

<sup>37</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 427.

after bearing twelve children, traveling extensively, and carrying the burden of managing estates and households for most of her children for a great part of her married life, she died simply of old age. It is hard to say. Nevertheless, her end, when it came, was peaceful and dignified, as her life had been.

Describing her last moments, Froissart writes, "When the good lady perceived her end approaching, she called to the king, and extended her right hand from under the bed-clothes, and put it into the right hand of the king, who was very sorrowful at heart, and thus spoke: 'We have enjoyed our union in happiness, peace, and prosperity: I entreat, therefore, of you, that on our separation you will grant me three requests.'

The king, with sighs and tears, replied: 'Lady ask: whatever you request shall be granted.' 'My lord, I beg you will acquit me of whatever engagements I have entered into formerly with merchants for their wares, as well on this as on the other side of the sea. I beseech you also to fulfil whatever gifts or legacies I may have made, or left to churches, here or on the continent, wherein I have paid my devotions, as well as what I may have left to those of both sexes who have been in my service. Thirdly, I entreat that, when it shall please God to call you hence, you will not choose any other sepulchre than mine, and that you will lie at my side in the cloisters of Westminster.' The king, in tears, replied, 'Lady, I grant them.'

'Soon after the lady made the sign of the cross on her breast, and, having recommended to God the king

and her youngest son, Thomas, who was present, gave up her spirit, which, I firmly believe, was caught by holy angels and carried to the glory of heaven; for she had never done anything by thought or deed that could endanger her losing it. Thus died the queen of England, in the year of grace 1369, the vigil of the assumption of the Virgin, 15th August." <sup>38</sup> Her death is mentioned by most of the chroniclers of the time, and in all cases she is described as a good and virtuous queen, whose death was a great loss to her family and subjects. <sup>39</sup>

It appears that Edward did his best to fulfil Philippa's wishes. A wrought iron hearse was secured from the canons of St. Pauls, for use in Philippa's funeral procession through London. <sup>40</sup> A tomb of black marble was erected over her in Edward the Confessor's Chapel at Westminster, on top of which was a lifesized alabaster figure of the queen. <sup>41</sup> Figures of thirteen of her family and friends were placed around the tomb; her father, mother, brother and sister-in-law, her uncle Sir John of Hainault, her nephew William, Charles Duke of Brabant, Queen Joan of Scotland, Edward III's brother, John of Eltham, her children including Isabella, Lionel, John, Edmund, Thomas, Mary, and Margaret, her three daughters-in law, Joan of Kent, Elizabeth de Burgh, and Blanche of Lancaster, and the Kings of Navarre, Bohemia, Scotland, Spain, and Sicily. During the Reformation the figures, including the large one of Philippa,

---

<sup>38</sup> Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 429.

<sup>39</sup> Chronicon Angliae, op. cit., p. 64; Ypodigma Neustriae, op. cit., p. 309.

<sup>40</sup> CPR 1367-1370, p. 341. <sup>41</sup> Issue Roll, op. cit., p. 189.

were damaged, and only two now remain. Philippa's mortuary bed was given to the Chapter of York Minster, as was customary. When Edward died, he fulfilled his third promise and was interred beside Philippa.<sup>41</sup> There was an epitaph on Philippa's tomb, since destroyed, which was copied and translated by the poet Skelton:

Faire Philippe, William Hainault's child,  
and younger daughter deare,  
Of roseate hue and beauty bright, in her tomb  
lies hilled here:  
Edward the Third, throu' mother's will and  
nobles good consent,  
Took her to wife, and joyfully with her his  
time he spent.  
Her uncle John, a martial man, and eke a  
valiant knight,  
Did link this woman to this king in bonds of  
marriage right.  
This match and marriage thus in blood did  
bind the Flemings sure  
To Englishmen, by which they did the Frenchmen's  
wrath procure.  
This Philippe, flowered in gifts full rare  
and treasures of the mind,  
In beauty bright, religion, faith, to all  
and each most kind.  
A fruitful mother Philippe was, full many  
a son she bred,  
And brought forth many a worthy knight, hardy  
and full of dread;  
A careful nurse to students all, at Oxford  
she did found  
Queen's College, and Dame Pallas school, that  
did her fame resound.

The wife of Edward dear  
Queen Philippe, lieth here.  
Learn to live.

42

---

<sup>41</sup> Strickland, op. cit., p. 586, note 1.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 586-587.

As far as can be discerned, Edward kept his promise to take care of Philippa's debts. She had bequeathed gifts to St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, and the Hospital of the nuns of St. Katherine by the Tower, and these were seen to.<sup>43</sup> Her household staff and attendants were generously rewarded for their services to her, including one Alicia de Preston, who appears to<sup>se</sup> Alice Perrers, who received an annuity of ten marks for life.<sup>44</sup> Matilda Fisher, Joan Kawley, and Elizabeth Pershore, received the same amount, while Joan Cosin, Philippa Picard, and Agatha Liergin received one hundred shillings yearly, and Matilda Radscroft and Agnes Saxibly received five marks.<sup>45</sup> Philippa Picard was the daughter of Sir Pegn Roet, and was Geoffrey Chaucer's wife. After the death of Philippa she was transferred to the household of John of Gaunt's second wife, Constance of Castile. Blanche of Lancaster, his first wife, died only a month after Philippa.<sup>46</sup> From the time of Philippa's death until that of his own in 1377, Edward became increasingly more dependent on Alice Perrers for companionship, and on John of Gaunt for managing the realm. The Prince of Wales died in 1376, and Edward died a year later at Sheen Palace, and Isabella died two years after that. Richard, son of Edward, Prince of Wales, succeeded Edward III, and Joan of Kent was raised to Princess Mother. Edmund of Langley married Isabella of Castile, and on her death, he

---

<sup>43</sup> CPR 1367-1370, pp. 338, 340.

<sup>44</sup> Foedera, III, ii, pp. 886; CPR 1367-1370, p. 342.

<sup>45</sup> Foedera, III, ii, p. 886.

<sup>46</sup> Ypodigma Neustriae, op. cit., p. 315.

married Joan Holland, grand-daughter of Sir Thomas Holland and Joan of Kent. Thomas of Woodstock was to marry Eleanor, heiress of Humphrey de Bohun, come into conflict with Richard II, and be murdered in Calais, with Richard's consent. Constance of Castile died in 1396, following which John of Gaunt married his mistress, Katherine Roet Swynford, who was rumored to be the sister of Philippa Picard, Chaucer's wife, thus legitimizing his large family by her. The last few years before Philippa's death had been difficult ones for her, but knowledge of the events to come would have given her little comfort. Throughout her life she had been a loving and devoted mother and wife, a kind and generous queen, a model of what was considered a virtuous and noble lady, and an inspiration to those around her to perform great deeds at her request and for her honour. It is without doubt that her death was a real loss to those around her, and that the official expressions of grief were accompanied by sincerely felt personal expressions of loss. Truly, as Froissart said, she was "the most courteous, noble, and liberal queen that ever reigned in her time..." 47

---

47 Froissart, ed. Johnes, op. cit., p. 427.

## CONCLUSION

It is at times difficult to construct a biography of Philippa using printed sources. She tends to be a rather elusive figure, present at great events, but standing in the shadow of her more important and noteworthy husband. The earlier years of her marriage are better documented, and the picture one constructs of her in those years is the one which remains of her through the rest of her reign. At the time of her marriage Philippa was, politically speaking, a very important person, and as such received attention from the people around her. The description made of Philippa, or her sister Sybilla, in 1319, is the most complete to be found of her; indeed, it is the only physical description of her written in her own lifetime. Her travels from Hainault to England are also well documented, but immediately after her wedding she drops from the records. From the time of her wedding until the overthrow of Isabella and Mortimer, very little is heard of Philippa. The accident at the tournament at Cheapside, Philippa's act of mercy at Calais, her courage at Neville's Cross (if she was there), and her anxious wait during Les Espagnols sur mer, are the only incidents throughout her life that attracted great interest by the chroniclers. Froissart, of course, is richest among

the chroniclers in the details of her life. In his anecdotes Philippa occasionally springs to life as a real person; unfortunately, one feels this not so much because of the accuracy of Froissart's account but because of his dramatic skill in telling a story. The births of Philippa's children are noted in the English chronicles, as are the achievements of her sons and the marriages of her sons and daughters. In the years that Philippa was able to travel with Edward she is mentioned as having been present at important battles, settlements, and other affairs of the time. Once her travels with Edward stop, however, so do the records of her movements.

It is very difficult to form a complete picture of Philippa in her middle years. References to her estates, household needs, and the names of her attendants can be found, but it is very difficult to find any records dealing with her travels, her gifts, personal interests and expenditures, or the daily routine of her life. She appears to have been interested only in the revenues of her estates. It is not fair to write that Philippa's prime interests were monetary; one assumes that she was more interested in her many children, her husband, and the other people around her. As no correspondence with her children and husband has been preserved, or is not in print, it is not possible to construct a fuller outline of her in this period. In her later years, it is even more difficult to find out where she was and what she was doing at a given time. One can only look at the people who must have

had dealings with her, primarily her children and any royal visitors to the English court, and assume she was present with them. Froissart mentions her gracious attentions to King John during his confinement in London, and speaks of the esteem in which John held the Queen of England. Here is a brief personal glimpse of Philippa in maturity, carrying out her duties as a conscientious hostess. One assumes that the many important visitors who passed through the English court during her reign must have found her a courteous, dignified, and gracious royal lady.

Philippa lived a long life; she produced many children and did many good works in her time. She patronized schools, colleges, literary figures, and gave what she could to those around her who were in need. She was charitable and forgiving. Unlike many foreign queens, she did not grant excessive favours to her family or countrymen, enriching them at English expense. While Froissart probably exaggerated his tale of her charity at Calais, there is no doubt that she was always generous in granting royal pardon. She was well liked by the papacy throughout her life for her piety and generosity. The chroniclers of her day held her in high esteem, and the infrequent references they make to her are always flattering. Her death is noted by all the important chroniclers, and they agree that she was a good and kind woman. Philippa's life was not uneventful and it could not have been dull. Even in her later years when she remained at home while her husband and sons went off to the French wars, her life must have been full

and demanding. As Queen Regent in England, mother of the Guardian of the Realm, and a representative of royal authority at home, she must have held an important position in the royal court. King Edward's rapid decline into senility after her death is perhaps a comment on her strength and importance to him. If by looking at the people around Philippa in her last years one cannot get a full picture of the Queen, one can still get enough of an outline of her to see that she was a highly regarded and important lady. Philippa's motto, 'Ich wrude muche' would seem to sum up her life. Froissart is very probably correct in saying that she was "...the most courteous, noble, and liberal queen that ever reigned in her time."

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### GOVERNMENT RECORDS AND DOCUMENTS

Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Prepared under the Superintendance of the Deputy Keeper of the Records.

Calendar of Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Prepared under the Superintendance of the Deputy Keeper of the Records.

Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, ed. W.H.Bliss, vols. II, III, London, 1895.

Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Prepared under the Superintendance of the Deputy Keeper of the Records.

Extracts from the Issue Roll, ed. J.Devon, (Extracts from Pell Issue Rolls), London, 1837.

The Register of Walter Stapeldon, 1307-1326, ed. Rev. F.C.Hingeston-Randolph, London, 1892.

Rotuli Parliamentorum: ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parlamento, vol. ii, Record Commission, London, 1783.

Rymer, Th., Foedera, Conventions, Literae, et Cujuscunq[ue] Generis Acta Publica, 4 Vols., London, 1816-1869.

NARRATIVE SOURCES

- Annales Paulini. ed. W. Stubbs, vol. I, Rolls Series, London, 1882.
- Robertus de Avesbury, De Gestis Mirabilibus Regis Edwardi Tertii. ed. E.M.Thompson, Rolls Series, London, 1889.
- Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swinbroke. ed. E.M. Thompson, Oxford, 1899.
- Chandos Herald, Le Prince Noir. ed. M.K.Pope, & E.C.Lodge, Oxford, 1910.
- Cronicon Angliae, 1328-1388. ed. E.M. Thompson, Rolls Series, London, 1874.
- Eulogium Historiarum. ed. F.S.Haydon, vol. III, Rolls Series, London, 1863.
- Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham. ed. W.D.Macray, Rolls Series, London, 1863.
- French Chronicle of London. ed. G.J.Aungier, Camden Society, London, 1844.
- Les Chroniques de Sire Jean Froissart. ed. J.A.C. Buchon, vol. I, Paris, 1835.
- Chroniques de Froissart. ed. Simeon Luce & G.Raynauld, vol. I, Paris, 1899.
- Sir John Froissart: Chronicles of England, France, and Spain, and the Adjoining Countries. trans. and ed. Thomas Johnes, vol. I, London, 1839.
- Hardyng, John, Rhyming Chronicle, ed. Henry Ellis, London, 1812.
- Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland. London, 1807, vol. I, ; reprinted New York, 1965.
- Chronicon Henrici Knighton, ed. J.R.Lumby, Rolls Series, vol. II, London, 1895.

Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, ed. Thomas Hearne, vol. ii,  
London, 1810.

Adae Murimuth, Continuatio Chronicarum. ed. E.M.  
Thompson, Rolls Series, London, 1889.

Chronicon di Giovanni Villani. tom. vii, Florence,  
1823.

Walsingham, Thomas, Historia Anglicana, vol. I, ed.  
H.T.Riley, Rolls Series, London, 1863.

Walsingham, Thomas, Ypodigma Neustriae. ed. H.T.Riley,  
Rolls Series, London, 1876.

#### BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Armitage-Smith, Sydney. John of Gaunt. London, 1904.

Beltz, G. Memorials of the Order of the Garter.  
London, 1841.

Delachenal, R. Histoire de Charles V., vol. IV,  
Paris, 1928.

Dictionary of National Biography, London,

Dunn-Pattison, R.P. The Black Prince. London, 1910.

Galway, Margaret. "Joan of Kent and the Order of the  
Garter", University of Birmingham Historical Journal,  
1947-1948.

Halliwell, J.O. Letters of the Kings of England,  
vol. I. London, 1846.

Hardy, B.C. Philippa of Hainault and her Times.  
London, 1910.

Johnstone, Hilda, "The Queen's Household", in T.F.  
Tout, Chapters in the Administrative History of  
Mediaeval England, vol. V, Manchester, 1930.

- Levesque, M. La France sous les Cinq Premiers Valois.  
Paris, 1788.
- Longman, W. The Life and Times of Edward III. London  
vol. I, 1896.
- Lucas, H.S. The Low Countries and the Hundred Years'  
War, 1326-1347. Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA, 1929.
- MacFarlane, K.B. "Henry V, Bishop Beaufort and the  
Red Hat", English Historical Review, 1945.
- MacKinnon, James. The History of Edward the Third.  
London, 1900.
- McKisack, May. The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399,  
Oxford History of England, Oxford, 1959.
- Nicholas, R. , Edward III and the Scots. Oxford,  
1965.
- Nicolas, W.H. History of the Orders of Knighthood,  
vol. I,II, London, 1842.
- Pauli, R. Pictures of Old England. trans.<sup>n</sup> by E.C. Otte,  
London, 1861.
- Russell, P.E. The English Intervention in Spain &  
Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II.  
Oxford, 1955.
- Shears, F.S. Froissart, Chronicler and Poet. London,<sup>n</sup>  
1930.
- Strickland, Agnes. The Lives of the Queens of England.  
vol. I, London, 1854.
- Sykes, John. Local Records of Northumberland and  
Durham. vol. I, Newcastle, 1866.
- Terry, Schuyler B. The Financing of the Hundred  
Years War, 1337-1360. London, 1914.
- Wright, Thomas. Political Poems and Songs, vol. I,  
Rolls Series, London, 1859.